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St. Andrews 1971.

Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century acting versions
of Shakespeare's Plays: A Critical Study with special
reference to King Lear.



Tn 5948

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work, and that it has not been previously submitted for any higher degree.

Date *October 25th 1971.*

Signature

I hereby declare that, having been admitted as a full-time research student for the degree B.Phil. under the terms of General Ordinance No. 12 and Resolution of the University Court, 1969, No. 8, I spent three terms of the Session 1970-71 enrolled as a candidate for the degree under this Resolution in the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor A.F. Falconer.

Date *October 25th 1971.*

Signature.

I hereby certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations have been fulfilled.

Date *October 26th 1971*

Signature

I am most grateful to Professor A.F.Falconer who, in supervising this work in all its stages, has guided its progress with learned insight and with infinite patience. I would also like to thank Dr.R.P. Doig for his interest in my work and for his helpful suggestions concerning it.

'I think good thoughts, while others write good words'.

The illustrations to Chapter V are reproduced by courtesy of the Director of the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford upon Avon.

Contents

	page
Chapter I. Introduction	I
Chapter II. 'The History of King Lear,' N.Tate. (1681) .	22
Chapter III. 'King Lear, A Tragedy. D.Garrick. (1756?).	133
Chapter IV. 'The history of King Lear.' G.Colman(1768) .	173
Chapter V. <u>King Lear</u> from 1768 to 1858: a survey . . .	206
Chapter VI. Conclusion.	232
Appendix A (1-3) Statistics indicating stages in Shakespeare's popularity	i & ii
Appendix B A summary of the plays concerned in Chapter V.	i
Appendix C (1-8) Relevant quotations.	iii
Appendix D Tate's use of Quarto and Folio	ix
Appendix E The Edition which Garrick used.	xi
Appendix F Concerning Afterpieces	xiv
Appendix G. A Comparison of the length of the ten versions of <u>King Lear</u>	xvii
Bibliography	xviii

Illustrations:-

'M ^r . Garrick as King Lear'.	Backing page	213
'M ^r . Kemble, as Lear'.		218
'M ^r . Kean as Lear'.		225
'M ^r . Macready as King Lear'.		228

Chapter I

Introduction

'Probably nowhere better than in these adaptations can we find the key to the whole dramatic productivity of the period. Nowhere better can we find expressed the likes and dislikes of the time.' (1.

The likes and dislikes of post-Restoration theatre-goers form a complex subject which many factors had served to create. With the dangers of over-simplifying in mind, one might say that there were those in England who had survived the theatrically barren years of the Puritan interregnum and who now looked for some excitement from the stage. But there were also those who had been much influenced by the French spirit in these years, and who sought the reformation of the English stage upon classical lines. It was the strictures and discussions of this latter group which formed much of the scholarly opinion at the time, while the theatre-managers themselves were generally catering for the former, more popular, group. The classical spirit entered English literary life in two main ways. Firstly it already existed within the tradition extending from the Renaissance via Ben Jonson and secondly in the rigid strictures of neo-classicism which entered England in the seventeenth century from France. (2. In both cases the moving spirit came from Italy.

(1. Allardyce Nicoll, History of English Drama. Vol. I, p. 171.

(2. 'It was the French influence which came in with the Restoration that converted into positive obligation what had hitherto been deemed by most as matter of choice.' T.R. Lounsbury, Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist, p.43.

Aristotle had been studied by Italian critics of the Renaissance and his comments on Greek drama thus began the formulation of the 'rules' which were to dominate criticism for so long. (3. Sidney's *Apologie for Poetry* was not published until 1595, but it came at a point when Ben Jonson was ready to take up and develop its classical spirit and thereby give 'new and increased prestige to the rules formulated by the Italians,' and also to shift the interest of criticism to the external and objective side of literary art. (4. His critical opinions, however, were by no means as rigid as similar opinions were to become later under French influence. He would not confine drama within strictly regulated limits. (5. T.R. Lounsbury, by quoting the chorus from Henry V and the speech of Time

- (3. According to Lounsbury, Gi^rgio Trissino (1478-1550) was the first to construct a drama regularly observing the unities of place and time, while Castelvetro, at the end of the sixteenth century was writing, 'the space of time, of twelve hours at most, in which the action is represented, and the strait limits of the place in which it is represented likewise, do not permit a multitude of actions.' Castelvetro. Poetica d'Aristotele. Part. Princ. III, Particell. vi. (p. 179.ed.2.Basle 1576). Cited by G. Saintsbury, Locii Critici. p.87.
- (4. J.E. Springarn, Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, p.ix.
- (5. He wrote in 'Timber', printed in 1640, 'I am not of that opinion to conclude a poet's liberty within the narrow limits of laws which either the grammarians or the philosophers prescribe.' Saintsbury, op. cit. p. 128.

in A Winter's Tale maintains that Shakespeare himself could not have been ignorant of classical tenets, but was not prepared to limit his dramatic genius by them. (6. Certainly, therefore, men of letters in England were aware of the existence of these doctrines, but it was not until after the decay of drama in the post-wars years, into a display of mere virtuosity, that scholars were prepared to take up the classical rules and attempt to enforce their rigid application. With the vogue for heroic admiration came the appearance of a split between the scholars' opinions and the playwrights' actual productions. It was then up to the scholar to influence public opinion in such a way as to force the playwright to change his mode, and this is very largely what the ensuing spate of critical pronouncements was about.

The men of letters in France also took their tenets from Italy. But just as what were originally commentaries evolved into ^acode of strict rules, so these rules in turn ceased to be looked upon as guiding principles and became inexorable laws. (7. These rules do not specify only the unities of time, place and action; they call also

(6. T.R. Lounsbury, op. cit. p.43.

(7. C.V.Deane in Dramatic Theory and the Rhymed Heroic Play (p.65) quotes 1637 as being the date when the first considerable piece of criticism embodying the neo-classical creed appeared in France. It was the 'Sentiments de l'Academie Francaise sur la tragicomedie dueCid.'. ^a

for the suppression of violent scenes (8. and for a high-minded propriety of action. This included the separation of comic and tragic genres, but not necessarily a tragic ending. (9. Only the sentiment of love, so important in seventeenth century French drama, was not attributable to the classical rules. Popular taste demanded it, and with much else, the taste spread to England. Once again, the split between what the scholars prescribed and what the audience demanded is evident. When the Court returned to England from France in 1660 the way was made clear for the entry into English letters of much that was becoming of first importance in French literary life, but the rules did not take immediate hold upon English scholars. (10. Rymer was followed by

- (8. Horace's 'ne pueros coram populo Medea trucident.' Of this Addison wrote in *The Spectator* no.44 for 30 April 1711, 'The French have refined too much upon Horace's rule, who never designed to banish all kinds of death from the stage; but only such as had too much horror in them, and which would have a better effect upon the audience when transacted behind the scenes.'
- (9. C.V. Deane op.cit. p.75 mentions the Abbé d'Aubignac whose 'Pratique du Théâtre' (begun in 1640) was translated into English in 1685. 'Tragedy' means 'nothing else but a magnificent, serious, grave poem, conformable to the Agitations and sudden turns of the fortune of great people.'
- (10. Rymer, in his Tragedies of the Last Age Considered (1678) and his Short View of Tragedy (1693) was one of the first Englishmen to criticise Shakespeare for his avoidance of the rules. In the latter he writes, 'In Tragedy he appears quite out of his element; his Brains are turn'd, he raves and rambles, without any coherence, and spark of reason, or any rule to controul (sic) him, or set bounds to his phrenzy.'

Dryden who, however, possessed enough critical acumen to avoid being swept off his feet by the force of French argument. In 1660 the temper of the people was not wholly prepared for the advent of orderliness and good sense. The dictation of taste still emanated from the top of the social hierarchy, and among courtiers and court ladies, men of fashion and noble poets, reigned a love of high exploits, chivalrous gallantry, and hyperbolic language which did not come entirely from France but which was in part a continuation of the English Romantic tradition. With the broadening of the social structure in the reign of Queen Anne and George I, however, the classical ideal of art, which had been present, if not dominant in the post-Restoration years, found a natural reception among men who saw the value of harmony and regular order combined with lucidity and accuracy. It can be seen for example in Steele and Addison that a new moral standard was associated with classical taste.

The spirit of rational enquiry, however, which was first expressed by Descartes in France, was to become a dominating element in Western European thought for many years. For the poet, therefore, this meant that a fresh impetus was given to the rule of probability in art as conformity to the laws of experience became a final criterion of judgement. (II. This, with the realisation of a mechanical order in nature, was the basis for justification of the rules; they were

(11. Certainly Rymer, in his Tragedies of the Last Age (p.109) had written, 'but reason is to be his guide, reason is common to all people, and can never carry him from what is natural.'

'Nature still, but Nature methodised.' Boileau in France, and from him, Rymer, came to see that the observance of the unities, for instance, was based on rational deduction. Similarly, a movement away from 'laboured particularities', especially noticeable in the adaptations of Shakespeare, became evident. (12. In his desire for the universal rationally sought, the neo-classic artist was also thorough in his condemnation of all that was obscure. This desire for perspicuity is, of course, part of the rationalist's creed, but it found a stimulus and example in the clarity and simplicity of the language of Descartes and Hobbes. According to Dennis, then, in his 'Preface to the Comical Gallant' (1702) 'the surest way to arrive at reputation, is to please the knowing few, for they at last must draw in the multitude, but are never to be drawn in by them.' These 'knowing few' were men of education, not specialists in any particular field, but men whose knowledge of both contemporary thought and polite society entitled them to a voice in the discussion of taste.

(12. 'In the highest forms of his art' the neo-classic artist sought 'to express himself in terms equally eternal and comprehensive as the laws of nature,' 'for great thoughts are always general.'
E.A. Wasserman, 'The Inherent Values of Eighteenth Century Personification.'

(13. That standards of taste did not perish, swamped under a deluge of popular productions is partly due to the fact that 'Taste' in the latter part of the seventeenth century represented individualism in the face of external authority. In fact 'Taste' as a standard for criticism did not disappear at all; it was transformed, and from being an essentially personal instinct, 'came to be looked upon as absolute standard, just as fixed and immutable as reason itself.'

(14. Of the English dramatic tradition which influenced the adaptations not a great deal need be said. In France, much of the vitality of the native tradition was lost with the rigid formalism which intruded into dramatic circles, particularly those of tragedy. But in England the thread was not broken. When the play-houses were opened again in 1660, old plays were re-furbished while new ones were written. (15. The adaptations at this time, as will be seen from Tate's Lear, are fairly accurate judgements by the playwright of the distance between

(13. How influential this voice was is not clear. Dennis, in his 'Preface to The Invader' (1720) claimed that the vitiation of taste lay with the managers of the play-house and saw both authors and actors becoming poor artists under their influence.

(14. A. Bosker, Literary Criticism in the Age of Johnson, p.18.

(15. Beaumont and Fletcher seem to have had the greatest success, while Jonson appealed to the dramatic ideals of the literati. Shakespeare was played, but not with the regularity that later indicated the popularity he achieved.

the opinions of the critic and those of the play-going public. The adapters of the post-Restoration period were prepared to make concessions to the critics' strictures, but they were sorely tempted to keep alive the most dramatically vivid and therefore often the most popular elements of the dramatic tradition. (16.

The main changes which occurred in the theatre after 1660 have a considerable bearing on the adapters' efforts. The appearance of women on the stage was not entirely new since the court masques of Ben Jonson, but the first professional actress probably appeared on the stage on 8, December, 1660. (17. But it was not until 1770, in the Dramatic Censor that Francis Gentleman laid down a rule for the adapters,

Every alterer of Shakespeare should remember there were no female performers in his days, and improve accordingly to the present time such parts as necessity, not want of genius or knowledge, made him abbreviate. (18.

- (16. P.S. Wood in 'The Opposition to Neo-classicism between 1660 and 1702' sees the great problem of the age of Dryden as being the wrench between appreciating the finer points of Elizabethan literature, and holding a theory directly opposed to its spirit.
- (17. Bedford, in his ferocious attack on the theatre in the Evil and Danger of Stage Plays (1706) quotes Deuteronomy 22.5. as precedent for his abomination of women-players.
- (18. Cited by W.J. Lawrence, Johnson's England, ed. A.S. Turberville, Vol. II, ch. XX, p.164.

Some adapters took up the challenge with a liberal hand. Secondly the design of the theatres changed considerably. The picture stage replaced the apronⁿstage and the presence of spectators on the stage itself became even less suitable, although it took a Garrick to remove them finally. With the spectators thus at a greater distance, the delivery of subtleties and nuances could easily be lost. Thirdly, the increased use of stage-sets and machinery called for cuts in place-description from the texts. Cut also was anything in any way superfluous in order to allow time for changes of complicated scenery. This reached a ludicrous point in the early nineteenth century. (See Chapter V). Even the words of the play could be lost in enthusiastic sound-effects. (19. This desire for spectacular and popular entertainment is reflected too in the appearance of entr'acte amusements of singing and dancing. (20.

In thus outlining the situation in criticism and drama at the time of the Restoration, much of first importance to the study of the adaptations and their motives has been touched on. It is now necessary to consider briefly the nature of adaptation in general and to indicate the early attitudes to it.

(19. Bedford, op. cit., p.5, condemns stage-effects for a different reason. The Tempest and Macbeth are particularly evil -- 'wherein they presume to imitate the Almighty in his wonderful Acts.'

(20. See Appendix F.

In the first place it is essential to be quite clear about terminology. In this study, 'adaptation' is used of a play that has been much modified in form and language for some purpose other than that of simple shortening. Tate's King Lear is an adaptation in this sense. 'Alteration' is generally used of a play which has had some changes made but whose general substance remains the same. Kemble's version of Tate's Lear is really an alteration of it. 'Restoration' is used of a play to which the original language or structure has been restored; both Garrick and Macready are restorers of Shakespeare to a lesser or greater extent. Where no acknowledgement of the original is made, the result can only be termed plagiarism. (21. Finally there are those who tried to imitate Shakespeare's style. (22. The adapters of tragedy justified their work -- where they justified it at all -- by appealing to the critical views already mentioned in this chapter. (23. Generally speaking they really believed that they were

- (21. Of Otway's Caius Marius F.W.Kilbourne (Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare p.129) wrote, 'to commit such a literary crime as this play exhibits can be explained only as due to the exigency of his pecuniary affairs.'
- (22. This is dealt with in some detail by J.R.Sutherland, 'Shakespeare's Imitators in the Eighteenth Century.' MLR, xxviii, 1933.
- (23. Thus Theobald writes in his Preface to Richard II (1720) 'The many scatter'd Beauties, which I have long admired in His Life and Death of K. Richard II, induced me to think they would have stronger charms if they were interwoven in a regular Fable.' Fifty-two years later, Goodhall adapted the same play. According to him the original was 'defective in many Particulars, greatly incorrect, and abounding with indifferent Puns ... I left out the scene of the King's Death in Pomfret Castle, as an Incident too shocking for a refined Age to see.'

improving Shakespeare where the adapters of comedy could not be said to have achieved any such result. (It is for this reason that this study confines itself to tragedy.) Such 'improvement' included changes made with the intention of classicising, clarifying, supressing violence and rendering more probable. The introduction of love-interest was important, as was decorum in character and propriety of language. Much of the original imagery had to be generalised. Of increasing importance too, was the moral nature of the play. Flecknoe, Collier and Bedford had attacked the immorality of the stage in general. (24. The adapters, therefore, with increasing regularity cut out or replaced anything of doubtful propriety as the eighteenth century progressed. Certainly Tate's version of King Lear in 1681 was considerably more licentious than Maccready's in 1838. Other changes were made with an eye for theatrical technicalities; these are particularly obvious where the adapter was an actor-manager rather than a simple playwright.

Of the few works devoted to the subject of Shakespeare adaptations one might say that generally they approach the problem from the wrong end. The critical views of the eighteenth century are a much-discussed subject and to take these views and to find

(24. Collier, A Short View of Tragedy. Introduction p.I. 'The Business of Plays is to recommend Vertue, and discountenance Vice:...'Tis to expose the Singularities of Pride and Fancy, to make Folly and Falsehood contemptible, and to bring everything that is ill under Infamy and Neglect.' And Bedford, op.cit. p.195, 'The Theatres are Synagogues of Satan.'

examples of them in the adaptations is all too easy. But adaptations of Shakespeare require detailed analysis. Only thus can the author's motives be fairly estimated. Only thus can one be certain that nothing has been missed, or appraise the entanglements of the changing attitudes to Shakespeare within these years. Too often, when an alteration does not fit any pre-conceived category, the commentator is tempted to explain it as 'wanton tampering'. The aim of this study is to approach the plays in the belief that there was some seemingly good reason for all the alterations that the adapter made.

The earliest of these studies is F.W.Kilbourne's work, Alterations and Adaptation of Shakespeare (1906), which gives short, Act by Act, summaries of thirty-five plays. In covering so much ground, there is much detailed information concerning the adapters' technique for which no room is allowed. Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist (1911) by T.R.Lounsbury is concerned very largely with the controversies which raged about Shakespeare in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the factions to which they gave rise. Of his ten chapters only one is directly concerned with adaptations and this is a cursory survey which does not deal with any particular play in detail. G.C.D.Odell's work, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (1920), is based mainly on Shakespeare in the theatre after the Restoration and during the eighteenth century. He is really writing a history and thus, although a very brief summary of a good many of the adaptations is included, he does not go into the motives for these in any great detail and only discusses the plays in order

to show the changes which were taking place in the attitude to Shakespeare as a dramatist. Written two years after Odell's work and eleven after Lounsbury's, Montague Summers' Shakespeare Adaptations (1922) does not show any very great advance, being a further survey. Important in relation to this study is Hazelton Spencer's Shakespeare Improved (1927). This book does, in fact, enter into a fairly detailed study of Shakespeare adaptations, but they are adaptations taken from the latter part of the seventeenth century only and he does not deal with the eighteenth century and its productions at all. Branam's Eighteenth Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy (1956) examines in a survey the motives of the adapters and illustrates facets of eighteenth century discrimination from the adaptations. His main thesis is that these plays stemmed from a pervading sense of order in the age; that audiences 'delighted in contemplating that order' and that 'the exigencies of getting and keeping an audience did more to bring about these alterations than a writer's literary code.' (25. Finally there is Prof. C. Spencer's recent (1965) edition of Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare which includes Tate's King Lear. The burden of his Introduction is that although these adaptations may serve as cadavers 'for dissection by graduate students, to belabor them as bad Shakespeare is like kicking a carcass.' (p.8). His intention is to understand them apart from Shakespeare as 'successful acting vehicles in their own day.' (p.14). His point of view is

discussed in the Conclusion to this dissertation. (Chapter VI.)

(26.

At this stage it is essential to state that this study is in no way intended as a general survey, either of critical opinions or of adaptations of Shakespeare. It is a detailed analysis of ten acting versions of King Lear from which it is hoped to estimate the adapters' motives and thence to appreciate the actual 'likes and dislikes' of theatre-goers between 1681 and 1858. For this purpose six facsimile reproductions of acting versions of King Lear within these years have been used. (Those issued by the Cormmarket Press Ltd. between 1969 and 1971). Also three nineteenth-century editions of collected plays have been studied and, for purposes of comparison, H.H.Furness's Variorum Edition of King Lear. With the exception of the last, these editions do not contain line-numbers. For this reason I have numbered them myself for the convenience of the reader in comparing them. General factors affecting the adaptations, which have already been outlined in this

(26. I am most grateful to the Shakespeare Institute in Birmingham for permission to read Prof.A.J.Harris's (unpublished) Ph.D. dissertation 'King Lear in the Theatre.' (1966). Although he gives a synopsis of Tate's changes in the play and a general explanation of the more obvious ones, he is rather more concerned with the play in the theatre than with associating it with contemporary popular and critical attitudes. The papers particularly relating to King Lear have been given a separate place at the end of the list of papers consulted. Reference is made to them at appropriate points.

chapter, are considered in more detail at appropriate points in the study.

Despite the potential interest of the adaptation of Shakespearean comedy (possibly not undertaken with so dedicated a purpose) this study confines itself to the consideration of tragedy, and of one tragedy in particular. Adapters of Shakespeare turned to the tragedies again and again throughout this period and there is therefore scope for studying developments in attitude shown in alterations of the same play. Secondly, critical pronouncements concerning drama were directed very much at tragedy. Thirdly, the field of tragedy is smaller than those of either comedy or history, and therefore more suited to a study which does not profess to be a full-sized account of the whole range of Shakespeare adaptations. Of the tragedies themselves, Othello and Hamlet suffered least. (27. Macbeth, less popular in its original form, underwent considerable alteration several

(27. Othello suffered a vitroilic attack by Rymer in A Short View of Tragedy (p.146) 'There is in this play, some burlesk, some humour, and ramble of comic wit..... but the tragical part is, plainly none other, than a Bloody Farce, without salt or savour.' Bianca was removed from several versions for propriety's sake (although she appeared, played by Elizabeth James, in 1674). Johnson, however, would have approved of the play, had it only opened in Cyprus, then 'there had been little wanting to a drama of the most exact and scrupulous regularity.' (Note to his edition of Othello in 1765).

Hamlet was usually cut to make it shorter. Critical conflict arose over the comedy of the gravediggers and Osric. The most serious alteration of it was attempted by Garrick in 1772. This is generally believed to have been a failure but G.W. Stone in 'Garrick's Long-lost Alteration of Hamlet' believes it was not.

times: Lady Macduff's part was greatly extended in 1674. (28. Songs for the witches were added and the Porter did no more than open the gate. Davenant's adaptation kept the stage from 1665 until Garrick altered it in 1774. (29. Antony and Cleopatra was popular at no time. Betterton played Sedley's version, which resembles Shakespeare's in neither diction nor characterization nor structure, for three nights in 1677. Garrick attempted a revival of Shakespeare's play (probably as altered by Capell in 1758) in the January of 1759, when it ran for four performances. The histories of Romeo and Juliet, Coriolanus and Julius Caesar are as interesting and involved as that of King Lear. Of these four King Lear has been selected for study for three reasons. Firstly because, with its dominating influence, Tate's adaptation is due for detailed analysis, secondly because this version was so popular that only a very real change in opinion would accept anything else, and thirdly because the battle for "Shakespeare restored" was won when King Lear finally triumphed.

- (28. Possibly to give opportunity to a rising actress (Jane Long) or, according to Hazelton Spencer, to provide a 'most sanctified dame' to balance Lady Macbeth.
- (29. The Cornhill Magazine for July 1863 (Vol. VIII) repeats the anecdote that when, on 7 January 1744, Garrick announced that he was going to revive Macbeth 'as originally written by Shakespeare', his rival Quin exclaimed with surprise, 'What does he mean? Don't I play Macbeth as written by Shakespeare?'.

A Chapter has been devoted to each of the versions of Tate (1681) Garrick (1756?) and Colman (1768). A fourth Chapter deals with home and foreign attitudes to the play in the nineteenth century and also with a further six versions. (See Appendix B). These versions are all referred to by the name of the actor-manager who produced them and not by that of the editor of the text.

Important as contemporary references to drama may be, clear and concise evidence as to popularity may be conveyed in statistics. Appendix A (1.2.3.) contains such statistics. A (1) indicates the comparative popularity of Shakespeare in the theatre between 1703 and 1747; the table is borrowed from A.H. Scouten's article 'The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century.' A(2) tabulates the productions of Shakespeare's tragedies between 1660 and 1680 and between 1750 and 1770 to show how vastly their popularity increased in this period. A (3) is a histogram made from eighty plays in the Cornmarket series which indicates the periods at which most adaptations occurred. Although tables of statistics should be regarded with wariness, they do serve a purpose in illuminating what might otherwise become a tedious catalogue of numbers. Certainly it is hoped that from those in the Appendix it can be shown whether the popularity of the plays in the theatre tempted the adapters to produce more adaptations, or whether it was the adaptations themselves which prompted the audiences' demand for more and more Shakespeare. The ensuing Chapters of this study will indicate the reasons for popularity. Firstly, then, it is obvious from A(2) that with the

exception of the three Roman plays, Shakespeare's tragedies increased enormously in popularity between 1660 and 1750. (30. Most noticeable of these is Romeo and Juliet. Tate's Lear held the stage throughout this period while Antony and Cleopatra was hardly produced at all. This growth in popularity is reflected in A(1) where, with the exception of the years 1723 to 1734, the production of Shakespeare increased at a fairly even rate until the 1740s. Turning now to the histogram (A.3) indicating the appearance of adaptations, it will be seen that the third largest number of them appeared between 1660 and 1680. Since Shakespeare had comparatively little popularity in the theatre at this time it would indicate that the adapters were more interested in theory than in practice and that they altered Shakespeare for other motives than that of popular demand. The second great rise in the number of adaptations written appears in the 1720s and from a glance at A(1) it can be seen that in the early 1720s Shakespeare achieved a popularity in the theatre which he was not to reach again for nearly twenty years. A closer investigation of the timing of these adaptations reveals three in 1720, one in 1721, five in 1723 and one in 1724 and then no more until 1731. Thus the coincidence of popularity in the theatre with the rise in the number of adaptations

(30. It would be mainly scholars who appropriated the plays since no popular edition existed at first. This would explain why tragedies and histories were chiefly handled.

in the early 1720s would indicate that popular demand and author production were linked. Of these eleven plays only two are tragedies and therefore, referring back to previous remarks concerning the adapters' serious purpose, this fact might indicate that the adapters here were satisfying popular demand rather than leading the way in matters of taste. In the 1730s the third great rise in the appearance of adaptation occurs. Of the fourteen plays which were written then seven are tragedies and five are light-hearted comedies (the other two were versions of Cymbeline). This follows a sudden increase in Shakespeare's popularity in the theatre in the 1740s and, once again, it is possible that the adapters were satisfying the taste of the audience. But it is no longer a taste demanding sheer amusement. There was a growing movement which wished to see Shakespeare restored and in this decade Garrick began the work — although he never wholly resisted the temptation to tamper.

To divide any period into sections can be a dangerous undertaking, resulting often in over-simplifying a naturally complex subject. But sections can be useful in the handling of bulky material as long as they are not arbitrarily applied and nothing is forced into them that will not naturally fit. The period 1660-1858 may be considered in four sections: firstly between 1660 and 1709 when Shakespeare's plays were not regularly performed, secondly from 1709 to 1765, when Rowe's edition appeared and Shakespeare became accessible to the

play-going public. Here at first an increase in popularity may be noted when adapters and play-goers stimulated each other, then a falling-off of both theatre-productions and adaptations, and then in the 1740s a demand to see Shakespeare performed followed by a rise in the number of adaptations in the 1750s. In the third section (1765-1800) Shakespeare holds his own in the theatre while the tendency among theatre managers is to present Shakespeare restored, thus the number of adaptations decreases sharply. (See A(3)). From about 1800 the restoring process continued slowly and alterations to the Shakespeare text were made and for technical reasons -- although alterations for reasons of morality still continued. The ten plays which this study proposes to handle do, in fact, fall naturally into these sections: Ch.II.--Tate 1681, Ch.III.--Garrick 1756, Ch. IV - Colman 1768 and Ch.V. - the nineteenth century. It must be borne in mind, however, that not all men follow the trends of their time and that there will be some dissenting voices in all movements.

In studying the attitude towards a single play over many years, one may avoid the danger that Lounsbury mentioned that 'scattered remarks, of no particular weight in themselves, have formed the foundation of many misleading statements in regard to Shakespeare's popularity at different periods.' (31. Shakespeare's popularity with the theatrical public may now be gauged by the reception that his restored versions had at different period. The scholarly attitude may be assessed, not so much by scattered remarks, as by the concession the

(31. T.R. Lounsbury, op. ct. Introduction p. xii.

the adapters made to them. This is why the extreme detail of the following study is justified. It is justified also by the fact that no possible motive is disregarded, even if it were not the subject of a manifesto at the time. Therefore the true balance of scholarly dictates and of business requirements, in prompting changes, may be assessed.

Chapter II

'The History of King Lear reviv'd with alterations by N. Tate' (1681)

Of all the seventeenth and eighteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare Nahum Tate's 'The History of King Lear' is probably the most notorious. In the Epistle Dedicatory to Thomas Boteler, Tate gives the power of Boteler's persuasion and his own 'Zeal for all the Remains of Shakespeare' as the reasons for his attempt. He states that he found in the play 'a Heap of Jewels, unstrung and unpolisht' and indicates that by his own tasteful re-arrangement of these he has rectified 'what was wanting in the Regularity and Probability of the Tale'. This re-arrangement includes a love between Cordelia and Edgar run through the play which Tate believes will render 'Cordelia's Indifference and her Father's Passion in the first Scene probable' and which will also make a generous design of Edgar's shifts to save his life. He feels that this heightens the distress of the story and, by a reference to part of Dryden's Preface to The Spanish Friar implies that a happy ending occurring after all this redounds even more to his own credit; as Dryden says, 'Neither is it of so Trivial an Undertaking to make a Tragedy end happily, for 'tis more difficult to Save than 'tis to Kill:'. Finally Tate explains that in the new scenes he has used 'less Quaintness of Expression', partly to comply with Shakespeare's style and partly 'to give it some Resemblance of the Time and Persons here Represented.' In using 'quaintness' here, Tate is by no means

implying the modern sense of the word. In the late seventeenth centuries the word 'quaint' used of language implied the elaborate and almost affected language which 'Ephraim Weed' damns in The Spectator no. 450 — 'And what are pleasing and easy? Forsooth, a new thought or conceit dressed up in smooth quaint language, to make you smile and wag your head.' However, Steele is being derogatory about a popular convention in the theatre of the time, the omission of which, Tate felt it incumbent upon him to explain.

The Prologue elaborates what was to become a popular excuse for Shakespeare's seeming lack of art; the play is a 'Heap of Flow'rs' which like a garland strung by the coarse hand of a rustic shows fairer than when growing, albeit by the operation of Divine Power. This attitude is typical of contemporary views of Shakespeare. Critics faced an insoluble problem when they saw that although Shakespeare was completely lacking in what they termed 'art' he was nevertheless a highly successful dramatist. In his Prologue to Troilus and Cressida (1679) Dryden has Betterton representing the ghost of Shakespeare who says,

'Untaught, unpractis'd in a barbarous Age,
I found not, but created the first Stage.
And if I drain'd no Greek or Latin store
'Twas that my own abundance gave me more'

Very largely the 'barbarities' of Shakespeare were blamed on the age in which he wrote. In his 'Defence of the Epilogue' in 1670 Dryden wrote, 'But these Absurdities which those poets committed, may more properly be called the Age's Fault than theirs', while

Robert Gould in his execrable satire 'The Play House', (1685) in reference to dramatists of the past age writes,

'To the Judicious plainly it appears,

Their slips were more the Ages fault than theirs' (I.

This attitude was to last well into the eighteenth century and the application of the panacea of 'Art' to what A.H.Thorndike in Tragedy (p.264) calls 'The diseases of genius' accounted for much in the adaptations. In 1712 in his 'Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare' Dennis wrote that 'what makes the brightest glory of his character, those beauties were entirely his own, and owing to the force of his own nature; whereas his faults were owing to his education, and to the age that he lived in.' Addison, however, represents the common-sense attitude in an age which would have liked to have prided itself on its common sense. In The Spectator no. 592 for 10 February 1714 he wrote, 'Our inimitable Shakespeare is a stumbling-block to the whole tribe of these rigid critics', and compares him to the stone in Pyrrhus's ring -- 'produced by the spontaneous hand of Nature, without any help from art.' In 1748 in his 'Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare', Peter Whalley sees that Shakespeare's audience 'having been used to the marvellous in all their shows' could not suddenly be bound within 'the narrow bounds of art,' but in the same year a writer in The Gentleman's Magazine, making remarks on the Tragedy of The Orphan, proclaims

I. Cited by Montague Summers in The Restoration Theatre.

that 'our admirable Shakespeare seems to stand without an equal, in him we find the most instructive lessons, inforced with all the art imaginable, and that, not by a tedious and intricate deduction of consequence but barely by the necessary result of a well-wrought Fable.' In 1769, in Mrs. Montague's Essay on the Writings and genius of Shakespeare appeared once again the apologetic tone which represented Shakespeare as abounding in faults due to his poverty, to the low condition of the stage and his need to consult the barbarous taste of the time in which he lived. Thus although, as has been seen, this patronising attitude to Shakespeare did not go wholly unrefuted, it did not die until, with the fading of neo-classicism, new critical approaches were devised.

The second main point in Tate's Prologue to Lear concerns the purpose of drama:

'Why shou'd these scenes lie hid, in which we find
 What may at Once divert and teach the Mind?
 Morals were alwaies proper for the Stage,
 But are ev'n necessary in this Age.'

Again, the inculcation of morality is a major facet of critical discussion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and once again a pause is called for to investigate the ramifications of this problem. In 'The Play House' of 1685 the perversive influence of the stage had been noted by Robert Gould who thus addressed

Shakespeare and Alleyn,

'How would you blush were you but now to see
Both Plays and Players black Impiety!
And wish you'd never rais'd the infant Stage
Since grown so Black and Sinful in her Age
With Vice she would Instruct, with Vice Delight,
And all she does Pervert, that hear, that Act, that Write.'

While two years later, Edward Ravenscroft, in the address prefixed to his nightmare travesty of a nightmare play, Titus Andronicus, was writing, 'For when ill-manners and ill-principles Reign in a State, it is the business of the Stage, as well as pulpits, to declaim and instruct.' More influential than either of these, however, were two men whose pronouncements spanned the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Over thirty years before Jeremy Collier's Short View of the Immorality of the English Stage (1698) was written, Richard Flecknoe had earned the contempt of Dryden for his impeachment of the immorality of the contemporary English theatre. By Collier's time the profligacy of the stage, which was due in part, perhaps, to the rigidity of the Puritan interregnum, had reached a stage ripe for attack and its excessive laxity of morals was to some extent checked by his Short View. In his first part of The London Stage 1660-1800 W. van Lennep states that 'the numbers of prosecutions of actors after 1698 for uttering licentious expressions testifies to the efforts of the authorities to make an issue of the conflict between the stage and morality' (2. and certainly Collier had the support of the clergy, the

authorities and much of the citizenry. As the seventeenth century drew to a close the demand for morality in drama became yet another aspect of the demands of classicism. In 1711, Dennis's 'On the Genius and Writing of Shakespeare' appeared in which he calls for poetic justice on moral grounds -- 'The Good and the Bad then perishing promiscuously in the best of Shakespeare's Tragedies, there can be either none or very weak Instruction in them'. Writing in The Spectator no. 40 for 16 April 1711, it is Addison once again who represents the common-sense view; he states that 'as the principle design of tragedy is to raise commiseration and terror in the minds of the audience, we shall defeat this great end, if we always make virtue and innocence happy and successful', although two days previously, while acknowledging the superiority (in some respects) to ancient drama of modern tragedy, he felt that 'what a Christian writer would be ashamed to own, [modern drama] falls infinitely short of it in the moral part of the performance.' With the stage-licensing Act of 1737, managers and dramatists saw the freedom of the stage as being threatened and it became necessary to assert the value of the stage as a force for the reformation of the morals of society. A writer in The Gentleman's Magazine in 1748, remarking on Otway's tragedy of The Orphan concludes that 'to paint the calamity of human life; to interest the affections in behalf of suffering virtue; to excite just ideas of the Superintendence of Providence, and a resignation to the devine will; to raise an abhorrence of vice, to animate the soul in its progress towards perfection are the proper ends of tragical representation.' The other

aspect in which the demands of morality became involved with those of classicism is on the level of propriety. In the Preface to his edition in 1765 Johnson wrote that Shakespeare 'is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose', while a writer in the Monthly Review for 1774 (p.145), taking up the common cry against Shakespeare's barbarous contemporaries states that 'those who worship him as the god of their idolatry, scruple not to admit that even his most regular pieces produce some scenes and passages, highly derogatory to his incomparable merit; that he frequently trifles, is now and then obscure, and sometimes, to gratify a vitiated age, indelicate.' While William Stanley in The Gentleman's Magazine for December 1791 asserts that 'we are every day growing more delicate, and, without doubt, at the same time, more virtuous; and shall, in a very short period, become the most refined and polite people in the world,' as well as expressing the hope that 'the reformation of our antient poets, and particularly of Shakespeare, I trust, will keep pace with the refinement of our manners and conversation.' To 'improve' Shakespeare, then, and thus fit him for the refinement of a more judicious age became part of the adapter's purpose and this he achieved in the two ways mentioned above; by illustrating the rewards of morality by a happy ending for the virtuous and by purging the text of any indelicacy, coarseness or profanity.

In the list of dramatis personae prefixed to Tate's version the King of France, the Duke of Burgandy, the Fool, the Old Man (tenant to Gloucester), the Doctor, Oswald and Curan have no place. Tate's play opens with the first line of Shakespeare's second scene. Edmund the Bastard is alone and after addressing Nature in Shakespeare's words launches immediately into two and a half lines of Tate which render more clearly but less vitally four lines of Shakespeare. In Shakespeare Edmund is active;..... 'Wherefore should I stand and permit' (Sh.Ii.2-3) while in Tate he is passive, 'Why am I then / Depriv'd' (Tate.I.2-3). This is an important point in all of the adaptations, that the tendency is to weaken the natural vigour of Shakespeare's language or else to replace it with violent rant. Similarly Edmund's fiery 'Why brand they us / With base? with baseness? bastardy? base, base?' (Sh.I.ii.9-10) is replaced by the meek, 'Why are we / Held base,' (Tate.I. 7-8). Already Edmund is a less forceful character than Shakespeare created. His assertion that more virility went to his conception than to that of the legitimate Edgar, echoing Gloucester's earlier remarks to Kent, is perhaps more delicately put by Tate, and less emphasised too since Gloucester's are cut from the ensuing conversation with Kent. There is little to offend propriety here. For Edmund's blunt 'I must have your land' (Sh.I.ii.16), Tate inserts 'to thy right / Of Law I will oppose a Bastard's Cunning' (Tate.I. 11-12), he is probably trying to underline the devious

subtlety of Edmund's mind, which he achieves with a noticeable lack of subtlety himself. In Shakespeare, when Edmund makes this speech, he has yet to practise on his father's credulity and the scene is played out before the audience echoing the deception of Lear by Goneril and Regan. In Tate Gloucester has already been incensed against Edgar and the dramatic value of Edmund's insincere protestations and gilded lies is largely lost. Gloucester enters with Kent, who has presumably been speaking on Edgar's behalf, and announces that he intends to reject his legitimate son. Certainly Tate gives the impression of rash judgement and stubbornness on Gloucester's part but the old man's description of Edmund as 'whoreson' (Sh.I.i.22) in Shakespeare's scene I is ridiculously inflated here by Tate into,

'Inverted Nature, Gloster's Shame and Glory,

This By-born, the wild sally of my Youth,' (Tate.I.37-8)

-- once again, anything but the blunt truth. In Tate Gloucester then makes a promise to Edmund, 'But I'll reward thy Vertue' (Tate.I.46); in Shakespeare Edmund has to wait until Act II scene I before Gloucester expresses himself in words which Tate had to simplify, 'and of my land / Loyal and natural boy, I'll work the means / To make thee capable. (Sh. II.i. 83-5). Only now, in Tate, is the subject of Lear and the division of the kingdom introduced. In Shakespeare the play opens with reference to the main event and a subtle implication that the king may be swayed with partiality. In Tate there is no such subtlety; (these adapters often appear to

have under-estimated the intelligence of their audience), Kent refers to Lear's 'wild starts of passion' (Tate.I.52) while Gloucester explains it as 'the Infirmity of his Age, / Yet has his Temper ever been unfixt, / Chol'rick and Suddain;' (Tate I.54-6).

Thus anatomized, the King enters, accompanied as in Shakespeare with the addition of a love-lorn Edgar and Burgundy who does not appear in the cast list and who apparently is not going to wait until sent for. Edgar speaks to Cordelia at the entrance and thus is introduced the love-theme which was to survive a hundred and fifty years of production. As has been mentioned earlier the introduction of a love-theme into drama was largely dictated by public taste, both in France and in England. The critics and scholars of the eighteenth century were not so certain that this was a good thing. Hurd deprecated the practice of introducing love into modern tragedy and recommended the Greek practice of taking as subjects events only of the grandest kind. He felt that love subjects lacked the dignity with which tragic action should be invested', while Joseph Warton had quoted Macbeth and Lear as examples of really great tragedies because they were free from love-scenes. (3. On the whole, however, critical pronouncements concerning the introduction of love were not as heated as those on other subjects and the critics had to accept a situation which they could not change. Edgar, then, in a 'pitiful' plea begs Cordelia to

(3. Discussed by Bosker, Criticism in the Age of Johnson.p.216 et seq.

cast 'one pitying Look' (Tate I.61) on him, Burgundy is already 'successfull' and 'happy', Edgar, as befits the suffering hero of melodrama is 'wretched'. If Edgar is wretched Cordelia is 'more Unfortunate' (Tate.I.63) and the favourite conflict of heroic drama is revealed in her statement that she 'in obedience to a Father's will / Flys from her Edgar's Arms to Burgundy's.' (Tate I.64-5). Lear's speech concerning his intentions is considerably shortened by Tate. He no longer -- with the fierce impatience it implies -- shakes 'all cares and business from [his] age', (Sh.I.i.37) but with late seventeenth-century niceness declares his intention 'to disengage from Our long Toil of State', (Tate.I.71) nor does Tate's old king intend to 'crawl towards death' (Sh.I.i.39) for this would not be a suitable manner for a majestic king to comport himself. His intentions, in Tate, do not explicitly state a hope to prevent future strife and he perhaps implies that in spending a long 'amorous sojourn' (Tate I.74) in his court neither Cornwall, Albany nor Burgundy is married. In explaining that 'we our largest bounty may extend / Where nature doth with merit challenge', (Sh.I.i.50-1) Shakespeare is obviously being too unnecessarily complicated for Tate who clarifies into 'that We may place / Our largest Bounty with the largest Merit' (Tate I.76-7). Coneril's speech of flattery is not altered in general purport although again it is simplified to the bare essentials -- 'I do love You more than words can utter', (Tate I.77) for 'I love you more than words can wield the matter.' (Sh.I.i.54). Cordelia's predicament is not expressed by

an aside at this point and so the audience cannot begin to assess her sincerity in comparison with her sisters' flattery; it is Tate's intention to base her conflict with her father not on her sincerity but on her love for Edgar. In Lear's description of Goneril's dower-lands Tate omits the phrase 'champains rich'd' with its dubious verb and for balance omits also the 'plenteous rivers', (Sh. I.i.64). Regan's speech of flattery is quite altered by Tate. In Shakespeare her words convey the glibness which Cordelia so well perceives (Sh.I.i.223) while in Tate her manner is more brusque and her tone less insinuating. Tate probably altered the lines for greater clarity; there was to be continued critical controversy over her 'square of sense' (Sh.I.i.73) while 'self-metal' and 'deed of love' are more complex, and incidentally more arresting, than Tate's 'My Sister, Sir, in part exprest my Love' (Tate.I.88). Again her sister's speech is followed by an aside from Cordelia in Shakespeare, (Sh.I.i.75). In Tate this aside follows Lear's brief gift of her portion to Regan. Cordelia's words in Tate reveal her distress at, but her firm intention of, tempting the king to leave her dowerless rather 'than condemn me / To loath'd Embraces' (Tate I. 96-7) thus her motives in angering the king are not wholly those of sincerity. Lear's invitation to his youngest daughter to speak does not refer to the rivalry of France and Burgundy for her love (Sh.I.i.83). Tate must have omitted this because he chose to exclude the king of France from the play altogether and because he found a reference to Burgundy unnecessary at this point, Edgar having

explained to the audience that the Duke is his rival in love. The dramatic value of Cordelia's 'Nothing my Lord' (Sh.I.i.86) is lost in Tate who feels that Cordelia must give some sort of explanation at once:

'Now must my love in words fall short of theirs
As much as it exceeds in Truth -- Nothing my Lord'.

(Tate.I.102-3).

In Shakespeare Lear is at first incredulous -- 'Nothing?' (Sh.I.i.87), in Tate he catches her meaning at once and replies immediately in the threatening tone which Shakespeare gave him two lines later, 'Nothing can come of Nothing, speak again.' (Tate.I.104). In Shakespeare, however, this 'can' is a 'will' and the whole force of the lines is therefore more particular and more threatening. However, since 'can' appears in the quartos Tate is possibly not deliberately altering here. To the late seventeenth century Cordelia's words, 'Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave / My heart into my mouth,' (Sh.I.i.90-1) literally imagined, would have been ridiculous; Tate therefore alters them to, 'Unhappy am I that I can't dissemble', (Tate I.105) similarly Cordelia says she loves her father 'as I ought' (Tate I.106) for Shakespeare's 'According to my bond'. Once again the incredulous tone of Lear -- 'How, how Cordelia?' (Sh.I.i.93) is replaced by a threat in Tate, 'Take heed Cordelia' (Tate I.108). The impression of Lear in Tate's exchanges is rather less of offended surprise and more of threatening dignity. Cordelia, too, is a different person; she is not Shakespeare's reserved yet

firmly-purposed creature; the intention of Tate's love-plot was partly to render her silence more probable and Cordelia has thus been given a selfish ulterior motive in tempting her father's anger. Cordelia's explanation that her love must go to her husband too is little altered from Shakespeare but Tate replaces 'you have begot me', (SH.I.i.95) with 'you gave me Being' (Tate I.112); perhaps a more 'tasteful' expression. Line 119 in Tate 'To Love my Father All' did not appear in the Folio which would seem to be another indication that he was using one of the corrupt quartos to work from. On the other hand at this stage in Shakespearean criticism the critics considered the most recent Folio to be the most authoritative rather than the earliest, and the most recent Folio for Tate would have been F3 of 1664. Thus were many mistakes and even absurdities perpetuated. In Tate Lear now explains that he is said to be 'Chol'rick' — presumably to make quite certain that the audience understands his hasty judgement, and now at last (Tate I.122-5) is revealed why Lear was so little surprised at Cordelia's replies; it has already been revealed to him that she loves 'the Rebel Son of Gloster'. In Shakespeare Lear's wrath suddenly reaches fulness as he casts her off, he swears by

'the sacred radiance of the sun,
The mysteries of Hecate and the night;
By all the operations of the orbs
From whom we do exist and cease to be.'

(Sh.I.i.108-111)

In Tate this grandeur is lost and, presumably for the sake of
of shortness Lear swears merely

'By the sacred Sun and solemn Night' (Tate I.131).

The unpleasant reference to the Scythians and to those who eat their children (Sh.I.i.115 et seq.) is excised from Tate as being offensive to good taste. Kent tries to speak. In Shakespeare he hardly opens his mouth before Lear silences him, (Sh.I.i.119) while in Tate he has time to explain to the audience, 'This is Frenzy' (Tate I.135). In Lear's following speech the wording rather than the meaning is altered by Tate. The King opens (in Tate) with, 'Come not between a Dragon and his Rage' while in Shakespeare the line reads 'the dragon and his wrath'. This alteration would exemplify firstly the wish to make such a remark of more general and universal application and secondly to replace the poetic word 'wrath' with the blunt 'rage'; Lear is not to be allowed the poetic grandeur which Shakespeare gives him. The king then explains, not that he thought to set his 'rest/On her kind nursery' (Sh.I.i.122), but 'to have bestow'd (his) Age at Ease' 'In her tender Trust' (Tate 140 & 139) again, the reference is made more general. In Shakespeare the rhythm of Lear's words is sundered as he calls first for France and Burgundy and then hands Cordelia's portion to her brothers-in-law (Sh.I.i.125-130); thus are his anger and his torn feelings emphasised. In Tate, however, his anger is not conveyed in the words; his purpose is coolly executed and in handing the coronet he does not reserve, as in Shakespeare, 'all th'addition to a King', but merely, 'The Name alone of King' (Tate I.149) and so his desire to keep all the pomp and circumstance without the

responsibilities of kingship is not so heavily underlined. With the example of Gorboduc before him, Shakespeare appreciated the heinous crime of neglecting kingly duties, while by Tate's time responsibility did not lie so heavily upon the sovereign anyway. Kent's speech to Lear (Sh.I.i.39-41) and the King's reply (Sh.I.i.42) are significantly altered by Tate. However, in giving Kent the words, 'No, let it fall and drench within my Heart' (Tate I.158) (referring to the arrow of Lear's anger) the adapter is making use of a word which was archaic in the meaning of 'drown' even in his day. (That it has not the significance of 'be saturated' is evident from the active sense in which it is used.) Tate may well be trying to emphasise the old-fashioned outlook of Kent, in his ideas of loyalty and honour which are far nobler than almost any other character of Shakespeare's and which are not really represented by the younger characters in Tate's version. Kent's indignant remonstrance with Lear in Shakespeare (I.i.143-153) is replaced in Tate by a heated exchange between the two which is typical of the heroic type of drama. Lear's attempt to stem the flood of Kent's indignation with 'On thy life no more' (Sh.I.i.154. Tate I.161) is answered in Tate by the transposed line, 'What wilt thou doe, old Man?' (Sh. 'wouldst') which in this place and thus worded bears more of contempt than the almost affectionate tone implied in its situation in the Shakespeare speech. Lear swears by Apollo in Shakespeare; true

to the movement from the particular, he swears 'by the gods' in Tate (Tate I.165). In Kent's bitter command to Lear, 'Kill thy physician and thy fee bestow/Upon the foul disease,' (Sh.I.i.62-3) the whole point of the metaphor is lost by Tate who omits the second part of it. When at last Lear gains the attention of Kent and pronounces judgement on him (Sh.I.i.165-73, Tate I.172-9), once again Tate does not alter the general meaning of the passage but certain details within it; Kent has 'striv'n' not 'sought' to make Lear break his vow he has 'prest' not 'come' between Lear's sentence and his power of executing it, in fact Tate seems to be making use of more strongly evocative verbs to make up for the vitality he lost in the quarrel between the two. In Shakespeare the particulars of Kent's banishment are named,

'Five days we do allot thee, for provision
To shield thee from diseases of the world,
And on the sixth to turn thy hated back
Upon our Kingdom.'

(Sh.I.i.172-5)

In Tate, once again, the reference is more general,

'We banish thee for ever from our Sight
and kingdom'.

(Tate I.176-7)

In Shakespeare Kent is given ten days to get away, In Tate, three. This is probably because the adapter felt the need to cut down the whole conception of the passing of time in the play, in closer accordance with the demands of the unity of time. Kent's farewell

speech, in Tate, is addressed exclusively to Lear. Kent says that he will not stay to see the King's fall -- the audience must be made fully aware of Lear's dangerous position -- and then, with a general wish that the gods will protect Cordelia, but making no remark to Goneril and Regan, he departs,

'Friendship lives Hence, and Banishment is Here.'

(Tate I.185)

Shakespeare has 'freedom' here for 'friendship' and although one can see the point which Tate most probably intended, that of underlining the rash judgement of an old friend by the king, he has altered Shakespeare's indication that a change has already taken place for the worse in Lear's kingdom. In both versions Kent departs at this point. In Shakespeare, Gloucester, who had departed with Edmund at line 33 to fetch the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, returns with them both and Cordelia is offered to them by her father. The scene is noteworthy for its contrasts; Lear's mind is made up, he has won one battle and his references to Cordelia are now blunt and cruel: 'But now her price is Fall'n', (Sh.I.i.196)' that little-seeming substance,' (Sh.I.i.192) and 'Dower'd with our curse and stranger'd with our oath,' (Sh.I.i.203). In contrast with this is the dilemma of Burgundy who is determined to remain courteous, and the rational common-sense of the King of France who is swayed neither by what only seems to be nor by monetary considerations. All this is lost

in Tate, including France's fair speech on accepting Cordelia and Lear's rude rejection of them both. Instead Tate has a brief exchange between Lear and Burgundy which may be quoted here to show how pale and insipid it appears beside Shakespeare:

Lear: Now Burgundy, you see her Price is faln,
 Yet if the fondness of your Passion still
 Affects her as she stands, Dow'rless, and lost,
 In our Esteem, she's yours, take her or leave her.

Burg: Pardon me, Royal Lear, I but demand
 The Dow'r your Self propos'd, and here I take
 Cordelia by the Hand, Dutchess of Burgundy.

Lear: Then leave her Sir, for by a Father's rage
 I tell you all her Wealth. Away.

Burg: Then Sir be pleas'd to charge the breach
 Of our Alliance on your own Will
 Not my Inconstancy.

(Tate I.186-97)

Obviously France's part is omitted because Tate did not wish to have Cordelia marry him while Lear's assessments of Cordelia for Burgundy are most probably cut for shortening the play.

In Shakespeare at line 265 all but France, Goneril, Regan and Cordelia leave the stage, while in Tate Edgar alone remains for a scene of agonised love with Cordelia. Lost from Shakespeare, then, is the farewell of Cordelia to her sisters with the increasing revelation of their characters, and the plotting between Goneril and Regan where Lear's freakish judgement is underlined and their determination to 'do something, and i'th'heat' is

revealed (Sh.I.i.305). In this exchange between the sisters is also indicated that Lear is to spend the following month with Goneril, to which no reference is made in Tate. Edgar's first speech here to Cordelia is a series of rhetorical questions intended to convey that he cannot believe his senses or his luck in having Cordelia left to him after all. Cordelia replies that she is thankful that her father's favour has not been lost by any fault in her and reconciles herself to leaving him by the hope that her sisters will treat him well. Edgar, however, is more concerned with his own immediate prospects and in fulsome simile he offends Cordelia by talking of love. She explains that with her broken fortunes she cannot stoop so low; Edgar immediately despairs in an elaborate 'Wave' and 'Wreck' metaphor while Cordelia explains in an aside, before leaving him, that Burgundy's baseness has thrown suspicion on the motives of all men, Edgar included, and that she will only love him if he prove constant. All this takes considerably from Shakespeare's Lear on several levels. In characterization Cordelia is represented more in the manner of a schemer than a high-principled lady while Edgar's manliness is lost in the fawning ingratiating and elaborate hyperbole which were conventional for the heroic lover. The poetry of the scene too is artificial and forced and wholly out of place in a play which is associated with the deepest emotions and most sublime poetry which drama has ever known. Edgar, however, is to enjoy no peace; no sooner has Cordelia left

him than Edmund appears and attempts to warn his brother of their father's fury. Edgar is completely lost in contemplation of Cordelia's last words to him and it is only after some misunderstanding that Edmund persuades him to fly. Tate touches Shakespeare once again with Edmund's short soliloquy (Sh.I.ii.70 et seq. Tate I.269) and then, with the entrance of Gloucester Tate jumps back to Shakespeare's I.ii.23. His father's demand to read Edmund's letter is rather less subtly contrived in Tate (Tate I.276) who omits also the play on 'nothing' with which Shakespeare echoes a previous father-child exchange. Edmund's explanation of the letter in Tate is that although he has not read it, fearing the contents, he was hiding it from Gloucester (Tate I.280-3); Shakespeare's Edmund has already read part of the letter and professes to find it unfit for his father's eyes (Sh.I.i.38). Once again Tate has removed subtlety from the character, although here Edgar's 'villainy' is already suspected. Edgar's letter is simplified, thus 'This policy and reverence of age makes the world bitter to the best of our times' (Sh.I.ii45-6) becomes 'This Policy of Fathers is intollerable' (Tate I.285). The general import of the letter is however, retained. Gloucester's reaction in Shakespeare is one of incredulity, he questions Edmund closely before sorrow and anger get the better of him and is prepared to have more proof, 'to be in a due resolution.' (Sh.I.ii.95). In Tate Shakespeare's fifty-four lines from the

letter to Gloucester's exit are conveyed by only thirteen; it is mainly on the level of character-revelation that these lines are missed, although the whole scene between Gloucester and Edmund in Shakespeare is also highly dramatically effective. Tate gives to Gloucester the reaction of heroic rant on appreciating the import of Edgar's supposed letter, 'Death and Hell:' (Tate I.292) while his wish for vengeance is expressed in a manner suited to the most blood-thirsty of audiences:

'wind me into him
That I may bite the Traytor's heart, and fold
His bleeding Entrails on my vengefull Arm'

(Tate I.293-5).

Gloucester's parting references to cosmic disturbances are welded by Shakespeare to fit both his credulous character and to find reference within the actual events of the play. In Tate Shakespeare's fourteen lines become six and the whole point of the speech is lost since Tate also denies Edmund the chance to soliloquise on his father's foolish astrology and thus to exhibit a further trait in his own character -- 'I should have been that I am had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing' (Sh.I.ii.124-5). The rest of Shakespeare's scene two, that of Edmund's warning of his brother, Tate has already included -- or such of it as he chose.

Shakespeare's scene three is a short scene and is totally omitted by Tate, thus the audience never really learns from him that Lear and his attendants are with Goneril and there is also therefore

no previous explanation for the later negligence of 'one of Gonerill's Gentlemen', (Tate I. after 1.329). Without any indication, therefore, of change of scene Kent enters, as in Shakespeare, 'disguis'd' and in three lines explains who he is and that he intends to serve Lear, where in Shakespeare in seven lines he explains also that he has changed his accent with his dress and that he is to serve Lear because he loves him. In Shakespeare Lear's entry is magnificent; 'Let me not stay a jot for dinner; go get it ready,' (Sh.I.iv.8) whereas in Tate he merely enters making some poor explanation of where he is to the audience; 'In there, and tell our Daughter we are here/Now;' (Tate I.314) without any real indication of where 'here' is. In both he then turns to the disguised Kent and questions him and in both Kent replies with the same catalogue of his attributes, except that in Tate he does not mention that he fears judgement. Tate must have been interpreting this as meaning that Kent was afraid of coming before a judge, i.e. in some way guilty, rather than that he fears the Last Judgement and is therefore a man of piety. Kent is intended as an eminently virtuous man and therefore no contradictions of character must be allowed. His exchanges with Lear which give a foretaste of the bluntness which is later to cause him trouble are drastically reduced by Tate who most likely considered them as rather impertinent to the king's majesty and unnecessary to the general thread of the play. The Fool is to be omitted from the play and therefore there is no peremptory command for his presence by Lear.

The presence of the Fool in the play formed the centre of some of the fiercest arguments in an age notable for fierce argument. The whole problem concerned the mixture of the tragic and comic genres which scholars interpreted Aristotle and Horace as forbidding for violating the laws of propriety. In 1693 in A Short View of Tragedy Rymer wrote of Shakespeare, 'To him a Tragedy in Burlesk, a merry Tragedy was no Monster, no absurdity, nor at all preposterous: all colours are the same to a Blind Man,' while by 1709 in Some account of the Life etc. of Mr. William Shakespeare, Rowe, while acknowledging the strictures of the critics over comedy in tragedy saw that 'the generality of our audiences seem to be better pleas'd with it than with an exact tragedy'. The common-sense view waited for Johnson's Preface to his Edition in 1765 before it was expressed,

Shakespeare's plays are not in the rigorous and critical sense either comedies or tragedies, but compositions of a distinct kind; exhibiting the real state of sublunary nature, which partakes of good and evil, joy and sorrow, mingled with endless variety of proportion and innumerable modes of combinations; and in expressing the course of the world; in which, at the same time, the loss of one is the gain of the other.

In his article on 'Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin' (4. R.C.Bald) states that any of the Fool's speeches which smacked of bawdiness were ~~cut~~, which would imply that his part had not been completely excised in Ireland at any rate, at the end of the century,

although doubtless London led the way in matters of dramatic propriety. Certainly the Fool was not seen while the shadow of Tate lay across representations of the play, although that popular knowledge of his mere existence did not die completely is shown by the Advertisement to Bell's (1773) Edition in the Monthly Review for 1774 (p.144) in which the reviewer writes 'it is a matter of great question with us, whether the Fool in Lear was not a more general favorite than the old monarch himself.' It was in 1777, however, in Morgann's 'Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff' which heralded new approaches in criticism of Shakespeare, that the modern evaluation of the Fool was first expressed,

There is besides a species of writing for which we have no term of art, and which holds a middle place between nature and magic;

I mean where fancy either alone, or mingled with reason, or reason assuming the appearance of fancy, govern some real existence: but the whole of this art is pourtrayed in a single play: in the real madness of Lear, in the assumed madness of Edgar and is the Professional Fantasque of the Fool, all operating to contrast and heighten each other.

However, although the value of the Fool's part to the play may have been realised sooner by the discerning few he was not

restored to the play until 1838 when Macready had him played at Covent Garden by a woman, one Priscilla Horton. (5.

In Tate 'One of Gonerill's Gentlemen' now enters, who here is to serve the part of Shakespeare's Oswald. He duly ignores a questioning remark from Lear, although not Lear's request for Goneril as in Shakespeare. (I.iv.43) 'What says the fellow?' calls Lear, in both plays, and in Tate, 'Call the Clatpole back' (Sh. 'clotpoll'). In his Shakespeare Adaptations Montague Summers perceives that this 'Clatpole' is as the quartos read and here, therefore, is a third indication that Tate was not writing exclusively from a Folio. The Gentleman departs and in Tate 'Kent runs after him'. Of the exchange between Lear and a Knight in which not only is Lear's autocracy and his consciousness of dignity revealed, but also it is explicitly stated that Goneril and her household have become guilty of 'a most faint neglect of late' (Sh.I.iv,65), twenty-nine lines are cut to seven in Tate in which the very barest bones of Shakespeare's are laid bare.

(5. F.Pollock (ed.), Macready's Reminiscences. vol.ii,p.97)

5 January 1838. 'Speaking to Wilmott and Bartley, about the part of the Fool in 'Lear', and mentioning my apprehensions that, with Meadows, we should be obliged to omit the part, I described the sort of fragile, hectic, beautiful-faced boy that he should be, and stated my belief that it could never be acted. Bartley observed that a woman should play it. I caught at the idea, and instantly exclaimed Miss. P.Horton is the very person. I was delighted at the thought.'

Once again Tate was most probably thinking that any seeming superfluity of expression here could be cut to make room for the later insertions he proposed to make. Kent returns with Goneril's Gentleman, and Lear, enraged by his insolent reply to the question 'Now, who am I sir?' strikes him at once, without Shakespeare's additional imprecations, 'You whoreson dog! you slave! you cur!' (Sh.I.iv. 77-8) which Tate perhaps felt unbecoming in a King. The Gentleman does not beseech Lear's pardon as the fawning Oswald does in Shakespeare, instead he is immediately tripped by Kent who rather than 'you base foot-ball player' -- which would have been perhaps more puzzling to a seventeenth-century reader than to a modern one -- calls him a 'vile Civet-box', more immediately comprehensible to the partly dandified audience Tate was writing for. In Tate Goneril has entered to witness the striking and tripping of her servant. Now then are ninety lines omitted from Shakespeare. In these lines the affectionate side of Lear's nature is revealed, the folly of his actions is emphasised in the jesting of the Fool, and once again the precarious situation of the King and his followers is revealed. All the subtleties of echo and premonition are lost in Tate, apart from the dramatic possibilities of the scene; and all this because Tate and his contemporaries were too blinded by misconceptions and self-sufficiency to appreciate Shakespeare's pre-eminence as a dramatic artist. Goneril does not wait, in Tate, for a question from her father and a taunt from the

Fool, before speaking, but seeing her servant tripped, expostulates, 'By Day and Night this is insufferable,/I will not bear it.' (Tate I.345-6). Lear questions her frown here in Shakespeare with 'Methinks you are too much of late i'th' frown;' (Sh.I.iv.183) which is a more familiar expression than Tate's 'do's that Frown become our Presence?' (Tate I.348) whereby perhaps the adapter was hoping to make up for the omission of scenes implying Lear's consciousness of his dignity. Goneril's protest to her father is not altered by Tate in meaning although in details he modernises and 'clarifies'; thus 'rank and not to be endured riots' (Sh.I.iv.196) becomes 'unseemly' 'quarrels bred by their unbounded Riots,' (Tate I.351) while her typically 'oily' euphemisms in Shakespeare:

'the fault

Would not 'scape censure, nor the redresses sleep,
Which, in the tender of a wholesome weal,
Might in their working do you that offence,
Which else were shame, that then necessity
Will call discreet proceeding.'

(Sh.I.iv 201-206)

become in Tate merely,

'And therefore, Sir, I take this freedom, which
Necessity makes Discreet.'

(Tate I.355-6)

If it were not for the fact that Tate is concerned with simplifying and shortening, oblivious of all detractions from character-revelation, one might suspect him of simply not understanding Shakespeare's words here. Tate keeps Lear's incredulous 'Are you our Daughter?' but again modernises Goneril's reply, 'I would you would make use of that

good wisdom/Whereof I know you are fraught,' (Sh.I.iv.212-3) which becomes, 'let me entreat you to make use/Of your discretion,' (Tate I.358-9). In both versions Lear responds with a series of questions signifying his utter disbelief in the whole situation, including his own being. From this speech Tate omits but two lines, sadly, since these are part of Lear's commencement of questioning his own sanity and are vital to the understanding of the inter-connection of his states of mind. The lines are:

'Either his notion weakens, his discernings
Are lethargied -- Ha! waking? 'tis not so.'

(Sh.I.iv.221-2)

Surely Tate was as lacking as a psychologist as a stage-craftsman. Goneril's reply in Tate once again is only altered in minor details from Shakespeare although there appears to be a misprint, or rather an omission, at line 373 where it reads' by her that else will take

The she begs.' -- which is 'the thing she begs' in Shakespeare (Sh.I.iv.241). The next twenty-one lines of Shakespeare in which Lear's unbounded fury breaks out are condensed into a milder ten by Tate. Goneril is not the unseemly 'Degenerate bastard' of Shakespeare but a 'Viper', which loses the emphasis on unfilial behaviour which is the mainspring of the play. Tate does not have Albany enter at this point, probably feeling that neatness demanded that Lear should enumerate his wrongs first without flinging asides

at his son-in-law at the same time. The beautiful rhythm of Shakespeare's, 'O most small fault,/How ugly didst thou in Cordelia show,' (Sh.I.iv.260-1) which cannot be read without an intonation of torment, becomes in Tate 'How small, Cordelia, was thy Fault?' (Tate I.384). Again, the horrifying 'Oh, Lear, Lear, Lear,' becomes a sigh, 'Oh Lear', in Tate. At the first moment of crisis Tate's ineptitude as a poet becomes added to his failure as a dramatist and a psychologist. As Lear is departing he meets the entering Albany who is certainly made to appear confused, but whose first words are not the sympathetic 'pray sir, be patient' (Sh.I.iv.255), but a startled 'What Sir?' (Tate I.388). Tate now inverts Shakespeare's scene. Goneril tells Albany to give Lear's dotage way, then follows part of the speech Lear makes on his final exit in Shakespeare (Sh.I.iv.290-304). Of this Tate omits Lear's reference to his tears, possibly because wrath but not any weaker emotion is befitting a king and he omits any reference to Regan as being an alternative possibility for Lear and his followers. This may be because he also omits Shakespeare's dialogue between Goneril and Oswald in which the latter is sent to Regan with warning of Lear's approach. With suitable classical connotation Goneril is referred to as a 'Gorgon' before Lear utters the nameless threat:

... 'thou shalt find
That I'll resume the Shape which thou dost think
I have cast off for ever.'

(Sh.I.iv.302-90. Tate I.398-400)

Then, presumably to make a grand finale to the first Act, Tate reproduces the curse which Lear has made thirty-seven lines earlier in Shakespeare -- 'Hear Nature!' (Sh.I.iv.289). Tate alters the order of phrasing of his first two lines in order to render the metre more regular. He omits the line 'Dry up in her the organs of increase' (Sh.I.iv.273), possibly as repeating the idea of the previous line which he has altered from 'into her womb convey sterility', to 'Pronounce upon her Womb the Barren Curse' -- an altogether more ponderous and pompous request but one which Tate probably felt increased the weight of the curse. He alters 'derogate 'body' (Sh.I.iv.274) to 'blasted Body' (Tate I.406); a meaning which Dr. Johnson later gave the word. In Shakespeare Lear is really calling for some unnaturally-minded child to be born to his daughter -- 'create her child of spleen' (Sh.I.iv.276), Tate, possibly misreading 'disnatured', calls forth physical horrors for Lear's grandchild:

'Defeat her Joy with some distorted Birth,
Or monstrous Form, The Prodigy o'th'Time'

(Tate I.408-9)

Although in Lear's mind unnatural ingratitude is the more horrific aspect, Tate probably felt that physical deformity is the more immediately shocking and therefore more effective. He alters the order of phrasing in the next two lines, again from metrical considerations, while 'cadent tears' (Sh.I.iv.279) becomes 'constant Tears' (Tate I.412), possibly an emendation for the Quartos' 'accent'

which is meaningless in this context. True to the contemporary desire that evil should see the error of its ways, Tate's Lear's curse is for the purpose of making his daughter ultimately 'curse her Crime too late' (Tate I.414) as well as the immortal 'that she may feel/How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is/To have a thankless child.' (Tate I.414-6. Sh.I.iv.281-3). Goneril's fierce justification of herself in Shakespeare:

'This man hath had good counsel! a hundred knights!
'Tis politic and safe to let him keep
At point a hundred knights! Yes, that on every dream,
Each buzz, each fancy, each complaint, dislike,
He may enguard his dotage with their powers
And hold our lives in mercy.'
(Sh.I.iv.317-322)

becomes in Tate

'Presuming thus upon his numerous Train
He thinks to play the Tyrant here, and hold
Our lives at will.'

(Tate I.417-9).

Presumably Tate did not wish to take the weight from Lear's lines by giving any rhetoric to Goneril. Finally the mild Albany replies, in Shakespeare 'Well, you may fear too far', meaning that she is perhaps over-estimating the danger her father represents; in Tate he is given, 'Well, you may bear too far', which at best is ambiguous -- meaning either that one can, indeed, tolerate too much, or else that Goneril is bearing (malice) too far against her father.

The two interpretations would shed two different lights on Albany's character. Tate omits Goneril's despatch of Oswald to Regan and Shakespeare's fifth scene in which Kent is sent by Lear to the Earl of Gloucester and, of course, the dialogue between Lear and the Fool which culminates in, 'O let me not be mad, not mad sweet heaven!

Keep me in temper; I would not be made!

(Sh.I.v.43-4)

which again is important in the development of the King's insanity. And so ends Tate's first Act, a summary of the main points of which will be considered at the end of the study of the play.

Both Tate's Act II and Shakespeare's open with Edmund at Gloucester's house. Eighteen lines in Shakespeare between Edmund and Curan, in which it is explained that Cornwall and Regan are about to arrive, that rivalry is afoot between Cornwall and Albany and that Edmund is still practising his designs upon his brother are reduced to two in Tate:

The Duke comes here tonight, I'll take advantage
Of his arrival to compleat my project'.

On Edgar's appearance Edmund urges speed upon his brother, firing questions to confuse him. Tate himself appears to have been confused too and therefore has to clarify the situation. Shakespeare's 'Have you nothing said/Upon his party 'gainst the Duke of Albany?' becomes in Tate 'bethink ye/Have not spoke against the Duke of Cornwall/
Something might show you a favourer of/Duke Albany's party?' (Tate II.6-8).

In Tate Edgar's honesty has to be underlined and so he determines to stay and clear himself, but he is persuaded that his father's anger is too great, and departs. The dramatic value of Edmund's commands, 'Draw: seem to defend yourself,' (Sh.I.i.30) and his double dialogue,

'Yield! come before my father! -- Light, ho, here! --
Fly, brother! -- Torches, torches! -- So farewell.'

(Sh.i.31-2)

is largely lost in Tate in whom the whole confusion of the scene is lessened, most probably to make Edmund's actions perfectly clear to the audience. Gloucester enters with servants and in Shakespeare Edmund's imagination runs riot:

'Here stood he in the dark, his sharp sword out,
Mumbling of wicked charms, conjuring the moon
To stand auspicious mistress.'

(Sh.II.i.37-9)

while Tate cuts out these unnecessary lines and conveys merely the irrelevant remark that Edgar 'Stood here i'th'Dark'. In Shakespeare Edmund has to draw his father's attention to his wound which Gloucester ignores, having no real affection for this son. In Tate, although oddly punctuated, Gloucester remarks that Edmund is wounded: 'Thou bleed'st, pursue the Villain.....' (Tate II.26) while the following forty-one lines of Shakespeare are rendered by nine in Tate. Lost is Edmund's assertion that Edgar had been persuading him to kill their father, that he, Edmund, had been

piously preaching against parricide, that, while defenceless, Edgar had attacked him, that Edgar had sworn that no-one would believe Edmund's story even should he produce Edgar's handwriting, because Edmund stood to gain so much from his brother's death. This tremendous subtlety and cunning, this insight into his father's nature, all this is lost in Tate wherein is a mere paraphrase of Gloucester's determination to seek his son under the patronage of Cornwall. There can be only one explanation of Tate's omission of these lines; he did not consider that the light they pour on Edmund's character was of sufficient value when contrasted with the scenes he proposed to add later and there was not room for both. A certain fact is that the vogue for the heroic in drama at the time called not for subtle character-revelation but for plenty of action -- especially in the fields of love and conflict. Edmund and Gloucester depart, and with the entrance of Kent and Goneril's Gentleman Tate is embarking on what is scene ii in Shakespeare. Their dialogue opens much as in Shakespeare but Tate is soon toning down Kent's voluble description of Oswald, leaving out the references which would not have been immediately clear -- 'three-suited', 'hundred pound', 'worsted-stocking', 'action-taking', 'one-trunk inheriting', and replaces the 'bawd in way of good service' with the more modern and exact 'pimp'. There follows in both plays a reference to the time that has passed; it is 'but two days since [I] tript up thy heels before the king' (Tate II.54). It is plain that Tate is not particularly worried about adhering to the unities, either of time or of place, while by introducing the love-theme he is also departing from the unity of action. Kent's accusation

of the Gentleman and his drawing upon him are maintained much as in Shakespeare except that Kent calls him 'Peacock' and 'Puppet' and 'dapper slave' (rather than Shakespeare's 'rogue', 'slave' and 'neat slave')(Sh.II.i.37-8. Tate II.62-3) which Tate probably felt came closer to the Gentleman's character but which is not what Kent is beating him for. Tate then returns to the second half of Shakespeare's first scene. Cornwall, Regan, Edmund and Gloucester enter; in Shakespeare the repetition of his son's supposed treachery rends old Gloucester's heart:

'Oh madam, my old heart is crack'd — it's crack'd'

(Sh.II.190)

while Tate's Gloucester reveals no such sensibilities, dwelling rather on Edmund's hurt. There is no mention of Edgar as Lear's godson, and no lying affirmation by Edmund that his brother has been consorting with Lear's knights who have corrupted him. It is Regan, who in Tate has not yet handed her authority over to Cornwall, who offers her authority for the apprehension of Edgar and it is she who binds Edmund to their party with a knowing aside to the audience as an earnest of love-interest to follow: 'A charming Youth and worth my further Thought.' (Tate II.79). In Tate Regan has not yet received her sister's letter and therefore does not have this as an excuse for her visit to Gloucester's home. Cornwall, then, with great joviality but without carrying a great deal of conviction, explains:

Lay comforts, noble Gloster, to your Breast,
As we to ours, This Night be spent in Revels,
We choose you, Gloster, for our Host to Night,
A troublesome expression of our Love.

(Tate II.80-3).

With the entrance of the Gentleman pursued by Kent at this point Tate returns to Shakespeare's Act II.ii, where Edmund draws his rapier to part them. In Shakespeare Regan is able to recognise them since Oswald has already delivered his message and presumably also mentioned Kent; in Tate the recognition of the two is given to an attendant. In his abuse of the Gentleman, Tate's Kent still emphasises his foppery -- 'Thou Essence Bottle!' (Tate II.97) while in Shakespeare Kent's vituperation is rather more earthy: 'Thou whoreson zed! thou unnecessary letter!' (Sh.II.ii 59). Kent explains his anger with Oswald in Shakespeare by expressing the untrustworthiness and wavering loyalty of 'such smiling rogues as these' (Sh.II.ii68) in thirteen lines, while in Tate four lines suffice in a rather watery fashion. The details of the Shakespeare speech are conveyed in the line of Tate that such should 'have no Courage, Office and no Honesty.' (Tate II.104) while the magnificent 'Goose, if I had you upon Sarum plain/I'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot' (Sh.II.ii.78-9), is omitted completely. In 'Not Frost and Fire hold more Antipathy/Than I and such a Knave,' (Tate II.105-6) Tate is perhaps hoping to make up for this previous omission in so boldly rendering Shakespeare's 'No contraries hold more antipathy/Than I and such a knave.' (Sh.II.ii 82-3). Kent's observation that such plainness is his occupation is altered by Tate to 'Plain-dealing is my Trade,' (Tate II.110) which he probably felt to be a blunter expression. Cornwall's reply, full of sarcasm, and Kent's mock-flattery in inflated hyperbole as well as his plain statement

that Cornwall has been deceived by Oswald -- these are omitted by Tate. Instead the skeleton of Cornwall's speech is given to Regan. The sarcasm is omitted and, naturally, also the abhorrent (to seventeenth and eighteenth-century scholars) double comparative - 'more corrupter', while Shakespeare's neat 'silly-duckling ob-servants' (Sh.II.ii.98) becomes in Tate ('cringing, complementing Minions', (Tate II.117) (presumably 'complimenting' is intended) which is perhaps more explicit if less evocative. Oswald's own explanation of the tripping incident is expressed with the same meaning but in different words by Tate. His intention was obviously to clarify the somewhat obscure phrasing of Shakespeare's passage. Kent's bitter remark that such brave, blunt men as Ajax are always the butt for a rogue's tricks (Sh.II.ii.119-20) is excised, presumably as being particular and unnecessary. Tate maintains Shakespeare's wording in the bringing of the stocks and in Kent's protest'. He writes 'Bring forth the Stocks' for 'Fetch' but such minor changes may well be due to an error in his transcription. Cornwall's remark that their sister (Goneril) speaks of such a fellow is omitted from Tate, this would be because in Tate they have not yet been given the letter. The whole of Gloucester's protest at the stocking is only in the quartos, one of which Tate may have been using; his words only convey the import of the Folio lines: that Lear will correct Kent and will be most offended is his servant is punished. The Tate lines have been altered slightly from Shakespeare's no doubt to avoid the possibility of a confusion

of 'he' and 'him'. Regan's reply is given to Cornwall, When the others depart, Gloucester remains behind to express his sorrow to Kent. In Shakespeare he describes the Duke's disposition as one which 'Will not be rubb'd nor stépp'd' (Sh.II.ii.150) which Warburton saw as a metaphor from bowling. Obscure metaphors were not favoured however by clear-thinking rationalists and so in Tate Gloucester's words of Cornwall become 'Whose Disposition will not be controll'd' (Tate II.147). Kent's reply in both versions is the same, except that Tate omits the difficult line, 'A good man's fortunes may grow out at heels,' (Sh.II.ii.153) and alters 'Give you good morrow!' (Sh.II.ii.154) to 'Fare-well t'ye, Sir.' (Tate II.152). The editor Schmidt (cited by Furness p.130) states that the phrase 'give you' was a greeting used only by common people; if this were known to Tate he presumably felt that it was unsuited to Kent, despite his disguise. Gloucester's aside in Shakespeare laying blame on Cornwall and fearing the King's reaction is omitted from Tate who perhaps felt it was unnecessary, although it does shed clear light on Gloucester's predicament, involved as his loyalties are in both camps. Kent's soliloquy (in Shakespeare) of fourteen lines becomes four in Tate, where the obscure and much-discussed reference to the 'common saw'

'Thou out of heaven's benediction comest
To the warm sun!'

(Sh.II.ii.157-8)

is omitted as is also any mention of a letter from Cordelia with the confused lines referring to it. His invocation of sleep is added to by

Tate with 'I feel the drowsy Guest steal on me;' (Tate II.154) and 'this kind Slumber' which he probably felt rendered more clearly and elegantly the fact that Kent was sleepy. Kent's final 'Fortune, good night; smile once more, turn thy wheel!' (Sh.II.ii.169) is also omitted from Tate who most likely saw the pagan idea of man as influenced by Fortune as inimical to self-determination and rational action.

Kent sleeps, and as he sleeps the hunted Edgar enters in both plays and announces that he has escaped by hiding in a hollow tree. Tate alters '..... no place/That guard and most unusual vigilance/Does not attend my taking,' (Sh.II.iii.3-5) to '.... no place/Where Guards and most unusual Vigilance/Do not attend to take me' (Tate II.159-61) probably feeling that this was rendering the lines with more grammatical correctness. However, in Tate Edgar now contemplates the easy possibility of suicide. (---- 'how easie now/'Twere to defeat the malice of my Trale,/And leave my Griefs on my Sword's reeking Point.' This 'Trale' must be an example of an otherwise unrecorded form of 'trail', 'a body ... of ... persons ... following in the wake of.')(N.E.D.) He restrains himself only by the thought of Cordelia's distress which he may yet have opportunity to alleviate. His words are artificial:

'Who knows but the white minute yet may come
When Edgar may do service to Cordelia,
That charming Hope still ties me to the Oar
Of painfull Life, and makes me too, submit
To th'humblest shifts to keep that Life a foot;'

(Tate II.167-71)

and one is aware that it is Tate himself who is speaking, justifying

Once again his inclusion of the love-theme. In Shakespeare he determines:

'My face I'll grime with filth,
Blanket my loins, elf all my hair in knots,
And with presented nakedness outface
The winds and persecutions of the sky.'

(Sh.II.iii.9-12)

which gives place in Tate to merely 'My face I will besmear and knit my Locks'. (Tate II.173). The adapter most probably did not like either the reference to the fairies' work of hair-tangling or Edgar's determination to present himself virtually naked. His description of wandering Bedlamites is not significantly altered by Tate although the final, 'Edgar I nothing am' (Sh.II.iii.21), becomes 'Edgar I am no more', (Tate II.181) a grammatically clearer remark and one which also does away with what is not a perfect end-rhyme. ('Tom! am.' Sh.II.iii.20-21) Edgar departs and Lear enters, in Shakespeare accompanied by the Fool. The questions and explanations between Kent and his master are very little altered by Tate. An interesting alteration, however, is in the description of Oswald's arrival; in Shakespeare it is,

'came there a reeking post,
Stew'd in his haste, half breathless, panting forth.'

(Sh.II.iv.29-30)

which becomes in Tate,

'arriv'd another Post,
Steer'd in his haste, breathless and panting forth'.

(Tate II.199).

Tate obviously did not like the crude description of a sweating

messenger (6.) but his use of the word 'steer'd' is interesting. If it were not that it appears to be the passive form of a verb, the word 'steer' (OHG stiuri: proud, strong) (7.) as being staunch and strong would give good sense, as well as being another example of Kent's use of archaism. However 'steer' used generally of a ship is 'to guide' or 'direct' but in an extended sense also means 'to shape one's course'. It is here, however, passive and the meaning must therefore be that the messenger's haste directed him in his journey to Regan. The use of such a word at all may have been influenced by the sound of Shakespeare's word 'stew'd'. In using Shakespeare's words Kent also explains that he had, in fact, seen Regan before his quarrel with the Gentleman and so the fact that Regan earlier needed an explanation as to who he was is not accounted for. There would seem to exist a contradiction here, explained by Tate's copying directly from Shakespeare without due reference to his own altered plot. Lear's reaction to Kent's disgrace in Tate is not as passing off the swelling of his heart in indignation on the

(6. cf. William Stanley writing in The Gentleman's Magazine over a hundred years later (December 1791), 'Whatever is uncouth and gross today, must have been so at all times, and therefore (for I will not keep the reader longer in suspense) it is demonstrably clear, that the true reading of the line in Hamlet is, 'To groan, perspire, under a weary life.'

(7. From A New English Dictionary, ed. Murray et al.

disease 'Mother' or 'Hysterica Passio' but to refer to it as his 'spleen' (Tate II.213) with 'down thou climbing Rage' (Sh. 'sorrow' II.iv.55). Once again Lear is represented as driven more by anger than by sorrow. Upon Lear's asking for his daughter, Regan, Kent explains that she is 'Within, Sir, at a Masque', thus verifying Cornwall's explanation of their stay with Gloucester as well as emphasising their merry-making within while others suffer outside. There is no conversation between Kent and the Fool while Lear goes into the house; instead Gloucester enters at once and Lear speaks to him in Shakespeare's words, which is the height of absurdity. In Shakespeare Lear's words to Gloucester follow a conversation they are presumed to have had within the house;

'Deny to speak with me? They are sick? they are weary?
They have travelled all the night? Mere fetches,
Fetch me a better answer.'

(Sh.II.iv.33-7)

but to address them to a Gloucester who has not even spoken is purely laughable. The conversation which follows between Gloucester and Lear is very little altered by Tate. The King is made to cut Gloucester short before he can explain of Cornwall: 'How unremovable and fix'd he is/In his own course,' (Sh.II.iv.89-90). Also Gloucester is made to say that he has already informed Regan and Cornwall that their father would speak with them although he does not appear to have had any opportunity of doing so. Of Lear's speech concerning

'the hot Duke' and his wife, Tate omits the lines, 'we are not ourselves/When nature being oppressed commands the mind/To suffer with the body.' (Sh.II.iv.103-5) which shows an interesting insight in the old man whose mind is so soon to suffer with his body; Tate could not have perceived the irony of the words coming from Lear. In Shakespeare Lear makes a great effort to be patient, seeing the folly of impetuosity, 'I'll forbear;/And am fall'n out with my more headier will' (Sh.II.iv. 105-6). Tate, however, while omitting the despised double comparative, and expressing the same meaning more simply, makes Lear seem ^{to} abase himself even further;

'I beg his Pardon, and I'll chide my Rashness'

(Tate II.236).

Tate alters the order of phrasing in Shakespeare's lines 108-9 to render the metre more exact. Shakespeare's lines 110-111 'That this remotion of the duke and her/Is practice only.' become in Tate, 'That this Retiredness of the Duke and her/Is plain Contempt;'. Tate obviously read 'remotion' as 'non-appearance' and inserted his ugly 'Retiredness' (a word very common in the seventeenth century according to the New English Dictionary) so that there should be no doubt, and while in the clarifying mood, ejected 'practice' for a word which does not mean the same thing but whose meaning is in no doubt. Similarly, at Shakespeare's line 113 'presently' is replaced by 'instantly', except that here the two words mean the same thing.

Shakespeare's brief exchange between Lear and the Fool is, naturally, omitted from Tate, and once again the efforts of the King to keep his patience are missed; 'Oh me, my heart, my rising heart! But down.' (Sh. II. iv. 117). In Shakespeare Gloucester then returns with Cornwall and Regan while in Tate they appear unbidden and Lear greets them with the terse, 'Oh! are ye come?' (Shakespeare: 'Good morrow to you both' 122) Cornwall's reply of 'Hail to your grace,' (Sh. II. iv. 123) is modernised to 'Health to the King', by Tate (Tate II. 246). The first line of Lear's reply to Regan's greeting is shortened by one syllable in Tate to render the metre perfect while he seems to make nonsense of Lear's, 'if thou shouldst not be glad, / I would divorce me from thy mother's tomb, / Sepulchring an adulteress.' (Sh. II. iv. 126-8). Nothing could be clearer than this, yet Tate omits the last half-line and turns the remark into a question; (at least a question-mark is added to it), 'should'st thou not be glad / I would divorce me from thy Mother's Tomb?' (Tate II. 249-50). Tate could not have understood Shakespeare's meaning. He does not remark upon Kent's release from the stocks, although instructions are given for it in the margin, and in Lear's explanation of Goneril's behaviour Tate inserts a line and a half to Shakespeare — 'thou wilt shake to hear / What I shall utter: Thou couldst ne'r ha' thought it,' (Tate II 252-3) possibly wishing to replace Lear's incoherence and his disjointed phrases with more 'polished' lines.

Shakespeare's line '.... sharp-tooth'd unkindness, like a vulture here!' (Sh.II.iv.131) becomes in Tate, 'Ingratitude like a keen Vulture here,' (Tate II 254) which he may have felt to be literally correct since vultures do not have teeth, but the rhythm of which is ugly and the effect weak beside Shakespeare's line. Regan's reply remains in Tate as well as her vindication of her sister's action (Sh.II.iv.137-41 & 142-48) although Lear's ironical mock speech to 'Goneril' has the initial line 'No, no, 'twas my mistake thou didst not mean so,' (Tate II,272) added to it; a comma would seem to be needed after 'mistake' for a more meaningful reading of lines which Tate most likely felt expressed a necessary reference to her previous behaviour. The final line and a half are altered by Tate from the painful sarcasm of, 'On my knees I beg/That you'll vouchsafe me raiment, bed and food', (Sh.II.iv.151-2) to 'but thou art good,/And wilt dispense with my Infirmity.' (Tate II,274-5) (where 'dispense with' bears the now obsolete connotation of 'disregard'). Tate alters these lines from the particularities of Shakespeare to the general and consequently 'better' expression quoted. Regan's 'these are unsightly tricks' (Sh.II.iv.153) becomes in Tate, 'no more of these unsightly passions,' (Tate II,276) possibly a more refined way of expressing the same thing. In both versions Lear refuses to return to Goneril, in similar terms. In Shakespeare she has 'strook me with her tongue/Most serpent-like, upon the very heart', (Sh.II.iv.156-7) which is contracted in Tate to 'stabb'd me with her Tongue;' (Tate II,280) while 'her ingrateful top,' (Sh.II.iv.159) is modernised to 'Ingratefull head' by Tate (Tate II, 282). Shying from Shakespeare's dubious compound adjective, 'tender-

-hefted' Tate rewrites Shakespeare's lines 168-9 ('Thy tender-hefted nature shall not give/Thee o'er to harsh-ness') as 'Thy tender Nature cannot give thee o're/To such Impiety'; the half-line altered since, with the excision of Shakespeare's next five lines, the metre had to be re-adjusted. These five lines:

'Her eyes are fierce but thine
Do comfort and not burn. 'Tis not in thee
To grudge my pleasures, to cut off my train,
To bandy hasty words, to scant my sizes,
And in conclusion to oppose the bolt
Against my coming in.'

(Sh. II. iv. 169-74)

are most probably omitted since they are but particular enumerations of the following lines which Tate includes,

'Thou better knowst
The offices of nature, bond of childhood,
Effects of courtesy, dues of gratitude;
Thy half o' th' kingdom hast thou not forgot
Wherein I thee endowed.'

(Sh. II. iv. 174-78)

although he alters the final two and a half lines to:

'.....' And dues of Gratitude: Thou bear'st in mind
The half o' th' Kingdom which our love conferr'd
On thee and thine.'

(Tate II, 290-2)

Tate most probably felt that so expressed, Lear's words were not only clearer but also implying that it was love rather than the desire for freedom from responsibility which prompted him to give up the throne; thus the call for gratitude is given greater reason. With the

entrance of Goneril's Gentleman Lear is given the additional, 'More Torture still?' (Tate II.298) before Shakespeare's words, possibly to complete Regan's previous half-line, 'Sir, is your Lady come?'. In his description of the Gentleman Lear is given four more lines than Shakespeare's three and a half:

'A fashion-fop that spends the day in Dressing,
And all to bear his Ladie's flatt'ring Message,
That can deliver with a Grace her Lie,
And with as bold a face bring back a greater.'

(Tate II. 301-4)

Tate was obviously very proud of this Gentleman and was going to take every opportunity to emphasise his main characteristic; true to the contemporary taste for 'types' rather than life-like characters. Goneril now enters. Lear's words of horror at seeing her are kept precisely by Tate except that he adds two lines; 'Why, Gorgon, dost thou come to haunt me here?' (Tate II.313) and 'Darkness upon my Eyes they play me false,' (Tate II.315). Tate most probably felt that it would be natural in Lear to wish to know why Goneril had followed him and to refer to her again as 'Gorgon' would please his classical instincts. The suggestion that his eyes should be playing him false in seeing Regan take Goneril's hand would also render the incredulity which Shakespeare conveys by dislocation of sentence-structure -- disliked by the formally-minded Tate. Goneril's haughty and insolent reply remains in Tate although he does not include Lear's third demand to know who stocked Kent or Cornwall's

sneering reply. Tate's Act is carried to its end by the rising quarrel between Lear and his daughters and it is unlikely that he would have wished to include anything seemingly irrelevant to this. Lear's unbelieving, 'O sides, you are too tough;/Will you yet hold?' (Sh.II.iv.194-5) is pruned of its despairing tone by Tate who renders it 'Heart thou art too tough' (Tate II.320), the formal 'thou' indicating that Lear's dignity is not yet abased. Regan's contemptuous answer which begins in Shakespeare with, 'I pray you father, being weak, seem so', becomes in Tate, 'I pray you, Sir, being old confess you are so,' which the adapter most probably felt to be more explicit, although he sadly omits the 'father' which impresses again the unnatural behaviour of these two. Her command that Lear should return with Goneril is kept as in Shakespeare except for what must be an error in copying, either by Tate himself or the typesetter -- 'return and sojourn with your sister,' (Tate II.323) for 'my sister' (Sh.II.iv.200). Lear's reply, apart from the first two lines, is very much altered by Tate. Shakespeare's eleven lines become five since the reference to Cordelia and France have to be omitted while

'No, rather I abjure all roofs, and choose
To wage against the enmity o' th' air,
To be a comrade with the wolf, and howl
Necessity's sharp pinch! Return with her?'

(Sh.II.iv.205-8)

becomes in Tate

'No, rather I'll forswear all Roofs, and chuse
To be Companion to the Midnight Wolf,
My naked Head expos'd to th'merciless Air
Then have my smallest wants suppli'd by her.'

(Tate II.328-331)

Yet again Tate is rendering the general purport of Shakespeare's lines but in a simpler manner, one in which neither grammar, nor meaning nor, indeed, the weaker effect can be questioned. The use of 'then' for 'than' (331) became increasingly rare in the seventeenth century although they had been interchangeable in ME and in the sixteenth century as developed from OE 'þonne' (then) the use of which was extended to 'when as' and thus 'than'. The use of the word here may not necessarily be employment by Tate of an almost obsolete usage of 'then' but a typesetter's error. Goneril's cool and heartless 'At your choice, sir, ↓ is kept by Tate in reply to Lear whose following speech is cut down by Tate. The speech is interesting in its representation of the King's rising and ebbing emotions. He is calm in the first three lines (which Tate keeps), but then his anger rises and he describes his eldest daughter as 'a boil/A plague sore, an embossed carbuncle/In my corrupted blood.' (Sh, II. iv. 220-2) which Tate omits here since he intends to amplify them out of all proportion a few lines later. Lear's anger then subsides in words which Tate very nearly maintains, concluding with 'I can be patient; I can stay with Regan, /I, and my hundred

Knights.' (Sh.II.iv.226-7. Tate II.337-8). Tate does, however, alter Shakespeare's 'Nor tell tales of thee to high-judging Jove', (Sh.II.iv.225) to 'to avenging Heav'n' which is either, as before, (supra p.37) a wish to be more general in reference, or, what is less likely, in view of other changes, an excision of the 'absurdity' that an English pagan should refer to Roman gods. Regan's reply that she is not provided for Lear's welcome is kept by Tate although he excludes her additional request that he should listen to Goneril and that his passion would be accounted for by any reasonable person as due to his age, for Goneril knows her purpose, (Sh.II.iv.230-3). Tate most probably omitted these as repeating Goneril's earlier remark, 'All's not Offence that indiscretion finds,/And dotage terms so.' (Tate II.318-9). Regan's explanation to her father that he has no need of so many attendants and that many people in one house do not make for amity (Sh.II.iv.236-9) is also cut from Tate who obviously did not wish to give any sort of reasonable plausibility to the sisters' heartlessness. Their mutual support and Regan's demand that he bring but twenty-five knights are kept by Tate and Lear's heart-rending cry, 'I gave you all -- ' and Regan's promptly cruel reply, 'And in good time you gave it', (Sh.II.iv.247-8) are lamentably omitted by Tate with Lear's reminder to them of his reservation of his followers, his unbelieving question to Regan, 'Said you so?' (Sh.II.iv.251) and his re-assessment of Goneril that she is not as bad as her sister, (Sh.II.iv.248-55). Instead of these/Tate inserts 'Hold now my Temper, stand this bolt unmov'd

And I am Thunder-proof;
 The wicked when compar'd with the more wicked
 Seem beautifull, and not to be the worst,
 Stands in some rank of Praise;
 (Tate II.355-9)

Tate could not have seen Regan's cruel promptness in reply as discriminating her from her sister, or if he did, he did not consider it important. Lear's pathos in pleading his gift and his disbelief at Regan's cruelty Tate may well have felt would have detracted from the monumental fury he was to attempt to represent a few lines later, not seeing the dimension it adds to Lear's tossing state of mind. The lines, 'Hold now my Temper, stand this bolt unmov'd/And I am Thunder-proof' is actually not a totally crude insertion by Tate. Certainly it atones in some small measure for his omission of Lear's earlier attempts to keep his temper while carrying also a reference to the mental and actual storms the King is plunging into. The final removal of his attendants by Goneril and Regan culminating with the blow, 'What need one?' by Regan (Sh.II.iv.252-260) is kept by Tate but Lear's magnificent reply,

'Oh reason not the need; our basest beggars
 Are in the poorest things superfluous.
 Allow not nature more than nature needs,
 Man's life is cheap as beasts. Thou art a lady;
 If only to go warm were gorgeous,
 Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,
 Which scarcely keeps thee warm.'

(Sh.II.iv.261-7)

is completely replaced by Tate with

'Blood, Fire! hear -- Leaprosies and bluest Plagues!
 Room, room for Hell to belch her Horrors up
 And drench the Circes in a stream Fire;
 Heark how th'Infernals eccho to my Rage
 Their Whips and Snakes --'

(Tate II.368-72)

Here then is the real heroic rant, the bombastic call upon nature to echo mood, the incoherent catalogue of revolting associations, the utter travesty of Lear's final attempts to be reasonable. This Tate so proudly produces as high-sounding poetry, appealing and suitable to the King. It is a complete reversal of dramatic propriety which if it were of moral propriety Tate would have hesitated to include. But he is blind even to the more obvious refinements of dramatic art and the old King is debased by such a speech more than ever by the cruelties of his daughters. All that can be said in Tate's defence is that such bombast found favour with certain sections of the public for whom he was writing and that this may have influenced his style. Goneril and Regan insert sarcastic comments in the middle of the speech;

'Reg. How lewd a thing is Passion!
 Gon. So old and so stomachfull.'

(Tate II.373-4)

and Tate then returns, in some fashion, to Shakespeare. He somewhat alters Lear's request for patience from heaven, as well as for a 'noble anger' (Sh.II.iv.273) that he may not debase himself with tears.

These lines represent the growth of his fury from reasonableness and since Tate has already given him complete fury, he could not well have included them. Also, Lear's anger in Tate is by no means 'noble'. Thankfully he keeps Lear's incoherence as he utters nameless threats:

'I will do such things
What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
The terrors of the earth;'

(Sh.II.iv.277-9. Tate II.377-9)

as well as his refusal to weep at this culmination of anguish. His final 'O Fool, I shall go mad.' becomes 'O Gods, I shall go mad.'. And so he departs, into the storm which has been threatening throughout his final speech in both plays. Cornwall's heartless, 'Let us withdraw; 'twill be a storm' becomes in Tate 'Tis^a wild Night, come out o'th'Storm.' emphasising that the fierce weather is already raging. And so ends Tate's second Act. He omits the justification and reaffirmation of their purpose by Goneril and Regan and the return of Gloucester who had gone out with Lear and who now describes the barrenness of the surrounding area and the wild night. Lost also is Regan's heartless remark that her father must learn by his follies. All this Tate most probably saw as repeating aspects of the scene he had included and which he could therefore omit here, without realising the summarizing neatness of their effect.

Shakespeare's third Act opens with Kent and a Gentleman meeting upon the heath, which meeting is omitted from Tate. Lost, then, is the description of the King's contention with the wind and sky, who

'Strives in his little world of man to out-scorn
The to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain.' (Sh.III.i.10-11);

a description preparing the audience for the King's coming cry to the heavens. Lost too is Kent's information that Cornwall and Albany are taking up arms and that the kingdom is wide open to an invasion from France. Tate most probably felt that artistic nicety called for no intermission between Lear's imprecations on his daughters and his calling down of heaven's wrath on mankind in general.

Shakespeare's short dividing scene, while conveying necessary information, also slacks^{en} the dramatic tension, which cannot long be maintained at such a pitch, and thereby renders the storm-scene all the more effective. Tate could not have seen this subtlety and certainly the information Shakespeare's scene conveys was not necessary to his re-formed plot. Shakespeare's second scene opens with Lear and the Fool; the one raging at the skies, the other suggesting in his own inimitable fashion that they ought to seek shelter. Tate's third Act opens then with a five-line paraphrase of Shakespeare's nine magnificently resonant lines. Thus

'Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!
 You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout
 Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!
 You sulphurous and thought-executing fires,
 Vaunt-couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
 Singe my white head! and thou, all-shaking thunder,
 Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world!
 Crack nature's moulds, all germens spill at once
 That make ingrateful man!

(Sh. III.ii.1-9)

becomes in Tate

'Blow winds and burst your Cheeks, rage louder yet,
Fantastick Lightning singe, singe my white Head;
Spout Cataracts, and Hurricanos fall
Till you have drown'd the Towns and Palaces
Of proud ingratefull Man.'

(Tate III. 1-5)

It would seem that Tate was far more concerned with the sound of the words than with their actual meaning. Thus the evocative 'oak-cleaving thunder-bolts' and 'thought-executing fires' are omitted; they are imbued rather with sense than with sound. The same search for thunderous sound rather than subtle sense also causes Tate to make literal nonsense of the lines:

' and Hurricanos fall

Till you have drown'd the Towns and Palaces...'

since hurricanes neither fall nor drown things. Kent is already with Lear in Tate who loses any opportunity for drama in the old counselor's reasoning with the King by making Kent address the audience:

'Not all my best intreaties can perswade him
Into some needfull shelter, or to 'bide
This poor slight Cov'ring on his aged Head
Expos'd to this wild war of Earth and Heav'n.'

(Tate III.6-9)

Lear's following speech, calling on the heavens to let fall their 'horrible pleasure' (Sh. III.ii.19). Tate III.15) since it is no daughter of his, is kept intact by Tate except for the first two lines which he renders more coherent and metrically 'better' and the word 'subscription', rare even in Shakespeare, which is modernised

to 'obedience'. Kent entreats him to enter the near-by hovel, which he does not do for another thirty-seven lines in Shakespeare. Lear replies in words taken from Shakespeare's I.v.31, 'I will forget my nature, So kind a father.' which at that point were spoken to the Fool. Kent's reasoning that even those who love night keep shelter on such a stormy one as this is kept by Tate, except that he modernises the 'gallow the very wanderers of the dark' (Sh.III.ii.44) to 'frighten' (Tate III.27). Kent's additional remark that he himself cannot remember such a night is given more general application by Tate, however, in that such stormy portents 'have ne're been known' (Tate III.30). Again, Tate keeps the general sense of Lear's speech beginning, 'Let the great gods', (Sh.III.ii.49-59. Tate III.31-39) although 'undivulged crimes' becomes 'undiscover'd' and 'Thou perjur'd and thou simular of virtue/That are incestuous' (Sh.III.ii.54-5) becomes 'Thou perjur'd Villian, holy, holy Hypocrite/ That drinkst the Widow's Tears.' (Tate III 36-7) which Tate probably felt more decent and more pathetic and therefore more appealing than any reference to incest. Also the lines 'Close pent-up guilts/ Rive your concealing continents and cry/These dreadful summoners grace.' (Sh.III.ii.57-9) are omitted by Tate who perhaps could not see an immediate paraphrase for them and did not consider the poetic terms 'rive' 'concealing continents' and 'cry grace' of sufficient necessity to the general meaning of the speech. Kent's entreaty,

'Gracious my lord, hard by here is a hovel;
Some friendship will it lend you 'gainst the tempest;
Repose you there.'

(Sh.III.ii.61-3)

becomes in Tate merely 'Good Sir, to th'Hovell' (Tate III.40), presumably for the sake of shortness, while his determination to go again to Gloucester's house, where he has recently been refused admission is, for the same reason, excised. Lear agrees to go, perceiving even as he does so that his wits are turning. Tate keeps his speech, but in Shakespeare the words 'Come on, my boy; how dost, my boy? art cold?' (Sh.III.ii.68) which can only be addressed to the Fool, who has often been referred to as 'boy' (Sh.I.iv.101, 127, 143, I.v.9,16,47.) are kept by the adapter where, addressed to Kent, they sound out of place to say the least. prophecy as they go out is, obviously, omitted from Tate. Shakespeare's third The Fool's scene opens with Gloucester explaining to his bastard son that help is preparing for Lear and that the old King must be given some aid in his distressed condition. Tate transfers the scene to Gloucester's palace also, but presents Edmund alone who begins by emphasising the merry-making within: 'The Storm is in our louder Rev'lings drown'd.' (Tate III.48). This would not only heighten contrast but would give opportunity to the Play's producer to introduce music and sounds of revelry, always a popular feature, albeit offstage at this point. Edmund reveals that ^{the} 'Riots of these proud imperial Sisters' (Tate III.50) have already imposed vast taxes on the peasants who are complaining in vain -- perhaps a guarded allusion to the fear in England at the time of popery and the lavishness of the French Roman Catholic court, a fear which culminated in the arming of citizens when they thought that the government was to be assassinated by the court party at Oxford in 1681. Edmund goes on to reveal that none but he is fit to enjoy the 'Majestick Beauty' (Tate III,56) of Goneril and Regan and that

he does not lust in vain since they have both been inviting him with smiles and glances during the banquet. All this is, of course, totally unnecessary to Shakespeare's play where Edmund, left alone by Gloucester, determines at once to reveal all to Cornwall and to rise as his father falls. In Tate two messengers enter bringing blatant invitations from the sisters and the audience is fixed with the hope of luscious scenes to follow since Edmund is 'sick of expectation, /and pant [s] for the Possession' (Tate III.71-2). Thankfully Edmund's speculations are broken off by the entrance of Gloucester. The latter re-affirms that the commons are in ferment and wish to see Lear re-instated; he explains that they look to him for leadership and entrusts his son with letters to be taken to the Duke of Combray who will take up arms against Cornwall. Once again an interesting point in ⁿpunctuation arises. Tate writes:

'You know what mortal Feuds have alwaies flam'd
Between this Duke of Cornwall's Family, and his
Full Twenty thousand Mountaners
Th'inveterate Prince will send ...'

(Tate III.92-5)

A stop must be required after 'his' (93) to make sense of the passage. It may be remarked here that Tate's punctuation is generally more liberally inserted than in Shakespeare. A.W.Pollard (8. remarks that Shakespeare was most probably a fluent writer and that much of his

(8. Pollard, A.W. 'The Improvers of Shakespeare', Library, 3rd, ser., vii (1916), pp.265-290.)

punctuation has been added by subsequent editors. Certainly many of the adapters punctuated lines where grammar did not strictly demand it, but where they wished to indicate dramatic pauses for the actors^r. Tate, however, would not seem to fall totally into this category; at least, the impression gained by a study of his punctuationⁿ is less that he was adding marks for the actors' benefit and more that he was pausing for thought. The omission of a full-stop at the point mentioned is most probably an oversight on the printer's part. Gloucester departs and Edmund declares his intention of taking the letters immediately to Cornwall. It is interesting that Tate should have given him concrete proof of his father's 'treachery' in having the letters, where in Shakespeare the letter Gloucester has received is locked up in his closet. Gloucester's subsequent punishment in Shakespeare is thus rendered the more unreasonable. Edmund's heartless 'The younger rises when the old doth fall' (Sh. III.iii.23) is replaced on his exit in Tate by,

'And to my hand thy vast Revenue fall
To glut my Pleasure that till now has starv'd'

(Tate III.103-4).

Thus he emphasises Edmund's luxurious nature at the expense of subtlety, no doubt to make quite certain that the audience should understand who the villain is. Shakespeare's fourth scene is a return to the heath before the hovel. Tate, on the other hand, now inserts a totally new scene between Gloucester and Cordelia with Edmund listening at a distance. Cordelia detains Gloucester as he is leaving with words more suited to the hero of melodrama; 'Turn,

Gloucester, Turn,' (Tate III.105) while the line begging him to listen to her griefs can be no more than laughable: 'You must, you shall, nay I am sure you will,' (Tate III.107). She reveals that her sorrows are all for her father, while Edmund, whose interest is awakened, remarks to himself,

'O charming Sorrow! how her Tears adorn her
Like Dew on Flow'rs, but she is Virtuous,
And I must quench this hopeless Fire i'th'Kindling.'

(Tate III. 114-6).

Thus far the very aspect of virtue is able to command respect, but in answer to the taste which preferred to see virtue rather than life in danger, Cordelia has yet more to fear from Tate. There is something that smacks of the predicament of Clarissa Harlowe here and it is for the sort of people who made Richardson's novel popular later that Tate is writing this scene. Cordelia asserts to Gloucester that her father could not have wronged her and that he is probably already beyond aid. Edmund is still fascinated; 'I'll gaze no more — and yet my Charm'd.' (Tate III.123).
^{Eyes are}
Cordelia fears the worst for Lear and begs one boon of Gloucester in trite and unnatural poetry:

'That you'd Convey me to his breathless Trunk,
With my torn Robes to wrap his hoary Head
With my torn Hair to bind his Hands and Feet,
Then with a show'r of Tears
To wash his Clay-smear'd Cheeks, and Die beside him.'

(Tate III.130-4)

^u
 Gloucester explains that he has been plotting to restore Lear and, inspired by Cordelia's virtue, feels that they are bound to succeed. He departs and Cordelia turns to Arante. Now Arante is an interesting addition. She is the confidante without whom the heroine of contemporary French drama could neither act nor think and authority for her inclusion is doubtless based on the confidant which the hero of Greek drama was often given. Her actual purpose in Tate's 'Lear' is uncertain for she does not provide an ear for involved heart-searching from Cordelia nor does she do any more at this point than remind Cordelia firstly of the dangers of helping her father and secondly of the wildness of the night; facts which the audience already knows. Tate would surely not have included her purely because it was a convention and so the conclusion must be drawn that Cordelia is given a companion because it would be unseemly for her to be wandering in search of her father either with only male attendants, or alone. Thus accompanied she is an easy prey for the schemes of Edmund. And so they determine to seek Lear together; in disguise, for disguise too was a convention in contemporary melodrama, being perhaps a thread from the earlier Elizabethan romantic drama. Edmund remains alone on the stage and sees the virtue he had formerly regarded as a hindrance as now the means to the accomplishment of his designs; for it is Cordelia's virtue which has sent her out so vulnerable into the storm. Edmund determines to send two ruffians after the women to detain them until he can, in disguise, of course, work out his purpose, which is expressly that of rape. His villainy becomes more and more appealing to the prurience

of the audience and less and less in accord with the canons of good taste. Now Tate returns to Shakespeare's fourth scene before the hovel. Kent tries to persuade Lear to enter and the King replies in Shakespeare's words. In Shakespeare's words too is Lear's speech, quite rational again, concerning the storm's insignificance in comparison with the tempest in his mind, which his daughters' behaviour has raised. Tate only omits the lines,

'Thou'dst shun a bear,
But if thy flight lay toward the roaring sea
Thou'dst meet the bear i'th'mouth. When the mind's free
The body's delicate.'

probably feeling that they were merely particular instances of a general remark and as such unnecessary. The punctuation of Tate's second line would appear to be awry:

'Thou think'st 'tis much that this contentious Storm
Invades us ^{to} the Skin so, 'tis to thee
But where ... etc.'

(Tate III. 178-80)

rather than 'Invades us to the skin; so 'tis to thee;' which would appear to make more sense. (9. Kent's 'Good my Lord, enter here.' (Sh. III. iv. 22) becomes in Tate 'See, my Lord, here's the Entrance.' (Tate III. 192). This alteration may well be because on Shakespeare's stage the hovel would have been signified by no more than a hanging, while by Tate's day the sets and scenery of stage production had become more complicated and the hovel may have had, indeed, some sort

(9. The Quartos read 'skin, so'tis' — i.e. Tate had possibly misplaced a comma in transcription. On the other hand, the Folios read 'skin, so: 'tis' — This would seem to be closer to what Tate had actually written.

of entrance. Lear's reply in Shakespeare that Kent and the Fool are to go in and seek their ease is omitted from Tate in whom he replies, 'Well I'll go in/And pass it all, I'll pray and then I'll sleep:' (Tate III.193-4). It is uncertain quite what he means here; the most probable answer is that Tate is employing 'pass' in its now obsolete sense of 'care for', 'be concerned with' which would have been possibly uncommon, but certainly used in his own day. Thus it brings direct bearing onto Lear's following prayer for the 'Poor naked wretches'. It would also fit with Tate's recurring wish to be more general in reference; rather than Lear's care for Kent and the Fool in particular he will 'pass it all' i.e. be concerned about all men. In the prayer itself Tate keeps very largely to Shakespeare's words, although he omits the line, 'Your loop'd and window'd reggedness' which he most probably felt was an unnecessary metaphor. The gibbering fright of the Fool on confronting Edgar in the hovel is omitted from Tate and it is Kent who cool-headedly addresses him in both plays. Tate keeps Edgar's initial ramblings on coming out of the hovel, but adds an aside -- 'ha! What do I see? by all my Grieffs the poor old King beheaded,/And drencht in this fow Storm, professing Syren,/ Are all your protestations come to this?' Montague Summers in Shakespeare Adaptations points out that the Tate quartos of both 1679 and 1681 have 'beheaded' at this point. There is a rare sense in which 'beheaded' can mean 'deprived of its foremost part' and in using it here Edgar could be implying that the King has lost his

prime faculty; his sanity. But the common-sense view is more likely that a mistake in transcription due to the similarity of sound with 'bareheaded' was perpetuated. Similarly 'fow' must be an error for the old spelling of 'foul' — 'fowl' which occurs later in Tate at line 235. A third peculiar feature of these lines is that they are partly in verse and partly in prose. Presumably Tate meant Edgar's 'mad' lines to be in prose and the aside in blank verse; in fact only the last line is in true pentameter. Tate keeps Edgar's mad speeches practically intact. Shakespeare's 'whom the foul fiend hath led through fire and through flame, through ford and whirlpool, o'er bog and quagmire,' (Sh.III.iv.50-2) becomes in Tate 'whom the foul fiend has led through Fire and through Flame, through Bushes and Bogg's,' (Tate III.216-8). It is most likely that Tate preferred the alliteration he had introduced here. Lear's question as to whether Edgar's daughters have brought him to this is kept, but the Fool's prompt, 'Nay, he reserved a blanket, else we had all been shamed,' (Sh.III.iv.63-4) is removed and Kent replies soothingly 'He has no Daughters, Sir.' (Tate III.227. Sh.III.iv.67). Tate keeps the first two lines of Lear's reply that only daughters could have brought one so low, Edgar remarks that 'Pillicock sat upon Pillicock Hill.' (Sh.III.iv.74. TateIII.230) and then Lear gives the following four lines of his preceding speech, ending with reference to 'Those Pelican Daughters' (Tate III.234) which in Shakespeare had prompted the 'Pillicock' observation from Edgar. Tate's reason for this inversion is most probably to keep the exchanges short since he could not include the Fool's pertinent

comments as well. Edgar's injunctiⁿons to 'Take heed o'th'foul fiend, ' etc. (Sh.III.iv.78-81) are kept by Tate as well as Lear's question 'What hast thou been?' (Sh.III.iv.82. Tate III.238). Edgar's description of himself is little altered by Tate. 'Wore gloves in my cap,' (Sh.III.iv.84) is omitted and becomes 'us'd Perfume and Washes' (Tate III.240) which renders the passage in accordance with contemporary fashion; 'let not the creaking of shoes' becomes 'let not the Paint, nor the Patch, betray thy poor Heart to Woman.' (Sh.III.iv.91-3. Tate III.241-2). Tate omits 'One that slept in the contriving of lust and waked to do it. Wine loved I deeply, dice dearly; and in woman out-paramoured the Turk. False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand; hog in sloth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey.' (Sh.III.iv.87-91). For the first lines, one cannot really account for their omission through Tate's desire to achieve good taste -- after Edmund's lasciviousness and the references in Edgar's speeches which are included. It is more likely that Tate saw these lines as repeating in particular what Edgar had already implied and therefore as unnecessary. Lear's view of mankind reaches its depths at this point, he laments, 'Thou wert better in thy grave ' (Sh.III.iv.98) to which Tate prefixes 'Death, thou wert better' (Tate III.250) which he probably felt would be a dramatic arrest of the audience's attention; as an address to Death it would really be out of place and cannot have been intended as such, although the punctuation would imply this. The speech is not altered significantly from Shakespeare except that Lear's final 'Off, off, you lendings!

come, unbutton here.' (Sh.III.iv.104-5) becomes in Tate 'Off, Off, ye vain Disguises, empty Lendings,/I'll be my Original Self, quick, quick, Uncase me' (Tate III.258-9) which alteration may be partly an attempt to give rhetoric to Lear at this crucial point, and partly an effort to make quite clear why he was taking his clothes off. Kent sees the direction Lear's thoughts are taking and interposes with 'Defend his Wits, good Heaven!' (Tate III.260) while Lear pauses to ask Edgar his name which does not occur for a further fourteen lines in Shakespeare when Gloucester enters and demands 'What are you there? Your names?' (Sh.III.iv.122). Omitted from Tate then is Edgar's description of flibbertigibbet and the spell against the night-mare. Edgar's further description of his life is kept by Tate, except that 'wall-newt and the water' (Sh.III.iv.124) becomes 'the Wall-nut and the Water-nut' which in Shakespeare Adaptations (p.281) Summers sees as being a mistake for the Folios' reading of 'wall-neut' and 'water-neut'; which would indicate that Tate had access to these. (10. Certainly Tate appears uncertain about the meaning of much of Edgar's mad language, but possibly considered it unnecessary for him to speak sense anyway. The following lines between

- (10. In his notes to King Lear in Five Restorations Adaptations of Shakespeare Professor C. Spencer remarks (p.41) 'However, "Water-nut" looks like a possible name for something, and it seems doubtful that Tate intended any other reading here.'

between Lear and Edgar are taken from Shakespeare's sixth scene in the farmhouse adjoining Gloucester's castle. The Fool's 'Tell me whether a madman be a gentleman or a yeoman' (Sh.III.vi.9-10) is given now to Lear (Tate III.273-4) while the Fool's pertinent jesting on this is omitted. Edgar's 'My Tears begin to take his part so much/They marr my Counterfeiting', (Tate III.281-2) comes now, taken from Shakespeare forty-eight lines further on, followed by Lear's observation that his dogs are barking at him (Sh.III.vi.60-6. Tate III.283-4). Tate did not understand the list of dogs; thus 'Mastiff, greyhound, mongrel grim,' becomes 'Mastiff, Grey-hound, Mungrill, Grim,' while 'lym' (Sh.III.vi.67) becomes 'Hym' (Sh.Ff) (Tate III.289) and 'bobtail tike' becomes 'Bob-tail, Tight, '. Certainly neither 'Grim', 'Hym' nor 'Tight' were ever types of dogs. Lear replies that he entertains Edgar for one of his hundred but that he does not like his clothes, which reply does indeed follow Edgar's 'doggerel', but after lines suggesting Regan be anatomised which Tate is saving for the end of the scene. In Tate Gloucester now enters and his son greets him with the 'flibbertigibbet' speech from Shakespeare's scene four. Of the 'Swithin' rhyme Tate reads 'cold' for 'old' which he was most probably emending to make better sense, not considering 'wold' and he adds the line 'Twas there he did appoint her' (Tate III.305) in an attempt to make the meaning clearer. It is interesting that Folios 3 and 4 (1664 and 1685) read 'the witch' which is how Tate phrases the final line — 'And arroynt the witch arroynt her' (Tate III.307) for 'And aroint thee, witch

around thee.' (Sh.III.iv.118). There is now evidence of his having used one of the quartos, as well as evidence indicating, what is more likely, that he used the most recent Folio of 1664. A final discussion of this matter must await the end of the study. (Appendix D). In actual fact here it is more probable that Tate was avoiding a direct command where narrative would be grammatically better and it is this, rather than the Folio reading which dictated his change. Gloucester questions that the King should be so accompanied, as he does on his entrance in Shakespeare's scene four and Edgar gives Shakespeare's reply. Gloucester does not, however, say that 'Our flesh and blood, my lord, is grown so vilde/That it doth hate what gets it.'

(Sh.III.iv.137-8) which has been seen as the old man recognising some inflection in Edgar's voice and bitterly recalling his unfilial conduct. One has come to expect that Tate, even had he recognised such subtleties, was not prepared to retain them. Gloucester explains, in verse in Shakespeare and in prose in Tate, that despite the daughters' warnings he has prepared shelter, fire and food for the King and both he and Kent beseech Lear to accept the offer. The King wishes, however, to talk with his 'philosopher' and 'learned Theban' while Tate also has Edgar referred to as 'Stagirite', a popular term at the time for Aristotle. Gloucester's reference to 'poor banished' Kent (Sh.III.iv.156), to his own disillusionment in Edgar, Lear's attempt to keep Edgar with him and Gloucester's to shoo the 'Bedlamite' away are omitted from Tate. From Shakespeare's sixth scene is omitted also the mock trial of Goneril and Regan which above all reveals how deeply their father has been scarred by their heartlessness; of this Tate keeps only 'let' em Anatomize

Regan, see what breeds about her Heart; is there any Cause in Nature for these hard Hearts?' (Sh.III.vi.74-6, Tate III.336-8). Edgar does not remain with Lear but goes out alone in Tate; this is because the adapter had a very good reason for wanting Edgar still at large upon the heath. Lear's final words as he goes to Gloucester's farmhouse in Tate are those he utters in Shakespeare as he prepares to sleep -- at the farmhouse, except that there can be no reference to drawing curtains (Sh.III.vi.81-2, Tate III.335-6). Tate's scene then is an amalgamation of two of Shakespeare's. The most deplorable losses are those of the Fool and the mock court-scene and the subtle touches of references between Edgar and his father, as well as the essential coherence of Edgar's raving. As has been remarked in another context, Tate was making for a general impression and the deeper implications of word and phrase escaped him, either knowingly or otherwise on his part. The greatest loss is undoubtedly in the basic cohesion at all levels of Shakespeare's two scenes besides which Tate's appears disjointed and even, at times, pointless. It is indicative of his ineptitude as a dramatic artist that he could not see that a scene involving real and feigned madness calls for close construction and that to take passages at random from Shakespeare and throw them together could effect no more than a confusing travesty. A discussion of Tate's use of prose and verse, which could have arisen from this scene, will be relegated to the end of this particular study.

A new scene is now created by Tate -- although his Acts are not formally divided into scenes -- with the entrance of Cordelia and Arante alone upon the heath. Arante begs her mistress to enter the hovel. Cordelia replies in words taken from Lear in Shakespeare's Act III sc. IV lines II to 14:

'When the mind's free
The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind
Both from my sense take all feeling else
Save what beats there.'

altered by Tate, following Cordelia's request that Arante may seek shelter, to:

'Where the Mind's free, the Body's Delicate:
This Tempest but diverts me from the Thought
Of what wou'd hurt me more.' (Tate III. 345-7)

Her 'Prethee go in thy self, seek thy own Ease,' (Tate III. 344) is also Lear's from Shakespeare III. iv. 23. In Shakespeare Lear's preceding words mean that an unworried mind can give thought to the ills of the body where the tempest in his own mind distracts his attention from his senses. In Cordelia's words here it is the actual storm which prevents her thinking about what would otherwise be more painful to her. One can only be thankful that Tate appreciated the difference in their states of mind enough to alter the phrasing of the words. As they stand they are not wholly unsuited to Cordelia. Edmund's two Ruffians now enter. One decides that they have come far enough and determines to imprison the women in the hovel while Edmund is fetched, and the other explains that nothing but gold, 'this dear Devil'

(Tate III.352) would have tempted him into the storm. Their short speeches are set out as verse but are in no way metrically correct and it is unlikely that Tate could have been intending them to speak blank verse. Cordelia and Arante are seized, the second Ruffian assuring them that it is by friends. True to the form of melodramatic exaggeration, untrue to Shakespeare's reserved and mild young lady, Cordelia's reaction is to shout for the gods and 'some kind Thunderbolt to strike me Dead'. (Tate III.356). But Edgar is at hand and he rushes in to drive the Ruffians away with his quarter-staff; he turns to the women and questions what they are that should wander 'Through the dead Mazes of this dreadful Night/Where (tho' at full) the Clouded Moon scarce darts/Imperfect Glimmerings.' (Tate III.364-6). Cordelia asks who he can be, assuming he is a guardian angel who has put on a horrid appearance to frighten the Ruffians; they kneel to Edgar. He recognises Cordelia and immediately assumes that he must be mad indeed, Cordelia asks for direction and Edgar promptly relapses into raving. How valuable it would be to find the origin of the rhyme which Tate gives Edgar at this point is uncertain since in general his mad speeches in the adaptation are not significant. The rhyme reads:

'Whilst Smug ply'd the bellows
 She truckt with her Fellows
 The Freckle-fac't Mab
 Was a Blouze and a Drab,
 Yet Swithin made Oberon Jealous.'

Drayton's 'Nymphidia' had appeared in 1627, concerning the unfaithfulness of Mab and the wrath with her lover Pigwiggen, while Herrick's
 of Oberon
 ^

fairy poems, completed undoubtedly shortly after 1635 had furthered interest in the doings at the fairy court. This rhyme may well be a popular caricature of these mock-heroic poems, or, as would seem more likely, concerns the nefarious doings at the English Court in the post-Restoration years. In either case it is perhaps significant that Tate should know such a rhyme and its nature might indicate that he had heard it on the stage. The 'Swithin' reference is most likely an echo of Edgar's previous 'Swithin' rhyme, although it should be remembered that St. Switin, for no known reason, has become associated in the popular mind with drunkenness. To continue with his raving is painful to Edgar who murmurs 'Oh! Torture.' in an aside (Tate III.383) while Cordelia reflects, truthfully enough, that it is odd he should rave after so recently speaking sense. She asks for direction to her father and Edgar reflects in another aside on the strangeness that one so loyal and devoted should be so cruel to him; he then tells her that Lear has been taken to a cottage. Seeing herself in heaven's protection Cordelia is about to depart with no more words to Edgar, but he is overcome at this and reveals himself to her. Their mutual recognition is artificial and melodramatic

'The poor Remains of Edgar,' (Tate III.406)

'Do we wake, Arante?' (Tate III.408)

while in a suitably pathetic vein, Edgar goes on to explain again why he had disguised himself,

'My Father seeks my Life, which I preserv'd
In hope of some blest Minute to oblige

Distrest Cordelia, and the Gods have giv'n it;
 That Thought alone prevail'd with me to take
 This Frantick Dress, to make the Earth my Bed,
 With these bare Limbs all change of Seasons bide,
 Noons scorching Heat, and Midnights piercing Cold,
 To feed on Offals, and to drink with Herds,
 To combat with the Winds, and be the Sport
 Of Clowns, or what's more wretched yet, their Pity.'

(Tate III.409-18)

This speech has been quoted in full to show that Tate's genius ranged between the meaningless rant of Lear's anger and the trite phrasing of a speech conveying information. At no point yet has he approached any sort of original poetic felicity. Arante's comment following is worthy of the pathos of Gilbert and Sullivan, 'Was ever Tale so full of Misery!' (Tate III.419) while Edgar explains the propriety of his love and that he has no hope now that he is so debased. Cordelia's reply is enigmatic, and certainly totally unsuited either to the language of love or to her own character; the reception of Edgar's words of love will be

'Such as the Voice of Pardon to a Wretch Condemn'd
 Such as the Shouts
 Of succ'ring Forces to a Town besieg'd'

(Tate III.435-7)

which Edgar immediately interprets as meaning more cruelty to himself. Cordelia, however, invites him into her arms and declares, pompously and artificially that 'By the dear Vital Stream that baths her Heart,' (Tate III.443) his rags are dearer to her than 'the richest Pomp/Of purple Monarchs'.

(Tate III 447-8). The climax comes with Edgar's reply,

'This most amazing Excellence shall be
Fame's Triumph, in Succeeding Ages, when
Thy bright Example shall adorn the Scene,
And teach the World Perfection.'

(Tate III.451-4)

One has been suspecting that Tate would not resist an opportunity to point out the didactic possibilities of Cordelia's virtue, although she appears surprisingly more concerned with her own marital prospects at this point than with the fate of her father. Tate is really yielding up character-consistency and subtlety to the more popular demands of drama at the time. Cordelia determines to rest in the hovel while Edgar explains that all wandering Lunatics carry flint and steel and that he can thus warm and dry them while keeping watch as 'Fierce and Wakefull as th'Hesperian Dragon' (Tate III.462). And thus ends the Heath scene. Tate now returns to Gloucester's palace, with Cornwall, Regan, Edmund and attendants. This is to be an amalgamation of Shakespeare's scenes v. and vii. In scene v. Edmund produces his father's letter, with feigned reluctance, and is promised the earldom of Gloucester. These facts are included by Tate in his scene, but they are differently phrased. It is Regan who commends Edmund's virtue to her husband while the latter requests that Edmund withdraw,

'least thy tender Nature shou'd relent
At his just Sufferings, nor brooke the Sight,'

(Tate III.488-9)

Tate was most probably intending the words to convey greater dramatic irony. Regan draws Edmund aside as he is about to depart, with

'The Grotto, Sir, within the lower Grove,
Has Privacy to suit a Mourner's Thought.'

to which he replies

'And there I say expect a Comforter,
Ha, Madam?'

and she answers with due enigma,

'What may happen, Sir, I know not,
But 'twas a Friends Advice.'

(Tate III 491-6)

Lost is the immediate reaction of the sisters to the mention of Gloucester of hanging and eye-plucking (Sh.III.vii.4-5) and the information of Oswald that Lear has been removed and that there is a movement of opposing forces towards Dover. Lost also is Cornwall's admission that his punishment of Gloucester will be without due form of justice but that his anger excuses this. Shakespeare's forty-three lines between the entrance of Gloucester and the intervention of the servant are rendered by eighteen in Tate. The mercilessness of Regan is the greatest loss here since she neither plucks the old man by the beard, shares her husband's cross-examination of him nor insists that both eyes be removed; she is given, in fact, but two lines. Tate could not have seen the dramatic effectiveness of her part in the scene, or if he did, he removed it to lessen the general horror. The Adapter also shortens Gloucester's final remonstrance at the treatment of Lear

which becomes merely:

'I wou'd not see thy cruel Hands
Tear out his poor old Eyes, nor thy fierce Sister
Carve his annointed Flesh'

(Tate III.507-9).

It is most likely that Tate wished to keep attention focussed on the matter in hand, since clarity was one of the major considerations in adapting Shakespeare. Now the keeping by Tate of the removal of Gloucester's eyes on the stage is interesting since one would have expected him to have abhorred such violence coram populo. From a general point of view, it would seem that Tate was re-writing Shakespeare to suit the theoretical refinements of a different age -- thus much impropriety including the part of the Fool, is removed -- while not realising that what he added, chiefly the love-schemes of Edmund, are, in a different way, equal breaches of propriety. These additions were in accordance with the dictates of popular demand and since popular demand also called for some exciting violence, Tate perhaps did not see this as offending neo-classic strictures. Certainly this taste for bloodshed was a thread existing from before the wars and if it underwent any transformation it was not due to the scholars' dictates but to a desire for pathos. It was this that prompted Tate to close his version of Coriolanus (1682) with the boy Martius pathetically tortured and bleeding. The adapters, in obeying the call, be it either for love-interest or for pathos, could not, or would not, see that they were thus violating the scholars' dictates and rules of propriety which one can only conclude they did not consider of equal value. Thus their patronising

scholarly attitudes are sacrificed at the altar of expediency when theory becomes practice. The servant interposes as in Shakespeare, with the additional,

'Hold, hold, my Lord, I bar your Cruelty,
I cannot love your safety and give way
To such a barbarous Practice.'

(Tate III. 516-8)

which explains his motives clearly, while the stabbing of him by Regan is omitted, as well as the separate removal of Gloucester's other eye. (ii. Gloucester's call upon Edmund is kept, but Regan's spiteful lines,

'it was he
That made the overture of thy treasons to us;
Who is too good to pity thee.'

(Sh.III.vii.88-90)

is expanded by Tate to,

'it was He
That broacht thy Treason, shew'd us thy Dispatches;
There -- read, and save the Cambrian Prince a Labour,
If thy Eyes fail thee call for Spectacles.'

(Tate III 529-32)

which is intended to increase the pathos of Gloucester's predicament. Gloucester realises the wronging of Edger in both plays, but the pitiless 'Go thrust him out at' gates, and let him smell/His way to

- (ii. It has never been noted that Rymer, in his Tragedies of the Last Age (p.117) had condemned such a killing; 'If I mistake not, in Poetry no woman is to kill a man, except her quality gives her the advantage above him, nor is a Servant to kill the Master, nor a Private Man, much less a Subject, to kill a King.'

Dover.' (Sh.III.vii.92-3) is taken from Regan and given to Cornwall by Tate, 'Dover' becoming 'Cambray' (Tate III 536-7) following which the stage is cleared and Gloucester is left alone for a twenty-seven line soliloquy. Tate loses the bustling out of the old man from his own castle as well as the sympathetic determinations of the servants -- which appear only in the Quartos and which, if Tate were working from the 1664 Folio he would not have had to hand anyway. Gloucester's soliloquy begins with the line,

'All dark and comfortless!' which Shakespeare had given him on the removal of his second eye (Sh.III.vii.84) Tate III.539). The rest of the speech is pure Tate. It opens with a lament for his eyes,

'Where are those various Objects that but now
Employ'd my busie Eyes? where those Eyes?
Dead are their piercing Rays that lately shot
O're flowry Vales to distant Sunny Hills,
And drew with Joy the vast Horizon in,
These groping Hands are now my only Guide,
And Feeling all my Sight.'

(Tate III. 540-6)

These lines give further evidence of Tate's turning to the general in his references as well as of the triteness of expression to which this inevitably leads -- 'flowry Vales' and 'Sunny Hills'. Only the final two lines show any poetic merit. Gloucester expands on this by lamenting the further losses of a blind life, 'Dark as the Grave amidst the bustling World.' (Tate III.549) and concludes that even the blind can kill themselves. Even in this extremity, however, his thoughts turn to revenge for himself and the King.

'No, with these bleeding Rings
I will present me to the pitting Crowd,
And with the Rhetorick of these dropping Veins
Enflame 'em to revenge the King and me;'

(Tate III.556-9)

After which

'This Lumber from some Precipice I'll throw,
And dash it on the ragged Flint below;
Whence my freed Soul to her ^{bright} Sphear shall fly,
Through boundless Orbs, eternal Regions spy,
And like the Sun, be All one glorious Eye.'

(Tate III.561-5).

This is a very different Gloucester from Shakespeare's who is hustled off-stage uttering a prayer for his loyal son, and who next appears subdued and resigned, even despairing -- aspects of which Tate is to keep, but combined with a totally inappropriate and gleeful wish for the success of his revenge. Tate's third Act ends with his departure, it having been revealed that the adapter's intentions when he commenced the play are being modified by the material he wished to include.

Tate's fourth Act opens with a completely new scene between Edmund and Regan who are 'amorously Seated, Listening to Musick' in a Grotto. Edmund protests that only he can appreciate her beauties and begs to be lulled asleep in her arms. Regan proffers him bliss on no harder terms than that he be happy and Edmund, in an aside, mutters that if he is to meet Generil soon, then he

will have already rehearsed what to say to her. Regan gives him a ring, with the intention of returning to Cornwall, who is dying, she hopes. In producing a picture of himself for her, Edmund drops Goneril's note which Regan reads on his exit. She is not surprised by its contents which confirms her ^a jealousy and determines her on action. The scene, while emphasising the cynicism of Edmund and the treachery of them both, is thin in substance and the language artificial. (12. One is aware once again that Tate is not so much concerned with subtleties of meaning as with sound-impression and this inevitably leads to triteness and artificiality of expression, an example of which are Edmund's lines;

'for ever fold me
In those Arms, Lull me in endless Sleep
That I may dream of pleasures too transporting
For Life to bear.'

(Tate IV. 3-6).

An officer now enters to Regan and informs her that the peasants are in revolt, spurred on by the injustice to Gloucester, the King's injuries and their own oppression. Regan is confident, however, that Edmund can put down the insurgents and 'drive this Monster

(12. In his book All the King's Ladies (p.104) J.H.Wilson suggests that Tate had heightened Regan's villainy and given her 'a luscious love-scene with Edmund' because Mary Lee, the leading tragedienne and villainess of the Duke's Company was to play the part. Similarly the alteration in Cordelia's part is felt to be partly due to the abilities of Elizabeth Barry.

of Rebellion back/To her dark Cell;' (Tate IV. 49-50). It is interesting that Tate should give poetry to the Officer, who, apart from being a minor character, is only conveying information. It is possible that Tate was attempting to give more vividness to the information;

'Mutiny which long had crept
Takes Wing, and threatens your Best Pow'rs'

(Tate IV. 45-6)

although this might have been more effectively achieved by a panting, half-articulate messenger --- speaking prose. Tate's scene is now transferred to the Heath and coincides with Shakespeare's Act IV. sc.i. Edgar's nine lines in Shakespeare are cut and clarified by Tate to four. His horror at seeing his blinded father is muted by Shakespeare, which emphasizes the anguish;

'My father, poorly led? --- World, world, O world!
But that thy strange mutations make us hate thee,
Life would not yield to age.'

(Sh. IV.i. 10-12)

Tate did not see the value of muted emotion, or if he did, preferred to give it full expression in what he must have felt was a speech of passionate energy but which, in fact, falls little short of bombast;

'My father poorly led? depriv'd of Sight,
The precious Stones torn from their bleeding Rings!
Some-thing I heard of this inhumane Deed
But disbeliev'd it, as an Act too horrid
For the hot Hell of a curst Woman's fury,
When will the measure of my woes be full?'

(Tate IV.56-61)

Gloucester's first words are a wish for the success of his revenge. Shakespeare's Gloucester has grown suddenly wise and compassionate, with a broadened outlook on the lot of humanity. Tate's Gloucester is at first more concerned with the success of his revenge and with the possible effect of his own blindness upon the King's fortunes. Tate keeps the substance of Shakespeare's exchanges between Gloucester, Edgar and the Old Man, although Edgar's lament, on hearing of his forgiveness,

'Oh gods! Who is't can say 'I am at the worst'?
I am worse than e'er I was.'

(Sh.IV.1.24-6)

becomes an explanation in Tate as to why he cannot reveal his identity to his father;

'Alas, he's sensible that I was wrong'd,
And shou'd I own my Self, his tender Heart
Would break betwixt th'extreme of Grief and Joy.'

(Tate IV.76-8)

Edgar's aside,

'Bad is the trade that must play fool to sorrow,
Angering itself and others.'

(Sh.IV.1.38-9)

is clarified by Tate who adds to it also something of the exaggeration which he felt Edgar must express;

'O Gods! and must I still pursue this Trade,
Trifling beneath such loads of Misery?'

(Tate IV. 82-3).

Tate excises Gloucester's blasphemous cry,

As flies to wanton boys are we to th' gods;
They kill us for their sport.'

(Sh.IV.i.36-7)

which would have rung ill in the ears of the son of an Irish churchman. Gloucester's request that the Old Man should fetch clothes for Edgar and meet them towards Dover is kept by Tate -- presumably Gloucester selects Dover as being convenient for suicide; as the play is altered he can have no other reason for going there. Edgar's compassion for his father's suffering is not put into an aside by Tate, or rather, Tate adds a line to indicate that it is the lunatic who is sympathising;

'bless thy sweet Eyes they Bleed,
Believe't poor Tom ev'n weeps his Blind to see 'em.'

(Tate IV.101-2).

Edgar's description of the Devils which have possessed him appears only in the quartos and does not appear in Tate. That he does not include it is not conclusive evidence, however, that he had not seen the quartos, since he may well have considered it superfluous to the impression already given of Edgar's lunacy. In giving his purse to Edgar, Gloucester forms an elaborate prayer to the heavens,

'Let the superfluous and lust-dieted man,
That slaves your ordinance, that will not see
Because he does not feel, feel your power quickly;'

(Sh.IV.i.65-8)

which reflects upon his own changed circumstances of seeing and feeling.

In Tate this is cut to one line only;

'Thus let the griping Userer's Hoard be Scatter'd,'

(Tate IV.109)

Tate's obvious intention was to be clear and concise, without considering the irony of Gloucester's words and the importance of his newly-won compassion. It is interesting that in Shakespeare's description of Dover cliffs, Tate should have altered,

'Looks fearfully in the confined deep,'

(Sh.IV.i.72)

to 'Looks ^rdeadfully down on the roaring Deep.'

(Tate.IV.114)

once again he is clarifying, quite possibly proud, too, of the alliteration he had introduced, Gloucester's promise 'And I'll repair the misery thou dost bear.' (Sh.IV.i.174) is altered by Tate to 'And I'll repair the Poverty thou bearst' (Tate IV.116) possibly because he did not like Shakespeare's internal rhyme and because he felt that riches can cure poverty, but not necessarily misery. Gloucester pauses as they are about to depart for he hears Kent and Cordelia approaching. Cordelia's speech is taken from Shakespeare's Act IV.sc.iv. in which she is speaking to the Doctor. Her description of her father's crown of flowers is altered by Tate from including weeds of bitter properties to more familiar wild flowers; from

'rank fumiter and furrow-weeds,

With burdocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers,'

(Sh.IV.iv.3-4)

to

'rank Femiter and furrow Weeds,
With Berries, Burdocks, Violets, Dazies, Poppies,'

(Tate IV.124-5)

He could not have seen the significance of Shakespeare's flowers and substituted them by ones more familiar and readily recognised by the audience. Cordelia does not send 'a century' out in search of Lear but asks Kent to conduct her to him; while the repose and the 'simples operative' (Sh.IV.iv.14) of Shakespeare's Doctor are to be replaced by Cordelia's 'last Endeavours' (Tate IV.128). Kent recognises Gloucester who would weep for joy, 'but let this trickling Blood/Suffice instead of Tears'. (Tate IV.139-40) since the pathos of his situation must be kept to the fore. Cordelia's phrasing of her lines is dubious;

'Forgive, O wretched Man, the Piety
That brought thee to this pass, 'twas I that caus'd it,'

(Tate IV.143-4).

Cordelia's expedients to be rid of her proposed suitor were hardly pious while ambiguity lies in the object of 'caus'd' — either her own piety, or Gloucester's 'pass'; common-sense calls for the latter reading, grammatical logic for the former. She goes on, with heroic constancy and exaggeration, to beg the old man to tear her own eyes out if it will give him any recompense. Edgar questions in an aside whether so distressed a season ever occurred while Gloucester begs Cordelia rise 'and take a dark Man's Blessing.' (Tate IV.150).

Cordelia calls Edgar by name, and, seeing her virtue to be the bane of her friends, considers it just should he, too, hate her. He begs her to spare his tortured heart. Gloucester does not hear this, or at least still does not recognise his son, but with martial vigour calls upon Kent to lead the insurgent army, while Edgar commends 'brave Britains', in a patriotic aside (Tate IV.164). Cordelia and Kent leave to find the King, without having revealed Edgar's identity to his father. Tate's scene now moves back to Goneril's palace where she speaks with attendants. Regan's lines from Shakespeare IV.v.9-12 are given to Goneril in which she regrets that Gloucester should have lived and explains that Edmund has gone to kill him. A Gentleman replies that ~~in~~ fact Edmund has returned to Regan; Tate then returns to Shakespeare IV.ii. in which Oswald explains Albany's mild reception of events in the country. Instead of the landing of the French army, of the arrival of Goneril and of Gloucester's treachery and Edmund's loyal Service, Albany has been told only of 'the uproar of the Peasants' and 'of Gloster's treason' (Tate IV.179 and 181) and the description of his reaction is cut short by Goneril who sends her servant to Regan with power to 'Hasten her Musters,' (Tate IV.184) and with letters to be delivered privately to Edmund. A messenger enters to explain that Cornwall is dead, but the horror of the removal of Gloucester's eyes and the wounding of Cornwall, which is relived in Shakespeare with the incredulous questions of Albany, is lost from Tate whose messenger only reports the death and adds that Edmund has been made general of Regan's forces. Goneril replies in a

clearly-rendered paraphrase of her Shakespeare lines (IV.ii.83-7), and adds Regan's words to Oswald in Shakespeare (IV.v.37-8):

'And if you chance to meet with that blind Traytor,
Preferment falls on him that cuts him off.'

(Tate IV.196-7)

In combining these scenes of Shakespeare, Tate most probably felt that he was re-stringing the bard's unpolished jewels more tastefully and clearly as well as cutting down several changes of scene. He loses the dedication of himself by Edmund to Goneril's service, the reprobation of his wife by Albany (which in fact appears only in the quartos) the messenger's description of Cornwall's death, Albany's determination to avenge Gloucester, the description of Cordelia's reception of Kant's letters (this is Shakespeare's scene iii. which only occurred in the quartos) the doctor's plans for the restoration of Lear's sanity, Regan's decision that it is she who is to marry Edmund and Oswald's subservience to her demands. This is a very great deal to omit even from the adaptation of another play. Some of it Tate may not have had to hand if he were working from the 1664 Folio, some he includes in part, some he may have felt as repetition and some did not fit the play as he had altered it. Not to go into greater detail, these would seem to be the reasons for so much cutting.

Tate's scene changes to a 'Field Scene' which is Shakespeare's IV.vi. Shakespeare's eighty lines are hardly altered by Tate who only substitutes words occasionally to render the meaning in accordance with

contemporary usage. He also omits a few lines. Of the Samphire gatherer -- 'Methinks he seems no bigger than his head' (Sh.IV.vi.16) -- is omitted, perhaps because Tate did not consider it as necessary, perhaps because he simply overlooked it in transcribing wholesale; similarly with the sea, 'That on th'unnumber'd idle pebble chafes,' (Sh.IV.vi.21). Edgar's 'would I not leap upright.' (Sh.IV.vi.27) becomes 'wou'd not now/Leap forward.' (Tate IV.225-6) a meaning which Warburton was later to give 'upright'. In his renunciation of the world, Gloucester does not shake his afflictions off 'patiently' (Sh.IV.vi.36) since Tate could see that his Gloucester had not been fundamentally patient at all. Tate omits also Edgar's description of the height the old man has fallen;

'Ten masts at each make not the altitude
Which thou hast perpendicularly fell.'

(Sh.IV.vi.53-4)

Possibly not liking the controversial 'at each', the ungrammatical 'hast fell' and the clumsy adverb 'perpendicularly.' Lear now enters in both plays, wreathed and garlanded with wild flowers. Tate keeps the substance of his mad lines and his conversation with Gloucester although what he possibly saw as indelicacies in Shakespeare are more 'tastefully' rendered in places. Gloucester's despairing 'O ruin'd piece of nature! This great world/ Shall so wear out to nought.' (Sh.IV.vi.133-4) is omitted, perhaps because Tate felt that God's purposes should not be so interpreted, while Edgar laments in

addition,

'wretched Cordelia,

What will thy Vertue do when thou shalt find
This fresh Affliction added to the Tale
Of thy unparrallel'd Griefs.'

(Tate IV.325-8)

although it is uncertain what 'This fresh Affliction' is. Lear's words to Gloucester concerning the state of the world are altered by Tate who most probably did not approve of a king talking in terms of a child's game -- 'handy-dandy.' Gloucester has an additional line given to him in the middle of Lear's speech, 'How stiff is my vile sense that yields not yet?' (Tate IV.346) which is perhaps to emphasise his added grief at seeing the king so afflicted. The lines between Shakespeare IV.vi.163 and 168 are omitted from the quartos. They are quoted in full in the Appendix C(1) to show ^{what} Tate made of them. The Folios read 'Place' and 'sinnes' (F1.F2) in the plural, which, with the fact that Tate's lines do bear some resemblance to Shakespeare's might indicate that Tate was using a Folio, although that he had a quarto to hand also cannot be precluded. Edgar's aside in Shakespeare at line 172 is given to Gloucester and Gloucester's line at 179 is altered to 'Break lab'ring Heart' and given to Edgar, the first change in order to keep the thread of Gloucester's remarks continuous, the second to conclude the observations with a reminder that emotions are being disturbed on all sides. The entry of an Attendant to intercept the king and his opening words

with Lear are kept by Tate although he does alter the order of some of Shakespeare's lines, adds that Lear will die 'flusht and pamper'd as a Priest's Whore' (a cut at Roman Catholicism?) and transposes the shoeing of horses and the killing of sons-in-law to Lear's exit at the run. The Gentleman's comment at this is kept, although he does not mention the redemptive value of Cordelia's virtue -- a surprising omission in Tate but one probably caused by the fact that in Shakespeare they are addressed to Lear who in Tate has already departed. The discussion of the gathering of armies is omitted and it is to the Gentleman and not to his own father that Edgar explains his condition -- clarified by Tate, while Gloucester's remark that he will die at the Gods' will and not his own is kept as a concluding line. Tate perhaps felt this to be more dramatically effective so arranged and thus excised the short (12 lines) conversation between Edgar and his father. The entrance of Goneril's Gentleman (Oswald) and his fight with Edgar is preserved almost as in Shakespeare by Tate. In Edgar's 'Chill not let go, zir, without vurther 'casion', the 'vurther' does not appear in the quartos and that Tate has it would indicate, again, use of a Folio. At his death Oswald does not ask Edgar to take the letters to Edmund or beg his own burial. Tate most probably saw this as unnecessary to his plot since Edgar was to help himself to the letters, making a more fluently punctuated and clearer remark on the necessity of opening them than his altogether more realistic murmurings to himself in Shakespeare,

(Sh.IV.vi.254-60), The purport of Goneril's letter is the same, although slightly modernised. Shakespeare's 'and his bed my gaol' (Sh.IV.vi.265) appears, as 'Gaole' (F1) 'Goale' (F2) 'Goal' (F3) and 'Iayle' (Q2); for this Tate has (Goal) which would be a certain indication that he was working from either F2 or F3. Edgar concludes with the sense culled from Shakespeare:

that he will bury Oswald (Sh.271-3) wishing that he had had some other deathsm^an (Sh.256-7) that he will produce the letter before Albany (Sh.273-6) and that, hearing a drum, he will place Gloucester with a friend (Sh.283-5). Gloucester's speech of six lines seeing the value of madness is sadly omitted, since it adds yet a further dimension -- which Tate possibly saw as unnecessary -- to his character.

Shakespeare's scene vii coincides with the following one in Tate in which Lear is revealed asleep, with Cordelia, Kent and a Doctor watching him. In Tate however, Kent is away fighting and therefore his opening conversation with Cordelia is omitted. Tate opens with a paraphrase of Cordelia's prayer in Shakespeare (IV.vii.14-7):

'O you kind gods,
Cure this great breach in his abused nature!
Th'untuned and jarring senses, oh, windup
Of this child-changed father! '

rendered as

'His Sleep is sound, and may have good Effect
To Cure his jarring Senses, and repair
This Breach of Nature. '

(Tate IV.427-9)

Tate is clarifying here. It is interesting that he should have used 'jarring Senses' since the quartos read 'hurrying'; this would appear to be more evidence of his use of a Folio. The Doctor is given rather more credit for his work than previously with the added lines,

'We have employ'd the utmost Pow'r of Art,
And this deep Rest will perfect our Design.'

(Tate IV.430-1)

Tate omits her questioning of the Doctor and his call for music and shortens her seventeen-line speech upbraiding her sisters, to six. Four of the lines appeared only in the quartos and Tate may therefore not have had them to hand, the other reason for their alteration and shortening was possibly to take any sort of specific reference from the speech --

'and wast thou fain, poor father,
To hovel thee with swine and rogues forlorn,
In short and musty straw?'

(Sh.IV.vii.38-40.)

Lear's waking lines are wretchedly travestied by Tate and he is given the additional lines;

'Ha! is this too a World of Cruelty?
I know my Priviledge, think not that I will
Be us'd still like a wretched Mortal, no,
No more of that.'

(Tate IV.442-5).

Tate is possibly trying to increase the pathos of the situation and his intention of copying Shakespeare's style is evident; one is tempted to

to condemn the lines because they are unnecessary although worse have clearly been written by the adapter in the course of his work. In altering 'that my own tears/Do scald' (Sh.IV.vii.47-8) to 'which my own' (Tate IV.448) Tate would appear not to have understood the use of 'that' as equivalent to 'so that'; the line as he renders it implies that Lear's tears are scalding the wheel of fire. Lear's question to Cordelia 'when did you die?' (Sh.IV.vii.49) appears as 'where' in Q1, F1 and 2; it is interesting that Tate should have 'where'; a discussion of the implications of this will be included later (Appendix D). The King's pricking of his hands and his uncertainty at his state are omitted by Tate who possibly did not see their dramatic effectiveness. Lear's twelve-line speech of doubt is kept intact by Tate although Cordelia inter^rupts it with a farewell to her patience and a call upon the gods to witness her previous submission. Lear's humility on recognising his daughter and his preparation for her punishment of him are emphasised by Tate. The lines are not devoid of poetic merit, the objection to them lying in Tate's obvious desire to create more pathos, which is rendered sickening by Cordelia,

'O pity, Sir, a bleeding Heart, and cease
This killing Language.'

(Tate 484-5)

These lines replace her soothing 'no cause, no cause', as previously

'O my dear, dear Father!' (Tate IV.475) had replaced her loving, restrained and yet passionate reply, 'And so I am, I am.' (Sh.IV.vii.70). The Doctor's prescription of rest and quietness for the King is modernised by Tate and given to the Gentleman while Lear's final plea, 'Pray you now, forget and forgive!' (Sh.IV.vii.84) is omitted since Tate obviously wished to avoid the use of prose on the King's exit. Cordelia's soliloquy which ends Tate's fourth Act has been placed in Appendix C(2). A glance at it will show that even were Tate trying to imitate Shakespeare's style as Kilbourne suggests (13. he fails dismally. It is in fact more likely that he was attempting to produce a speech in the fighting heroic manner, indicating that all is by no means lost. The tone, the sentiments and the words themselves are totally inappropriate to the character of Cordelia, either as Shakespeare's reticent, undemonstrative and peaceful lady or as Tate's own adventurous coquette and schemer. It might possibly be reading too much into Tate's words to see a reference to the Divine Right of Kings and thus to the political troubles of his time, in the concluding three lines, although his audience would doubtless have read some such meaning into them. Shakespeare's conversation between Kent and a Gentleman which concludes his fourth Act did not occur in the Folios, and they are absent also from Tate.

Tate's fifth act opens in the Camp with Coneril plotting, with an Attendant, to poison Regan whose arrival is expected

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(13. F.W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*. p. 162.

imminently. This is intended as a dramatic expansion of Shakespeare's mere indication that the sisters had poisoned each other. Tate possibly could not see that the dramatic interest of such expansion was outweighed by the turning of attention from the main events at a crucial point in the play. Thus the 'rule' for the absence of sub-plot is violated in the interests of intrigue and plotting. Tate's scene then turns to Edmund alone in his tent. Corresponding with part of his soliloquy in Shakespeare V.1.55-69, he, too, is plotting. He reveals that he has already 'enjoy'd' Regan and that Goneril would provide 'dear variety' with her 'yet untasted Beauty'. He determines to use Albany's 'Countenance for the Battail' (Tate V.25) and then to 'Usurp at once his Bed and Throne.' (Tate V.26). In Shakespeare he also determines on the deaths of Lear and Cordelia. His Officers enter and explain that the peasants are led by Edgar and Kent while Gloucester '(a moving Spectacle)' (Tate V.32) with his 'pow'rfull Tongue, and more prevailing Wrongs,' (Tate V.33) has so enraged the rustics that they will join battle at dawn. Edmund is pleased at the news and gives them brief battle instructions. Tate then turns to Edgar and Gloucester who are in a valley near the Camp; this is Shakespeare's scene ii. Between Edgar's exit and re-entrance with the news of defeat, Gloucester is given a fighting speech which ends with his tearing the ground in despair

(See Appendix C (3)). This is true to Tate's re-interpretation of the old man's character, incongruous as it is, and conforming also to one's evaluation of Tate's poetic gifts. He speaks in trite, but duly heroic terms, of 'goar'd Battle', 'deadliest Danger', 'ratling War', and 'batter'd Ground', the purpose most probably being to emphasise the importance of the battle and to echo the sounds of it within. Tate keeps intact the speeches on the return of Edgar and the departure of the two. Shakespeare's third scene opens with Edmund, Cordelia and Lear; to these Tate adds Albany, Goneril and Regan who enter forty lines later in Shakespeare, and Kent who enters at line 233 in Shakespeare. Tate gives the initiative to Albany who orders the Captain to treat his prisoners well. Goneril, however, in an aside, orders the Captain to kill them at once since her kingdom cannot be sure while they live. The Captain has no hesitation in promising obedience to her. Tate now turns to what is V.iii.41-81 in Shakespeare; the quarrel between the sisters over Edmund and the coolness between the latter and Albany. Edmund's fifteen lines explaining that Lear has been imprisoned are replaced by five recommending the King's death. Tate keeps Albany's cutting reply with the preliminaries of the sisters' quarrel. Lost is Regan's assertion that she is not well, but that she means to marry Edmund, lost is Albany's declaration of Edmund's treason and the Duke's call for Edgar's champion. Instead Tate

returns to Shakespeare's Act V. sc.iii.1.38 at which Edgar enters in disguise to announce his champion's presence and to deliver a letter to Albany. His words are altered completely, although their purport is the same, and no mention is made of the letter; Edmund prepares to defend himself at once. Certainly Tate's reason for placing the scene here must have been part of his re-stringing of Shakespeare's 'Jewells' in order to render the action of the play simpler and to keep the events in a more logical order. Lear, Kent and Cordelia, guarded, remain on the stage and the first part of Shakespeare's scene three (lines 1-25) is now to be represented. Lear begins with a perfectly sensible and apposite lament that Kent and Cordelia should see him so disgraced. His lines are very different from those in Shakespeare where his emotional excitement remains and it is indicative of Tate's inferior dramatic abilities that he should present the King as fully restored. It is at this point, too, that Kent makes the identity of Caius known to the King, rather than twenty-six lines before Lear dies, when he is in no state of mind to appreciate it, 'He knows not what he says, and vain it is/That we present us to him.' (Sh.V.iii.294-5). In Tate, Lear is represented as overcome by the revelation, 'My Caius too! wer't thou my trusty Caius,/Enough, enough ---/ Cord. Ah me, he faints!' (Tate V.141-3). Lear then repeats Shakespeare's 'Birds i'th'cage' speech (Sh.V.iii.8-19). Tate clarifies the ambiguously - punctuated 'hear poor rogues/Talk of court news' (Sh.V.iii.13-14) by rendering

it 'hear Sycophants' (Tate V.152) and omits the reference to 'God's spies' by making it 'Heavens Spies'. There was certainly a movement among critics of the drama to suppress references to God, and of swearing by God. The campaign against this reached the height of absurdity in Arth^dur Bedfor^h's treatise of 1706. Tate himself wrote in a poem 'The Swearer',

'If he believes a God, how void of Sense
Are Pigmies to defy Omnipotence?
If not, Himself an Idiot he proclaims
Who swears by Pow'rs that are but any Names. (14.

Tate omits the lines,

'And we'll wear out,
In a wall'd prison, packs and sects of great ones
That ebb and flow by th' moon.'
(Sh.V.iii.17-9)

possibly feeling that they repeated the sense of Lear's earlier lines and thus seeing them as unnecessary. Lear's lines, 'Upon such sacrifices .../The gods themselves throw incense.' (Sh.V.iii.20-1) are given by Tate to Cordelia, in whose mouth they become rather pathetic than noble. Their nobility Tate perhaps did not see, but their pathos thus transposed he would have appreciated immediately. Lear's remark that he who parts them shall 'bring a brand from heaven,/And fire us hence like foxes,' (Sh.V.iii.22-3) is cut in half; Tate most probably deprecating the likening of a King and his daughter to vermin. The belief that a king in drama should be treated with dignity is supported ninety-four years later by William Cooke who,

(.14. Cited by H.F.Scott - Thomas, 'Nahum Tate and the Seventeenth Century'. p.257.

in his Elements of Dramatic Criticism (P.50) writes, 'As soon as the poet has given the dignity of a king to one of his characters, without hearing him speak, or seeing him act, we know that he ought to be grave, majestic, ^ajelous of his authority.' Cooke states that this 'rule' finds its source in Aristotle. Tate omits the uncertain reference to the 'good-years' while Lear's refusal to weep and his determination 'we'll see 'em starve first' (Sh.V.iii.25) is given to him sixteen lines earlier with 'rot' for 'starve'; possibly as a more determined expression. Tate gives an additional two lines to Lear;

'Together we'll out-toil the Spight of Hell,
And Die the Wonders of the World; Away.'

(Tate V.161-2)

This, presumably, to end the scene with a flourish. Albany, Goneril and Regan now enter, and although there is no direction for the entrance of Edmund, he must be present too. Goneril speaks aside to the Captain of the Guard, giving him gold and reminding him of her command to kill his prisoners -- 'and at/Our Ev'ning Banquet let it raise our Mirth/To hear that They are Dead.' (Tate V.164-6). Albany and the sisters sit and the former reminds Edmund that all his soldiers have been disbanded and he must trust 'to his single Vertue,' (Tate V.167). The challenge is read, worded as by Shakespeare (V.iii.III-15) but Albany recognises Edgar the moment he enters and thus are lost the formal preliminaries to the fight, Edgar's magnificent speech of accusation and Edmund's contemptuous reply.

(Sh.V.iii.128-51). Tate possibly saw these as too formal for his purpose since he was aiming at a melodramatic effect. Edmund starts guiltily, but asserts that he is a villain and such he will stay; true to the scholarly demand that characters should be consistent. (15. Edmund's speech is a good example of the melodramatic;

'Ha! My Brother!
 This is the onely Combatant that I cou'd fear;
 For in my Breast Guilt Duels on his side,
 But, Conscience, what have I to do with Thee?
 Awe thou thy dull Legitimate Slaves, but I
 Was born a Libertine, and so I keep me.'

(Tate V.177-82).

Edgar ignores this and now gives the letter to Albany with a travesty of his accusation in Shakespeare. (See Appendix C(4) Sh.V.iii.127-51 and Tate V.188-203) Tate omits the confrontation between Albany and his wife but keeps a form of Edgar's sorrowful reference to his father's guilt, embellished with 'noble' elements for the sake of greater melodrama. (For comparison of the two see Appendix C(5) Sh.V.iii.170-4) and Tate V.204-21.) It will be seen that Edmund is not in a submitting mood (although in Shakespeare he has already been defeated at this point) and that his pride and recklessness are to be emphasised. Tate gives to Goneril and Regan Albany's 'Save him, save him.' (Sh.V.iii.152) possibly feeling

(15. cf. W.Cooke, Elements of Dramatic Criticism, P.52, a character 'should never speak, or act repugnant to his fundamental character.'

that the solicitude of the sisters should be emphasised rather than Albany's desire to keep Edmund alive to confess. Goneril proclaims that Edmund has been deceived not through fighting a stranger, but one whom he had already defeated in battle/— this change is due to the more general changes Tate had made in the Act. The production of Goneril's letter by Albany is kept as in Shakespeare, except that Tate adds one half-line and slightly alters the phrasing of another for greater clarity. When presented with the letter, Edmund pants out that he has not breath 'to Answer idle Questions.' (Tate V.235). His willingness to confess is omitted by Tate for the reasons given above, as well as Edgar's own revelation of his identity which Tate did not need. Edgar's description of his disguise and the death of Gloucester are also sadly lost from Tate who did not intend the old man to die. The description of Edgar's meeting with Kent does not appear either; since this occurred only in the quartos and if Tate were using a Folio, he would not have had the lines to hand. Instead Albany and Edgar depart to find Gloucester and leave Edmund, Goneril and Regan for a lively quarrel. From this point, the play, with the exception of a few lines, is all Tate's, and a sorry business it is. The quarrel over Edmund is couched in abusive terms, culminating in the revelations that the sisters have poisoned each other. These are expressed in the now familiar extravagant rant;

'How well that boasted Beauty will become
 Congealing Blood and Death's convulsive Pangs.'

(Tate V 265-6)

Edmund concludes the scene with a weary seven-line speech, intimating that he is prepared to forgive Edgar and that to have two Queens contending for him is worth dying for. Before totally condemning Tate for this scene one must appreciate that he was trying to achieve Shakespeare's effect with these characters but in an exaggerated form and that he could only use the tools he knew: exaggeration of language, disproportionate weight of character and turgidity of rhythm.

Tate's final scene is in the prison; Lear is revealed asleep with his head in Cordelia's lap. Her opening speech is reproduced in Appendix C(6). It is one of trite phrasing, childish logic and melodrama. With the appearance of the guards the King speaks, still half asleep, of battle and victory. This, with the exchanges between his daughter and the guard are intended to increase the pathos of the situation. Tate depicts Lear's killing of the guard, rather than having it reported, and the old King slays two men rather than Shakespeare's one. Edgar enters with a bold,

'Death; Hell; Ye Vultures hold your impious Hands,'

(Tate V.319)

and is re-united with Cordelia with similar melodramatic utterances; 'My Edgar, Oh!' (Tate V.324) and 'the Gods have weigh'd our Sufferings;' (Tate V.326). A Gentleman notices that the 'Generous King' has slain two men. This use of 'generous' is in the now obsolete sense of 'high-spirited', gallant and courageous'; its original meaning was 'high-born' but this is unlikely here, partly because this

usage was becoming obsolete by Tate's time and partly because it is the King's courage which is being commended. Lear replies in words taken from Shakespeare (V.iii.277-9). Albany (who has entered with Edgar) calls for Kent and Gloucester and Kent is brought in while Lear questions Albany's identity from Shakespeare V.iii.279-80. He expects his son-in-law to torture him, only begging mercy for Cordelia. Albany soothes him with an alteration of Edmund's 'The wheel has come full circles;' (Sh.V.iii.175) but still, Lear, with due pathos will not be deceived by what he sees as false hope. Albany reveals Goneril's letter to Lear and promises punishment for her, upon which Cordelia exclaims artificially and unnecessarily,

'Speak, for me thought I heard
The charming Voice of a descending God.'

(Tate V.378-9).

Albany determines to restore the kingdom to Lear who replies enigmatically,

'Let the Spheres stop their Course, the Sun make Hault,
The Winds be husht, the Seas and Fountains Rest;
All Nature pause, and listen to the Change.'

(Tate V.390-2).

This can be no other than an attempt by Tate to imitate Shakespeare's style. As such it must speak for itself; similarly Lear's line, 'Old Lear shall be /A King again.' (Tate V.397-8) which seems to hint at his previous autocratic tendencies, although he does delegate sovereignty to Cordelia --

'Cordelia then shall be Queen, mark that:
 Cordelia shall be Queen; Winds catch the sound
 And bear it on your Rosie wings to Heav'n.
 Cordelia is a Queen.'

(Tate V.400-3).

Tate is making quite sure that everyone understands his alteration to a happy ending. Edgar and Gloucester now enter and mutual congratulations are offered after which Edgar explains the death of Edmund, Goneril and Regan. Lear expresses 'A Pang of Nature for their Wretched Fall' (Tate V.428) and then gives Cordelia to Edgar with a call for Gloucester's blessing on them while, 'Old Kent throws in his hearty Wishes too.' (Tate V.434). Edgar and Cordelia, as one might expect, express themselves over-paid, but Lear has already determined that he, Kent and Gloucester are to pass the rest of their lives in peaceful mediation. The last words are left to Edgar who expresses not only his own disinterestedness, but the moral towards which Tate has been nudging the play from its first lines. (See Appendix C-7).

The happy ending of the play is really the most controversial of Tate's alterations. His own explanation of it is enigmatically expressed in his Epistle Dedicatory -- 'This Method necessarily threw me on making the Tale conclude in a Success to the innocent distrest Persons:' It is uncertain what 'This Method' was; grammatical logic would indicate that it was his expedient of rectifying what was wanting in the 'Regularity and Probability of the Tale,' the ending is happy therefore 'Otherwise I must have incumbered the Stage with dead Bodies,

which Conduct makes many Tragedies conclude with unreasonable Jest^s. One can only conclude from this that Tate was not sure that he could render the play serious if he had to alter the last Act and still keep the deaths; and by giving Cordelia a love for Edgar he would have had to alter it. If he was so uncertain of his own abilities, he should never have tampered with the play at all. The play was very popular, however, although the critics arranged themselves on both sides of the fence of poetic justice. Addison, in the Spectator no.40. for 16 April, 1711, wrote "King Lear" is an admirable tragedy of the same kind, as Shakespeare wrote it; but as it is a reformed according to the chimerical notion of poetical justice, in my humble opinion, it has lost half its beauty.' However, 'A.B.' in a letter to The Gentleman's Magazine in June 1752 declared, 'Tis more agreeable to see virtue rewarded and vice punished; but this moral is broken through by their deaths.' Johnson himself could hardly bear to read the play as Shakespeare wrote it, while Edward Taylor in his Cursory Remarks on Tragedy in 1774 wrote 'That such a melancholy catastrophe was by no means necessary is evinced by the manner in which the play is now performed. Ingratitude now meets with its proper punishment and the audience now retire, exulting in the mutual happiness of paternal affection and filial piety. Such, if practicable, should be the winding up of all dramattick representations, that mankind may have the most persuasive allurements to all good actions:

for although virtue depressed may be amiable, virtue triumphant must be irresistible.' This must have been the attitude of most of the play-goers to the adaptation in these years. Certainly the Cornhill Magazine for July 1863 records that it was not until 1823 that Kean allowed Cordelia and Lear 'to die miserably as Shakespeare intended them', but even then Tate's love-scenes were retained. A modern critic, H.F.Scott-Thomas, has attributed the happy ending to rationalism which 'was held to entail poetic justice. (16. If this were so it is probably unlikely that it was consciously Tate's motive.

It has not been possible to treat this final Act exactly as the others since, where Tate keeps Shakespeare's lines, he usually keeps them more or less intact, and otherwise much is completely new to the play. The losses must be obvious, particularly on the levels of poetry, character and dramatic effect, while Tate's rearrangement of the sequence of events not only distorts their relative importance but renders the Act dramatically thin. The Epilogue was to be spoken by Mrs. Barry who played Cordelia. Its main burden is that while virtuous ladies on the stage are not so coy when they have left the theatre, similarly those who are valorous in the pit (the critics) should cease to maul the poets and go and test their valour outside on the Alcade (the governor of a Spanish prison, who, according to Chambers' supplement in 1753 was the equivalent of an English J.P.). Tate acknowledges their power to

condemn his part of the play, but qualifies this by adding that,

'But still so many Master-Touches Shine
Of that vast Hand that first laid this Design,'

and that if they do damn the play then their own abilities as judges are also condemned.

In the Introduction to this dissertation several general reasons were given to account for these adaptations. From a close study of one adaptation, several more have been revealed. Some of these have never been mentioned by other commentators because they did not consider the plays in adequate detail, others have not been sufficiently emphasised, nor have the compromise^s made by the adapter been indicated. Two aspects of alterations which are, in fact, linked together fall into the latter categories. One is the total lack of subtlety in Tate's additions and his removal of it in the alterations he has made and the other is his complete contempt for the intelligence of his audiences. The search for clarity is one of the most important aspects of adaptation. Another obvious feature of Tate's alteration that has never been stressed is his representation of the pathetic, which, with the increased love/lust interest are features designed to please the audience rather than satisfy the scholars. While Tate's stated purposes were to point a moral, heighten probability and arrange events more logically — classically laudable intentions — his compromise with popular taste led him into increased violence, unnecessary vitiation of character and weakening of the natural vigour of Shakespeare's language. He is at times careless

in handling his altered plot, could not always have understood Shakespeare's meaning, and some errors in transcription occur; these facets of his alteration have not yet been noted. The modernisation of language has been observed. It is interesting, however, that Tate alters whole phrases to suit the fashions of his day and includes also what may be taken as references to both political and religious situations. The most obvious concern of Tate's, however, was with plot and sound; that character and sense thereby suffered was of no great concern to him and this is the basic reason why his play is inferior to Shakespeare's. As far as neo-classicism is concerned, he virtually disregards the dictates of the unities and of the impropriety of violence, adhering only to the third great aspect, that of the suppression of comedy in tragedy. The characters have largely been rendered as 'types' — a dramatic failing which William Guthrie did not hesitate to criticise sixty years later in his Essay on English Tragedy in 1742 (P.20) 'the modern English in their tragedies have peopled the poetic world with a race of mortals unknown to life'; he sees this as sanctioned by French example. Finally there are aspects of the play which are altered for the sake of structural balance. The pairing of Cordelia and Edgar may be in small part due to this; similarly the fall and rise in their fortunes. Certainly dramatic neatness caused Tate to excise passages which he did not see as necessary to his revised edition.

The actual design of the stage could not have affected Tate's alteration significantly, although since there is not a great deal of place-description in Shakespeare's King Lear the need to excise it as unnecessary would not be so apparent. Tate is generally restrained in the use of popular effect although at two points at least he gives opportunity for the playing of music. He keeps the fight between Cornwall and his servant and the sound of the storm offstage. He is inclined to rely more on passionate bombast when he wishes to create a particularly impressive effect. This bombast may be included, however, as particularly fitted to the abilities of certain actors and not be entirely attributable to Tate's ineptitude and his pandering to audience-taste. His alteration of Cordelia's character may well have been influenced by an awareness that Mrs. Barry was to play the part, and, as has been suggested, (supra P.101) Regan's greater wickedness may be attributable to the abilities of Mary Lee. Finally a short word must be said about Tate's use of verse and prose, his metrical alterations and his punctuation. (A discussion of his use of quartos and Folios will be placed in Appendix D.). In the main Tate adds little prose to the play, most of his additions being in blank verse, even the speeches of servants. It is obvious that some lines of Shakespeare's are altered to render them metrically more exact, but on the other hand, Tate's own lines are quite often imperfect in this way and phrased so that the natural balance of speech is upset. Gloucester's lines in Act. V. (49-56) reveal Tate's inability to write freely when attempting a flight of poetic imagination,

'Where's Gloster now that us'd to head the Fray,
 And scour the Ranks where deadliest Danger lay?
 Here, like a Shepherd in a lonely Shade,
 Idle, unarm'd, and listening to the Fight.
 Yet the disabled Courser, Maim'd and Blind,
 When to his Stall he hears the rattling War,
 Foaming with Rage tears up the batter'd Ground,
 And tugs for Liberty.'

Albany's lines in the same Act reveal the stilted phrasing of Tate conveying information, (360-4),

'Know the noble Edgar
 Impeacht Lord Edmund since the Fight, of Treason,
 And dar'd him for the Proof to single Combat,
 In which the Gods confirm'd his Charge by Conquest;
 I left ev'n now the Traytor wounded Mortally.'

Tate's punctuation is more liberally scattered than in Shakespeare, sometimes without due logic, although human error must be allowed for. Certainly his punctuation does not always occur where rhetoric would seem to demand it, for instance, Lear's words in Act. V. (429-33),

'But, Edgar, I defer thy Joys too long:
 Thou serv'dst distrest Cordelia; take her Crown'd:
 Th'imperial Grace fresh Blooming on her Brow;
 Nay, Gloster, Thou hast here a Father's Right;
 Thy helping Hand t'heap Blessings on their Head.'

Here the speech is given a staccato effect by over-punctuation.

The popularity of the play for so many years reflects Tate's ability to assess the compromises he could make between what an audience liked and what the scholars would allow. He apparently managed to please

most of both, most of the time. Throughout the period voices were raised both for and against his work. That its popularity dwindled as the years passed is not only indicative of a revival of interest in Shakespeare as originally written, but of the changing temper of audiences who began to appreciate, with the awakening Romantic spirit, ⁿgr[^]adeur of emotion, rather than pathos, and true poetry rather than heroic bombast. This attitude must have been affected also by new modes of acting. It was Garrick who first laid emphasis on subtleties of character-portrayal, so that audiences eventually flocked to see him play a part rather than to watch an intricate plot unfold. It is ^{to}_^ his version of King Lear that this study now turns.

Chapter III

'King Lear. A Tragedy by Shakespeare.'

(Garrick 1756)

In assessing the popularity of Shakespeare between Tate and Garrick one must beware of emphasising the importance of scattered remarks which may not bear great weight in themselves. In the introductory Chapters to this study the significance of certain statistics was remarked although the statistics themselves were not related to any specific events. Two aspects of the increase of interest in Shakespeare in these years are worthy of particular note. On page 460 of his book Shakespeare in the Theatre Hogan writes, 'The fact seems to be that two publishers, Tonson and Walker were in large measure responsible for the growth of popular interest in Shakespeare that characterised the 1730s and '40s. In 1734 they each began to issue in very large editions and at very small cost, Shakespeare's plays in their entirety. A demand was created and the theatres responded. The revival took two forms: the revival of many plays previously disregarded and the gradual abandonment of altered versions.' One would quarrel with his assertion that the theatres responded to popular demand created by these editions, since in fact Shakespeare was more frequently performed between 1717 and 1723 than between 1723 and 1740. The revival of Shakespeare as originally written cannot be wholly attributable to these editions either, but it must certainly be true that all the editions appearing in these years affected the taste of the audiences which watched his plays. The other event was the active campaign, by a number of ladies of distinction for several seasons after 1737, for the increased production of Shakespeare's plays. Evidence for

this occurs in the persistent appearance in handbills of the time of the assertion that the plays are produced 'at the desire of several Ladies of Quality.' The matter is handled in detail by E.L.Avery in 'The Shakespeare Ladies Club.' Bell's edition of Shakespeare's plays in which King Lear appears in Vol.II was begun in 1773. (1. It was 'regulated from the Prompt Book, with permission of the Managers, by Mr. Hopkins, Prompter' to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane (Hopkins succeeded Cross as prompter on the latter's death in 1760). An introduction to each play and critical notes were added by Francis Gentleman who is described in the Biographia Dramatica (vol. I. p273) as having 'the discredit of being editor of the worst edition that ever appeared of any English author: we mean Shakespeare as printed by Mr. Bell.' It was noted in this edition that many of the plays of Shakespeare appeared as altered by Garrick for the stage. It is in the footnote to Garrick's letter 824 in their edition of his correspondence, that Little and Kahrl quote a letter by Davies, the bookseller, to the St. James's Chronicle, 4-6 January 1774, in which he criticised Garrick for allowing Hopkins 'to deliver the plays of Shakespeare in a State of Mutilation, as acted at his Theatre,

- (1. The Advertisement in the Monthly Review in 1774 (p.145) said, 'The great aim of former editors has been to give us Shakespeare restored; the professed design of this, perhaps more popular work is to present the less critical reader with Shakespeare as altered and accomodated to the taste of an age more refined than that in which the author lived and wrote -- more capable of tasting his beauties, and less apt to relish or even tolerate his defects.'

to Mr. Bell.' It is unlikely that these alterations were all made at this time however, rather than they had evolved over the years. Thus it has seemed almost indubitable that the version of King Lear which appears in the edition was closely similar to that mentioned in his diary on 28 October 1756 by Cross -- 'King Lear' -- with Restorations from Shakespeare. (2. Stone also produces evidence to show that Garrick may have begun his restoration of the play a few years earlier than this. (3. The Editor's preface to Bell's edition summarises its

- (2. Mentioned by G.W. Stone, (Garrick's Production of King Lear --- quoted from an M.S. in the Folger Shakespeare Library.
- (3. These facts, with the addition of Genest's remarks (Vol. IV, P.475) have assigned to Garrick the role of earliest restorer of King Lear. Professor A.J. Harris, however, in his article in The Shakespeare Quarterly (xxii, No 1) produces evidence to show that although Garrick had earlier restored Shakespeare's speeches to Lear's part, the alteration as it appeared in Bell was most probably produced first in 1770, at any rate, after Colman's edition in 1768. However, there appears to have been confusion by commentators over the words 'restoration' and 'alteration'. Since there can be no definite proof as to how much or little of Shakespeare was restored by Garrick before 1768, one may, perhaps, assume that the 'restorations from Shakespeare' announced in the playbills (eg. Cross in 1756) indicated his replacing of Tate's words by Shakespeare's wherever possible and that the call upon Garrick made by Gentleman in 1770 (upon which Professor Harris's argument mainly rests) for 'a third alteration upon medium principles, between the latitude of Tate and the circumscription of Colman,' indicates, quite literally, that Garrick was to alter the structure of his already largely restored play. Thus his plot-structure is in fact a medium between Tate's freedom with Shakespeare and Colman's return to something much closer to the original. To Garrick, presumably therefore, should go the palms for restoration of lines and to

purpose by maintaining that it was not intended for 'the profoundly learned who love to find out and chace their own critical game' but 'to render what we call the essence of Shakespeare, more instructive and intelligible; especially to the ladies and to youth;' thus 'we have carefully consulted correctness, neatness, ornament, utility and cheapness of price glaring indecencies being removed, and intricate passages explained.' Where a reading is dubious they assert that they 'have given those readings which to us appear most consonant to our author's manner and meaning.' In considering this edition, therefore, there are two dangers which arise; dangers which seem never to have been noticed, let alone guarded against. One is that some of the changes, possibly minor ones, may not have been made by Garrick at all, but the editors, and the other, that of believing that Garrick held this version as of any particular merit. It is not included among lists of his dramatic works, where-as other alterations of Shakespeare are, and the Editor's Preface to Bell quotes Garrick as being worried 'lest the prunings, transpositions, or other alterations, which, in his province as a manager he had often found necessary to make, or adopt with regard to the text, for the convenience of representation or accomodation to the powers and capabilities of his performers, might be misconstrued into a critical presumption of offering to the litterati a reformed and more correct edition of our author's works; this being by no means his intention we hope it will not become liable to such an unmerited misconstruction.' They state their purpose to be the production of 'a companion to the theatre.' It is interesting to note that Garrick is not reported as altering the text to please the taste of the audience.

Rather than restoring Shakespeare to satisfy the demands of those increasingly interested in the bard, it is more likely that Garrick, a dramatic artist of a different kind, could appreciate for himself the suitability of Shakespeare's Lear for effective acting as well as well as the many deficiencies of Tate's version. Where Tate's major alterations were dictated largely by pre-conceived theories of dramatic art, Garrick restored the play to a form he knew he could make dramatically effective. Tate set out as a scholar, however deviated he may have become en route, Garrick was an actor, and with the percipience that made him a great one, he realised the superiority of Shakespeare to Tate in the face of the latter's greater popularity. It is not for what he did, therefore, but for what he did not do that he may be criticised. He retained certain structural alterations of Tate's and it was in keeping these that he was sacrificing at the altar of public opinion, critical or sentimental. Genest writes (vol.iv.p.475) 'his restorations from Shakespeare do him credit as far as they go; he has however removed but half of the filth with which Tate had disfigured Shakespeare.'

The Introduction to Garrick's version was, most probably, written seventeen years after it was first produced and thus after Colman's version in 1768. While rejoicing that Shakespeare should have handled the subject, thus offering a worthy opportunity for Garrick's genius, the commentator remarks that the 'tragedy originally is, in many places, too diffuse, and in others obscure. Tate, in his alterations,

has properly curtailed, and, in general, polished it.' He considers, however, that the Drury Lane version 'by judiciously blending of Tate and Shakespeare, is made more nervous than that by the Laureat;' he also considers it superior to Colman's. 'Nervous' used of writing has been recorded as late as the end of the nineteenth century, meaning 'vigorous, powerful, forcible; free from weakness and diffuseness.' (N.E.D.) the value of Francis Gentleman's opinions in general, however, will be seen to be deeply suspect. The cast-lists which are given are of the performances in Covent Garden on Monday 13 December 1771 and in Drury Lane on Wednesday 17 February 1773. (Garrick had not played Lear for three years). (4.

Garrick's play opens with Shakespeare's Act I scene I and with a note by Francis Gentleman, 'We rather incline to Tate's beginning with the Bastard's soliloquy, than to this original scene of Shakespeare, which, somewhat altered, and rendered more decent, he places second.' Garrick keeps the initial conversation between Gloucester, Kent and Edmund, up to line 30, omitting only references by Gloucester to the growing 'round wombed' of Edmund's mother and the 'good sport at his making', both of which were doubtless expurgated for reasons of good taste.

(4. From evidence compiled in Part 4, vol. 3 of The London Stage by G.W. Stone Jr.

An interesting addition is at line 29 in which Edmund replies to Kent 'Sir, I shall study deserving.' Garrick has added 'your deserving,' an addition which editors between Pope and Johnson had made. Garrick then reverts to 10 lines of Tate which emphasise the 'chol'rick' temper of the King and herald his arrival. In Garrick Cordelia and Edgar enter for their first love-scene before the rest of the court, Francis Gentleman commenting on attributes expected of their actors. Their two speeches are Tate's. Garrick now alters the scene from an 'antichamber' in the Palace to the throneroom itself — doubtless a curtain would simply have been drawn back. The King, Cornwall and Albany, Burgundy, Kent, Goneril, Regan, Cordelia and attendants are present. Lear calls, as in Tate, for his sons-in-law and then returns to Shakespeare to express his purpose, omitting the two lines, 'since now we will divest us both of rule, / Interest of territory, cares of state,'. Tate does not have these lines and Garrick's omission of them may signify either that he was following Tate here or that he considered them as repeating Lear's already-stated purpose and thus as unnecessary. Goneril's speech is kept with only its first line omitted — 'I love you more than word can wield the matter.' (Sh.I.i.54). Tate had 'modernised' this line; possibly Garrick rejected Shakespeare's version for the same reason and Tate's alteration for its too prosaic nature. Garrick saw the dramatic value of Cordelia's asides and these are kept, the second, however, placed after Lear's gift to Regan. Lear then turns to Cordelia, calling her his 'last and least' (Sh.I.i.82) which Garrick, possibly following one of the editors

between Pope and Johnson, emends to 'last, not least'. The references to France and Burgundy are omitted. The 'nothing' exchanges are kept intact with all their dramatic force; except that Garrick retains Tate's 'gave me being' for Shakespeare's 'begot me' (Sh.I.i.95) and omits Lear's reference to the barbarous habits of the Scythians. Both changes were doubtless made for the same reason as they were made by Tate. Lear's redistribution of Cordelia's third is kept by Garrick; it is interesting, however, that at Shakespeare's line 136 'The sway, revenue, execution of the rest,' he omits the last three words, as also did Pope, Theobald and Hamner in their editions. Like Tate, Garrick omits most of Kent's blunt speech on Cordelia's behalf (Sh.I.i.145-151) and has the courtier interrupted by the king at 'Thy youngest daughter ...' (Garr.I.162). (At Shakespeare's line 155, 'To wage against thine enemies, 'Pope, Theobald, Hamner and Warburton have 'thy foes' which is also the Garrick reading.) Kent's admonishment to Lear 'and let me still remain/ The true blank of thine eyes.' (Sh.I.i.157-8) is omitted, possibly being seen as too abstruse. As his anger with Kent rises Lear is given a direction to lay 'his hand on his sword'; giving insight into how Garrick was playing the part. At Shakespeare's line 163 Garrick has Kent cry, 'revoke thy doom;' rather than 'gift', a word which editors from Pope to Johnson also interpose; and with Garrick they also omit Lear's line at 166, 'On thine allegiance, hear me!' The King's banishment of Kent is kept in Shakespeare's wording, except that the lines, 'Which we durst ne-

never yet, and with strain'd pride' (Sh.I.i.168) and 'Our potency made good, take thy reward.' (Sh.I.i.171) and 'To shield thee from diseases of the world,' (Sh.I.i.173) are all omitted. Certainly the speech is made to make sense without them and it is quite possible that Garrick had to cut some lines purely from the consideration of shortening the play, since he was to restore so much of Shakespeare and yet retain so much of Tate. Kent's farewell is an amalgamation of Tate and Shakespeare. The first line is from Tate, the second two from Shakespeare (181-2) and the third and fourth from Tate's version of Shakespeare's lines.

'Thus to new Countries my old Truth I bear,
Friendship lives Hence, and Banishment is here.'

(Tate I.175. Garr.I.191)

The twenty lines between Lear and Burgundy in Shakespeare are cut to twelve by Garrick. He leaves out nothing essential to the effect of Lear's harshness and Burgundy's self-interest. In fact E.Gentleman is prompted to add, 'Edgar's disinterested love is finely contrasted to the sordid views of Burgundy, and sufficiently justifies her [Cordelias's] prejudice in his favour.' At Shakespeare's line 204 Garrick seems to follow contemporary editors in omitting 'me' from Burgundy's 'Pardon me, royal Sir;'. Garrick ends his scene here, losing the choice of Cordelia by France, her farewell to her sisters and her second love-scene with Edgar from Tate.

Garrick's scene now changes to 'a Castle belonging to the Earl of Gloster.' Of Edmund's soliloquy, which Garrick keeps entire, Gentleman says, 'It is a very favourable speech, for the actor; but rather bordering on the licentious.' It is interesting that at Shakespeare's I.ii.4 'curiosity of nations', Garrick should have the 'curtesie' of Theobald and Warburton and that at Shakespeare's line 21, 'Shall top the legitimate', Garrick should have, 'Shall be th'legitimate', which seems to appear only after Pope's second edition of 1728 until Johnson's in 1765. Gloucester enters to Edmund with his words, 'and France in choler parted?' and 'subscribed his power? Confined to exhibition? All this done upon the gad' (Sh.I.ii.23-6) omitted by Garrick, possibly, again, only because he needed to shorten the play. At Shakespeare's I.ii.100 'the sequent effects' of the eclipse is 'frequent' in Theobald's first edition (1733) and in Garrick. Shakespeare's lines between 103 and 108 are omitted; to one who wished to shorten the play they could possibly be seen as unnecessary, Shakespeare's lines 121-124 are also left out, probably as offensive to good taste, and lines 137-143 which occurred only in the Quartos. Otherwise the whole scene is as Shakespeare wrote it. Garrick's next scene is before the palace; it is not stated whose. As Tate, so does Garrick omit the priming of Oswald by Goneril and begins with the entrance of Kent in disguise. His Shakespeare words are kept except that the reading of Rowe, Pope and Johnson, 'and can my speech disguise.' (Garr.I.366) is given for, 'That can my speech

defuse.' (Sh.I.iv.2). Lear enters and his conversation with Kent is preserved exactly, except that its final three lines are omitted -- 'if I like thee no worse after dinner, I will not part from thee yet. -- Dinner, ho dinner! Where's my knave? my Fool -- Go you, and call my Fool hither -- ' (Sh.I.iv.39-42). In omitting the first part Garrick possibly wished to keep Lear's decision absolute, the rest is omitted because of Garrick's decision to omit the Fool. That he did not restore this part is a sad indication that while Garrick could appreciate the finer points and subtleties of Shakespeare which Tate had omitted, he could not risk a business failure by including an element totally foreign to the prejudice of his audiences. As an actor and interpreter of Shakespeare his influence was great, but not great enough to exorcise these classical hauntings. (5. Francis Gentleman, judging the role of the fool purely by his own criterion of 'fashion' remarks of Shakespeare, 'Sure fools must have been much in fashion, in his day, he has so often introduced them.' Between the first entrance of Oswald, and Goneril's appearance there is little alteration of Shakespeare apart from the omission of any references to the Fool and a large piece between Shakespeare I.iv.55 and 73. Tate had included a one-line paraphrase of these eighteen of

(5. Although Genest quotes Davies as believing that Garrick had intended to restore the part but 'on more mature deliberation had rejected the idea.' Genest. Vol.V. p.194.

Shakespeare and Garrick includes in no way the remarks by the knight that Lear is not treated with sufficient respect and Lear's own suspicion of 'a most faint neglect' (Sh.I.iv.65). The omission of these lines is possibly to remove the idea that any great length of time has passed; Garrick relying on the attitude of Oswald and Goneril to portray this neglect sufficiently. Gentleman criticises the striking of Oswald by Lear, considering that for 'any king', to strike a servant, is a strange trespass on dignity.' Goneril enters, as in Tate, in time to see Kent's manhandling of her steward; she opens with Tate's words. In her first criticism of Lear's servants Garrick keeps Tate's opening lines (since in Shakespeare it had referred to the Fool.) and then returns to Shakespeare, without dove-tailing the grammar of the two pieces;

'Sir, this licentious insolence of your servants
And other of your insolent retinue,
Do hourly carp and quarrel ... '

(Garr. I.434-6).

At Shakespeare's I.iv.197 editors between Pope and Johnson omitted 'had' and similarly 'which' at line 201; both are also omitted by Garrick. The reading at Garrick's line 448, 'You, as you're old and rev'rend, should be wise,' is also the reading given by these editors, as well as Goneril's order that he disquantity his train 'of fifty' (Garr.I.472) rather than 'a little' (Sh.I.iv.242). To Shakespeare's line 250 Garrick keeps to the text he was using, although Gentleman criticises him for keeping the 'Degen'rate bastard' of Shakespeare

rather than Tate's 'degenerate viper', 'which we think better'. Shakespeare's lines between 251 and 255 are omitted. They refer to the entrance of Albany whom Garrick is holding back till the point at which he enters in Tate. Sadly Garrick discards the lines,

'Ingratitude, thou marble-hearted fiend,
More hideous when thou show'st thee in a child
Than the sea-monster!'

(Sh.I.iv.253-55).

Since he had retarded Albany's entrance there could be no excuse for the break in Lear's argument with his daughter and Garrick therefore passes over these lines to 'Detested kite! thou liest.' (Garr.I.483. Sh.I.iv.256). Albany enters at the end of this speech, Garrick possibly wishing him to appear at a natural break in the dialogue. Lear's curse is kept, as it is by Tate, as a grand climax to the scene and so Garrick passes from Shakespeare's line 266 to 288 ('What, fifty of my followers at a clap?') except that the 'What' is replaced by Tate's melodramatic 'Death'. Part of Lear's speech between Shakespeare I.iv.290 and 304 then follows (lines 290-293) -- his reference to his shaken, weeping manhood. Albany questions the source of this from Shakespeare's line 284 and receives Goneril's reply (Sh.I.iv.286-7) concerning Lear's dotage. Lear then wishes 'Blasts and fogs upon' them (Sh.I.iv.293. Garr.I.506). With the exception of two minor alterations, which Garrick keeps as in Shakespeare, this speech is from Tate's version and includes his omission of reference to Regan. Albany replies with his words from Shakespeare I.iv.266, that he is both guiltless and ignorant of what has 'moved' Lear. Finally Garrick incorporates the curse (Sh.I.iv.267-283).

To Shakespeare's 'Hear, Nature, hear; dear goddess hear!', with the exception of Johnson, editors between Pope and Capell had added 'a father' to the end of this line; this is included also by Garrick, while the order of the second and third lines is reversed as by Tate. At Shakespeare's line 279 'cadent tears' becomes 'candent' in Garrick as it had done in the editions of Theobald and Warburton. The final three lines are kept as they are arranged by Tate, emphasising that Goneril must come to see the error of her ways. This speech ends Garrick's first Act. He obviously intended it as a climax and therefore allowed no speech to the characters left on the stage. He would have been able to achieve this climax effectively by the use of a curtain to fall at the end of the speech; if the remaining characters had had to walk tamely off, saying nothing, the effect would have been unreal and would most certainly have taken from the speech's dramatic force and finality. Like Tate, Garrick omits the sending of Kent by Lear with letters to Gloucester, which is Shakespeare's fifth scene. (Since from this first Act it has been made clear that Garrick must have been using one of the contemporary editors, not Johnson and most probably not Rowe, only references which would include one as opposed to the others will now be included. From a survey of these in Appendix E it is hoped that a more accurate dating than those hitherto attempted of Garrick's alteration of the play may be achieved).

Garrick's Act II sc.i. is exactly as Shakespeare wrote it to line 64. Here, as in Tate, are added two and a half lines of Gloucester's

from twenty lines later; 'and of my land,/Loyal and natural boy, I'll work the means/To make thee capable.' (Sh.II.i.83-5). Both Tate and Garrick end the scene here, interposing Kent's quarrel with Oswald before the appearance of Cornwall, Regan and Gloucester. Garrick so makes the alteration that the Duke and Duchess do not seem to appear in the courtyard for no reason and so that it is rather Kent and Oswald who burst in upon them in a scene inside Gloucester's Palace. This gives greater opportunity for displaying elaborate scenery which could not have been used in Shakespeare's time and possibly had not reached so sophisticated a state in Tate's day since he keeps the whole scene outside the palace. The Steward greets Kent with 'Good dawning to thee, friend,' (Sh.II.ii.i) which Garrick, with Pope and Theobald alters to 'evening'; possibly because of the later references to night (Sh.II.ii.28 and II.ii.169) and to the 'beacon to this under globe' (Sh.II.ii.159). Otherwise the scene is Shakespeare's until the entrance of Edmund at line 40. Garrick has Kent and the Steward run off at this point before the scene changes to Gloucester's palace. It is interesting that Garrick should follow the phrasing of Theobald and Warburton at line 16 and at line 26 should, with them, have replaced 'two days since' with 'two days ago'. Garrick's scene between Sh.II.i. 86 and 129 is exactly as Shakespeare wrote it; at this point Kent chases the Steward onstage and Edmund parts them. The scene from here to its end is Shakespeare's II.ii.40-169 with the exception of some minor points. At Shakespeare's II.ii.64 'You beastly knave' is not uttered by Cornwall and similarly at line 122

'You stubborn, ancient knave, you reverend braggart.' is not spoken by the Duke. It can only be that it was considered indecorous for a nobleman to speak thus to a servant, however much it may have been in keeping with his stage-character. At Shakespeare's line 70 Garrick has 'Too intrinsecate t'unloose' (Garr. II.199) (for 'too intrinse') and seems to be following Theobald and Warburton in this. At Shakespeare's II.ii.146 Regan orders Kent's legs to be put in the stocks; this 'put in his legs' is omitted from Garrick here since there had been a stage-direction twelve lines earlier for Kent to be stocked. Finally, at Shakespeare's line 164 Garrick seems to be following the phrasing of Pope, Theobald and Warburton. Shakespeare's third scene is that of Edgar's soliloquy on the heath. Garrick's first five lines are from Shakespeare, then he takes the eight and a half lines of Tate which he needs to express Edgar's continuing devotion to Cordelia and finally he adds on the rest of Shakespeare's speech. On the whole the sense of the two dove-tails well, although the man of action conflicts with the love-lorn sentimentalist. Garrick alters Tate's dubious 'Trale' to 'trial' (see supra p.60); presumably he refers to Edgar's outlawry by his father rather than either to the trial of being pursued or to Cordelia's rejection of him since 'malice' would not be a suitable description, of the latter at least. Garrick also alters Tate's

'But Love detains me from Death's peaceful Cell,
Still whispering me Cordelia's in distress.'

(Tate II.164-5)

by a replaced word and altered punctuation;

'But love detains me, from love's peaceful cell,
Still whispering me, Cordelia's in distress.'

(Garr. II. 317-18)

It is possible that Garrick wished to place the emphasis more on Edgar's love for Cordelia than on his wish for death under his misfortunes. Between lines 1 and 57 Garrick is faithful to Shakespeare's text in II. iv. He omits part of lines 2, 3, and 4 -- the Gentleman's comment that he had not heard of Regan's intention to leave her house. It is possible that Garrick considered the statement unnecessary, although it does emphasise Regan's discourtesy; it is also just possible that one of the Attendants would have had to have been paid extra if he were to speak and that the lines were cut on grounds of economy. Lines 18 and 19, 'Lear: No, no, they would not./Kent: Yes, they have.' were omitted by all the editors before Jennens and it is therefore not surprising that they do not appear in Garrick. He also omits half of line 22 and line 23, 'tis worse than murder, / To do upon respect such violent outrages;'. According to Furness the true explanation of this latter line was not given until Singer's edition in 1826; it is possible therefore that Garrick discarded it to prevent any confusion. At Shakespeare's II. iv. 57 Lear departs and returns at line 84. In Garrick Lear does not go out, instead as in Tate, Gloucester enters and 'whispers Lear' as the stage-direction puts it. Their conversation continues as in Shakespeare except that Sh. II. iv. 89-90 are omitted by Garrick -- 'How unremoveable and fix'd he is/In his own course.' Tate omits these lines also and it is certain that

Garrick was writing this scene with one eye upon Tate's text; this seems the most reasonable explanation for their omission. Similarly the omission from Lear's speech beginning 'The King would speak with Cornwall;' (Sh.II.iv.97) of lines(103-5) 'we are not ourselves/ When nature being oppressed commands the mind/^To suffer with the body.' and the alteration of 'I'll forbear:/And am fall'n out with my more headier will,' (Sh.II.iv.105-7) to 'I'll chide my rashness' (Garr. II.402. Tate II.236) would both seem to be following Tate's version. Between Garrick's lines 403 and 411 the words are Shakespeare's (II.iv.107-115). Lear greets the entrance of Cornwall and Regan with Tate's 'O, are you come,' (Garr. II.411. Tate II.246) to which Cornwall gives the Shakespeare reply from line 124 'Hail to your grace!' Lear then speaks from Shakespeare line 117 -- 'O me, my heart, my rising heart! But down!' except that Garrick gives 'bent' for 'but'. This is either an error in transcription or else Garrick himself preferred what he possibly saw as a more emotive and pathetic expression. In his address to Regan Lear does not interrupt himself to comment on Kent's release (Sh.II.iv.128-9) since Garrick chose to leave him stocked until after Goneril's entrance fifty-four lines later. Gentleman has a remark to make on Lear's 'sharp-toothed unkindness, like a vulture'-- 'The idea of filial ingratitude placing in his breast a vulture, to prey upon that liberal heart which gave all, is nervously figurative.' Garrick omits Shakespeare's lines 132-3 'thou'lt not believe/With how depraved a quality --'. Certainly the lines are also omitted by Tate but Garrick may well have preferred to render

are cut out by Garrick who was possibly aware that some cuts were required if he was to preserve so much more in other parts of this scene. Garrick also omits Lear's derogatory description of Oswald (Sh.II.iv.182-3) whose whole character is infinitely less colourful than in either Tate or Shakespeare. Goneril's entrance in Garrick is two lines earlier than in Shakespeare so that Lear is earnestly questioning Regan about the stocking of Kent while her sister is already there, looking on. Lear's prayer to the heavens on seeing Goneril is preserved by Garrick, although at Shakespeare's line 188 for 'if your sweet sway/Allow obedience,' the 'allow' is replaced by the 'hallow' of Theobald, Hamner and Warburton. Lear's repeated question as to how Kent came in the stocks and Cornwall's reply (Sh.II.iv.195-7) is also omitted. Garrick had chosen to make less of this issue, despite its opportunities for vivid acting, and so Kent had already been released. Lear's speech maintaining that he would rather 'abjure all roofs' than return with Goneril (Sh.II.iv.204-14) has lines 206 and 207 transposed as they had been by Theobald (followed by Hamner) who made 'necessity's sharp pinch' the object of 'wage', thus;

'No, rather I abjure all roofs, and choose	Sh.205.	Garr.490.
To be a comrade with the wolf and owl	207	491
To wage against the emnity o'th'air.	206	492
Necessity's sharp pinch.'	208	om.

Garrick omits lines 208-14 thus restoring 'wage' to its intransitive use. The lines from 209 to 214 refer to Cordelia's marriage to France

(which did not occur in Garrick) and to Oswald, whose character was being reduced. Instead Garrick concludes the speech with a line from Tate, 'Than have my smallest wants supplied by her.' (Tate II.331. Garr.II.493.) Like Tate, Garrick omits Sh.II.iv.218-22;

'But yet thou art my flesh, my blood, my daughter;
Or rather a disease that's in my flesh,
Which I must needs call mine; thou art a boil,
A plague-sore, and embossed carbuncle,
In my corrupted blood'.

but unlike Tate, who had no compunction about giving fierce heroic rant to his king, Garrick most probably felt, not only such low invective to be unbecoming in a king, but also that it might take from the audience's sympathy, for by all accounts their emotions were very susceptible to Garrick's acting. Garrick omits four lines by Regan (Sh.II.iv.230-33) requesting her father to 'give ear' to Goneril. It but adds more contempt upon the old man and it is likely that Garrick cut them to shorten the scene. An interesting transposition is that of 'O let me not be mad! sweet heaven./Keep me intemper! I would not be mad.' from Sh.I.v.43-4 which scene Garrick had totally excised. He must have realised, however, their dramatic value and inserted them therefore between the calculations of Goneril and Regan that their father needs no servants at all. It is not out of place there although it is obviously more effective and ominous placed as Shakespeare has it among the Fool's apposite jestings. To Lear's despairing 'I gave you all.' (Sh.II.iv.247) Garrick adds 'O gods! I gave ...' which is followed by the first direction for thunder —

possibly one of the most effective alterations the actor-manager made. Garrick then omits nineteen lines between Sh. 248 and 267 and a further twenty-two between Sh. 284 and 306. The first of these cuts includes Lear's plea 'O reason not the need' only the second half of which, the prayer to heaven for patience, is kept by Garrick. It is likely that he was cutting anything not strictly necessary and when doing so preferred to keep those passages with which he could make the most immediate and forceful impression: a prayer would be one of these, a reasoned argument with his daughters, possibly not. The second cut is made after Lear's exit into the storm and as with the first Act, it is likely that Garrick wished to maintain one grand climax even at the sacrifice of further examples of the daughters' callousness. He was not really concerned, as Tate was, to paint their characters more vicious than they were.

'The third Act begins with awful solemnity,' so does Francis Gentleman explain the thunder and lightning which herald the arrival of Lear and Kent on the heath. With an eye for the didactic in all things, the commentator goes on to explain that 'What Lear utters in the scene is emphatically characteristic, and teems with instructive precepts, most poetically connected'; it is possible, however, that Garrick valued them more for their dramatic vigour. Like Tate he begins with Lear's 'Blow winds,' speech, omitting the meeting of Kent and a Gentleman. The criticisms which have been made of Tate's omission of this scene may be made too of Garrick. His scene between Lear and Kent is an amalgamation of Shakespeare and Tate, the latter recruited to bridge

the gaps made by the omission of the Fool. Lear's opening speech of nine lines is kept while Kent's rhetorical speech explaining his persuasion to find shelter is Tate's (Garr.III.11-14. Tate III. 6-9).
of the KING
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 Lear's speech beginning 'Rumble thy bellyful:' (Sh.III.ii.16-24) follows, with Garrick, at Shakespeare's line 17, altering 'kingdom' to 'kingdoms', a change otherwise not made before Johnson's edition. Garrick III. 27-8, which is Kent's mention of the hovel, is from Tate again, but his speech on the evil of the night, 'Things that love night ...' (Sh.III.ii.42-9) is kept intact, except that Garrick follows one of the editors between Pope and Warburton in replacing 'fear:' by 'force' at line 49 (Garr. III.38), similarly 'pudder' (line 40) follows either Rowe, Theobald or Warburton. This speech (Sh.III.ii. 49-59) is also kept whole although Kent's final entreaty, 'Good Sir, to th'hovel.' (Garr.III.51) is Tate's (III.40). Thus Shakespeare's lines 60-7 -- an elaboration of this abrupt alteration -- are lost. The scene ends with Lear persuading his 'boy' to depart (Sh.III.ii.67-73. Garr. III. 52-8. Tate III.41-7). Garrick follows either Theobald or Warburton in replacing the 'part' in 'I have one part in my heart,' by 'string' (Sh.III.ii.72. Garr. III. 57). Where the scene is of greater merit than Tate's is in Garrick's realisation that even though he wished to reject the Fool, he could still restore a great deal of Shakespeare's original verse. Shakespeare's third scene between Edmund and his father is preserved whole by Garrick with the omission only of Sh.17-18, 'There is strange things toward, Edmund; pray you, be careful.' It is difficult to account for the loss of these, unless it be sheer carelessness in copying. It is possible, however, that

Garrick wished to stress Gloucester's determination to help the King and thus ^{ended} the speech with it. The lost lines also throw light on the cautious side of Gloucester's nature and it is therefore also possible that Garrick did not wish this to be stressed. Garrick has Gloucester depart for Edmund to make his treacherous five-line speech and then return pursued by Cordelia and Arante. Edmund retires to listen. Garrick omits part of Edmund's first aside -- that Cordelia's tears are 'Like Dew on Flow'rs, but she is Virtuous, / And I must quench this hopeless fire i'th'Kindling.' (Tate III.115-6). Possibly Garrick wished to keep Edmund as the perfect villain without any sort of compunction about his intended misdeeds. There is an interesting note by Francis Gentleman to Cordelia's reproach of Gloucester concerning her father -- 'O name not that; he did not, cou'd not wrong me.' (Garr.III.97. Tate III.119). Gentleman writes, 'The lines hereafter, taken from Shakespeare's original, are such an enrichment to the part that we wish every lady who represents Cordelia would speak them.

Cor. Oh speak not thus. He did not, could not wrong me.
 Besides, I have heard this poor, unhappy king,
 Contending with the fretful elements,.....'

Gentleman quotes the rest of the speech which is Sh.III.1.6-15 and is not spoken by Cordelia but by a Gentleman to Kent. The first line is a rendering of Tate's but the second can only be the commentator's own invention. It must surely be for comments such as this that Bell's edition was accused of being the worst of any author. Garrick

omits any reference to Cordelia taking on a disguise although Edmund himself is still to be allowed to conceal his identity. Garrick also omits any reference to the 'Dispatches' which Edmund is to take to Cornwall since he has kept Shakespeare's version that Gloucester has not written, but received letters and that they are locked away. Tastefully, and thankfully too, Garrick omits Edmund's final relish at the thought of the enjoyment he is about to achieve in raping Cordelia. Like Tate, Garrick amalgamates Shakespeare's fourth and sixth scenes. On the whole, where the altered structure and the omission of the Fool require an altered speech, Garrick keeps Tate, but otherwise much of Shakespeare which the earlier adapter had mangled, is restored. The whole is very complex to unravel and therefore only changes of importance will be noted. On Edgar's appearance from the hovel, Garrick keeps Tate's aside, 'What do I see! Professing Syrens,...../Are all your protestations come to this?' (Garr.III.193-5. Tate III.210-13). It is possible that Garrick appreciated not only the added pathos of Edgar's emphasising his dual role but also the fresh scope it would have given the actor. At Garrick's line 223 (Sh.III.iv.72) 'Judicious punishment' is altered to 'Ludicrous punishment'. It is not possible to see that Garrick was making better sense in this alteration, since 'Judicious' is the only sensible reading; it must be, therefore, that a mistake between 'J' and 'L' and between 'i' and 'r' was made by someone who was not concentrating on what he was copying. On Lear's attempt to wrench his clothes off, Kent

restrains him with 'O pity sir; where is the patience now you have so often boasted to retain.' (Garr. 254-5) which is taken from Shakespeare III.vi.(55-6). The following fourteen lines are Tate's version of Shakespeare's from III.iv. (122-133) which are little altered. From this point both Tate and Garrick move to Shakespeare's III.vi. To link the two scenes Tate gives two lines of the Fool's to Lear and invents a line of his own for Kent, 'I fear'd 't wou'd come to this, his wits are gone.' Garrick keeps the Fool's words for Lear, but replaces Kent's bluntness by his own lines from Shakespeare's III.vi. (4-5) 'All the power of his wits have given way to his impatience.' Both of these alterations reflect the attitude that it was not important for the 'ravings' of either Lear or Edgar to make sense and, generally speaking, they are so cut about and transposed that all hope of sense is lost. Garrick's following thirty-seven lines which include Edgar's dog-rhyme, the entrance of Gloucester and Edgar's Swithin rhyme all follow Tate more closely than Shakespeare and with Tate, Garrick returns to Shakespeare III.iv.140-5 for Gloucester's explanation of his search for the king. Kent begs the king, 'Good my lord, take his offer.' (Garr.III.316) which is an addition of Garrick's and which he repeats, following Shakespeare, two lines later (Sh.III.iv.148). The next twenty-four lines are either directly from Shakespeare's fourth scene or from Tate's remoulding of his sixth. They include Lear's wish to talk with his 'learned Theban' and the determination of Kent and Gloucester to force him to leave

the heath. It is interesting that Garrick should have kept Lear's mock drawing of his bed-curtains; in the farmhouse where Shakespeare's sixth scene is set and where the lines occur, there is some sort of bed prepared for Lear, but Garrick's King lies down on the bare earth. Tate excised these lines and possibly did not see their dramatic possibilities. The scene ends with Gloucester's decision that Lear must be taken to Dover in a litter. Garrick alters Shakespeare's III.vi.87 from 'I have o'erheard a plot of death upon him,' to 'I have o'er heard a plot upon his life.' (Garr. III.342); it must be that he considered the metre of his rendering more exact, although he has shown little regard for exactness of metre elsewhere. Only at Shakespeare's III.iv.153, 'Importune him once more to go, my lord.' is there any notable variation from Furness's text. Here Garrick seems to be following either Pope, Hammer or possibly Jennens, in omitting 'once more'. At Garrick's line 334, 'Let 'em anatomise Regan, for what breeds about her heart;' the 'for' instead of Shakespeare's 'see' is possibly a misprint. On the whole Garrick does not restore speeches to this scene which Tate had completely omitted, but he does restore Shakespeare's own wording to many of the lines which Tate had 'repolished'. The structure of the scene is such that the sensible persuasions of Kent and Gloucester are interspersed by the largely unrelated ramblings of Lear and Edgar. Much of the essential coherence of the scene is lost and the most regrettable excision is possibly the mock-trial of Goneril and Regan. Garrick keeps virtually intact Tate's scene on the heath between Edgar, Cordelia and Arante. Where Tate had

given lines of Lear from Shakespeare III.iv.(11-12) to Cordelia at the beginning of this scene, he had been careful to cut them from their original place. Garrick restored them to Lear but kept them spoken by Cordelia here as well which should possibly be attributed to carelessness, ^{rather} than to intended subtlety. Garrick cuts out Cordelia's extravagant cry for a thunder-bolt to strike her dead as the ruffians seize her, as well as their conversation prior to this which he may have felt held up the action and reduced the surprise effect of their appearance. He also cuts out Edgar's incredulous cry at seeing the ruffians; 'Is this a Time and Place for Villany?' (Tate III.359). It is possible that Garrick felt the desolate heath in a thunder-storm to be an excellent time and place for villany and, realising the uninhibited nature of eighteenth-century audiences and their readiness to participate, did not wish to risk a shower of orange-peel on the stage. He also omits Tate's dubious rhyme about the 'freckle fac't Mab', in the same spirit in which he had ejected other of Tate's less 'tasteful' inclusions. He omits also Arante's pathetic sigh, 'Was ever Tale so full of Misery!' in the middle of Edgar's catalogue of his misfortunes. (Tate III.419). Since Garrick had determined to include the love of Cordelia and Edmund, without re-writing it, he had to include Tate's scenes, which, incidentally, Francis Gentleman admired heartily; 'We deem them too pleasing and proper, to be slightly regarded.' It is possible that Garrick appreciated their poetic inferiority but that he felt their merits as plot outweighed their defects as poetry; the change was taking place, but old prejudices died hard. Garrick's alteration of

Tate's final scene in this act, the treachery of Edmund and the removal of Gloucester's eyes, keeps it largely intact. Gentleman considers that both parts should have been removed altogether in altering the play and in his comments on Gloucester's final soliloquy remarks, 'If the mangled, shocking object who speaks this, was bearable to view, the soliloquy has considerable merit.' However Garrick removes eight lines of the speech; those referring to the 'flow'ry Vales and distant Sunny Hills' (Tate III. 540-6) and the 'Beauty of the Spring' (Tate III. 550-2) which Gloucester is to see no more. The speech therefore no longer has reference to anything particular and emphasises instead the revenge the old man is about to set in motion. Garrick's alteration is both a further movement from the particular to the general and with it, a rejection of the pathetic. By far the most significant change in this scene, however, is the direction that Gloucester be removed from the stage for his blinding. True, this gives less point to the attack on Cornwall who otherwise is taken in the act, but it is an interesting concession to those who really meant what they said when they condemned the representation of such violence. The condemnation might have been made in Tate's day, but the playwrights took little notice and, in fact, violence was often heightened. It is notable that Gentleman recommends that more of Shakespeare should have been restored to Gloucester's part in this scene.

From Tate's fourth Act Garrick omits completely the amorous situation of Edmund and Regan in the Grotto which he doubtless considered

as unnecessary to the play's action. Instead he takes directly from Shakespeare's IV.i. His main omission from the scene is part of Edgar's raving concerning the fiends which have possessed him (Sh.IV.i.57-61). Although they were also omitted by Rowe, it is unlikely that Garrick was using this edition; what is more likely is that he considered any further lengthy demonstration of Edgar's madness as unnecessary. A sadder loss is Shakespeare's lines 64-9 which Gentleman himself had lamented, quoting the lines in full in a footnote;

'Heavens, deal so still!

Let the superfluous and lust-dicted man,
That slaves your ordinance, that will not see
Because he does not feel, feel your power quickly;
So distribution should undo excess
And each man have enough.'

(Sh.IV.i.64-9).

Tate had given a rough version of them, but that Garrick should omit them completely may be explained either by the fact that he did not wish to offend the more affluent section of his patrons, although this seems unlikely, or that he considered such a universal prayer an unlikely utterance in the mouth of the suffering Gloucester. Either way, he is to be criticised for the omission. Kent and Cordelia enter to Gloucester and Edgar and the scene which follows is precisely Tate's, although Gentleman, in a footnote, quotes the description of Cordelia's piteous concern for her father, (Sh.IV.iii.15-32) which he believes 'might well and ought to have been brought into the alteration.' Tate's scene

between Goneril, Oswald and an attendant in which Cornwall's death, Albany's meekness and the uprising of the peasants are related, is kept whole by Garrick. It would not have been easy for him to restore much of Shakespeare to this scene since it is not only an amalgamation of short aspects of several of Shakespeare's scenes, but also a scene purely conveying information and as such, required to be whole to make sense. Shakespeare's IV.vi. as far as the entrance of Lear dressed in flowers is kept whole by Garrick with the exception of one or two half-lines; the only one of great importance is Shakespeare's line 43-4. From Edgar's 'And yet I know not how conceit may rob/The treasury of life, when life itself/Yields to the theft.' Garrick omits 'when life theft' which loses half the sense of the passage. From the entrance of Lear, through his conversation with Gloucester, his interception by two attendants and the killing of the steward Oswald by Edgar, Garrick remains very close to Shakespeare although some lines are omitted, a few are included from Tate and some are transposed. Lear's attempt to catch an imaginary mouse with a piece of toasted cheese (Sh.IV.vi. 89) is rejected, possibly as being liable to raise a laugh where none should be, similarly Garrick omits Lear's description of Gloucester as Goneril 'with a white beard!' from Shakespeare's IV.vi.96. At Sh.91 Garrick seems to be following either Theobald, Warburton or Hammer in having 'O, well flown barb!' for the more generally accepted 'bird'. Gloucester's lines at Sh.133 to 134, 'O ruin'd

piece of nature! This great world/Shall so wear out to nought'
 is transposed by Garrick and placed in the middle of Lear's
 speech about lechery. It is possible that Garrick foresaw
 comments such as that made by Francis Gentleman in a footnote,
 'Lear's rhapsodical remarks in this scene, are strongly tinged
 with just, but rather indelicate satire; though he is mad, decency
 should not run mad also.' By transposing these lines of Gloucester's
 Garrick could emphasise the fact of Lear's madness in uttering
 this 'indelicate satire'. Edgar's words at Sh.139 'I would not
 take this from report,' are added by Tate to a concerned speech about
 Cordelia's reaction to this 'fresh Affliction' (Tate IV.325-8) and
 placed at the point where Lear is forcing Gloucester to read. Garrick
 keeps the Tate lines but places them after Lear's condemnation of
 'rascal-beadle(s)' and 'scurvy politician(s)', adding them to
 Edgar's 'O matter and impertinence mixt,/ Reason in madness.'
 (Sh.IV.vi.352-3. Garr. IV.337-8). It was probably considered to be
 very fitting that Edgar should remember Cordelia's sensibilities
 at this point, and Garrick therefore included the lines. Lear's
 joking over the emptiness of Gloucester's eyes and purse (Sh.IV.vi.144-5)
 was possibly considered inappropriate and cruel in the King, even
 though mad; it is omitted. As Lear is seized by Cordelia's attendants
 and feels that he is without help, he laments;

'Why this would make a man a man of salt,
 To use his eyes for garden water-pots,
 Ay, and laying autumn's dust.'

(Sh.IV.vi.193-5).

It is likely that such humble imagery was felt inappropriate in the King, although it is in its very simplicity that its effect lies. Although the taste for heroic rant appeared to be moribund towards the end of the century, it is still unlikely that these homely lines would have been considered of any particular merit; this would probably explain their excision. Tate's slight alteration of Lear's stratagem of shoeing horses with felt and then creeping up on his sons-in-law is kept by Garrick as well as its transposition to Lear's exit at the run. It is likely that both adapters appreciated the dramatic effect which would be created by Lear's running off shouting, 'Kill, kill, kill'. Garrick omits completely Edgar's conversation with the Gentleman who had been seeking Lear, which conveys that a battle is imminent (Sh.IV.vi.204-15). Finally the entrance and death of Oswald are kept practically as Shakespeare wrote them. Sadly Garrick omits Edgar's soothing of his father after Oswald's death (Sh.IV.vi.253-4) possibly not wishing to interrupt the business of searching Oswald; he excises also Sh.277-82, which is Gloucester's

'The king is mad. How stiff is my vilde sense,
That I stand up, and have ingenius feeling
Of my huge sorrows! Better I were distract;
So should my thought be sever'd from my griefs,
And woes by wrong imaginations lose
The knowledge of themselves.'

(Sh.IV.vi. 277-82).

It is difficult to explain the rejection of these lines since they are important to Gloucester's outlook and Garrick himself was not

pressed by having an over-long Act. Certainly Tate omits them, but Garrick was not following the previous adapter closely in this scene. The only plausible explanation must be that Garrick did not wish to hold up Edgar's sudden determination on action and the swift closing of the Act.

Garrick begins his fifth Act after this scene, but with the scene between Lear and Cordelia with which Tate had closed his fourth Act. His scene is precisely Tate's, only the 'which' of Tate (Iv.448) being replaced by the correct 'that' -- 'that my own tears/Do scald like molten lead.' (Garr.V.25). Generally speaking, this scene of Tate's is fraught with pathos rather than with the sense of unleashed tension which is Shakespeare's and it is indicative of the still-prevailing taste for sentiment and pathos that Garrick should have retained the scene as Tate wrote it. Garrick omits Goneril's scene with her poisoner which opens Tate's fifth Act; his intention seems to be the avoidance of a third sub-plot from the sisters' wickedness. He keeps, however, Edmund's plotting against Albany as well as the news that a battle is about to be fought. He omits, though, the additional news that Edgar is also with the enemy and that it is Gloucester who has incited the peasants to insurrection. Thereafter the Act is Tate's with the exception of some omissions and the addition of a few lines from Shakespeare. Garrick omits Goneril's second command to her captain to murder the King and Cordelia, most probably for the reason given above. He also excludes Goneril and Regan from the scene of Edmund's battle with Edgar. Tate had expanded their part in this scene to suit his own

distortion of their conflict over Edmund. It is likely that Garrick excluded them because he had chosen not to make a third plot out of their lust, nor to exaggerate their villainy. In view of other alterations made by him, it would seem that this alteration of Tate was due rather more to Garrick's wish to remove the distasteful from the play, than to his regard for the unity of action. It is, however, possible that Goneril and Regan were excluded from the combat-scene as intruding upon an episode unsuitable for the presence of women. Be that as it may, the sins of Garrick's villainesses are those of filial impiety, harshness and insensitive materialism; he does not add the exaggeration of an illicit love to his presentation of them. From the combat-scene Garrick also omits the lines quoted in Appendix C(3) from 'And dares Edgar ..' (Tate V.198) and those in Appendix C(5) from 'Half-blooded man...' to Tate's line 219. Instead of Edmund's desperate flaunting of the possibilities of bastardy he is given lines from Shakespeare (V.iii.163-4). 'What you have charged me with, that have I done, and more, much more, the time will bring it out;/ 'Tis past, and so am I.' The following two lines from Edgar, 'As thou art my father's son,/Exchange we charity on thy repentance,' must be an invention of Garrick's since he wished to include a reconciliation between the brothers and yet had already had them recognise each other (following Tate). This reconciliation had been cut out by the previous adapter so that his villain was totally a wicked villain and performed no good deed even 'despite of [his]^{own} nature.' Garrick keeps the order upon Lear's life as springing from Edmund, although the scene of its conception he had

omitted. He also links Edmund's words at Sh.V.iii.175 with those at 245, adding one line of his own, 'Yet ere life leaves me, let me do some good.' (Garr. V.289). Shakespeare's own line at 244, 'I pant for life; some good I mean to do,' possibly had to be altered to make smooth this transition across an omission of sixty-nine lines. The following five lines are an addition to Tate of Shakespeare. Only one other line of Garrick's own invention is added; Edgar's final 'O let us fly, my lord, to save their lives.' (Garr.V.297). It is not a line of importance and, although Garrick's own additions are rare, it would be foolish to make any critical comment upon it. A notable addition by Garrick is the direction for the murderers to 'quit Cordelia and exeunt' after Lear has killed two of them; perhaps giving more effectiveness to the king's sudden berserk rage, but less point to Edgar's entering cry, 'Death! Hell! ye vultures, hold your impious hands,' (Garr.V.337.) Finally, Garrick omits Edgar's concluding seven lines (quoted in Appendix C(6)) thus ending the play with Lear's,

'thus our remains

Shall in an even course of thought be past,
Enjoy the present hour, nor fear the last.'

Francis Gentleman, in perhaps the only valuable comments he made, was torn between realising the artistic validity of Lear's death, and the popular appeal of the play as it was altered. Of the former he wrote, 'Though the king's restoration is a pleasing circumstance, and Tate piqued himself upon it, the true tragic feelings, and poetical justice, would in our view, have been better maintained by making him fall a

sacrifice to his obstinate pride and frantic rashness', while of the happy ending he wrote later, 'This play, in its present state, will, we doubt not, while any taste for the drama remains, continue to gain advantage and applause in public, while in private it must give very considerable pleasure.' Garrick has been accused of altering Shakespeare to expand the rôle he was to play and certainly his omission of Edgar's final lines would suggest that the adapter himself wished to conclude the play. He could, however, had he wished to end the play with a pointed moral, spoken by himself, have transferred the final lines to the King. It is more likely, therefore, that he saw the main theme of the play to be the King's trial by self-imposed torment and his survival of it, rather than the triumphant virtue of Cordelia and so considered Tate's final couplet to be as inappropriate as it is considered today.

Great praise has been accorded Garrick for his restorations to King Lear from Shakespeare. So fervent has been this praise that, without a detailed comparison of the texts, one is inclined to give Garrick more credit than he deserves. Certainly passages are restored, particularly in the first part of the play; but a large part of Act III and most of Act V are Tate's, as well as much of his scene-transposition, his alteration of character and denouement, his omission of the Fool and very many isolated passages. Where Garrick restores Shakespeare, he would seem to do it, less out of veneration for the poet and more for sound dramatic reasons. He seems to have appreciated Shakespeare's poetic superiority and restored it where-ever possible but to have

preferred Tate's alterations to the plot and therefore to have retained most of the insertions and alterations which effected these plot-changes. This does not mean that it is only Tate's 'business' speeches which are kept; Garrick keeps, for instance, the unfortunate soliloquies^e of both Gloucester (Act. III) and Cordelia (Act V). Garrick's greatest achievement was the restoration of Shakespeare's own words to nearly all of Lear's speeches, particularly in the fourth Act and in the first part of the third, however he adds very little to what Tate had omitted completely. Apart from his additions to Tate from Shakespeare for the sake of greater dramatic effectiveness, be it of poetry or of details of action, Garrick also alters character-construction so that the whole panorama of persons is as neither Tate nor Shakespeare conceived it. Oswald becomes an insignificant and unnoteworthy creature, while Goneril and Regan are less licentious than Tate's conception of them and Edmund is allowed repentance. As far as differences from Shakespeare are concerned Cordelia and Edgar are, of course, given Tate's motives for their actions while the king himself, joyfully preserved, must present a very different effect in the minds of his audience. Thus Garrick's play is neither Shakespeare's nor Tate's, but an amalgamation of the two which at times reaches the incongruous in perusal, although effective when produced and acted by the adapter himself. Of Garrick's powers as an actor, much has been written elsewhere, suffice it to say here that the favourable reception which his play received may in part have been due to his own acting talents rather than the changes

he made. It would be true to say, however, that the alterations from Tate which he made to the part of the King would have given his own particular abilities greater scope and that in so interpreting the play, he was approaching more closely to the spirit in which it was written. That he should have been able to do so successfully is an indication of how far the century had moved from its conception of Shakespeare the barbarian, but that he preserved so much else of Tate as well as applying the knife himself to passages of 'bad taste' is an indication of how much further the century had yet to advance. While paying very little attention to the artificial dictates of neo-classicism, except perhaps in the omission of the Fool, Garrick nevertheless was influenced by the more human stipulations of popular appeal. Thus good-taste and decorum are preserved, as well as many of the pathetic and sentimental features of Tate's version, while admiration still takes the place of the tragic terror which pervades Shakespeare's play. Other alterations Garrick made for more technical reasons. Parts of both Tate and Shakespeare were obviously removed for the sake of shortening the play, while discrepancies between the now-accepted text of Shakespeare and Garrick's restoration would indicate his use of a contemporary editor (See Appendix E). There are a few obvious errors in transcription and about three lines of Garrick's own invention which are required to link Shakespeare to Tate. His other differences from Tate were generally theatrical alterations made to suit the particular conditions of his theatre and its

potentialities. As for the cast, it is fairly obvious that Garrick included passages of Lear's which he knew that he himself was particularly qualified to render effectively, although it would be unfair to say that he expanded only his own part. Whether he managed to coach the rest of his company in his form of 'natural' acting is difficult to determine; some of the stiff and artificial speeches he includes from Tate might signify that he did not. It is true, however, that Garrick himself had studied closely the madness of a man who had killed his child and could bring tears to the eyes of onlookers without even uttering a word. On the whole therefore Garrick should be praised with moderation, bearing in mind the mitigating factors that he made no pretension to the production of a literary masterpiece, that he was still much hampered by popular prejudice and that in fact, some of the alterations he made and others that he did not, may well have been the outcome of collaboration with his cast.

Chapter IV.

'The History of King Lear.' (George Colman. 1768).

Like Garrick, Colman was a theatre manager, but unlike Garrick his finger was not so firmly held on the pulse of the taste of the audience. His alteration of King Lear was never popular and in fact had the smallest number of performances of any of his productions. It is possibly true, however, that Garrick's name drew a good deal of favour to his own version, while Covent Garden in Colman's time had no such popular attraction. In his Advertisement to his printed copy, Colman states his purpose as being to 'reconcile the catastrophe of Tate to the story of Shakespeare' (p.iv) since, for the first time in the century seemingly, a theatre-manager had perceived the subtle excellencies of Shakespeare's own lines as poetry. Colman's stated purpose, however, was less to restore these lines than to 'render every drama submitted to the Publick, as consistent and rational an entertainment as possible' (p.iv). Guided by the rational, therefore, Colman's immediate instinct was to omit the love of Cordelia and Edgar as dividing the audience's feelings which should be attached to Lear and Cordelia, 'in their parental and filial capacities.' (p.ii). As a man of artistic sensibilities also, he rejected this plot as diffusing a 'languor and insipidity over all the scenes of the play from which Lear is absent.' (p.ii) and as rendering Cordelia's character less truly virtuous, acting as she does in Tate's version from a 'poor motive.' He sees this plot

as one of the 'capital objections' to Tate's alteration and considers that it was tolerated only by being 'mixed and incorporated with some of the finest scenes of Shakespeare.' (p.iii). Colman objects also, however, to the taste of Tate's day which demanded that love-interest should be carried so far as to include Edmund's base passion for Cordelia as well as his 'criminal commerce with Gonerill and Regan.' Colman declares that 'it is generally asserted' that Tate's alteration was for the worse, only surviving by virtue of its happy ending. This ending he therefore preserves, noting (p.iv) that one person alone cannot do a great deal towards the improvement of the stage.

Artist as well as business-man though George Colman may have been, his admiration for Shakespeare was, however, more for his dramatic technique than for his poetic skills. He asserts that Tate's base sub-plot survived only by being mixed with Shakespeare's scenes --- it was certainly not mixed with any of Shakespeare's lines. His first consideration by contrast was to use Shakespeare's story in order to render the play rational and consistent. Colman was astute enough to realise that Tate had not classicised the play much, for all his noble intentions, and that to restore Shakespeare's original hand in it would, in fact, be to render it more rational. As for the restoration of Shakespeare's unequalled poetry, that would be replaced in the course of restoring the story, and not, despite his preliminary quotation from Johnson, from any romantic appreciation of it on Colman's part. For all his restoration, he was of the classical rather than the

romantic persuasion.

His version was first produced on 20 February 1768 at Covent Garden with Powell in the title role. Odell (Vol.I.p.380) considers the possibility of Colman's having restored the tragic ending for a short time and quotes from the Theatrical Review of 1772 in which Colman is censured for 'having restored the original distressed catastrophe' and for rejecting the loves of Cordelia and Edgar's 'so happily conceived by Tate'. Odell also mentions the Theatrical Register of 1769 in which Colman is described as having heightened 'the distress of the catastrophe.' Since Tate's ending appears in the printed copy one may possibly assume that if Colman presented Shakespeare's ending, it failed after only a few performances.

Colman's version opens in the same way as Shakespeare's and the introductory conversation between Kent, Gloucester and Edmund is preserved, except for Gloucester's coarse joking and a few lines of less than perfect clarity. In a similar manner the whole scene in which Lear divides the kingdom is preserved. However, Goneril's line (Sh.I.i.53) 'I love you more than word can wield the matter,' is omitted as it had been by Garrick; possibly for the same reason. At Shakespeare's I.i.68 Regan's 'that self metal as my sister,' becomes 'that self mould' (Col.I.65) and the controversial lines concerning her 'precious square of sense' (Sh.I.i.73-4) are also omitted. With Garrick, Colman alters 'begot me' (Sh.I.i.95) to 'gave me being' (Col.I.94) an alteration in line with other refinements of expression. With Garrick too, Colman omits Lear's reference to the

'barbarous Scythians' (Sh.I.i.115-9) possibly as being of unnecessary length and certainly of unpleasant association. At Shakespeare's lines 134 and 136 Colman alters the final phrasing for metrical improvement. He also omits Kent's blunt speech beginning at Shakespeare's line 145, 'What wouldst thou do old man?' (Sh.I.i.145-8), alters two half-lines to improve the metre and sadly omits the description of Cordelia, 'Nor are those empty-hearted whose low sound/Reverbs no hollowness.' (Sh.I.i.151-2). It is likely that the first omission was made in order that Lear's dignity should not be seen to be affronted and the second from considerations of clarity; similarly with the omission of Shakespeare I.i.157-8 — 'and let me still remain/The true blank of thine eyes.' A good deal (Sh.I.i.190-200) of the exchange between Lear and Burgundy is omitted; the latter is a minor character and Colman preserves only the essence of his rejection of Cordelia. It is unfortunate that the adapter did not appreciate the subtleties of Shakespeare's portrait of the 'waterish' Duke, or at least should have considered them unworthy of inclusion. Similarly lines 210-12 — Lear's remarks to France and the whole of the reply — are omitted, presumably since they were not seen as furthering either the action or one's appreciation of the central characters. Thus Shakespeare's lines 236-249 are lost as well as seven more lines from France's final speech; he has a minor function to fulfil and nothing more. The final conversation between Goneril and Regan is at last preserved intact since one of Colman's objections to Tate was that the sisters had been made too thoroughly vicious and their actions

given no semblance of justification. A very few isolated lines omitted by Colman in this scene have not been specifically noted; their omission is obviously due to his wish for complete clarity. One of the most interesting^e departures from Shakespeare is Colman's solitary inclusion of Tate's rendering of the departure of Kent. Colman's stated purpose was to refine the play from 'the alloy of Tate' but since Tate's lines here are very much a paraphrase of Shakespeare's anyway, it is possible that in wishing to condense the play, Colman, from his experience at Drury Lane with Garrick, appreciated the final conciseness of Tate's rendering.

Again, Shakespeare's scene ii, between Gloucester and his sons is preserved as originally written with only a few omissions. In Edmund's opening soliloquy Colman omits lines 11 to 16 concerning the insipid qualities engendered in legitimate sons; probably from notions of refinement. Likewise Shakespeare's lines between 121 and 124, Gloucester's opening fussing over the king's hasty actions, is omitted. It is possible that Colman, in wishing to shorten the play, would have omitted any recapitulation of previous events, however much light they would have shed on the old man's character. Seven lines of Edmund's sententious warning against haste to his father are lost. They do not further the actual plot and it is possible that Colman did not value the additional emphasis they give to Edmund's nature. Like his predecessors Colman is prepared to sacrifice the subtleties first to the other requirements of his alteration, but with him these do not necessarily make for popular approval or

dramatic vigour but for clarity of expression and rationality of plot. Both Gloucester's lines concerning the dissolution of all stability in politics and morals (Sh.I.ii.103-6 and 107-8) and Edmund's parody of them (Sh.I.ii.137-47) are omitted by Colman. It is possible that he was afraid of including anything smacking of political criticism, although it is more likely that he was following Garrick, in the second of these omissions anyway, and that both omitted it for reasons of conciseness. Colman includes the brief scene of Goneril's instructions to Oswald (whom he calls the 'Steward'), altering, however, her opening line with its reference to the Fool and omitting also the reference to Lear's 'one gross crime or other/That sets us all at odds.' (Sh.I.iii. 5-6). He omits also Goneril's unflattering lines between 19 and 21, both omissions possibly made to preserve Lear's dignity even from his daughter's mouth. Colman also omits the uncertain lines 25-6.

The final scene of Colman's first Act follows Shakespeare's wording, as far as his alteration permitted, with the notable transposition of the grand curse to the end. Colman states in his Advertisement (p.v.) that he had once intended including the part of the Fool, 'yet, after the most serious consideration, I was convinced that such a scene would sink into burlesque' (he is quoting from Warton in the Adventurer, No. 116) in the representation, and would not be endured on the modern stage.' Sophisticated as his audience believed itself to be, it was not yet judged ready for such refinements and the Fool still languished in the green-room. Part of the Knight's

lines concerning the neglect of Lear is lost (Sh.I.iv.57-9) his point having been made without them, while Lear's vituperating of Oswald is considerably weakened from 'You whoreson dog! you slave! you cur! (Sh.I.iv.77-8) to 'my lord's knave!' (Col.I.509) and Kent's reviling of him (Sh.I.iv.86-8) is completely lost. Much potentially vivid acting could thus be sacrificed, although again, Colman has conveyed the essence of the situation. The hundred lines between the entrance of the Fool and Goneril's first lines are completely left out. Her line at Sh.199 -- 'By what yourself too late have spoke and done' is omitted since again Colman is lessening Lear's fault. And similarly Shakespeare's lines 237-40 concerning the transformation of her 'graced palace' into a 'tavern or a brothel' are lost. The possibly-obscure lines 203-6 are omitted rather than paraphrased and, at line 231, Colman follows Tate in substituting 'humours' for the undignified 'pranks'. Lear's reference to the 'kind and comfortable' Regan (Sh.I.iv.298-302) and the likelihood that she will scratch Goneril's face is lost, possibly as unworthy of the king, and Colman also omits all lines after Lear's departure so that, with the transposed curse he might, as his predecessors had done, close the scene with a dramatic flourish. Thus the sending of Oswald to Regan does not occur nor likewise Shakespeare's fifth scene in which Lear sends Kent also to Regan.

Curan does not appear in the first scene of Colman's second Act. From a manager's point of view he was one more actor to be paid

and if he could be omitted without loss of important information, so much the better. Colman's Act opens at Shakespeare's II.i.14 and so the news that Cornwall and Albany have fallen out is not delivered. From Edmund's further plotting Shakespeare's 16-17 are omitted which mention Gloucester's machinations to catch Edgar, while Edmund's rigged 'fight' with his brother is composed partly from Shakespeare and partly from Tate. Two lines are Colman's own. It is possible that the scene could be as vividly acted, but it is true also that Edmund's double-acting craft is less strongly highlighted in Colman's rendering. For instance, 'In cunning I must draw my sword upon you./Draw; seem to defend yourself; now quit you well.' (Sh.II.i.29-30) is tamely replaced by, 'Tis not safe/To tarry here. Fly, brother! hence! away!' (Col. II. 17-18). Colman omits Shakespeare's line 61, possibly preferring the neater juxtaposition of ideas without it and also line 65, containing the dubious 'pight' and 'curst' which he would have rejected as obscure. Similarly rejected are Shakespeare's lines 70-2 and 74-7, both containing part of Edmund's report of his brother's supposed remarks to him. The former is a regrettable loss since Edmund's cunning has prompted him to mention the forged letter, 'though thou didst produce/My very character,' (Sh.II.i.71-2). It is notable that the eighteenth-century desire for 'type' characters still influenced Colman's restoration and that such additional subtleties were the first to suffer. Like Garrick, Colman keeps the entrance of Cornwall and Regan until after the quarrel between Kent and Oswald. It is likely that he kept

this change for the same reason as Garrick originally made it (see supra p.147) although no direction is given for a change of place to the interior of Gloucester's palace. Colman keeps Oswald's greeting of 'Good evening' to Kent as Garrick had altered it and otherwise omits only two phrases of Shakespeare's in the quarrel between them; 'one-trunk inheriting' (Sh. II. ii. 17) and the accusation that Oswald is 'the son and heir of a mongrel bitch'. (Sh. II. ii. 19-20). Garrick had omitted the 'bitch' designation and one therefore suspects that the whole passage was too strong for the refinement at which Colman was aiming. Kent and Oswald depart at the run while a direction is given for the entrance of Cornwall, Regan, Gloucester and Edmund. The scene between them closely follows that in Shakespeare's II. i. with some slight modernisation of expression: for example 'reveal' for 'bewray' (Sh. II. i. 107. Col. II. 136 and c.f. Tate 'betray' and Garrick 'bewray' with editorial comment.) and the omission of the somewhat involved lines Sh. III. -III2. Colman also omits Regan's explanation that she is seeking Gloucester's advice in visiting him (Sh. II. i. 118-120) and merely keeps the further explanation that she wished to be diplomatically 'not at home'. Gloucester's welcome to them is transposed from the end to the beginning of this section. At this point Colman lets Oswald closed onstage by Kent and he follows this with Shakespeare's scene as originally written. He alters only the difficult 'renege' (Sh. II. ii. 73) to 'foreswear' (Col. II. 187) and with an eye for correctness, an eye with which Garrick had winked, alters Cornwall's double comparative at line 97 from 'more corrupter ends' to 'more corrupt design' (Col. II. 214). He also omits three lines of Gloucester's

admonition to Cornwall which he possibly found superfluous, as well as the first three lines of Kent's final soliloquy concerning the 'common saw'. In view of contemporary and subsequent argument here (and also at lines 161-2 and 164-6) it is obvious that Colman would have wished to make these three minor cuts. Shakespeare's third scene, that of Edgar's soliloquy on his disguise is again largely preserved. With his patent care for decorum, Colman intended to keep Edgar in a state of sartorial decency with a grand disregard for mangled metre. Thus

'Blanket my loins, elf all my hair in knots,
And with presented nakedness outface
The winds and persecutions of the sky.'

(Sh. II. iii. 9-11).

becomes

'Blanket my loins; elfe all my hair in knots;
and out-face
The winds, and persecutions of the sky.'

(Col. II. 296-8)

while the 'wooden pricks' of Shakespeare's line 16 become 'iron spikes' (Col. II. 302) following Tate's desire for the large and horrid. He also alters the phrasing, but not the sense, of the closing lines of the speech; probably from considerations of clarity and conciseness, but sadly losing the 'poor pelting villages' and the 'lunatic bans' and prayers (Sh. II. iii. 18 and 19).

The Gentleman's part is omitted from the beginning of the next scene which is Shakespeare's scene iv, and likewise the Fool and all references to him. In his explanation of his predicament to Lear, Kent does

not refer to his having kneeled to deliver his letter, possibly out of desire by Colman to preserve the character as one of blunt and unflattering honesty. Unlike Garrick, Colman preserves Tate's 'Now Gloster' from Lear as the old courtier enters, but does keep Garrick's direction for a whispered conversation between them before returning to Shakespeare's lines. This whisper consequently renders the adapters' re-arrangement of action more coherent. With Garrick, too, Colman omits Gloucester's further excuses for the obstinacy of the 'hot Duke' and also the lines from Lear, important in their dramatic irony, 'we are not ourselves/When nature being oppress'd commands the mind/To suffer with the body.' (Sh.II.iv.103-5). It is likely that Colman did not perceive the implication of these lines, working sporadically as he must have done from both Tate and Garrick. An emendation of his own is to alter

'To take the indisposed and sickly fit
For the sound man.'
(Sh.II.iv.107-8)

to 'Nor task the indisposed and sickly fit
For the sound man.'
(Col. II. 378).

Possibly he considered this emendation more positive than the original; it does not seem to have been suggested by anyone else. Colman omits the lines between Gloucester's exit to fetch Cornwall and Regan and their return, (Sh.II.iv.116-122). But he transposes Lear's 'Oh me, my heart! my rising heart! but down!' to his first catching sight of them and makes Cornwall utter the first greeting. Other minor emendations in the scene include the replacement of 'unsightly tricks'

(Sh. II. iv. 153) by the more decorous and fashionable 'humours' (Col. II. 421 and c.f. Tate 'passions' and Garrick 'tricks') and 'Do you but mark how this becomes the house' (Sh. II. iv. 149) by 'becometh us' (Col. II. 416 and c.f. Garrick 'becomes the use?'). Possibly furthering his task of lessening Lear's fault, Colman omits the additional curses which the King heaps on Goneril's head between Sh. II. iv. 159 and 164; they certainly appear to be more pre-meditated than the curse of Act. I. From considerations of clarity and truthfulness he also omits Sh. II. iv. 172-4 in which Lear refers to scanted sizes and being locked out of his daughter's house. Colman follows Garrick in including a line from Tate to conclude Lear's refusal to return with Goneril (Sh. II. iv. after 208. Tate II. 331. Garr. II. 493) and also omits an obscure line (Sh. II. iv. 206) on his own initiative, as well as the reference to the 'hot-blooded' France (Sh. II. iv. 209-214) and the degradation the King would have to undergo before him. Omitted also, in the cause of Lear's new-found virtue, are the lines from Shakespeare 218-222 which refer to Goneril as a 'disease' a 'plague-sore, an embossed carbuncle'. Colman's omission of these is a far cry from the horrific rant which Tate had given the old King to close the scene. Lear's recapitulation of his wrongs is omitted (Sh. II. iv. 248-257) and like Garrick, he includes from Sh. II. v. 43-4 'Oh let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heav'n! / Keep me in temper! I would not be mad.' (Col. II. 508-9) to replace them. Of Lear's final speech in this scene Colman, like Garrick, omits the reasoned argument between

Sh. II. iv. 264 and 267, possibly for the same reason (see supra p. 154). Otherwise the speech is kept intact and, as with the flourish concluding Act I, Colman draws the curtain again at this point.

Preserving the brisk transition between Lear at Gloucester's castle and Lear on the heath, Colman follows Garrick in opening his third Act with the King's 'Blow winds ...' speech. (Sh. III. ii. l. et seq. Col. III. l. et seq.). He thus omits from Shakespeare's scene i both the preparation of the audience for the King's distress as well as the information that 'there is division ... 'twixt Albany and Cornwall' (Sh. III. i. 19-21) and that 'from France there comes a power' (Sh. III. i. 30) which explains, of course, the presence of Cordelia in England. The Fool is lost from the heath-scene and Kent therefore has to supply a link between Lear's speeches there. It is for this reason that three out of the four speeches which Colman allows Kent are Tate's; written for the scene without the Fool. Even in restoring much else, Colman omits Kent's determination to seek shelter again from Gloucester's palace. Shakespeare's third scene, in which Gloucester determines to succour the King, and Edgar decides to betray his father, is kept intact with the exception of two minor emendations made by editors between Pope and Johnson — one in a line not included by Garrick.

In his arrangement of Shakespeare's fourth and sixth scenes to form one, Colman follows Tate closely. It is true that he follows Shakespeare's wording wherever possible but the general order of the

speeches is Tate's and it is obvious that Colman was keeping to him very faithfully. As far as Shakespeare's line 105 Tate's order is much as Shakespeare's and Colman needed only to restore lines, which he did. But he follows Tate in omitting lines 9-12. In restoring Shakespeare's words to Edgar's description of his sinful life, Colman's refinement prompts him to reject lines 87-89, 'One that slept in the contriving of lust and waked to do it. Wine loved I deeply, dice dearly; and in woman out-paramoured the Turk', whereas Garrick had seen fit to include them. After Lear's attempt to undress himself, however, (Sh.III.iv.105) Colman includes one line of Tate's, 'Defend his wits, good heav'n!' (Tate III.260) and thirteen lines as Tate and Garrick had reproduced them, before changing in the middle of one of Edgar's speeches to Shakespeare's and III.vi. The speech is thus:

'.... that's whipped from tything to tything;)	
that has three suits to his back, six shirts)	Tate's and
to his body,)	Garrick's
Horse to rise and weapon to wear,)	version of
But rats and mice and such small deer,)	Sh.III.iv.
Have been Tom's food for seven long year.)	123-132.
Esaterreto calls me, and tells me, Nero)	
is an angler in the lake of darkness. Pray)	Sh.III.vi.
innocent, and beware the foul fiend.')	6-8

Tate includes these two sections but with two short speeches between them. Colman follows Tate in putting, 'Right, Ha! Ha! was it not pleasant to have a thousand with red-hot spits come hissing upon them,' (Tate III. 279-280) after this, then following it with the dog-conversation

(which Colman partially emends with intelligence). With Tate and Garrick he returns to Shakespeare's scene iv for the entrance of Gloucester, although Colman keeps Edgar's 'foul Flibbertigibbet' speech (Sh. III. iv. 110-118) as prior to Gloucester's appearance. He appears to be following Tate closely here, however, because he keeps 'knits the elflock' (Tate III. 300 and Garr. III. 298) which is not Shakespeare's, as well as 'Swithin' which appears to have originated with Tate. One original emendation, however, is 'world' in 'Swithin footed thrice the world' although Furness (note to lines 114-118 p. 195) remarks that Colman had asserted this to be an error of the press. The rest of the 'Swithin' rhyme is Tate's. Apart from Gloucester's initial question, 'What, hath your grace no better company?' (Sh. III. iv. 134. Col. III. 237) the rest of the scene is Tate's, although Tate himself had not departed too drastically from Shakespeare's actual wording. Colman's sudden adherence to Tate in this scene is not as reprehensible as at first it might seem. His borrowings are largely at the level of speech-order, keeping Shakespeare's own wording of them wherever possible. This change in speech-order was required by the omission of the Fool and partly by Colman's decision to bridge Shakespeare's fifth scene and omit it altogether. This omission of a whole scene was probably dictated by Colman's need to be concise and his wish to discard anything which repeated itself, the essence of the fifth scene being repeated in the seventh. The most obvious feature of Colman's alteration is that it was still not considered necessary for the ravings of Lear and Edgar

to make any sort of coherent sense. Colman's maintaining the inversion of the 'pelican' and 'pillicock' speeches (Sh.III.iv. 68-73 and 74) and the amalgamation of Edgar's lines already quoted, give ample evidence of this. The impression which all three adapters wished to convey was one of lunatic rambling and they were patently uninterested in any underlying coherence, even had they observed it.

There is less excuse for Colman in his preservation of much of Tate in his final scene of this Act. It opens with Cornwall's words discovering Gloucester's plot and includes four lines which Tate had borrowed from Shakespeare's fifth scene and which Colman uses, unrestored, the first being Edmund's unctious, 'O heavens! that this treason were not, or not I the detector!' (Sh.III.v.9-10) rendered by the three adapters, 'O that this treason had not been, or I not the discoverer.' (Tate III. 481-2. Garr. III.473-4, Col. III.278-9). It is possible that Colman did not realise that this was an addition from an earlier scene although he did, in fact, add the adjective 'dearer' from Shakespeare's scene v 22 to Tate's, 'Thou shalt find/A father in our Love.' (Tate III. 483-4). Colman also invents a short line of his own and adds a brief piece for Edmund from scene v (18-20). These inventions and amalgamations (13 lines in all) precede Colman's taking-up of Shakespeare's seventh scene and are necessary to explain the situation. From Cornwall's first words to General (the bridging line invented by Colman) to Gloucester's final

justification of his action is Shakespeare's with omissions and the emendation of 'festinate' (Sh.III.vii.9) by 'hasty' (Col. III.296) the original sounding too archaic in Colman's ears. The omissions include two unnecessary lines from Oswald (Sh.III.vii.16-17), seven lines which involve Regan's plucking of Gloucester's beard (Sh.III.vii. 34-40) which again, emphasise her cruelty, and the three lines in which Gloucester explains that the letter he received was not from any enemy of Cornwall's -- thus Gloucester's fault is only that of aiding the King. From Tate's line 507, however, Colman reverts to the earliest adaptation, only removing Gloucester for the blinding as Garrick had done. Garrick returns Gloucester to the stage for Tate's fighting soliloquy; Colman is not afraid to produce the bleeding spectacle but cuts out the soliloquy giving Gloucester only three lines of Shakespeare's (Sh.III. 84-6). In his Advertisement (p.v.) he declares that 'the putting out Gloucester's eyes is also so unpleasing a circumstance, that I would have altered it, if possible; but, upon examination, it appeared to be so closely interwoven with the fable, that I durst not venture to change it.' Since Gloucester re-appears, blinded, in this scene it is possible that Colman retained the torture, partly because such violence was still not wholly foreign to the taste of his audience and partly because to have omitted it would have involved a great deal of re-writing which he felt himself unqualified, either by time or by talent, to undertake. Apart from three lines of Tate for Regan (Tate III. 528-30) the final ten lines of Colman's Act are Shakespeare's (Sh.III.vii.90-97) while the brief

conversation between two servants, resolving to help Gloucester is omitted, possibly as unnecessary and calling for extra speaking parts.

Colman's fourth Act excludes Tate's amorous situation of Edmund and Regan in a Grotto and opens instead with Edgar's lamentation against fortune. The adapter excludes the final three and a half lines which he possibly saw as unnecessary elaboration and originally emends Sh. IV. i. 6 from 'The worst returns to laughter.' to 'The worst returns to comfort.' (Tate, 'Better' IV. 55. Garr. 'laughter'. IV. 6.). It is unlikely that he could have explained this away as a printing error and more likely that he preferred its general force. At Shakespeare's line 11 'But that thy strange mutations make us hate thee,' both Garrick and Colman follow Theobald in emending 'hate' by 'wait'. Since Furness includes over seventy lines of notes on Shakespeare's line 20, it is hardly surprising that Colman, perceiving a problem and aiming at clarity, should have cut lines 19-21 out, 'Full oft 'tis seen, / Our means secure us, and our mere defects / Prove our commodities.' (Sh. IV. i. 19-21). Between lines 27 and 29 also, it is likely that Colman objected to Edgar's juggling with 'worse' and 'worst' at so painful a moment and therefore excised them as well. In search of a rational explanation for all things, he includes three lines of Tate's to explain why Edgar is not going to reveal his identity to his father,

Alas, he's sensible that I was wrong'd,
And should I own myself, his tender heart
Would break betwixt extremes of grief and joy.'

To other emendations of Shakespeare from Tate are added the replacement of 'daub' by 'fool' in 'I cannot daub it further' (Sh.IV.i.51. Tate IV.100. Col. IV.56) and of 'brim' by 'brink' in 'Bring me but to the very brim of it'. (Sh.IV.i.73. Tate IV.115. Col. IV.72). In both cases Garrick keeps Shakespeare's wording. Colman omits the list of Edgar's devils as Garrick had done (Sh.IV.i.57-61) and with him also leaves out Gloucester's prayer to the heavens (Sh.IV.i.65-9).

In its initial stages Colman's second scene follows closely Shakespeare's scene between Goneril, Oswald and Edmund and, later, Goneril and Albany. Before the entrance of Albany he omits only three, possibly superfluous, lines and the giving of a favour and a kiss by Goneril to Edmund -- that propriety might not be offended. The ten lines (Sh.IV.ii. 29-39) of Albany's head-shaking criticism of his wife are omitted, possibly as obscure, possibly as only adding to one's certain knowledge of her wickedness. Two interesting alterations of Colman's own are of Shakespeare's lines 44 and 75, both concerning the Duke of Cornwall. The first, 'Could my good brother suffer you to do it?' becomes, 'How cou'd my brother suffer you to do it,' (Col. IV.111) and the second, '.... bending his sword/To his good master;' becomes, '.... bending his sword/Against his master;' (Col. IV.130). These alterations must undoubtedly be intended to convey the impression that Albany -- and the Messenger too -- possessed enough percipience to see no good in Cornwall's nature. Between the entrance of Albany and the entrance of the Messenger with the news of Gloucester's plight, Colman reproduces only fourteen of Shakespeare's

thirty-nine lines. The essence of the quarrel is conveyed, as well as the news that France is abroad in England, but in so short an exchange that much that is essential to one's knowledge of the pair is sadly lost. One half-line, necessary for bridging, is of Colman's own invention. Making for general information rather than for description, the messenger's line, 'going to put out/The other eye of Gloucester' (Sh.IV.ii.71-2) becomes 'going to put out/The earl of Gloucester's eyes.' (Col. IV.125). Instead of ending the scene with Albany departing with the messenger, Colman has him return for a parting shot at Goneril from Sh.IV.ii.59-61, and a reply from her taken from Sh.IV.ii.52-3. Thus she is implicated in his mind with Gloucester's disasters. In Shakespeare, he addresses no further remark to his wife after the news. She, however, remains on the stage after his departure to receive a letter from the Steward in an amalgamation of Tate and Shakespeare. The Steward's first two lines are Shakespeare's (IV.ii.82-3) and his final two concerning Cornwall's death and Edmund's generalship are Tate's (IV.190-1) although 'brave Edmund' (Tate) becomes 'earl Edmund' (Col.) with the same firmness that was shown Cornwall's character.

The sources for Goneril's final speech are best demonstrated by quotation:

- 'One way I like this well:
But being widow, and my Glo'ster with her, / Sh.IV.ii. 83-4
- May pluck down all the building of my love/ Col. 163.
- Sh.IV.ii.87/ I'll read, and answer/these dispatches strait/ Col.164
- Sh.IV.v. It was great ign'rance, Glo'ster's eyes being out,
9-10 / To let him live./Add speed unto your journey,/ Tate.195.
- Col.167. And if you chance to meet that old blind traitor,/
- Sh.IV.v.38 / Preferment falls on him that cuts him off.'

This is really a very good example of Colman's intelligence in adaptation. Where there was particular information which he wished to convey, he chose the lines from his models which best expressed it. One criticism that might be made is that they are not in logical succession, particularly lines 5 and 6 above, but on the other hand, a mental leap need not always be expressed and the passage gives a good idea of Goneril's immediate concerns. Shakespeare's third scene, a short one between Kent and a Gentleman, stands as originally written, apart from the omission of the first eight lines concerning the departure of the King of France and of the description of Cordelia's sorrow at her father's plight (Sh. IV. iii. 19-35) and a few minor lines. The departure of France was possibly not of sufficient importance to Colman to be mentioned and Cordelia's distress he conveys in nine lines only. Two emendations which might possibly provoke a smile from the modern reader are of Shakespeare's 'an ample tear trill'd down/Her delicate cheek' (Sh. IV. iii. 12-13) to 'a big round tear ran down/Her delicate cheek: (Col. IV. 173-4) and of 'her smiles and tears/Were like a better way,' (Sh. IV. iii. 18-19) to Warburton's 'Were like a wetter May.' (Col. IV. 176). The former change possibly made in the interests of simpler language, but to modern ears achieving bathos, and the latter, possibly up to date in Colman's time, but reading now like part of long-range weather-forecast. In general, however, the scene is a welcome return to King Lear.

With growing boldness Colman adds at least a dozen lines in Shakespeare's fourth scene which appear to be of his own invention,

or loose paraphrases of Shakespeare:

No; 'tis too probable the furious storm
 Has pierc'd his tender body past all cure;
 And the bleak winds, cold rain, and sulph'rous light'ning,
 Unsettled his care-wearied mind for ever.
 Send forth a cent'ry, bring him to our eye;
 Try all the art of man, all med'cine's power,
 For the restoring his bereaved sense!
 He that helps him, take all!!'

(Col. IV.210-217).

The Gentleman's report to Kent in scene iii. (24-6) quoting Cordelia's upbraiding of her sisters for their cruelty is put into her own mouth after her description of her father crowned with flowers. In his movement from the particular to the general, Colman does not give a list of these plants; instead they are summed up as 'all the weeds that grow/In our sustaining corn.' (Col. IV. 203-4). Shakespeare's Cordelia is practical at this point; her reported lamentations are over and she is most concerned with the form of her father's madness and the alleviation of it. Colman, however, appeared to require a tide of filial emotion here -- either in contrast to the sisters' harshness or as sheer pandering to the demand of the audience for pathos. With the above-quoted alteration, he also includes a paraphrase from Tate's Act III. lines 129-134. (For comparison see supra p. 81)

'If it be so, one only boon I beg;
 That you'd convey me to his breathless trunk,
 With my own hands to close a father's eyes,
 With show'rs of tears to wash his clay-cold cheeks,
 Then o'er his limbs, with one heart-rending sigh,
 To breathe my spirit out, and die beside him.'

(Col. IV. 239-34).

The Messenger's report of the imminence of the British Army and Cordelia's preparation to meet them remains intact. Shakespeare's fifth scene, in which Oswald is given a note from Regan and where her purposes are further revealed is omitted by Colman. This is probably due, once again, to his wish to lessen the adulterous aspect of the sisters' crimes.

Apart from two minor and insignificant emendations for the sake of clarity (and the loss of the 'fairies'— Sh.IV.vi.29 — for the sake of dignity) Shakespeare's sixth scene is preserved as far as Gloucester's fall from the cliff. In his Advertisement (p.iv) Colman quotes Warton in the Adventurer (No.22.) as support for the improbability of Gloucester's imagining he really had fallen off a cliff 'and in the representation it is still more liable to objection than in print. I have therefore, without scruple, omitted it,' Colman prided himself on the rational nature of his adaptation and, in the light of intellectual rationality, this episode would be bound to suffer. Two comments are called for here, however, One is that a gifted actor could most likely render the fall not only probable, but would make it very moving. It was kept in Garrick's version. The other is that the fall has a vital effect on Gloucester's outlook and its failure prompts his ultimate submission to the will of heaven. 'Henceforth I'll bear

Affliction till it do cry out itself

"Enough, enough," and die.'

(Sh.IV.vi. 75-7).

The course of this dissertation has seen depth of character sacrificed for a number of reasons; here it is sacrificed in the cause of

rationality. For the sake of decency, Lear's lines concerning 'Gloucester's bastard son' (Sh.IV.vi.110-5) are excised. Having removed the depth of Gloucester's despair with the omission of his attempted suicide, Colman removes also the application of this despair to the world in general in the old man's exchanges with the King (Sh.IV.vi.133-4). Instead he introduces two lines from Tate:

'Not all my sorrows past so deep have touch'd me
As these sad accents. Sight were now a torment.'

(Tate. IV.306-7)

after (Sh.IV.vi.115).

The lines are particularly suited to the pathos of Tate's altered scene. But although they are possibly incongruous introduced in this way into Shakespeare's own verse, they are also suited to a Gloucester whose mind has not been shaken by attempted suicide from contemplation of his own predicament to sheer disillusionment with the whole world. At Shakespeare's line 121 his 'soiled horse' becomes Tate's more "poetic" 'pamper'd steed' while after Sh.133 Colman introduces about ten lines from Shakespeare's third Act (scene vi. between lines 45 and 57) in which Generil and Regan are mildly arraigned. Possibly Colman saw the dramatic value of this episode although it is odd that he did not leave it in the third Act which is at least 100 lines shorter than the fourth (see Appendix G). A notable emendation to these lines is 'struck' replacing 'kick' in 'She kicked the poor king her father'. (Sh.III.vi.46. Col. IV. 344) -- if a king is to be harmed at all, it is more dignified that he should be struck than kicked. From thence, with only minor omissions and emendations

Colman returns to Shakespeare's fourth Act at line 135 as far as the entrance of Cordelia's messengers, which is timed as it had been by Tate. Lear's arguments with them are therefore paraphrases of Tate although Gloucester's comment as Lear departs is an amalgamation of Sh. IV. vi. 277-82 and 216-18:

'The king is mad. How stiff is my vile sense
That I stand up, and have ingenious feeling
Of my huge sorrows. Better I were distract,
And we, by wrong imaginations, lose
The knowledge of itself. -- Ye gentle gods,
Take my breath from me! let not misery
Tempt me again to die before you please.'

(Col. IV. 421-27).

Thence to the end, the scene is Shakespeare's with the omission of Oswald's plea for the delivery of the letters he bears and for his own burial -- possibly as unnecessary in an over-long Act. Goneril's letter must have been largely copied from Tate who had shortened it, since the 'bed my goal' mistake is preserved. Finally Edgar's line mentioning the sound of battle is omitted (Sh. IV. vi. 283) and thus the ominous note upon which the scene ends is largely lost.

Shakespeare's seventh scene in the fourth Act is transferred by Colman to the opening of his fifth, for the sake of greater equality in the length of the Acts. From the beginning of the scene Colman omits Cordelia's thanks to Kent and his wish to remain anonymous (13 lines) and so the scene is only between Cordelia, Lear and the Physician while Kent remains 'wrapped in concealment' until after the battle. Colman omits the Physician's call for louder music, as Garrick had done. It is possible that facilities for a small amount of music

in a play did not exist in the general run of a production. Kent's line 'Kind and dear princess' (Sh.IV.vii.29) is made superlative and given to the Physician, possibly as too sentimental to lose. One minor omission before Lear's awakening is Cordelia's reference to Lear's enforced sojourn 'with swine and rogues forlorn' (Sh.IV.vii.39). Again, this may be part of his movement away from particular references, or a further attempt to preserve the King's dignity. The first line of this speech (SH.IV.vii.30-42. Col. V.12-24) is an inclusion from Tate, 'O Regan! Gonerill, inhuman sisters!' (Tate IV.432). In fact the more interesting features of this scene are Colman's inclusions from Tate. Among these are, unfortunately Lear's first words upon waking (Tate IV.441-5). Cordelia's 'farewell to patience', (Tate IV.466-7) and, apart from 'you must hear with me; pray you now, forget and forgive. I am old and foolish.' (Sh.IV.vii. 84-5. Col. V. 84-5) the final 32 lines of this scene, including Cordelia's fighting soliloquy. (See Appendix C.(2)) Since Colman could easily have rejected these lines of Tate's his inclusion of them must indicate that he was aiming at the pathetic and sentimental here and therefore that he still assumed a taste for these in the reactions of his audience. This pathos is a poor replacement for the sublimity of Shakespeare, but if the happy ending were to be included at all, then this sentimentality would be inevitable.

Colman omits Goneril's short scene with her Poisoner which opens Tate's fifth Act; again, he was not primarily concerned with the vices of the sisters. Instead he moves at once to Edmund in his tent whose soliloquy and consultation with his officers is preserved intact --

with the exception of his relish in having already 'enjoy'd Regan (Tate V.22), the reason being the same as that given for the previous omission. In what might be called his third scene, between Edgar and his father before the battle and, later, between Albany and the brothers, Colman follows Tate, but introduces short passages from Shakespeare. From Gloucester's soliloquy he omits the seven lines concerning 'lonely shepherds' and 'disabled coursers'. If Tate had wished to give Edgar longer to 'fight' offstage by this lengthy speech, Colman seems to dismiss such a purpose as not justifying its irrelevancies. On Edgar's return Colman reverts to Shakespeare's lines from Act. V.ii.5-11, ending with Gloucester's reply transposed from Sh.IV.vi. 75-7 (Quoted supra p.195). The entrance in triumph of Albany, the sisters and Edmund, and as captives, of Lear, Kent and Cordelia, is Tate's although Colman omits Goneril's further murderous instructions to her Captain. Tate's scene is followed closely up to the exit of all but Edmund to prepare for the combat. At this point Colman reverts to nine lines of Shakespeare's to enable Edmund to instruct his Captain that 'to be tender-minded/Does not become a sword' and to command him to follow his written orders. From this scene, Lear, Kent and Cordelia remain under guard in preparation for a melodramatic revelation of identity as Tate had portrayed it. But four lines of the 'Birds i'th'cage' speech are omitted (Tate V.151-5) since Colman had foreseen a later use for them. His mind now possibly set upon a speedy conclusion to the play, Colman includes only the essence of Tate's quarrel for the brothers, omitting 21 lines of taunting between V.198 and 219 (Tate). (These lines are reproduced in Appendices C4 and C5;

the lines beginning 'And dares Edgar ...'(198) followed by 'Half-blooded Man (204) as far as 'Of this one thing I'm certain.' Colman's final 16 lines to this scene are from Shakespeare's V.iii. and quotation best describes them (Appendix C.8). The final 61 lines of Tate are lost. They concern Albany's facing of Goneril with her letter, and the fierce quarrel between Goneril and Regan -- which Tate may have felt a matching balance to the brothers' quarrel. They are, however, no loss from an artistic point of view, although the omission of a possibly popular scene may have contributed to the failure of Colman's play. Finally Tate's denouement is preserved. Any references to the love of Cordelia for Edgar are omitted and three bold lines which appear to be Colman's own are given to Albany,

'Thy captive daughter too, the wife of France,

Unransomed we enlarge, and shall, with speed,
Give her safe convoy to her royal husband.'

(Col.V.405-7).

He needed these lines since, in his version, Cordelia could not receive the crown of England and Lear himself had to be restored to the throne; this change calls for other omissions from Tate. The final lines are given to Lear, but not as Garrick had given them:

'Thou, Kent, and I, in sweet tranquillity
Will gently pass the evening of our days.'

(Col. V.435-6)

are Colman's own, while

'Thus will we talk, and tell old tales, and laugh
At gilded butterflies' are a version of Sh.V.iii.12-13.

The second line of Tate's couplet,

'Shall in an even course of Thought be past,
Enjoy the present hour nor fear the last.'

(Tate V.446-7)

is omitted as implying too much finality in the middle of a speech and the final five lines are given to Lear from Edgar. Colman was quite prepared to conclude a play, altered to a greater state of decorum and decency, with the grand moral with which Tate had seen fit to endow it.

In conclusion therefore, the main features of Colman's edition may be seen as the inter-working of the man of didactic and classical tendencies with the stage-manager and man of business, and his attempt should be seen as an altogether more honest achievement than that of Tate whose purposes were largely similar, but whose compromise possibly less pure. (Garrick had made no pretension to writing anything more than a useful play.) As far as the 'improving' nature of his version is concerned, Colman very obviously rejects anything of a coarse or indelicate nature, including Tate's vitiation of the 'wicked' characters; in fact Colman is inclined to lessen their fault even from Shakespeare's rendering. Similarly the indiscretions of the King himself are not so boldly rendered while his dignity and high position are underlined. Most important, from this point of view, is his inclusion of Tate's moral, and indeed of the whole of Tate's final scene in which virtue is rewarded for its endurance. As for Colman's 'classicising' tendencies, his aim for complete clarity is of most obvious importance. (I. In the interests of this clarity

(I. It is possible too that some of this clarifying throughout the adaptations was to keep audience-attention on the action rather than on the characters and their difficulties.)

he omits patently controversial lines from Shakespeare rather than attempt a paraphrase, but includes also some intelligent emendations and modernisations in his aim for correctness. This urge towards correctness initiated also some improvements of metre although this could be sacrificed to the exigencies of more important considerations. His wish for a rational explanation of action partly prompted his rejection of the love-plot (which Tate, eighty-seven years before, had viewed as of greater rationality) and of Gloucester's fall from the cliff which he viewed with extreme scepticism. (2. His pandering to the taste of his audiences — his instinct as a businessman dictated most of his retentions from Tate. Certainly he rejected the Fool, believing that the stage was not yet ready for comedy in tragedy, and kept much of Tate's speech-order (the ending of Acts I and II for instance) for greater dramatic effectiveness. Similarly, a great deal of the pathos and sentiment which Tate had invented for Cordelia is retained, particularly in the final Acts, and Colman is not averse, either, to keeping some of Tate's more melodramatic episodes. On the other hand the failure of his play has been attributed to the great cuts he made in these aspects of Tate. Finally, from a technical point of view, passages from Tate had to be included to bridge cuts made in Shakespeare's text and most of Colman's own lines were written as 'bridges'. His wish for conciseness also prompted a good number of cuts where Shakespeare had otherwise been restored although the essence

(2. Colman's omission of Gloucester's fall also, of course, fulfills the notion that violent action should not take place coram populo.

of a situation is generally maintained. This cutting, however, inevitably leads to simplification of many characters and often, to the complete removal of individuality from minor parts. His avoidance of recapitulation also renders colourless much that Shakespeare had intended to be deepened in repetition. Generally speaking, therefore, although Colman may have been praised by critics for the great deal of Shakespeare's wording he restored, (3. the feeling among his audience must have been that he restored too much.

Possibly the most striking general features of Colman's re-working of Shakespeare's play are his intelligence and his serious purpose. Unlike Garrick, he was aiming at a work of literary merit and at the back of his mind he had the 'improvement' of the stage.

(4. In his Memoirs of Colman (vol.I.p.218) R.B. Peake accurately describes 'the self-denial in these labours, diametrically opposite

(3. One writes in the Monthly Review (vol.xxxviii, p.245) for March 1768: 'The admirers of Shakespeare are obliged to Mr. Colman for having refined the excellent Tragedy of King Lear "from the alloy of Tate which has so long been suffered to debase it." There are several very judicious alterations made in this revival of one of our most capital dramas.'

(4. That there was a movement for its improvement at this time is indicated in 'The Monitor, or Green-Room laid Open' (1767,p.2): 'There is certainly not a department of public trust much more consequential or more necessary to be appropriated with such a choice than the PLAY-HOUSES, where, genius, wit, humour, virtue and satire ought to be displayed in live portraits, to form the improvement of mankind both in sentiment and behaviour!'

to the vanity and ostentation of other literary undertakings' and certainly there is a sincerity which shines through Colman's work and which -- to the cynically minded -- was the cause of the play's unpopularity. ^{This} unpopularity has already been touched upon; more certain proof appears in the Biographia Dramatica (5. and in Genest (6. although it is possible that the play continued at Covent Garden as long as Colman was manager there. From the point of view of his audiences, the play's failure stemmed from Colman's rejections of the most popular features of Tate's version; the love of Cordelia for Edgar and the excessive villainy of Edmund and the other sisters. From an objective and modern point of view the play is a failure because it is not really about anything. Tate's version at least has the merit of a popular plot with added intrigue. That it is artistically bad was probably lost on its avid audiences. Shakespeare's play is about something very different and is of far wider application, couched

- (5. Vol.II, p.368, 'The present was performed only a few nights.'
- (6. Vol. IX, p.567, '--this alteration, which is infinitely the best that has ever been made of King Lear, continued on the acting list but some few years.' It is interesting to note Genest's remarks in vol. V, p.200 in comparison with his above view of the play: Apart from the "proper" omission of the Fool, 'his alteration is an execrable one -- his additions are contemptible, and his happy Catastrophe is injudicious.' Genest should be valued with circumspection.

in the finest dramatic and poetic form. Colman, however, chose to reject Tate's plot and intrigue, but to reject also the final universality and sublimity of Shakespeare's play. He thus achieves an assembly of Shakespeare's finest poetry, but tending to no purpose and culminating in bathos. Colman attempted to compromise as Tate had done before him, but the compromise was ill-judged, both from a popular and from a literary point of view.

Chapter V.

King Lear from 1768 to 1858: a survey.

The very notion of a Jubilee Festival to be held in honour of a playwright at his birthplace must be a certain indication of a rising interest in his work. That the instigator was Garrick, who stood to make a good deal of money from a dramatist thus made popular and that the festivities were largely drowned in a rising Avon is beside the point. The 1760s saw a change in attitude to Shakespeare as the defensive attitude to him was replaced by a growing interest which included the call for his plays as written.

(1. It is not the intention of this study to trace this change through contemporary critical comments, this has been adequately done by R.W. Babcock in The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry. It would be useful to note very briefly, however, the changing attitudes in the theory of drama.

Generally speaking, the call for strict observance of rules and of the unities in particular, was replaced by a more common-sense attitude. (2. Similarly the repression of violence on the stage

- (1. The growing disapproval of re-written Shakespeare is well expressed in the mockery of William Stanley in the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1791, 'We have long had 'Every man his own lawyer' -- 'Every man his own physician' -- 'Every man his own Broker,' pray, Mr Urban, why should we not have 'Every man his own Shakespeare-maker.'
- (2. Of the unities of time and place, for instance, William Cooke in his Elements of Dramatic Criticism (1775) wrote 'We shall enquire, whether we are under a strict necessity to copy the ancients in these two unities.' While Rutledge, writing to Voltaire in November 1776 stated that 'If Shakespeare's violations of the unities has not destroyed theatrical illusion, it shows that the laws of Aristotle are neither the great nor the indispensable laws of good-sense.' (Cited by C.M.Haines, Shakespeare in France: Criticism.)

is condemned by Cooke, who believed that its representation confirmed the story's fictitious nature in the audience's mind. Thus if the hero is to die offstage, it is not to prevent an unpleasant shock, but an untimely laugh. (3. R.W.Babcock also shows how the distaste 'for Shakespeare's general coarseness, his mingling of social ranks, and his use of tragicomedy and supernatural characters' (P. 70) in fact, for his improprieties and indecorum, is reversed and the way made clear for eulogies from critics of the early nineteenth century. By 1821, a writer in The Drama or Theatrical Pocket Magazine is declaring that passages 'principally of a amatory nature' are 'the only species of immorality that has for many years been attacked with reference to dramatic representation.' (4. And even these he is prepared to accept. (5. Within the final years of the eighteenth century also, the conviction was growing that in matters of taste each man should be competent to decide for himself. Sensibility was being emphasised and the

- (3. Ibid. p.iii, 'a battle, duel or death of a hero, seldom, or never fail to dissolve the strongest theatrical illusion, or wipe away all its sympathetic effects with a laugh.'
- (4. Vol. I, no III, July 1821.
- (5. Ibid. p.iii, 'Even these amatory passages, therefore, where the idea is not carried through the whole play, but is only an isolated part of it, cannot be productive of that serious mischief which has been supposed by many.'

instinct which prompted it was outside the boundaries of imposed rules. Character should be revealed in action, not in 'barren scenes', while the passion of love was given some sort of official blessing by Cooke. He stated that it was 'banished the ancient stage, only for reasons of state.' (op.cit. p.45).

As for acting, and the stage itself, the movement was towards ⁿgr_Λndeur and magnificence. Lily B. Campbell notes that the period of imitative and natural acting between 1741 and 1776 was followed by about six years of transition and then by the period of 'grand style'. (6. It is possible that the declamatory speeches of Tate, in fact lent themselves to production in enlarged theatres with poor acoustics, where the nuances of Shakespeare might be missed. Certainly it will be seen that in the early part of the nineteenth century, the use of scenery and of sound-effects in particular, rendered superfluous or completely hid much of Shakespeare's poetry. Thus the playing-time was extended and large cuts in the text became necessary. The actual effect on King Lear will be seen later in this chapter. Finally the influence of France: her pre-eminence in criticism was being wrested from her by Germany. Broadly speaking, this fading away was caused by a refusal to see or to appreciate the significance of the turning tide. Voltaire, 'the apostle of every liberty' nevertheless held that tragedy should remain shackled. In August 1776 a paper of his against Shakespeare met with great success and even Chateaubriand

(6. 'The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century.' PMLA, xxxii, (1917), pp. 163-200.

saw the liking for Shakespeare as vitiated taste; 'with the English it is only ignorance, with us it is depravity.' (7. As yet the translations of Shakespeare appearing in France served only to increase Voltaire's prejudice against the British poet. In Germany, on the other hand, Shakespeare was becoming of increasing interest to a variety of people and for a variety of reasons.

For the first sixty years or so of the eighteenth century Shakespeare was known in Germany only through the distorted versions of wandering players. In the early 1760s, however, Wieland's translations began to appear and Shakespeare's fast action and dominating characters found favour with those of the Sturm und Drang persuasion. King Lear itself appeared in production in 1778 in Schröder's prose version. Schröder could doubtless have had access to a 'pure' edition of Shakespeare had he so wished, but he chose to bring the play closer to contemporary ideas of tragedy and ended it happily. Goethe, who appreciated that his own plays would have to be adapted to the cultural level of his audiences, produced Schröder's Lear at Weimar in 1796 where it was a failure and again in 1800 with the tragic ending. It must have been about this time that he concluded that Shakespeare could not be narrowed down to stage production. When producing Shakespeare with Schiller, however, and studying his form closely, Goethe appreciated what Lessing had proclaimed thirty years before:

(7. From J.J.Jusserand, Shakespeare in France.

Shakespeare was not to be regarded as great in spite of his irregularities; he actually observed the "essentials" of Aristotle's "laws" - although "essentials" is given a very wide interpretation. - In the early nineteenth century therefore, the adapting of Shakespeare for the theatre became less a matter of aesthetics or ethics, and more and more a question of stage mechanics. (8. Finally A.W.Schlegel criticised the production of Shakespeare in adapted form, (9. while his own comments upon Shakespeare vindicated the dramatist from the prevailing accusations of eighteenth-century England. (10. He wrote, 'To me he appears a profound artist, and not a blind and wildly luxuriant genius.'

It is not within the scope of this study to decide the nature and extent of any debt of Coleridge's to Germany or even to probe how and when it originated. (11. Certainly a rapport and an interchange of ideas existed between the two countries and certainly Schlegel called for the production of the original versions of Shakespeare well before this occurred regularly in England.

(8. For a discussion of this matter in greater detail see Pascal, Shakespeare in Germany 1740-1815.

(9. Of Romeo and Juliet Schlegel wrote, 'nothing could be taken away, nothing added, nothing otherwise arranged, without mutilating and disfiguring the perfect work.' Schlegel, Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. trans. J. Black, 1815, vol. 11, p.127.

(10. Ibid. p. 109, 'the pretensions of modern cultivation' are 'little, superficial and unsubstantial at bottom.'

(11. This has been well covered by T. McFarland in Coleridge and the Pantheist Tradition.

If Coleridge used Schlegel's terminology of the doctrines of mechanic and organic form to explain his understanding of Shakespeare's dramatic mode, the understanding itself was already his. (12.

Coleridge's criticism of Lear itself takes on much of the sound and fury that was appearing in actual productions of the play. 'O what a world's convention of agonies is here! All external nature in a storm, all moral nature convulsed ...' (13. While in his 'Notes on some other Plays of Shakespeare' (1818) he expressed his admiration of the Fool's role of articulating and gauging 'the horrors of the scene': 'one of the profoundest and most astonishing of his characters.' (14. Of the final scene Coleridge wrote that the mild pathos of its speeches prepared the mind for the 'sad, yet sweet consolation of the aged sufferer's death.' (15. The eighteenth century had seen the end as horrific and had accordingly cut it out, the new attitude was to see it as a 'consolation' and the way was paved for its retention. Charles Lamb is best remembered for his

(12. cf. Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and other English Poets. collected A. Ashe, p.133, 'I may take the opportunity of explaining what is meant by mechanic and organic regularity. In the former the copy must appear as if it had come out of the same mould with the original: in the latter there is a law which all the parts obey, conforming themselves to the outward symbols and manifestations of the essential principle!...' so with Shakespeare's characters: he shows us the life and principle of each being with organic regularity.' Lecture IX. 1811-12.

(13. Ibid. p. 341.

(14. Cited by T.M. Raysor, Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism, from Crabb Robinson's Diary for Thursday 13 August 1812.

(15. Lectures on Notes on Shakespeare' p.342.

decision that Shakespeare's Lear could not be acted. Goethe would have understood this feeling, although he was to see the Play's production attempted (in translation) while neither Lamb, Hazlitt nor Coleridge could have seen King Lear produced as written by Shakespeare. (16. Lamb saw Tate's interpolations as 'sickly stuff, even though they rendered the play actable. 'Tate has put his hook in the nostrils of this Leviathan, for Garrick and his followers, the show-men of the scene, to draw the mighty beast about more easily.' (17. He saw the play's greatness as in intellectual rather than corporal dimension and therefore felt that in acting, and judging of acting, non-essentials 'are raised into an importance, injurious to the main interest of the play.' (18. Very generally speaking, in the eighteenth century it was the 'main interest of the play' which was amended and re-written, and by Lamb's time it is the 'main interest' which must be heightened and accentuated. Hazlitt also had some knowledge of the German attitude to Shakespeare and was deeply impressed by A.W. Schlegel's outlook. With Lamb, and Goethe too, he believed that Shakespeare could not be satisfactorily acted. On the other hand he was prepared to allow that certain superfluous and obsolete passages of Shakespeare's might be 'retrenched', while disapproving strongly of any further alterations. (19.

(16. Nichol Smith, Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century, p.25.

(17. The Works of Charles Lamb, ed. T.N.Talfourd, p.523.

(18. Ibid. p. 526.

(19. Of Richard III he wrote, 'the manner in which Shakespeare's plays have been generally altered or rather mangled by modern mechanists is a disgrace to the English Stage.' Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe, vol. IV, p. 300.

In an attitude similar to Coleridge's, but expressed in a less picturesque manner, he decided of King Lear that the force of the genius which wrote it was heightened by the strength of the natural passion which was its model. He approved of the Fool's part, but yet (in his criticism of Booth's Lear) decreed that Tate's happy ending was perhaps an allowable concession' to the feelings of the audience.' (20.

By the English critics, therefore, King Lear was not vindicated in an orderly and systematic manner as Schlegel had done for Shakespeare in general. From their reading of the play, approval of the Fool was expressed, pathos and sweetness were seen in the final catastrophe and a Cordelia devoted to her father was appreciated. (21. But the call was not made loudly or clearly enough. King Lear, cut and altered, continued on the stage while its audiences, slowly and with great effort, sloughed off the restricting skin of eighteenth-century dogma. Shakespeare's wheel was to come full circle, but not before the theatre managers had seen and appreciated its revolution.

The preparation for the stage of a Shakespeare play in the eighteenth century, has been seen as a compromise. As the gap between scholarly demands and the taste of the audience narrowed in the years up to and including the first half of the nineteenth century, the

(20. Given by P.P. Howe (Vol. XVIII, p. 329) as being from the London Magazine for May 1820.

(21. Ibid. Vol. XX, p. 33, from The Examiner 28 July 1816. With a touch of irony Hazlitt remarks that despite the 'beauties' of Tate's adornment of Cordelia, 'it would seem impossible to treat in any other way than as Shakespeare has represented [her,] abstracted from everything but [her] heartbreaking ties to others.'

Mr. Garrick as King Lear.



Blow winds and burst your cheeks.

Act 3. Scene 2.

Very fine!

Published by Harrison & Co. May 1, 1779.

compromises became less difficult for the theatre-managers to make. As far as King Lear was concerned, however, Tate died hard. In 1786 a further version of the play was produced at Drury Lane by Garrick. In the first Act he again restored much of Shakespeare's wording while keeping Tate's love-scene and the concluding curse. The second Act is kept largely as it had been arranged in 1756, including the wording of Edgar's soliloquy and the climactic ending. Arante's part is kept in the third Act and the 1756 version is also followed in the removal of Gloucester for the blinding. At the beginning of Act IV, the situation of Regan and Edmund in a grotto is omitted, although much of Tate is retained in the rest of the Act. The arrangement of Act V is as 1756 and Tate's wording is kept for Gloucester's battle-soliloquy. The play ends exactly as it had in 1756. The value of this version lies, therefore, not in the order of scenes, nor in the complete expurgation of unnecessary Tate. Its value is in the unstated acknowledgement that Shakespeare's verse was better than Tate's. The popular plots and motives of Tate's version were kept, but good poetry was finding its way back to the stage at last -- although its first appearance was short-lived.

King Lear was not a popular play during the reign of George III. J.P. Kemble, the rising star of Shakespearean acting at this time in fact played in a version very similar to Garrick's until after the turn of the century. In 1808, however, Mrs. Inchbald published her British Theatre which contained King Lear in volume IV. Odell, by collation of texts, has proved that this is in fact one of Kemble's versions. (22. The edition contains a great deal more of Tate (22. op. cit. Vol. II. p.15.

than either of Garrick's had done and leads one to suspect that Mrs. Inchbald was editing the text which Odell believes was produced in February 1809. (23. From May 1810 this version of King Lear was listed in the playbills as Shakespeare's play. Genest (Vol. VIII, p.131) writes of Kemble, 'Shakespeare or Tate, it was all the same to him,' while he also remarks of the 1810 production (Ibid.p. 185) 'there are no less than five characters which were not in King Lear as written by Shakespeare.' Not to be totally unfair to Kemble, there are two things which may be said in his defence before examining his version more closely. Firstly, Tate's version is neither in language nor in atmosphere so much concerned with the ticklish subject of royal insanity. Secondly, there were still those who believed that Shakespeare's play contained 'too much of ancient cruelty', even though, as Mrs. Inchbald sententiously writes in her edition (Remarks p.4) King James suffered worse at his daughters' hands. She felt that it was better altered 'to gratify spectators more refined.' (Ibid.p.5).

- (23. Ibid. p.52. On 27 February 1809 Kemble 'took from the play much of Shakespeare that Garrick had returned, and put back a corresponding amount of Tate.' In fact the Biographia Dramatica (Vol. II, p.368, no.63) lists for 1808 what was probably this version:- 'King Lear by Shakespeare (with Nahum Tate's alterations). Revised by J.P. Kemble and now first published as it is acted at the Theatre Royal.'

Kemble's (1808) first Act opens with Tate and, including the exchange between Cordelia and Edgar, continues with him to the exit of Lear. There-after Tate is followed with certain minor omissions and with the restoration of six lines from Shakespeare -- those concerning Kent's perception of 'authority' in his master's countenance. The entrance of Goneril is also Shakespeare's; in Tate she witnesses the tripping of Oswald, Shakespeare's fifth scene (the sending of Kent to Regan) is omitted. In the opening scene of his second Act, Kemble again follows Tate closely, except that about twenty lines of Shakespeare's are restored in which Edmund betrays his brother's flight to their father. The second scene is Tate's except that the two lines concerning the 'common saw' (Sh.II.ii.156-7) are added. Commentators between Tate and Kemble had explained their significance. Similarly in scene iv. the sense is restored to Lear's sepulchring an adulteress' speech to Regan (Sh.II.iv.125-8. Kem.II.iv.68-71) and to his mock begging of Goneril. (Sh.II.iv.149-52. Kem.II.iv.93-6). Omitted are Lear's derogatory remarks about Oswald, (Tate II. 299-304) who has a less colourful role, and Lear's closing rant (Tate II.368-74). The appreciation of poetry had not wholly died; from its hiding-place Kemble allowed a mere whisker of it to protrude. Kemble keeps Tate's III.i. with the addition of one half-line of his own to complete a gap in metre (24. His second scene is Tate's as is the third, except that Dover is specifically mentioned by Kemble as a place affording welcome (24. Tate III.35. 'Hide, thou bloody Hand,')

Kem. III. 1.35. 'Hide, hide, thou murd'rer, hide thy bloody hand!'

and provision for the King. (Kem. III.iii.183). Kemble ends this Act with Edgar keeping watch while Cordelia sleeps. The blinding scene therefore begins his fourth Act.

Kemble's alterations to Tate here are very interesting. Gloucester is removed for the blinding, but is allowed to shriek offstage. He is not brought back for any reason and Tate's soliloquy for him is therefore lost. Regan throws the letters offstage for him. Kemble was notorious for his habit of giving names to minor characters (possibly to give his actors a greater sense of responsibility) and therefore the servant who stabs Cornwall is called Edward. Kemble's second scene is Tate's, except that the grotto-scene is lost as well as Gloucester's first reference to the revenge he is to take (Tate IV. 62-4). The third scene is entirely Tate's and the fourth too, except that thirty-six lines including Gloucester's fall from the cliff are lost. These may be cut in the name of probability. Cut in the names of propriety and discretion are the eleven lines of Tate from IV. 306-16 and Tate's reference to Lear dying, 'flush't and pampered as a Priest's Whore.' (Tate IV. 371). The act is otherwise Tate's. Kemble's final Act opens with the last scene of Tate's fourth Act, while the plottings of Goneril and Edmund are lost (Tate V.I.40). The rest of Kemble's scenes two and three are Tate's with minor omissions. From his fourth scene Kemble omits Goneril's second order against the Prisoners' lives as well as the sixty lines of Tate from 222 to 282 in which the sisters squabble as Edmund dies. Instead he adds five lines of his own plus Shakespeare's V.iii. 245-7, indicating Edmund's appreciation of his

worth, his repentance and his attempt at atonement. The rest of the play is Tate's, except that Garrick's arrangement of the final lines is kept while Edgar's closing lines from Tate begin fourteen lines earlier. It is interesting that an illustration to the edition shows Cordelia dead in her father's arms.

Apart from the two concessions already made, it is not easy to justify Kemble's restoration of so much Tate in an increasingly enlightened age. Certainly the declamatory nature of much of Tate may have lent itself to a large theatre and to the 'grand style' in acting and, certainly, financial exigencies precluded too much experiment. Of the alterations made within the Tate text, those made on grounds of probability and decorum have already been noted. The part of the King himself is slightly heightened while the violence of Gloucester's blinding, to which Mrs. Inchbald objected, is withdrawn. (25. Generally speaking too, the plots for revenge or lust are omitted as well as the degrading scene of Edmund's dying -- in fact the latter's character is somewhat ennobled in death. Kemble's version is some 185 lines shorter than Tate's (see Appendix G for the comparative lengths of all ten versions.) but in more than length is it a poor thing. It relies for its drama upon virtue rewarded, while the vicissitudes of wrong-doing -- the King's as well -- are relegated

(25. British Theatre. (Vol. IV.), Remarks p.5. Dr. Johnson's apology for this scene, 'Shakespeare well knew what would please the audience for which he wrote,' is no apology for the correctors of Shakespeare, who have altered the Drama to gratify spectators more refined and yet have not expunged this savage and unnatural act.'

410 v



Mr. Kemble, as Lear.

to the background. Bad as Tate's version may have been as art, it had proved itself to be good drama and much of this drama Kemble had removed. The edition gives little indication of how the play was presented.

With the death of George III in January 1820, restrictions upon the performance of King Lear were removed. On 24 April of that year Edmund Kean made his debut in the title role. His performance was acclaimed by the critics and certainly he had made a great study of the part, visiting St. Luke's and Bethlehem Hospitals in the search for realistic details. (26. Kean himself was closely associated with Elliston, the comic actor and lessee of Drury Lane Theatre, and the 1820 edition to be studied here bears the latter's name. It is possible, therefore, that alterations in the text were not made by one or the other, but by both, in collaboration. Elliston himself does not appear to have been popular with the critics. Of his actual production and his stage-machinery in the play, criticisms were loud. (27. His actual text too came in for several scathing attacks; he was

(26. Hawkins, The Life of Edmund Kean, Vol. II, p. 116.

(27. The London Magazine Vol. I. (May 1820) p. 547, Of the third Act; 'The trees were made to move as with the wind and they did move every way in a most novel and surprising manner; rocks were rent asunder by the lightning so that what with the creaking of pulleys, and other additions to the roar of the storm, little of the play was heard, indeed the machinery of itself seemed to afford quite sufficient amusement to the audience, who laughed at it most heartily.'

accused of 'ignorance and audacity' in 'adhering to the vain and impotent alterations of Tate.' (28. In his advertisement to the 1820 edition, Elliston writes that he has taken less liberty with Tate than Tate had taken with Shakespeare, but that 'some of his worthless weeds have been rooted up to make room for the strength and sweetness of the immortal bard.' (p.v.). He is more concerned to explain, however, his reasons for costuming the play as he did, justifying his designs with the explanation that Shakespeare himself was guilty of anachronisms. He then adds, for the interest of scholars and antiquarians, the account of 'Leir' from Holinshed. (29.

It is not necessary to go into Kean's 1820 text in too much detail. It differs very little from the Kemble text already mentioned. The first Act is six lines longer than Kemble's and contains the specific inclusion of the Physician in the third scene. The second Act is also Kemble's as far as the fourth scene. Here Lear's first words to Regan as she appears from Gloucester's palace are restored from Shakespeare, and as far as line 152, the lines resemble Shakespeare's rather than Tate's. To the end thereafter the Act is Kemble's, except

- (28. Theatrical Inquisitor. May 1820, p.297. It also added that 'This mercenary pursuit is a degrading appendage to Mr. Elliston's character.'
- (29. An interesting comment in connection with this has been made by Maynard Mack in King Lear in Our Time (p.23) 'When was added the archeological impulse of the nineteenth-century stage to convert poetry and myth into history, something like a dead end was in sight for all plays like King Lear in which poetry and myth contribute most of what rises above the level of drame bourgeois.'

that Lear's prayer for tearless anger is omitted. (Sh.II.iv.273-5. Kem. II.iv. 189-191). One of the most important changes in this edition is the restoration of some of Shakespeare's wording for Lear on the heath in Act III. In fact Shakespeare's III.i.1-9 and 14-24 are restored and the whole scene is thereby rendered grander in atmosphere and effect. Doubtless Elliston appreciated that these rolling cadences would complement his own rolling thunder-barrels in the loft! In all else, including his emendation of Tate's metre, the Act follows Kemble. The fourth Act too, with a few exceptions is Kemble's. Edgar's lamentation on seeing his blinded father is restored (Sh.IV.i.10-13. Kean (1820) IV.i. 7-9) -- with other passages, it had been explained by commentators since Tate. Gloucester's fall is omitted. An addition to this text, or rather a replacement, is the line, 'now take him gently' (Kean (1820) IV.iv.126) given to the Physician instead of the Gentleman's rougher 'lay hand upon him' (Sh.IV.vi.186). Finally, Act V contains some further significant restorations from Shakespeare. The pathos of Lear's recognition of Cordelia was popular at all times (so much so that Tate had given him two awakenings in Cordelia's lap). But Kean (or Elliston) had the percipience to recognise the greater emotive force of Shakespeare's own language, and the scene is thereby enriched. The scene opens with four lines of Cordelia's exchange with the Doctor (Sh.IV.iv. 15-18) to which are added four more lines from Sh.IV.vii. (14-17) in which she is again speaking to the Doctor. This speech is followed by eight lines from Tate, disapproving of Goneril and Regan and then by

Shakespeare's IV.vii, 24-29, with the omission only of the call for music (line 25). Thereafter the Act is Kemble's.

This version, therefore, is important for the proof it gives, that even amid the technicalities of mechanical stage-effects, the power of Shakespeare's language was beginning to be appreciated again. Certainly these stage-effects were a bad thing when over-done. Not only were subtleties and nuances lost in them, but the immediate impact of the play was lost. (30. The performance was criticised also for its omission of the Fool 'that admirable foil to the king's weakness and wandering.' (31. And there was a growing feeling that the ending was not all it might be. (32. And so on 10 February 1823 the original tragic ending was played at last, on the stage at Drury Lane.

Kean's production did in fact achieve more success than is generally attributed to it, 'There was unmingled, but not enthusiastic

- (30. An interesting detail arises over this point. The editors of C.H.E.L. (Vol. XI, p. 284, 1914) hold that the feeling of Lamb, Hazlitt and Goethe that Shakespeare could not be acted, arose from the overdone realism of the actor-managers, 'the spirit of make-believe is killed by too realistic staging.' On the other hand, Maynard Mack (op.cit.p.24,1966) writes that the result of elaborate and ancient settings in the nineteenth century 'was to mask the play's archetypal character, distancing its cruelties as the errors of a barbarous age with no compelling relation to oneself.'
- (31. The Literary Gazette. 29 April 1820, p. 285.
- (32. The Theatrical Inquisitor, April, 1820, p.243, 'with returning sanity Lear loses his importance, and, according to the copy now abided by, ceases to be an object of either expectation or delight.' And The Literary Gazette. 29 April 1820, p.285, 'the conclusion, as it now stands, no actor can prevent from being tame.'

applause at the fall of the curtain.' (33. The hope was also expressed that the rest of Tate's 'wretched trash' would now be dispensed with, and that the way had been prepared for the restoration of the play from the beginning. Kean was, however, increasingly criticised for retaining so much of Tate's and it is therefore interesting to see that he was still performing this version in 1824. (34. A criticism of the production on a less literary level was that Mrs. West (Cordelia) was too heavy for Kean to carry, 'this is said to have set the audience into a laugh which continued till the curtain dropt.' (35. The 1823 version appears in Richard Cumberland's edition of 1830 or 1831, but it is likely that the major changes were Kean's. The edition contains a section of critical remarks, a description of the costumes and a detailed explanation of the stage-business. In his prefatory remarks (p.5) George Daniel ('D.-G') remarks that Shakespeare 'has displayed such wonderful art' that 'the madness of Lear is inevitable since, after such bitter provocation, it was impossible that reason could any longer hold her seat in a mind so formed of passion and sensibility.' His ensuing remarks indicate a very real and significant interest in the development of Lear's madness and he acknowledges the 'deeply

(33. The Times. II February 1823.

(34. The Drama or Theatrical Pocket Magazine, Vol. 6, April, 1824, No2, p.81. Of Kean's production on March 5: 'The concluding scene was restored from Shakespeare, in the room of the ridiculous melange of Tate' but 'scarcely a speech of Shakespeare, even in its restored state, was to be heard throughout the play, whole and entire.'

(35. Genest, Vol. IX, p.186.

affecting' nature of Kean's dying scene, but laments that Tate's 'vile interpolation had not been brushed away by 'such' an actor as Mr. Kemble 'what this would have been in his hands we can only anticipate.' (p.8).

The first Act requires no mention; it is as in the 1820 version. From the second Act (scene ii) Regan's aside from Tate concerning Edmund is lost — 'A charming Youth and worth my further thought.' (Tate II.79). Lost also is Lear's reasoning (Tate II.357-62) that Goneril's offer of fifty men doubles Regan's in love. It is possible that Kean wished the emphasis to be on passion rather than reason here. In all other respects, this Act also is Kemble's. From the third Act Kean omits Tate's lines 78-88, in which Gloucester plots to lead the commons against 'their female Tyrants'. This was possibly a wise omission in an era of unemployment and crushing poverty. From the fourth Act Regan's aside to meet Edmund in the grotto is at last dropped. (It had been included in the Kemble and Kean (1820) versions although the grotto-scene itself was omitted.) Like the third Act, the fourth is then as Kean's previous version.

Kean's fifth Act opens as it had done in 1820, but the second scene is taken from Shakespeare V.i. Shakespeare's lines 10-14 are omitted in the name of propriety and lines 24-28, with their slight confusion and their unwanted reference to the King of France. Kean's (1830) third scene is taken partly from Shakespeare's V.ii. (1-5 and 5-11) and partly from the 1820 version, thirteen lines of which are

inserted at line 5. Finally the fourth scene is largely Shakespeare's (V.iii.). His lines 55-9 (in which Edmund defers the question of Lear's fate) are omitted. The lines are possibly considered superfluous. Lines 71-5 are also lost, thus much of the acrimony of the sisters' quarrel is excluded. So concerned is the editor, however, that the unattractive lust of the women be reduced that he cuts out Shakespeare's line 79 without making certain that line 80 connects with line 78 -- which it does not. For a similar reason Shakespeare's lines 88-91 are also omitted as well as 152-162 and 174-9 -- the former being the unpleasant quarrel between Albany and his wife, the latter Albany's recognition of Edgar. Only the essence of Edgar's speech of explanation is given. (This version is the second shortest of the ten.) Forty-three lines are lost between Shakespeare V.iii.200 and 243 in which Edgar further explains the presence of Kent and in which the Gentleman enters with the news of the elder sisters' death. Their bodies are not produced. In the general reduction of these women's crimes, lines 253-57 are also omitted, where Edmund blames Goneril for the order on Cordelia's life. Finally 295-305 are lost. Here Albany's vain attempt at hopeful restoration and moral-pointing is omitted and the curtain drops at line 311 -- 'Look on her, - look, - her lips, - /Look there! - look there.'

Apart from Kean's actual restoration of the King's death, his retention of the love-episode and the omission of the Fool, there is the importance of his original alterations to the characters of Goneril and Regan as conceived by both Tate and Shakespeare. Regan's open pursuit



MR KEAN AS LEAR.
King Lear.

of Edmund is dropped from Tate's version, while their lust, passion and fury in Shakespeare's final Act is also omitted -- with a certain lack of craftsmanship. The emendations of Tate for dramatic and political motives have already been mentioned. This edition, therefore, is of varying degrees of importance. It is a major step towards the restoration of the play, although the traditional preference of audiences for love-interest and 'pure' tragedy were still respected. Respected also are the sensibilities of the audience, protected from most of the truly unpleasant aspects of the play.

The complete restoration of Shakespeare's play to the stage did not occur until 25 January 1838 at Covent Garden. Macready had cut out Tate's love-scenes four years earlier. Of this earlier production The Times observes of Macready's debut (on 23 May 1834) 'we cannot say that it was of the first degree', although The Literary Gazette for 31 May 1834, declared that it was received favourably 'and was a tragedy, not a melodramatic entertainment.' The final step to be taken was the introduction of the Fool, and Macready was dubious about this. (36. He was afraid he would have to dispense with the part yet again, until he conceived of the Fool played by a woman as a 'fragile, hectic, beautiful boy,' and Princilla Horton took the part. This time, The Times (26 January 1838) recorded:- 'The curtain fell amid tumultuous approbation', while The Literary Gazette the next day stated, 'It is now indeed Shakespeare's play -- and a splendid one it is.' The Fool's role was at last appreciated at its true value.

It is almost certain that no. 455 in Vol 31 of Lacy's (36. See overleaf.

Acting Edition of Plays (c1857) is this 1838 version of Macready's. In fact it contains the cast-list for Covent Garden on 25 January 1838. (37. It also contains a detailed description of the costumes to be worn and a glossary of obsolescent words. With the entrance of the King in the first Act, Macready included a grand procession comprising twenty-four soldiers, twenty knights, six ladies and, at last, France and Burgundy. He omits from this scene, however, the hasty plottings of Goneril and Regan which conclude it. He has no change of scene between Shakespeare's scenes iii and iv, and the grand curse is still placed at the end of the first Act and therefore Goneril's justification of herself is lost. Lost also is Shakespeare's I.v. in which Kent is sent to Regan. The second Act, which omits about sixty of Shakespeare's lines is nevertheless very close to the original. An interesting omission, considering the earlier love of such rant, is Lear's speech of disgust at Goneril (Sh.II.iv.215-28). The Act ends, as it had for many years, with 'O Fool (Tate 'O Gods') I shall go mad.' (Sh.II.iv.283). With

- (36. Pollock, Macreadys Reminiscences, (Vol.II,p.97) records of ~~records of~~ Macready's reminiscence for 4 January 1838, 'My opinion of the introduction of the Fool is that, like many such terrible contrasts in poetry and painting, in acting representation it will fail of effect; it will either weary and annoy or distract the spectator.'
- (37. An interesting addition to the cast-list is the part of 'Lochrine' to be played by Mr. Roberts. Lochrine does not appear, in fact, to have any part to play and may be residue of Kemble's inventions.

some omissions the third Act follows Shakespeare, except that Macready adopts customary practice in amalgamating Shakespeare's scene iv. and vi. Shakespeare's fifth scene is lost. Of his seventh -- the blinding of Gloucester -- all but the first twenty-six lines is omitted. Thus the only reference to blinding the old man is Goneril's 'Pluck out his eyes (Mac.IV.1.14) while Gloucester himself does not appear. His appearance in scene ii therefore, blind and led, is possibly more of a shock than the actual scene in Shakespeare. Shakespeare's IV.ii (which forms part of IV.iii. for Macready) is slightly altered so that Goneril departs and returns with Oswald, being given Regan's lines from Shakespeare's IV.v. (9-14). (Shakespeare's IV.v. is otherwise omitted). (38. The original scene iii is lost and Macready's fourth scene is therefore a short one (as Sh. -- 29 lines) between Cordelia, the Physician and a Messenger. Gloucester's leap is omitted from Macready's scene v (Sh.sc.vi.). The Act ends at Sh.IV.vii.85, 'Pray you now, forget and forgive; I am old and foolish'. No music is called for. The fifth Act is Shakespeare's with some omissions and ends at Shakespeare's line 315 -- 'That would upon the rack of this tough world/Stretch him out longer.' (38.

- (38. On 24 July 1834 Macready had written 'Went twice with care over the play of 'Lear' to discover where I could lighten the language of the subordinate parts; was able to effect a little further reduction". Follock, Vol. 1, p. 427.



MR. MACREADY AS KING LEAR.

"O, thou wilt come no more, never, never,
never, never."

ACT 5, SCENE 3.

All together Macready's play is some 770 lines shorter than Shakespeare's, although the essence of the original play is retained. Apart from whole scenes, and large parts of scenes, already mentioned, the only other systematic omissions are of anything 'smacking of doubtful propriety'. The most significant feature of Macready's transposition of lines is that the effective 'curtain' lines which had been introduced earlier, are retained, with some additions of the actor's own. He also follows tradition in the welding of certain scenes -- the Heath-scene for instance and more recent tradition, in his attention to details of costume and direction. The spectre of Tate, whose rattling chains had found favour with audiences for one hundred and fifty-eight years, had at last been laid, and Shakespeare's fine spirit was released. Its release was not so much due to the dubious enlightenment of Macready as to the steady pressure for Shakespeare restored which the evolution of a new appreciation of tragedy in the nineteenth century had fostered. That this appreciation was to last is confirmed by Charles Kean's edition of Lear in 1858.

Not a great deal need be said about this version since it follows Macready's very closely in attitude. The most interesting point about the younger Kean's introduction is that with a passing nod at the brilliance of the play -- 'perfect and unrivalled as an embodiment of human misery' (p.v.) -- he turns to his actual production. The period he has chosen to represent is explained and, in an important illustration of the change of emphasis from moral to historical instruction, concludes, 'I trust

that the attempt I have made in the present instance to realise a picture of early English history, will again be accepted as a pleasing and instructive appendage to the intellectual lessons of the author.'

(p.vi.) Kean also includes paraphrases and explanations in footnotes as well as historical notes to each Act. His note on the Fool therefore does not vindicate the role by pleading great art, but by citing historical examples of kings' fools.

The main features of his version is the enthusiasm with which the knife has been applied. (His play is well over a thousand lines shorter than Shakespeare's. See Appendix G.). Kean's biographer, J.W.Cole, approved of this and of Kean's rigid exclusion of all things coarse, indecent or of doubtful innuendo. (39. Kean's great interest in historical matters led him also to the inclusion of elaborate scenery: Saxon Castles, ancient obelisks, a palace and a hovel, courtyards, halls and rooms of state. With all this scene-changing, anything slightly superfluous had to be removed from the text and thereby much fine poetry and much subt^elty are lost. Thus Macready's main cuts are followed, with the addition, (oddly not noted in the Introduction to the Cornmarket facsimile) of the whole of Shakespeare's V.iii. Thus six whole scenes

(39. J.W. Cole, The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.S.A. Vol. II, p. 250. 'In his arrangement of the text, Mr Kean omits all repulsive and coarse passages, while the necessary condensation gives more rapidity to the tide of passion, and connects the incidents in an unbroken chain.'

are lost. Cole might write that 'The present age has been brought to a truer taste and a more just appreciation of the matchless bard.' (40. But despite Cole's enthusiasm, Shakespeare, having suffered cuts for the insertion of Tate's version, was now suffering them for the inclusion of Charles Kean's scenery - and always in the name of improvement, moral or historical. It is in Tate's favour that he at least admitted his purpose of trying to improve the play. One wonders what serious purpose prompted

'King Lear and his daughters queer versified,
vocalised and sung by Hugo Vamp.'

c1830. (41.

(40. Ibid. Vol. II, p.252.

(41. W. Jaggard, A Shakespeare Bibliography. p. 359.

Note:- The interest of the four illustrations to this Chapter lies chiefly with the changing ideas in costume for the King with which this study is not so concerned. Of more immediate interest is the youthful vigour in the pose of Garrick and, particularly, of Kemble, in keeping with the rant which they were to speak. The stiffness of Kean's pose is probably the artist's interpretation, although he does appear as an older man. Macread^y's King appears to be vigorous in despair, addressing his words to the heavens. The fact that this scene was chosen for illustration may indicate that its importance was at last generally conceded.

Chapter VI.Conclusion

'Such deep Intrigues you're welcome to this day:
 But blame yourselves, not him who writ the Play.

 He's bound to please, not to write well, and known
 There is a mode in Playes as well as Cloaths.' (I.

The 'mode in Playes' is not traced accurately in the scattered remarks of individual critics, but in the 'Playes' themselves. In taking a play as familiar as King Lear and noting the changes made in it over 177 years, one should be able to gauge with some degree of exactness how influential critical thinking really was in these years. The gap between the scholars' strictures and popular demand should also become evident although the primary concern of this study is the value of these plays as drama and as art.

The stages of critical theory have been briefly outlined in the corresponding stages of this study and in some 'scattered remarks' mentioned in support of them. It is interesting that although the stated purpose of early adapters such as Tate was to 'refine' Shakespeare, their actual re-working of him displayed much deviation from accepted tenets. It was in the first part of the eighteenth century that adherence to these 'rules' became of greater importance and traces of them still lingered a hundred years later.

(I. Dryden, Preface to The Rival Ladies, 1663.

In conclusion, therefore, this study turns to the nine versions of King Lear firstly to consider the adapters' aims and motives, and, more important, to assess their worth. There have been recent attempts to justify Nahum Tate's version of the play. (2. This justification is based largely upon the popularity of Tate's version, 'Tate was writing an adaptation to be acted on the stage and it is manifestly unfair to judge it by any criterion than its dramatic worth.' (3. It is possibly worth bearing in mind, however, that a play may be successful as entertainment, while being poor as a work of art, and that a play's popularity in the theatre is most often determined by the acclaim of generally unscholarly audiences. The 'poetry-reading elite' of the Augustan age gave less attention to the poetry of drama than to its more formal characteristics. One may concede that Tate's Lear may be good drama within the conventions of the eighteenth-century theatre, but good poetry should be universal. Tate's poetry was not only bad by eighteenth-century standards, it is bad by all. The dramatic elements of his play: the love-plot, the happy ending, the increased villainies and the, reduced, 'classical' elements: the omissions of the Fool, the clarifying and condensing; all these were preserved in its production until the play

(2. By C. Spencer in his edition of 'Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare', and by T.D.D. Williams in his article 'Mr. Nahum Tate's King Lear.'

(3. T.D.D. Williams, op.cit.

was finally restored. But Tate's poetry was seen at its true value by the time Garrick arrived and it is with poetry that restoration based on Shakespeare began. Professor Spencer sees most attitudes to the adaptations as arising either from studying them in relation to dramatic rules and conventions or from comparing them with their Shakespeare originals. This study has attempted to do both for King Lear and by so doing to show the intrinsic worth of Tate's version as well as its relevance to subsequent productions.

It is ironical that the 'faults' of Shakespeare having been blamed on his barbarous age, one now accuses eighteenth-century theatre-goers of prompting Tate's melange. But it must be true that the sentiment as well as the melodrama of his version met the taste of his audiences for these. Garrick largely preserved the pathos and melodrama inherent in Tate's changes, although he gave greater force to much of the play with the restoration of Shakespeare's own words. Colman's play failed, and this is usually attributed to his omission of the love-plot although he still preserved some sentiment and melodrama. Kemble, of course, restored much of Tate which included these two aspects. They thus held sway really until Macready restored Shakespeare in 1834. The preservation of characters as 'types', which again is one of Tate's popular features, was also maintained as long as Tate reigned in pathos and melodrama. On the other hand, in contrast to Tate's vicious portrayal, the chief villainous characters -- Edmund, Goneril and Regan --

are gradually softened. Colman rendered them less wicked than Tate had done, Macready, less so than Shakespeare. Colman's alteration, however, was made in the interests of probability, Macready's for propriety.

So much for positive popular demand. It has already been noted twice that Tate was not much influenced by theoretical classical dictates. Only his insistence on clarity, his omission of the Fool, his generalisations and possibly, the 'justice' of the ending, may be truly attributable to these. The clarity Tate aimed at was, if anything, intensified as the eighteenth century progressed, although Kemble actually restored some of Shakespeare's passages which had been explained in the intervening years. It is possible also, that with the early nineteenth-century interest in antiquarian matters, Shakespeare's language was treated in 1834 as of historical importance rather than frowned upon as out-of-date rusticity. The poor Fool was relegated to the green-room and stayed there long after he had been called for on the stage. He was a victim of neo-classic strictures and his preclusion indicates how little the adapters understood the nature and purpose of his part. In a similar manner, Tate's tendency to generalise and thereby to remove subtlety and nuance was emphasised (by Colman) before Shakespeare's genius won. With the growing need for a shortened play, either to allow time for the afterpiece or for scene-changing, this tendency to generalise may have been preserved for reasons other than those of pure classicism.

Poetic justice, the reward of Virtue and the punishment of vice, is best exemplified in the play's ending. Tate gave the play a happy ending partly because he was afraid of laughter if he re-wrote it as tragedy. (4. Thereafter his ending was preserved, although slightly altered by Colman, until Edmund Kean responded to growing pressure at home and abroad and represented the King's death.

Where Tate had ignored the 'rules' his work was generally altered by his more classically conscious successors. Garrick rejected much of the impropriety of his version while Colman completely altered some characters in the interests of propriety and decorum. Macready's version is particularly notable for its rejection of anything of a dubious nature from Shakespeare himself. Similarly the exclusion of violence was ignored by Tate who had Gloucester blinded onstage and kept there to soliloquise. Garrick and Colman removed him for the blinding but returned him at once. Kemble and Kean had him blinded offstage but did not send him back. Macready cut the scene out completely. The unities are not really preserved in any of the versions. The unity of time comes closest to being kept. As far as probability is concerned, neither Tate nor Garrick omit Gloucester's 'fall' although

- (4. 'Death' onstage may not always have been successful in the eighteenth-century due to particular dramatic conventions. John O'Keefe in his Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe, (Vol.1, pp. 172-3) wrote of the 1760s, 'It was the ridiculous custom at that time, when the principal character was to die, for two men to walk on with a carpet, and spread it on the stage for the hero to fall on, and die in comfort.'

Colman, in classicising mood, removed it and in this was followed by Kemble and Kean. Macready restored it, with much else.

In general terms, therefore, such was the history of changes made ^{to} King Lear as long as Tate and Shakespeare pulled different ways. It was not really until the early nineteenth century that it was generally realised that the two were incompatible and this realisation was largely prompted by changing critical values throughout Europe. Tate altered the play, expressly in dedicated seriousness, and achieved a play which appealed to transitory popular fashions. Garrick altered it as an actor sensitive to fine poetry, but also to popular dramatic conventions. With Colman the play was approached again in dedicated seriousness but his version was a failure because he remained largely true to his ideal. Kemble's Lear, and Kean's first version did not claim to be works of literary art and were played to audiences that increasingly rejected such travesties. Kean's second version was not particularly successful since it was an attempt to graft pure Shakespeare to 'pure' Tate. Finally, Macready, with some misgiving, realised that the gap between critical and popular opinion had so narrowed as to allow the restoration of Shakespeare.

The purely dramatic elements which Tate added to the play: the love/lust themes, the happy ending, the melodrama and the flourishes concluding each Act were the chief survivals from his alteration. It was these that won popular applause and assured the succession of his play on the boards. One is not so much criticising Tate for these

effects from an artistic point of view, therefore, as for pandering to the vitiated taste of popular audiences. His tendency was to relegate the complexities of the predicament of the old people to the background and to make of the action a pure conflict between youthful good and evil. Merely to say this is not to condemn the play. It is condemned by the way Tate managed the transformation. Had Shakespeare never existed to be compared with Tate, the latter's play would still be bad. Reasons for this judgement have been given at appropriate points in Chapter II. In general, then, the characterisation is not good, and this is not entirely due to the contemporary taste for 'types'. The villainies of Edmund, Goneril and Regan are made too crude and the horror of Gloucester's blinding is likewise unmitigated by the sympathetic servants. Success being foreseen in the pathos of Lear's awakening, the circumstance is needlessly repeated. The directness of Tate's handling precludes any kind of subtlety and Cordelia is not consistently portrayed. The defects of Tate's verse are largely those of bombastic expression, monotonous rhythm and commonplace and trivial imagery. The artificiality and insipidity of much of his verse is a key to his characterisation. For these artistic faults in action, character and poetry one would blame Tate himself and not popular demand. Where managers could not risk a business failure by cutting out his entertaining addition,^s they could restore Shakespeare's fine poetry where propriety and suitability to Tate's action permitted. This is why the characterisation in later versions is neither Tate's nor Shakespeare's.

The history of King Lear, therefore, is the story of a play pulled in four different ways:- by abstract critical strictures, by popular dramatic conventions, by the varying abilities of playwrights, actors and managers, and by the devotees of Shakespeare himself. Shakespeare understood that the way of the world is often ruled by folly. He appreciated that art could be dictated to by authority, that perfection could be vitiated, that foolishness could control ability. But amid such despondency his own vital flame burned through, as his 66th. Sonnet will show:

Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry, --
 As, to behold desert a beggar born,
 And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
 And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
 And gilded honour shamefully misplac'd,
 And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
 And right perfection wrongfully disgrac'd,
 And strength by limping sway disabled,
 And art made tongue-tied by authority,
 And folly (doctor-like) controlling skill,
 And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
 And captive good attending captain ill:
 Tir'd with all these, from these would I be gone,
 Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

Appendix A.

(1)

Theatrical Season.	Performances of Shakespeare.	Performances of all plays.	%
1703-10	182	1712	11
1710-17	269	1885	14
1717-23	403	2318	17
1723-34	688	5464	12½
1734-40	447	2844	16
1740-47	831	3510	24

(2)

	1660-1680	1750-1770
<u>Hamlet</u>	7	138
<u>King Lear</u>	2	92
<u>Macbeth</u>	13	89
<u>Othello</u>	5	88
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	2	250
<u>Julius Caesar</u>	2	20
<u>Coriolanus</u>	2	8
<u>Antony and Cleopatra</u>	3	5

This table is compiled from evidence collected in The London Stage 1660-1800 ed. W van Lennep et al. and includes adaptations as well as 'pure' Shakespeare.

Appendix B.

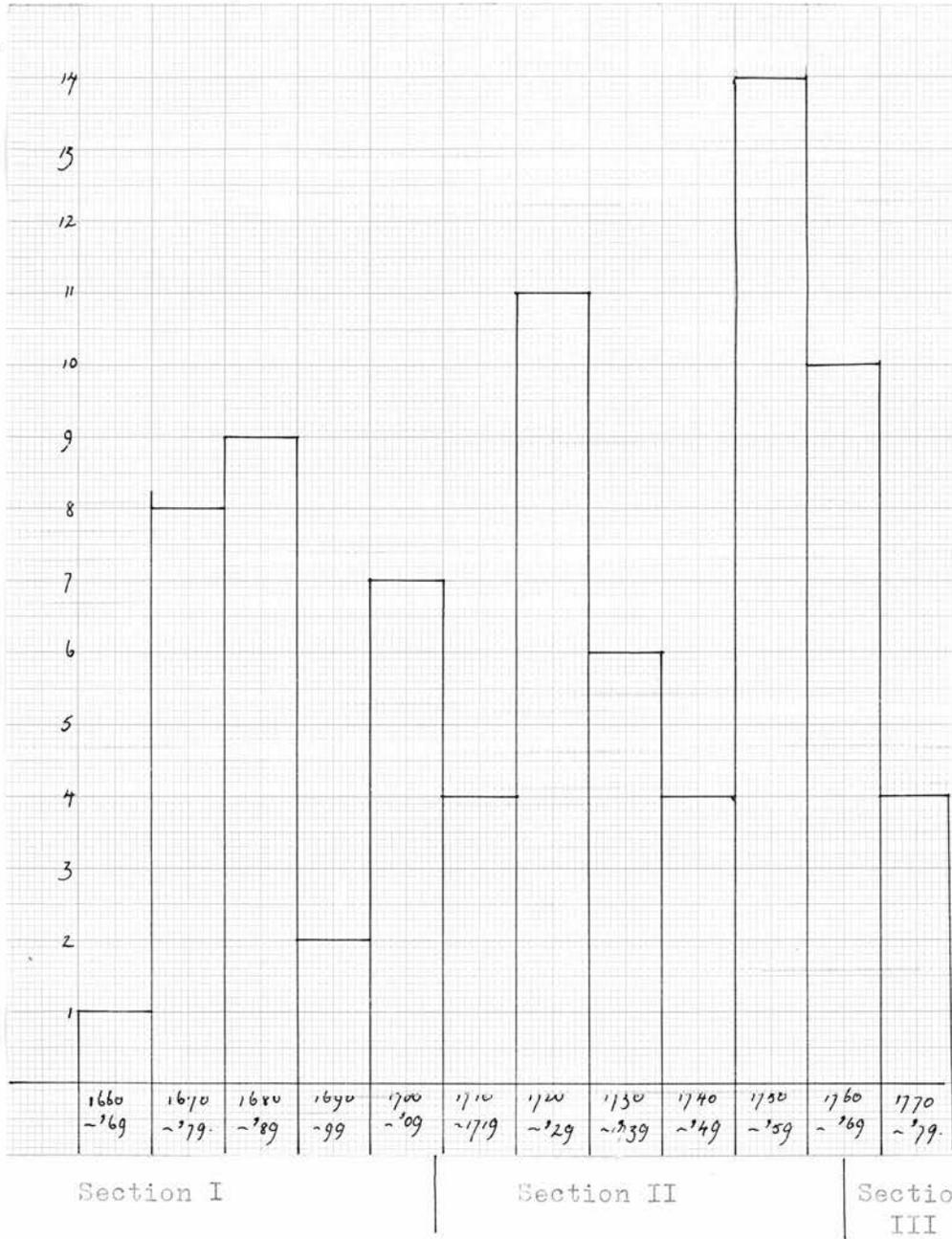
A summary of the plays concerned in Chapter V.

Editor:	Garrick 1786	acted by:	Garrick 1786
	Inchbald 1808		Kemble 1802?
	Elliston 1820		Kean 1820
	Cumberland 1830?		Kean 1823
	Lacy 1857		Macready 1838
	Ch. Kean 1858		Ch. Kean 1858.

Appendix A (3).

A Histogram indicating the periods in which adaptations
were printed

No. of adaptations
printed:



Section I

Section II

Section
III

Decades
between
1660 &
1780.

Appendix C (1).

Dissertation P.110.

Sh.IV.vi. 163-8.

'Plate sins with gold

And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
 Arm it in rags, a pigmy's straw does pierce it.
 None does offend, none, I say, none; I'll able 'em;
 Take that of me, my friend, who have the power
 To seal th'accuser's lips.'

Tate IV. 349-50.

'Place Sins with Gold, why there 'tis for thee,
 my Friend, make much of it, it has the Pow'r to
 seal the Accuser's Lips.'

~~'Tis your own Cause, for that your Succours bring,
 Revenge your Selves, and right an injur'd King.~~

Appendix C(2)

Dissertation P.111.

Tate IV. 494-507.

Cord. The Gods restore you -- heark, I hear afar
 The beaten Drum, Old Kent's a Man of's Word.

O for an Arm

Like the fierce Thunderer's, when th'earth-born Sons
 Storm'd Heav'n, to fight this injur'd Father's Battle
 That I could shift my Sex, and die me deep
 In his Opposer's Blood, but as I may
 With Womens Weapons, Piety and Pray'rs
 I'll aid his Cause -- You never-erring Gods
 Fight on his side, and Thunder on his Foes
 Such Tempest as his poor ag'd Head sustain'd;
 Your Image suffers when a Monarch bleeds.

'Tis your own Cause, for that your Succours bring,
 Revenge your Selves, and right an injur'd King.

Appendix C(3)

Dissertation P.II7.

Tate V. 46-63.

The Fight grows hot; the whole War's now at Work,
 And the goar'd Battle bleeds in every Vein,
 Whilst Drums and Trumpets drown loud Slaughter's Roar;
 Where's Gloster now that us'd to head the Fray,
 And scour the Ranks where deadliest Danger lay?
 Here like a Shepherd in a lonely Shade,
 Idle, unarm'd, and listning to the Fight.
 Yet the disabled Courser, Maim'd and Blind,
 When to his Stall he hears the rattling War,
 Foaming with Rage tears up the batter'd Ground,
 And tugs for Liberty.
 No more of Shelter, thou blind Worm, but forth
 To th'open Field; the War may come this way
 And crush thee into Rest. -- Here lay thee down
 And tear the Earth, that work befits a Mole.
 O dark Despair! when, Edgar, wilt thou come
 To pardon and dismiss me to the Grave!

Appendix C(4).

Dissertation p.II7.

Shakespeare V.iii.127-51.

Edg.	Draw thy sword,
That, if my speech offend a noble heart,	
Thy arm may do thee justice; here is mine.	
Behold, it is the privilege of mine honours,	
My oath, and my profession. I protest --	
Maugre thy strength youth, place and eminence,	
Despite thy victor sword and fire-new fortune,	

Thy valour and thy heart, -- thou art a traitor,
 False to thy gods, thy brother, and thy father,
 Conspirant 'gainst this high illustrious prince,
 And, from the extremest upward of thy head
 To the descent and dust below thy foot,
 A most toad-spotted traitor. Say thou 'No',
 This sword, this arm, and my best spirits are bent
 To prove upon thy heart, whereto I speak,
 Thou liest.

Edm. In wisdom I should ask thy name;
 But, since thy outside looks so fair and warlike
 And that thy tongue some say of breeding breathes
 What safe and nicely I might well delay
 By rule of Knighthood, I disdain and spurn.
 Back do I toss these treasons to thy head;
 With the hell-hated lie o'erwhelm thy heart;
 Which, for they yet glance by and scarcely bruise,
 This sword of mine shall give them instant way,
 Where they shall rest for ever. Trumpets, speak!

Tate V. 188-203.

Edg. Now, Edmund, draw thy Sword,
 That if my Speech has wrong'd a noble Heart,
 Thy Arm may doe thee justice: here i'th'presence
 Of this high Prince, these Queens, and this crown'd List,
 I brand thee with the spotted name of Traytour,
 False to thy Gods, thy Father and thy Brother,
 And what is more, thy Friend; false to this Prince:
 If then Thou Shar'st a spark of Gloster's Vertue,
 Acquit thy self, or if Thou shar'st his Courage,
 Meet this Defiance bravely.

198. Bast. And dares Edgar,
 The beaten routed Edgar, brave his Conqueror?
 From all thy Troops and Thee, I forc't the Field,

Thou hast lost the gen'ral Stake, and art Thou now
 Come with thy petty single Stock to play
 This after-Game?

Appendix C(5)

Dissertation P.III.

Shakespeare V.iii.170-4.

My name is Edgar, and thy father's son.
 The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
 Make instruments to plague us.
 The dark and vicious place where thee he got
 Cost him his eyes.

Tate 204-21.

Edg Half-Blooded Man,

Thy Father's Sin first, then his Punishment,
 The dark and vicious Place where he begot thee
 Cost him his Eyes: from thy licentious Mother
 Thou draw'st thy Villainy; but for thy part
 Of Gloster's Blood, I hold thee worth my Sword.

Bast. Thou bear'st thee on thy Mother's Piety,
 Which I despise; thy Mother being chaste
 Thou art assur'd Thou art but Gloster's son,
 But mine, disdaining Constancy, leaves me
 To hope that I am sprung from nobler Blood,
 And possibly a King might be my Sire:
 But be my Birth's uncertain Chance as 'twill
 Who 'twas that had the hit to Father me
 I know not; 'tis enough that I am I:

219. Of this one thing I'm certain -- that I have
 A daring Soul, and so have at thy Heart
 Sound Trumpet. (Fight, Bastard falls.)

Appendix C (6)

Dissertation P.123.

Tate V. 283-94.

'What Toils, thou wretched King, hast Thou endur'd
 To make thee draw, in Chains, a Sleep so sound?
 Thy better Angel charm thy ravish'd Mind
 With fancy'd Freedom; Peace is us'd to lodge
 On Cottage Straw, Thou hast the Begger's Bed,
 Therefore shouldst have the Begger's careless Thought.
 And now, my Edgar, I remember Thee,
 What Fate has seized Thee in this general Wreck
 I know not, but I know thou must be wretched
 Because Cordelia holds Thee Dear.
 O Gods! a suddain Gloom o'er-whelms me, and the Image
 Of Death o'er-spreads the Place. -- ha! who are These?'

Appendix C(7)

Dissertation P.125.

Tate V.(448-454).

Edg, Our drooping Country now erects her Head,
 Peace spreads her balmy Wings, and Plenty Blooms.
 Divine Cordelia, all the Gods can witness
 How much thy Love to Empire I prefer!
 Thy bright Example shall convince the World
 (Whatever Storms of Fortune are decreed)
 That truth and Vertue shall at last succeed.

Appendix C(8).

Dissertation p.200.

Colman V.278-293

Sh.V.iii. } 'What you have charged me with, that have I done:
163-5 } And more, much more; the time will bring it out.
'Tis past, and so am I.

Sh.V. } Edg. The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
iii. } Make instruments to scourge us: ('scourge' as Theob, etc.)
171-5 } The dark and vicious place, where thee he got,
Cost him his eyes.

Sh.V. } Edm. Thou'st spoken right; 'tis true,
iii. } The wheel is come full circle I am here.
244-8 } Yet, ere I die, some good I mean to do, (Sh. 'yet die'
Despight of mine own nature. Quickly send = 'I pant for life'
(Be brief) into the castle; for my order ('Be brief, into
Is on the life of Lear and Cordelia. the ...' as Pope et
Nay, send in time.

Sh.V. } Edg Run, run, O run ----. (Sh. 'Edg' = 'Alb.')

Sh.V. } Alb The gods defend them! beat him hence a (Sh. 'them' = 'her')

iii. } while.'

257 }

Appendix D.

Tate's Use of Quartos and Folios.

Certainty as to which texts Tate used in preparing his adaptation is not of immediate importance for this study. Interest in the subject lies more generally in the outlook of seventeenth and eighteenth century literature. A.W. Pollard in his article 'The Improvers of Shakespeare' laments that while first Folios and Quartos were the most authoritative texts to use when editing Shakespeare, editors of the eighteenth century used later texts if they thought they were improvements. Hazelton Spencer likewise notes (Shakespeare Improved, p.175) that 'the source of the adapter is regularly the latest pre-war Quarto. James Black, however, in a footnote to page 38 of his article 'An Augustan Stage-History: Nahum Tate's King Lear. 'concludes that Tate had worked from Shakespeare's F I and Q2 or Q3. Certainly if he had used the First Folio of 1623 and Nathaniel Butter's Quarto of 1608 he was departing from what is generally regarded as having been customary practice.

I would not wish to be too assertive on so delicate a matter. Certainly Tate had access to a Quarto; two indications of this appear in the first Act alone. On the other hand he does omit most of the passages which occurred in the Quartos only, and includes a paraphrase of a few lines which had not occurred in them at all. A more general use of the Folios is indicated by his inclusions from them, a few, more specifically, from F2 (1632) and F3 (1664).

Appendix D. (contd.)

That Tate should have used a Quarto at all is an indication of his serious purpose in adapting the play. It is, of course, an indication also that men of letters appreciated earlier than is generally supposed the value of collating certain texts. His more extensive use of one of the later Folios, if this is in fact what happened, would show that even while using an earlier text for 'research' purposes, he nevertheless relied on something closer to his own time for the actual substance of his adaptation.

Appendix E.

The Edition which Garrick used.

The arguments concerning the date of Garrick's restorations to King Lear have been outlined in footnote (3. to Chapter III. Genest's remarks (vol. I. p.475) that 'the alteration of 'King Lear' which Garrick made at this time probably did not differ materially from 'King Lear' as published by Bell in 1772 or 1773 from the Prompt-book of D.L.', with Cross's reference (supra. p.95) have led commentators to believe that Bell's edition represents the 1756 production which Cross mentions. Professor Harris's refutation of this theory has also been outlined.

From a close study of every word of Garrick's in the Bell edition of King Lear, his use of a contemporary edition of Shakespeare as well as Tate's version is evident. From at least nine examples in the first Act, it is clear that this editor was one between Pope and Johnson. Throughout Garrick's version at least twenty-two differences from Furness's text have been noted in Shakespeare's language. Of these, twenty are as Theobald had edited them (1733 and 1740), thirteen as Warburton (1747), nine as Hamner (1743), seven as Pope (1723) and two as Johnson (1765). The two that differ from Theobald are a plural for a singular (Sh.III.ii.17 'kingdom') and the omission of two words (Sh.III.iv.153 'once more'). These may well have been original or even unintentional alterations by Garrick. Certainly the weight of evidence falls upon one of Theobald's editions, possibly in fact, his first

Appendix E. (contd).

edition of 1733.

If Garrick had been writing his version in 1770, it is odd that he did not work from one of the more recent editions: Johnson, Capell (?1768) or even Jannens (1770). Apart from Johnson's acknowledged literary ability, it was received by some, but not all, that the most recent edition of anything was the most authoritative. On the other hand, if Garrick had been restoring in 1756, the editions of both Warburton and Hammar were more recent than Theobald's. Restorations to the play had, in fact, taken place before 1756 ('with restorations from Shakespeare' is announced for the play on Perry's benefit performance on 13 December 1744 at Covent Garden.) It is possible, therefore, that Garrick had been restoring the part of the King from his first appearance in the role in 1742. Even if he had not actually restored the part then, the most recent edition he could have obtained to study the part as Shakespeare wrote it, was Theobald's second edition of 1740. If he made no restorations to the part until 1770, it is strange that he should have used an edition which was out of date by thirty years (thirty-seven, if he had used the first edition.)

Certainly G.W. Stone Jr. in his article 'Garrick's Production of King Lear: a Study in the Temper of the Eighteenth-century Mind.' (p.91) gives evidence to show that Garrick was restoring the play by 1753 or 1754. Possibly the scathing attack from The Old Maid' by

Appendix E (contd).

Mary Singleton, spinster' (1756) that Garrick, 'who is determined ... "To lose no drop of this immortal man", should yet prefer the vile adulterated cup of Tate, to the pure genuine draught, offered him by the master he avows to serve with such fervency of devotion' prompted Garrick to produce a more fully restored version.

The fact that Garrick used one of Theobald's editions is not conclusive evidence as to when his version was written. But that he had such an edition at hand, is possibly an indication that he was interested in Shakespeare's original very early in his acting career.

Appendix F.Concerning Afterpieces.

That a tragedy shorn of all comic elements should nevertheless be presented with entr'acte entertainments and a comic afterpiece requires considerations. Tragedy of the Restoration was usually closed with a witty epilogue. This epilogue was often coarse in tone and its interest was heightened by its ^{being} spoken by a woman. These survived the attacks of Collier, but as the Eighteenth Century progressed they were gradually replaced by a final short entertainment of a comic nature. King Lear was first produced with a comic afterpiece in March 1718, although this did not become customary practice until the 1730s. The play is advertised 'with singing and dancing', from the turn of the century.

Among playwrights this musical entertainment aroused conflicting emotions. For instance, Dryden, in his 'Essay of Dramatic Poesie' (1668) complains of the monotonous uniformity of French plays and, defending the English mixture of the comic and tragic, declares, 'It has the same effect upon us which our music has between the acts'. On the other hand, Dennis, in 'The Impartial Critick' (1693) questioned, 'Is it possible that Oedipus, or any other prince, should four times in the height and fury of his passion, leave the scene of Action, purely to give leave to a Company of Musicians to divert the Spectators four times, least they should be too much shaken by the progress of the terrible action?' Apart from the element in the audience which demanded amusement solely, these entr'acte entertainments may well have been necessary to

Appendix F. (contd.)

fill the time in which the scenery was changed. William Cooke, one of the first proponents of realism in stage production, declared that such entr'acte music relieved the mind from fatigue 'and consequently prevent(s) a wandering of thought, possibly at the very time of the most interesting scenes.' (1. He objected to 'a jig of Vivaldi's' or 'a concerto of Giardini's, but 'what objection can there lie against music between the acts, vocal and instrumental adapted to the subject?' (2. It is possible that the employment of musicians for entr'acte entertainments encouraged the use of music in regular drama.

The justification for comic afterpieces is not so easily made. Soon after their introduction, voices were raised against them. As early as 1734 the Drury Lane Theatre was allowing patrons to collect advanced money should they leave 'before the Overture of the Entertainment begins.' (3. The popularity of these entertainments doubtless justified them in the eyes of the theatre managers, although a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1741 expressed confusion, 'I know not how to reconcile that these polite Audiences, who gave

(1. William Cooke, Elements of Dramatic Criticism. p.97.

(2. Ibid. p.98.

(3. G.H. Nettleton, English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century. p. 247.

Appendix F. (contd.)

judicious Applause to every beautiful sentiment of Shakespeare, should at the same time be delighted with the Gesticulations and Capers of a Foreign Mimic.' The height of absurdity was reached by George Steevens who suggested to Garrick that the expurgated Gravediggers and Osric should be played at the end of Hamlet as a farcical epilogue, Operetta, burlesque, pantomime, and farce were all popular for these entertainments. One might suggest that their inclusion was prompted by the model of classical drama; a tetralogy culminating in a satyr-play. If this was the theatre manager's intention, it is odd that they did not follow the classical model more closely in other matters.

As far as the adaptations of Shakespeare are concerned, it is likely that the plays were shortened to allow for these entertainments. This must therefore be further evidence that the adapters were prepared to acknowledge their audience's taste, if less explicitly than Dryden in his 'Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesie' (1668). 'I confess my chief endeavours are to delight the age in which I live. If the humour of this be for low comedy, small accidents and raillery, I will force my genius to obey it.' The answer to this problem must be a most definite illumination of the artificiality of classical dictates. The taste for the incongruous, the grotesque and the simply amusing still existed. If these parts had to be purged from Shakespeare's tragedies, then a demand existed for them played separately.

Appendix G.A comparison of the length of the ten versions

	<u>Shakespeare</u>	<u>Tate</u>	<u>Garrick(1756)</u>	<u>Colman</u>	<u>Garrick (1786)</u>
Act I	898	420	532	615	529
II	625	385	543	534	563
III	590	565	554	373	532
IV	681	507	440	479	432
V.	<u>408</u>	<u>454</u>	<u>472</u>	<u>444</u>	<u>445</u>
Total	<u>3202</u>	<u>2331</u>	<u>2541</u>	<u>2445</u>	<u>2501</u>
Average	640	466	580	489	500

	<u>Kemble</u>	<u>Kean (1820)</u>	<u>Kean (1823)</u>	<u>Macready</u>	<u>Charles Kean</u>
Act I	434	440	430	689	552
II	404	413	399	562	430
III	487	490	453	334	293
IV	407	405	395	508	343
V	<u>414</u>	<u>431</u>	<u>419</u>	<u>335</u>	<u>317</u>
Total	<u>2146</u>	<u>2179</u>	<u>2096</u>	<u>2428</u>	<u>1935</u>
Average	429	435	419	485	387

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