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THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE  
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THE LIFE OF  
KING HENRY THE FIFTH

.



THE WORKS  
OF  
SHAKESPEARE

THE LIFE OF  
KING HENRY THE FIFTH

EDITED BY

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## INTRODUCTION

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THE emergence of the historical drama during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, and the popularity which it achieved during its brief existence, were the natural outcome of the consciousness of national unity and national greatness to which England was then awakening. Haunted for more than a quarter of a century by the constant dread of foreign invasion and domestic treachery, the country could at last breathe freely, and the fervid patriotism which now animated every order in the State found appropriate expression in "a noble and solid curiosity" to learn the story of the nation's past. Of this curiosity the theatres, then as always the reflection of the popular taste, were not slow to take advantage. To the earlier Chronicle Plays succeeded the *Edward II.* of Marlowe, the *Edward I.* of Peele, and the anonymous play of *Edward III.*; the influence of Marlowe on his contemporaries was paramount, and it was under his banner that Shakespeare himself, who

## INTRODUCTION

had entered the field with revisions of earlier plays on the wars of York and Lancaster,<sup>1</sup> was content for a while to range himself. *Richard III.*, however, remained his solitary effort in Marlowesque, imitation was soon to give way to originality, and in *Richard II.* and *King John* he proved that he had now felt his strength, and had left his predecessors far behind. Nor was he destined to stop here; in 1597 he took up the thread of the story which he had dropped some three years earlier, and in the three greatest dramas that have ever been founded on the history of England, he set the crown upon his labours, and filled up the gap which had been left between the death of Richard II. and the accession of Henry VI. The popularity of these three plays was at once assured by an innovation, which in itself marks an epoch in the history of the drama. Taking the hint from an earlier play, of which we shall have more to say later, he grafted upon the serious portion of his subject a comedy of "humours," which was alone enough to make the fortune of a dramatic performance of far inferior merit. Such a favourite, indeed, was the leading "humorist" in these plays, that to judge from the numerous allusions to him in documents, literary and non-literary, of the seventeenth century, Falstaff shared with Hamlet the honour of being the best known creation of Shakespeare. As for the theatre-going public, they could never have enough of him, and we may suspect that it was partly with a view of soothing the indignation aroused by his unlooked-for humiliation at the hands of his former patron and ally, that the speaker of the epilogue to the Second Part of *Henry IV.* was allowed to promise his admirers a continuation of the story "with Sir John in it," and

[<sup>1</sup> Perhaps; but P. Alexander (*Shakespeare's Henry VI. and Richard III.*, 1929) has shown that *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* are really nothing but "Bad Quartos" of 2 and 3 *Henry VI.*, and not the originals of these plays. R. H. C.]

(another hint from the old play) to "make you merry with fair Katharine of France"—as if there *could* possibly be any need for any further attraction!

The way in which this promise was fulfilled was peculiar. Two plays appeared: in one of them the story *was* continued, and fair Katharine was there to make them merry; Sir John, however, was seen no more: in the other the story *was not* continued, but there was Sir John in his full proportions,—at least so said the bills; the more critical spectators probably came away with a shrewd suspicion that they had been imposed upon.

Which of these two plays—*Henry V.* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—preceded the other is a question upon which the critics are still divided; we shall return to it directly. We must first sketch the history of the production of *Henry V.*, as far as it can be collected from the evidence available.

We will assume, for reasons which we are not called upon to examine here, that the Second Part of *Henry IV.* was produced during the course of the winter of 1597 and 1598.<sup>1</sup> But 1598 slipped away,<sup>2</sup> and it was not till the spring of 1599 that the promised continuation of the story appeared. About May in that year, when the triumphant return from Ireland of the Earl of Essex was beginning to be looked forward to by his admirers, the long-expected play was performed on the boards either of the Curtain or the Globe. Falstaff alas! was absent; the pathetic tale

<sup>1</sup> I leave the demonstration of this point to the editor of the play in question. [See that editor's reasons for preferring 1598, "or early in 1599." R. H. C.]

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare was perhaps engaged on *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar*; see Mr. Macmillan's introduction to the latter play in this edition.

of his last moments was all that the disappointed audience were permitted to hear of him, but many of his associates remained to make their final exit, more or less discredibly, in the course of the drama. The play was well received, and until the month of August 1600 the proprietors of the theatre managed to keep it to themselves; but by that date two piratical booksellers had succeeded in getting hold of a garbled version, which forthwith appeared with the following title-page:—

The | Cronicle | History of Henry the fift, | with  
his battell fought at *Agin Court* in | *France*. To-  
gether with *Auntient* | *Pistoll*. | *As it hath been*  
*sundry times playd by the Right honorable | the*  
*Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.* | [Creede's device]  
LONDON | Printed by *Thomas Creede*, for Tho.  
Milling- | ton, and Iohn Busby. And are to be |  
sold at his house in Carter Lane, next | the Powle  
head. 1600 | .

Of this edition, which appeared in the usual small Quarto form in which single plays were printed, and which was reprinted in 1602 and 1608—on the principle, one would imagine, of anything rather than nothing—we may say, in anticipation of what follows, that at best it can only claim to be a very imperfect and clumsy representation of the text of the play as curtailed for some particular performance; the complete text as originally performed appears in print for the first time in the Folio of 1623. The copy, however, having been obtained somehow or other, the enterprising firm of Millington and Busby appear to have applied in the usual form at Stationers' Hall for licence to print it. That their first application<sup>1</sup> was unsuccessful

[<sup>1</sup> As to this and what follows (pp. xiii, xiv), the facts and order of events seem rather to have been, (1) a pirated edition by Millington and Busby

appears from the following entry in the Registers of the Stationers' Company :—

[1600] 4 Augusti.

As you like yt   a booke <sup>1</sup>	} to be staid.
Henry the ffift   a booke	
Every man in his humour   a booke	
The commedie of muche A doo about nothing a booke	

(Arber, iii. 37.)

The objections to publication would no doubt emanate from the Lord Chamberlain's Company, who would look with jealous eyes on any threatened infringement of their proprietary rights in the plays in question, and in the case of the first play on the list they seem to have made good their claims. At any rate no edition of *As You Like It* exists earlier than the Folio.<sup>2</sup> From the other three, however, the bar was removed, and they were all printed in the course of 1600 and 1601. The entry of the licence for *Henry V.* occurs ten days later than the previous entry, and is as follows :—

[1600] 14 Augusti.

Thomas Entred for his copyes by direction of master white Pavyer. warden vnder his hand wryting. These Copyes without any attempt to enter in S.R. and probably anticipating the staying of August 4 ; (2) an entry (apparently connived at) of *Henry V.* among other books entered as "sett over" to Thomas Pavyer. See Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909, in "Note" on slip inserted before the Preface. R. H. C.]

<sup>1</sup> "A booke" is the regular expression in the Registers for a play.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Aldis Wright, however, thinks that the entry of this play was premature, and that the play was not ready (Preface to *As You Like It*, Clarendon Press ed.). The question as to the attitude of the players towards the early Quarto publications of Shakespeare's plays wants elucidation. The player editors of the Folio, though they used many of the Quartos to print from, speak of "diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them." [These are the "Bad Quartos," which they did *not* use. See Pollard, *op. cit.*, and his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, 1920. R. H. C.]

followinge beinge thinges formerlye printed and  
sett over to the sayd Thomas Pavyer

viz. . . . .

The historye of Henry the Vth with the battell of  
Agencourt

vid.

(Arber, iii. 169.)

From this it is evident that at some time or other Millington and Busby had made over their interest in *Henry V.* to Thomas Pavyer, though whether before or after the first application for licence must remain doubtful: what is certain is that while it is to Pavyer that the licence is issued, the actual publishers of the first Quarto are Millington and Busby; and Pavyer's name first appears on the title-page of the second Quarto, issued two years later. It must further be noted that it was Busby who procured the copy for the surreptitious edition of the *Merry Wives* issued in 1602, though before publication he had assigned his interest in it to another bookseller, Arthur Johnson.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus sketched the early history of the play, so far as it is deducible from the scanty materials at our disposal, we have now to examine in greater detail the evidence on which our conclusions are based, first as to date, and secondly as to the relation of the Quarto to the Folio version.

I. *Henry V.* is not mentioned by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* among the plays of Shakespeare: the latest play mentioned by him is *Henry IV.* (a designation which is most probably intended to cover both Parts), and there is every reason to believe that *Henry V.* would have been

<sup>1</sup> Stationers' Registers, January 18, 1602 (Arber, iii. 199).

mentioned, if it had been in existence when the *Palladis Tamia* was printed. Now the date of entry of this treatise in the Stationers' Registers is September 7, 1598, and this, if it stood alone, would give us the earliest possible date for the play. But the period open to us can be still further reduced: from the Chorus to Act v. it appears that when the play was acted Essex was still expected to return home in triumph from his Irish expedition: he did not start on this expedition till March 1599, and returned, in a manner very different from that anticipated for him by the Chorus, in the following September. Thus the time possible for the production of the play is narrowed to some date between March and September 1599, and as the public expectation with regard to Essex was still at its height, the date must have been earlier rather than later, probably either May or June. If this be the correct date, and it is difficult not to believe it to be so, it would follow the Second Part of *Henry IV.* after an interval of about sixteen months<sup>1</sup>—rather a long interval, it is true; but the repertoire of the Chamberlain's Company at this time was no scanty one; they were probably acting half a dozen or more of Shakespeare's plays alone, and in Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, produced in 1598, they had a novelty which must have attracted crowds to the theatre as often as they chose to put it on the bill. Some indeed would help to fill up the interval in question with the *Merry Wives*, thus assuming that this play preceded rather than followed *Henry V.*; but all things considered, I hold with Mr. P. A. Daniel<sup>2</sup> that the evidence available distinctly

[<sup>1</sup> See Note 1, p. xi *ante*.]

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the facsimile of the first Quarto, 1881, and Henry Irving Shakespeare, 1888, vol. iv.



points to its being the later play of the two. Not that the *Merry Wives* is in any strict sense one of the Falstaff series: all attempts to fit it into the story of the three consecutive plays, 1 and 2 *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*, seems to me emphatically a failure. It stands by itself. Young Fenton, it is true, had kept company with the wild prince and Poins (III. ii.), but the real epoch and location of the piece is the Windsor of Elizabeth; and if we assume that Falstaff (*quantum mutatus ab illo!*) and his merry men have been specially recreated in the reign of "our radiant queen" (V. v. 50), we shall do no violence to dramatic probabilities. It was entered in the Stationers' Registers on January 18, 1602, and this gives us its latest possible date; while the facts relied on by Mr. Daniel to prove that the earliest date assignable must be one later than the production of *Henry V.* are as follows. There is first the tradition, as old as the beginning of the eighteenth century, that the play was written by the order of the Queen, who "was so well pleased with that admirable Character of Falstaff in the two Parts of *Henry the Fourth*, that she commanded [Shakespeare] to continue it for one Play more, and to show him in Love."<sup>1</sup> Till *Henry V.* disappointed such anticipations, the reappearance of Falstaff was generally looked for; there would therefore be the less reason for Elizabeth's injunction, so long as the popular expectation had not been contradicted. Secondly, Busby, who was concerned in the publication both of the 1600 Quarto of *Henry V.* and of the 1602 Quarto of the *Merry Wives*,<sup>2</sup> may be credited, on internal evidence, with having

<sup>1</sup> Rowe, *Some Account of the Life, etc., of Mr. William Shakespear*, 1709, pp. viii, ix.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xiv.

obtained his copy for them both in much the same manner, and presumably in the order of their production; in any case, if the *Merry Wives* were the earlier play, we may reasonably enquire why he failed to procure a licence for printing it for a whole year and a half after he had (with some difficulty, as we have seen) procured his licence for *Henry V.* Is it not more likely that the order of production and the order of publication are the same? Moreover, according to the tradition, the Falstaff of the *Merry Wives* is the revival of a popular favourite, and the publishers of the Quartos were in the habit of advertising their wares by placing the names of such favourites upon their title-pages. Thus, on that of the 1602 Quarto of the *Merry Wives* appears "Corporall Nym." Now in the *Merry Wives* Nym, with his stock expression "humour" or "humours," has all the appearance of playing a part expected of him; whereas in *Henry V.* (he does not appear at all in *Henry IV.*), though he is beginning to air it, he is more sparing of it. But he seems to have succeeded in identifying himself with the phrase, and in the later play he certainly did not disappoint the expectations of the audience. Lastly, Nym's "part" in *Henry V.* is longer than in the *Merry Wives* (53 lines against 37)<sup>1</sup>; and a novelty would be made more of than a revival. Such is the case for the postponement of the first production of the *Merry Wives* to that of *Henry V.*: the arguments are not, it is true, of equal weight, but in any chain of evidence the weight of the whole is greater than that of each link taken separately.

II. We have now to examine the Quarto text and its relation to the Folio. The theory formerly put forward by Pope and others, that the Quarto gives us Shakespeare's

[<sup>1</sup> In the Globe Shakespeare.]

first sketch of the play, which he afterwards revised and rewrote at greater length in the form in which we find it in the Folio, may now be considered to be exploded. It received its deathblow from the parallel edition of the two texts issued in 1877 by the New Shakspeare Society;<sup>1</sup> and it was in his introduction to this edition that Mr. P. A. Daniel established once for all the true character of the Quarto version, and the relation in which it stands to the Folio. We shall return to his demonstration directly, but we will first take a glance at the Quarto itself and see what manner of publication it is. We find that the text is less than half the length of the Folio text; that the five Choruses, the first scenes of Act I. and Act III., and the second scene of Act IV. are altogether absent; that many of the longer speeches are either omitted or greatly curtailed; that the prose is uniformly printed as verse, with the object, no doubt, of filling enough pages to give the pamphlet a respectable thickness, and that the whole is an extremely incorrect and faulty attempt at representing even as much as it professes, on the face of it, to represent,—namely, as already stated, a version of the play shortened for some particular performance. It is not unlikely that this may have been a performance at Court, and it is quite possible that the shorter version afterwards occasionally took the place of the longer one on the stage of the public theatre. In case the reader has not a reprint of the Quarto at hand we give him two or three extracts which he may compare with the ordinary text:

<sup>1</sup> This Society, after a chequered existence of eighteen years, and the issue of many publications of great value to the Shakespeare student, expired secretly of inanition in 1892.



the popularity of the play, and tradesmen of the stamp of Millington and Busby no doubt saw their opportunity. They would, accordingly, dispatch a shorthand writer to the theatre with instructions to make the best he could out of the performance; his notes would then be written out, and as soon as the fair copy had been taken to a second performance for correction, the MS. would be hurried through the press with all convenient speed. This or something not unlike it we may conjecture to have been the mode of procedure adopted, and if we are right in our assumption, we are at once enabled to understand the very peculiar state of the Quarto text.<sup>1</sup> Besides the imperfections due to the carelessness of the stage curtailer, there would still be ample room for the entrance of error and confusion,—first in the shorthand notes of the reporter, secondly in the fair copy of these notes, thirdly in the revision of the fair copy, and finally in the printing itself. After this it is not to be expected that the Quarto should be of much value as a criterion of the true text, and in the critical notes I have only given such of its readings as have a special interest of their own; in fact, so great is its divergence from the Folio, that nothing short of a verbatim reprint could do it adequate justice, and accordingly in the last volume of the Cambridge Shakespeare (ed. 2) it has been printed *in extenso*, together with other Quartos of similar individuality.

There are, however, two cases in which the readings of the Quarto have a certain interest for us, namely, those with

<sup>1</sup> Among those who have held the first sketch theory besides Pope may be mentioned Warburton, Johnson, Knight, and Brinsley Nicholson, while on the many publications be found the names of Capell, Steevens, Malone, Halliwell, and in addition in 1892.



Daniel in the essay already referred to. "With regard to the more stately scenes of the play," writes Mr. Daniel, "the chief difference between the F<sup>o</sup> and Q<sup>o</sup> versions is, that long passages are not found in the latter; these passages are, in my opinion, in nearly all cases precisely such as would have been cut out for the purpose of a shortened stage representation. The variations between those parts which are common to both editions are, after making allowance for error and corruption in both, but trifling.

"The scenes in which the French king and his lords appear, seem, if my theory is correct, especially to have suffered in the abridgment.

"The comic scenes are perhaps those on which it is most difficult to form a decided opinion. In so far as they are common to both versions, there are very few speeches in the F<sup>o</sup> that have not their counterpart in the Q<sup>o</sup>; but they are strangely disordered and incoherent in that edition. In some places quite perfect, in others they break down into what, on comparison with the F<sup>o</sup>, would seem to be a mere jumble of disintegrated fragments."

Upholders of the first sketch theory might reasonably object that the mere absence of certain passages in the Quarto was no proof of its being the later version of the two, the subsequent addition of these very passages being in fact the essence of their contention; but if the Quarto can be detected in the very act of *omitting* portions of an existing text, this objection necessarily falls to the ground.

<sup>1</sup> This can be so detected. Let us take the Archbishop's many publications in 1892. I. ii. 33 ff. The Archbishop is exposing the French in holding up the Salic law as

a bar to Henry's title to the French throne, when their own sovereigns in three distinct cases have rested their title upon descent from a female: the three cases are, according to the Folio, Pepin, Hugh Capet, and Lewes the Tenth.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly in line 69 we have "Hugh Capet also," the "also" referring us back to Pepin in line 65. In the Quarto we find the same words "Hugh Capet also," but it is not till we look to the Folio that "also" has any meaning, for all mention of Pepin has been cut out. Again, in line 83, the Folio describes Lewes as deriving his claim through his descent from the daughter of "the foresaid Duke of Loraine,"—"foresaid" because already mentioned in line 70; the Quarto duly reproduces line 83, but with the unfortunate result that "the foresaid" Duke is the reverse of "foresaid" as he is now mentioned for the first time. Yet again, while the Folio correctly makes Hugh Capet trace his descent from the daughter of Charlemaine [Charles the Bald] (line 75), the Quarto, by omitting all reference to this monarch, makes him claim from the "daughter to *Charles*, the foresaid Duke of *Lorain*"—the very prince who he had deposed and murdered. Lastly, the Quarto follows the Folio (lines 86–89) in summing up the three cases of kings who claimed "in right and title of the female," forgetting that of two of them it had made no previous mention.

Again, as another instance of omission on the part of the Quarto, take the two scenes in the French camp, III. vii and IV. ii. The first of these is a night scene, and ends according to the Folio, at two o'clock A.M. In the Quarto in spite of the lines,

<sup>1</sup> Should be Ninth.

fol. v., and  
of the original  
Sodleian.



Will it neuer be morning?  
 Ile ride too morrow a mile . . .  
 The Duke of *Burbon* longs for morning,

the scene ends a few lines further on with the couplet,

Come, come away:  
 The Sun is hie, and we weare out the day.

This has been foisted in here from the end of IV. ii., a day scene, commencing in the Folio,

The Sunne doth gild our Armour vp, my Lords,

and altogether cut out in the Quarto. "Here surely is a case," observes Mr. Daniel, "from which we may infer that, at its best, Q<sup>o</sup> 1 merely represents a version of the play shortened for the stage. The two scenes in the French camp were to be cut down to one, and the person who did the job, without perceiving the blunder he was committing, wanting a tag to finish off with, brought in the sun at midnight!"

It must further be noticed that the number of actors requisite for the performance of the play has been reduced in the Quarto version by the excision of the following characters—Ely, Westmoreland, Bedford, Britany, Rambures, Grandpré, Macmorris, Jamy, and the French Queen, while Erpingham only appears in IV. i. as a supernumerary without any spoken part. Again, in II. iv. Exeter alone does duty for the English ambassadors, and the constable for the messenger; and similarly in I. ii. it appears that the French ambassadors were to have been reduced to one ("Call in the messenger sent from the Dolphin"), but this ~~part~~ was abandoned, and the full number allowed ("Enter lord p. ~~ambassadors~~ from France"). Of Quarto 2 (1602) it is

(2) II. ~~very~~ to say that it is a reprint of Quarto 1 with

several slight variations, and that Quarto 3 (1608) is a reprint of Quarto 2 with more corrections, and an attempt at a rearrangement of many of the lines.

As in his other English historical plays, Shakespeare drew his history entirely from the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, printed in 1586-87. The passages dramatised may be studied in Mr. Boswell-Stone's valuable *Shakspeare's Holinshed* (London, 1896), and will be referred to where necessary in the notes. The only other source to which it can certainly be affirmed that Shakespeare was indebted is an earlier play on the same subject printed in 1598, but entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594, and acted at least as early as 1588. It is entitled, "The|  
Famovs Viç | tories of Henry the | fifth: Containing the  
Honou| rable Battell of Agin-court: | As it was plaide by the  
Queens Maiesties Players." <sup>1</sup> The Queen's Players were a company in existence from 1583 onward, and since Richard Tarleton, the actor who played the part of Dericke, the leading clown of the piece, died in 1588, the date of production will fall between 1583 and 1588. In spite of its title, the first half of the play is concerned with the wild doings of Henry and his companions during the time that he was still Prince of Wales, and is therefore so far parallel with the two parts of *Henry IV.*: it is not until scene ix. line 65 (as divided by Mr. Daniel)—"Now my good Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, | What say you to our Embassage into France?"—that we reach the point in the story at which *Henry V.* opens. The duke of

<sup>1</sup> Reprints will be found in Hazlitt's *Shakspeare's Library*, 1875, and in Daniel's facsimile of the Quarto of 1598, 1887. The only copy which has come down to us, is in the Malone collection in the hands of an

interest which this rude and inartistic, but by no means spiritless, performance has for the modern reader—the fact, namely, that it supplied Shakespeare with the rough material out of which he summoned Falstaff and his company into life—does not concern us here; our present duty is merely to call attention to the passages which point to his having utilised it in the composition of *Henry V.*

Both plays founded on Holinshed; we shall therefore only have the evidence we are searching for in those passages of *Henry V.* a parallel for which *cannot* be found in Holinshed, but *can* be found in the *Famous Victories.* These passages are few, but they speak for themselves; we give them in the order in which they occur in the earlier play.

(1) I. ii. 255. The French ambassador delivers to Henry “this tun of treasure.”

“*K. Hen.* What treasure, uncle?

*Exe.*

Tennis-balls, my liege.

*K. Hen.* We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us.” Holinshed (p. 173) says that the ambassadors “brought with them [as a present from the Dauphin] a barrell of Paris balles”; but now turn to the *Famous Victories*, sc. ix. 135—the French ambassador is the Archbishop of Bourges.

“*Archb.* And it please your Maiestie, | My Lord Prince Dolphin greets you well, | With this present.

*He deliuereth a Tunne of Tennis Balles.*

*Hen. 5.* What a gilded Tunne? | I pray you my Lord of Yorke, looke what is in it? | *Yorke.* And it please your Grace, | Here is a Carpet and a Tunne of Tennis balles. *Hen. 5.* A Tunne of Tennis balles? | . . . My lord p. nce Dolphin is very pleasant [*sic*] with me.”

(2) II. iv. The French king and his council are dis-

cussing the defensive measures necessary for meeting the English invasion; the Dauphin, while agreeing that it is best to be prepared, is disposed to make light of the danger. England, he says,

is so idly king'd,  
Her sceptre so fantastically borne  
By a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth,  
That fear attends her not. (lines 26-29.)

And again

I desire  
Nothing but odds with England: to that end,  
As matching to his youth and vanity,  
I did present him with the Paris balls.  
(lines 128-131.)

Of these depreciatory references to Henry, and of the remonstrance which they call forth from the French king and the constable, there is no trace in Holinshed, who merely records (pp. 178, 179) the defensive resolutions adopted by the council; all this, however, we have in the *Famous Victories*, sc. xi. 11—

“*Dolphin*. Tut my Lord, although the King of England  
| Be yong and wilde headed, yet neuer thinke he will be  
so | Unwise to make battell against the mightie King of  
France.

*King*. Oh my sonne, although the King of England  
be | yong and wilde headed, yet neuer thinke but he is  
rulde | By his wise Councillors.”

And again, line 64—“I would haue the pettie king of England to know, | That I dare encounter him in any ground of the world.”

(3) IV. iii. 129. Morning of the battle. The Duke of York begs “the leading of the vaward,” which is granted him. Holinshed (p. 191) tells us that the Duke, “who was of an

haultie courage, had desired that office," and the incident was no doubt introduced here to prepare us for the account of his gallant death (IV. vi. 11 ff). Still this is the only appearance of York on the stage, and it is not improbable that Shakespeare may have been influenced by a recollection of the *Famous Victories*, xii. 15—"Oxf. I beseech your grace, to grant me a boone, | *Hen.* 5. What is that, my good Lord? | *Oxf.* That your grace would giue me the | Euantgard in the battell. | *Hen.* 5. Trust me my Lord of Oxford, I cannot: | For I haue alreadie giuē it to my vncke ye Duke of York, | Yet I thanke you for your good will."

(4) IV. vii. 6. Gower tells Fluellen that "the cowardly rascals that ran from the battle . . . have burned and carried away all that was in the king's tent." Holinshed (p. 192) mentions the plundering, but says nothing of the burning; in the *Famous Victories*, sc. xvi. 6, we have—

"*Enters an English souldier, roming.*

*Soul.* What are you my maisters? | *Both.* Why we be English men. | *Soul.* Are you English men, then change your language | For the King's Tents are set a fire, | And all they that speake English will be kild."

This scene, however, comes *after* the submission made by the French herald, instead of preceding it; and there is some doubt as to whether it refers to the same event, especially as in sc. xx. line 9 Henry says, "I can hardly forget the late iniuries offered me, | When I came last to perley, | The French men had better a raked | The bowels out of their fathers carkasses, | Then to haue fiered my Tentes." But for all this Shakespeare's "burning" may be due to a reminiscence of these passages.

(5) IV. iv. Pistol and Monsieur le Fer. This may have been suggested by the *Famous Victories*, sc. xvii., where Dericke, who has been taken prisoner by a French soldier, offers to give him for ransom as many crowns as will lie on his sword. The Frenchman lays down his sword for the purpose, but Dericke takes it up and "hurles him downe."

(6) Lastly, we come to the most striking instances of all, the peace negotiations of V. ii. 1-98 and 299-394, and the interposed wooing scene of lines 98-298. It is hardly necessary to say that no trace of the latter is to be found in Holinshed; he is content (p. 202) with recording the formal betrothal of Henry and Katharine in St. Peter's Church, and the solemnisation of the marriage a fortnight later; and as to the former, his enumeration of the articles of the treaty, and his account of the preceding negotiations (pp. 199-203), may be contrasted with the dramatic presentation of the events. This, at least in outline, is the same in both plays, though when we come to the actual speeches it is amusing to compare the perfunctory sentiments put into the mouths of his characters by the writer of the *Famous Victories* with the vigorous and imaginative poetry of Shakespeare. The two kings with their respective retinues meet, in order that Henry may receive the French king's answer to his demands (V. ii. 68 ff):

*K. Hen.* If, Duke of Burgundy, you would the peace,  
Whose want gives growth to the imperfections  
Which you have cited, you must buy that peace  
With full accord to all our just demands;  
Whose tenours and particular effects  
You have, enschedul'd briefly, in your hands . . .

*Fr. King.* I have but with a cursory eye  
O'erglanced the articles: pleaseth your grace  
To appoint some of your council presently

To sit with us once more, with better heed  
 To re-survey them, we will suddenly  
 Pass our accept and peremptory answer.

The request is granted, and the French king retires with the commissioners. With this compare *Famous Victories*, sc. xviii. 6 :

"*Charles*. What is it you demand, | My louing brother of England? | *Hen*. 5. My Secretary hath it written, read it . . . *Charles*. Well my brother of England, | If you will giue me a coppie, | We will meete you againe to morrow. | *Exit King of France, and all their attendants.*" Next put together the stage-directions, which herald the return of the French king and the English commissioners from their conference, v. ii. 298 : "*Re-enter the French King, and his Queen, Burgundy, and other Lords,*" and sc. xx. 1 : "*Enters King of England, Lord of Oxford and Exeter, then the King of France, Prince Dolphin, and the Duke of Burgondie, and attendants*" : in both plays the sequel is the same, in so far that everything is satisfactorily arranged, and Katharine is given to Henry in marriage by her father.

The wooing scene (v. ii. 98–298 and sc. xviii. 39–96) is managed in a more business-like manner in the *Famous Victories*; Henry's courting is brief and to the point, while Katharine speaks good English and has none of the simpering schoolgirlishness of the later play. The reader will have no difficulty in turning to phrases in the scene, as depicted by Shakespeare, which point to a reminiscence of the following :—

*Famous Victories*, sc. xviii. line 57. *Henry*. "But tell me, sweete Kate, canst thou tell how to loue?" Line 60, "Tush Kate, but tell me in plaine termes, | Canst

thou loue the King of England? | I cannot do as  
these Countries do, | That spend halfe their time in  
woing." Line 88, "Sweete Kate, tel thy father from  
me, | That none in the world could sooner haue per-  
swaded me to | It then thou, and so tel thy father  
from me."

And *Katharine*, line 72, "How should I loue him,  
that hath dealt so hardly | With my father." Sc. xx.  
line 55, "How should I loue thee, which is my fathers  
enemy?" Sc. xviii. line 77, "If I were of my owne  
direction, | I could giue you answe: | But seeing I  
stand at my fathers direction, | I must first know his  
will."

We must now pass to Shakespeare's conception of the character of Henry, and its relation to the popular tradition. In the main his Henry is the Henry of popular tradition, as the Henry of popular tradition is in the main the Henry of history. In dealing with personages so remote, both in time and nationality, as Coriolanus or even Julius Cæsar, some sacrifice of historic truth at the shrine of dramatic effect might be excusable enough, but in painting the portrait of the national hero no such liberty would be either permissible or necessary. There was, however, one article in the popular belief, which, in its crudest form, could not but give pause to the reflective mind, and which the subtle analysis of the poet must necessarily modify or at least explain. No feature in the character of the national hero had seized a firmer hold on the imagination of his countrymen than his supposed miraculous conversion from the wild licence of the prince to the sober majesty of the



king: not only was this conversion miraculous, but it was sudden :

The breath no sooner left his father's body  
But that his wildness, mortified in him,  
Seem'd to die too.

The two bishops (Act I. sc. i.) attempt with little success to explain the mystery. And if sudden, it was of course unexpected, even by his own brothers.

Well you must now speak Sir John Falstaff fair ;  
Which swims against your stream of quality,

says Clarence to the Chief Justice, now that the old king had "walk'd the way of nature." But the entrance of the new monarch soon shows him that he had been wrong in his calculations :

My father is gone wild into his grave,  
For in his tomb lie my affections ;  
And with his spirit sadly I survive,  
To mock the expectation of the world,  
To frustrate prophecies, and to raze out  
Rotten opinion, who hath writ me down  
After my seeming. The tide of blood in me  
Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now :  
Now doth it turn and ebb back to the sea,  
Where it shall mingle with the state of floods,  
And flow henceforth in formal majesty.

(*Henry IV. v. ii.*)

These words can leave no doubt of his conversion in the minds of those to whom they are addressed ; the difficulty was to explain it. To the superficial observers it seemed miraculous and sudden : Shakespeare who looked beneath the surface thought otherwise. In his view if his brothers had known him better they would have been prepared for

what took place: in his view explanations such as those attempted by the two bishops, or by Warwick,

The prince but studies his companions  
 Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,  
 'Tis needful that the most immodest word  
 Be look'd upon and learn'd

(*2 Henry IV.* IV. iv. 68-71),

are beside the mark; in his view Henry is a man of unswerving purpose, a man who has his goal in view and marches steadily towards it,—a character eminently consistent, and with a method even in its madness.

On our very first introduction to him (*1 Henry IV.* I. ii.) Shakespeare is careful to let us see that he has already realised the responsibilities of his position; already he has his ideal, and he means to act up to it. His soliloquy at the close of the scene lets us into the secret. It is not difficult to detect his consciousness of the danger of the inheritance to which he is destined to succeed: he has not failed to recognise that for him a throne will be no seat of luxury and ease; this must in fact have been the stern lesson of his early years, a lesson emphasised again in the two Parts of *Henry IV.* The note struck in the very first line of the former,

So shaken as we are, so wan with care,

reverberates throughout to the last line of the latter. There is no peace for the usurper: conscious as he is of the "by-paths and indirect crook'd ways" by which he won the crown, and knowing well "how troublesome it sat upon his head" (*2 Henry IV.* IV. v.), yet in spite of all the attempts to wrest it from his grasp, he has never relaxed his hold, and though he may now bequeath it to his

son with brighter hopes, yet secure possession is still distant,

Yet, though thou stand'st more sure than I could do,  
Thou art not firm enough, since griefs are green.

There are still jealous rivals and discontented adherents, for whose restless activities a safer outlet must be provided, and his last legacy to his successor is one of war,

Therefore, my Harry,  
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds  
With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,  
May waste the memory of the former days.

Accordingly the play closes appropriately with Prince John of Lancaster's shrewd forecast of the future:

I will lay odds that, ere this year expire,  
We bear our civil swords and native fire  
As far as France: I heard a bird so sing,  
Whose music, to my thinking, pleased the king.

(*Henry IV.* v. v.)

We now return to the soliloquy. With this statesman-like grasp of realities Henry combines a young man's love of excitement and frivolity. Whatever other people may think, and whatever he himself may say in a momentary fit of self-depreciation, he sees no irreconcilable discrepancy between the two: he will enjoy himself as long as the time allows, but whatever liberty he may permit himself for the present, there is one point on which he has finally decided, and that is that no mere enjoyment shall interfere with the serious business of life. Behind all his jesting and merriment in the company of Falstaff and his jovial crew, we are conscious of the presence of this resolve, a presence for the most part silent, but which now and then

betrays itself in words. At the very first opportunity the Prince takes us into his confidence himself:

I know you all, and will a while uphold  
The unyoked humour of your idleness.

And then, after likening himself to the sun which shines forth all the more welcome to us after a period of obscurity he continues:

So when this loose behaviour I throw off  
And pay the debt I never promised,  
By how much better than my word I am,  
By so much shall I falsify men's hopes ;  
And like bright metal on a sullen ground,  
My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,  
Shall show more goodly, and attract more eyes  
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.

I do not believe that these words are intended to be taken as a deliberate statement of any deliberate purpose with which he had entered upon "this loose behaviour"; I do not believe that he means that he is deliberately assuming the part of a scapegrace in order that he may afterwards turn his conduct to account, by means of the enhanced glory with which he will shine when the time comes for him to throw off the disguise. As Mr. Boswell-Stone observes, if he "was really influenced by such a motive, one . . . must condemn his aim as contemptible." Such a man "could not be expected to reach a heroic standard. His nature must be a radically false one, and his objects petty. We cannot suppose the hero of Shakspeare's drama, a king whose fame still lives among us, could ever reason thus."<sup>1</sup> Granted, but when the same writer goes on to explain away the plain meaning of the lines as being

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Henry the Fifth* (1880), Introduction, p. lix.

merely "a salve for his conscience, a sophism to excuse his unwillingness to leave his joyous youth behind him, and turn, so early as the king would have him, to the wearisome duties of his station," I fear I cannot follow him. Such a theory would imply a capacity for self-deception, for being quieted with a "sophism," which appears to me to be foreign to Henry's character. If he can be acquitted of "deliberate calculations of vanity," I fear he cannot be acquitted of meaning what he says; and I would suggest that having affirmed his intention of continuing to enjoy for the present the society of the tavern, his practical nature instantly fastens upon the advantage which will incidentally result. His is pre-eminently a genius for success: his very extravagances shall *tell*; he set out on his career of wildness with no other thought than that of amusement, but once embarked on it he cannot and will not shut his eyes to the politic uses that may be made of it:

I'll so offend, to make offence a skill;  
Redeeming time when men think least I will.

There is no self-deception, no salving of conscience here; rather, to put it somewhat coarsely, a sturdy resolution to make the best of a bad business. The truth is there is no hesitancy or vacillation in Henry; that internal struggle which distracts the mind more finely touched than his, is unknown to his strenuous and masterful nature; he never bends under the weight of his responsibilities, nor does he ever fail to cope with facts: instead of the event shaping his character, his character seems to shape the event; he stands out, in short, from all the other heroes of Shakespeare

as the man who knows what he wants to do, and who does it. That having once pictured to himself this incidental advantage arising from his present conduct he did not forget it, we have already seen in the words he uses upon his accession (*2 Henry IV.* v. ii.), where he tells us that he survives

To mock the expectation of the world,

—the world which had writ him down after his seeming. Shakespeare, however, had writ him down otherwise, as we shall now endeavour to show.

Before they leave London to confront the rebels at Shrewsbury, the king has an interview with his son (*1 Henry IV.* III. ii.) in which he reproaches him with his evil courses, and compares him to Richard II., that skipping king, who mingled his royalty with capering fools, and grew a companion to the common streets. The Prince's apology is modest and dignified: his father has been misled by smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers; he will hereafter be more himself,

And in the closing of some glorious day  
Be bold to tell you that I am your son.

And then follow the splendid lines in which he vows either to wash away his misdeeds in the blood of Hotspur, or perish in the attempt. Consistently in the next scene we find him busied with preparations for marching against the rebels:

The land is burning; Percy stands on high;  
And either we or they must lower lie:

He cannot rest till he and Hotspur have met. When he overtakes Falstaff on the road to Shrewsbury it is, "Sirrah,

make haste: Percy is already in the field" (*1 Henry IV.* iv. ii. 80). Then comes his generous tribute to his rival at the conference in the king's camp which preceded the fighting, the combat itself, and the Prince's triumph. And here we may remark as illustrating the comparative value which he attached to the serious and the lighter side of life, the contrast between the eloquent homage which he pays to the dead Percy, and the tone of half-amused, half-patronising regret in which he takes leave of the supposed dead Falstaff (v. iv. 102-110). In fact it is the humour of the situation which strikes him first:

What, old acquaintance! could not all this flesh  
Keep in a little life?

The pathos, such as it is, comes afterwards,

Poor Jack, farewell!  
I could have better spared a better man:

and then he even breaks into rhyme—a sure sign of the absence of any real depth of feeling. We pass over his chivalrous treatment of the captured Douglas, and in the next play, on his return from the overthrow of Glendower, we meet him once more in the company of Poins (*2 Henry IV.* II. ii.). His father lies upon a sickbed, and if he does not outwardly manifest his grief, it is only because Poins and those like him would accuse him of hypocrisy: "thou thinkest me," he says, "as far in the devil's book as thou and Falstaff for obduracy and persistency; *let the end try the man.*" Meantime he will once more visit his old haunts, and entertain himself with the humour of his old associate, but it is for the last time:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the last time in company with Falstaff; in iv. iv. 53 we learn that he is dining in London with Poins and other his continual followers.

in the midst of all the merriment appears the writing on the wall; twenty weak and weary posts come hurrying from the north; the serious business of life claims all his energies, and the chapter of his frivolities is soon to close for ever:

By heaven, Poins, I feel me much to blame,  
So idly to profane the precious time,  
When tempest of commotion, like the south  
Borne with black vapour, doth begin to melt,  
And drop upon our bare unarmed heads.  
Give me my sword and cloak. Falstaff, good night.  
(II. iv. 390-395.)

We are left to conjecture that it is his father's illness which prevents him from taking the field in person against the northern lords. Had he been present, we may be sure that the stupendous act of treachery by which his brother gets them into his power would never have stained the annals of his house. The old king still sees only the apparent levity of his son's character, and is full of gloomy anticipations of the time, now not far distant, when

the fifth Harry from curb'd license plucks  
The muzzle of restraint;

not until his last moments does he recognise the sterling worth that lies beneath the surface. The Prince convinces him at last of his loyalty and affection:

If I do feign,  
O, let me in my present wildness die,  
And never live to show the incredulous world  
The noble change that I have purposed!  
(IV. v. 152-155.)

He has held firmly to his resolution of redeeming the time; we have already seen it emphasised on his accession,



and I think we ought now to be prepared for its fulfilment. It is true that it is impossible to read the famous scene with which the play closes (v. v.) without a shock, without a certain feeling of resentment: the personal lecture which the newly crowned monarch thinks fit to deliver to his old boon companion we may think ill-timed and ill-judged, his committal to the Fleet unjust; we may say with Hostess Quickly that "the king has killed his heart," and with Ancient Pistol that "his heart is fracted and corroborate";<sup>1</sup> but shocked and indignant as we may be, I submit that if the view of Henry's character which I have tried to indicate is correct, we have no right to feel surprised; or if surprised, our surprise should be reserved for the lecture and the imprisonment; the curt dismissal of Falstaff and all his crew is the climax to which the undercurrent of events has all along been tending.

The above excursion through the two earlier plays has been necessary in order to bring out Shakespeare's conception of a genuine consistency in Henry's character underlying the apparent miracle of a sudden conversion. In the present play there are no inconsistencies<sup>2</sup> to detain us; his character is no longer in the making—it is made. Conscientious, brave, just, capable, and tenacious, Henry stands before us as the embodiment of worldly success, and as such he is entitled to our unreserved admiration. It would be an insult to the intelligence of the reader to insist further on the details of a character, which every line of

<sup>1</sup> See an admirable paper by Prof. A. C. Bradley on the "Rejection of Falstaff" in the *Fortnightly Review* for May 1902.

<sup>2</sup> The wooing scene has been alleged as an instance to the contrary, but Henry was still young, and even a hero must be allowed to effervesce a little occasionally.

the play enables him to realise for himself. Such a character he will accept with its inseparable limitations, as Shakespeare intended it to be accepted; he will not look for those finer touches of the intellect or of the emotions which mark the hero of another sort; he will miss, as has been well said, the light that is upon the brow of a Hamlet or an Othello; he will not find a man of whom it can be said,

a rarer spirit never  
Did steer humanity,—

but he *will* find a true ruler of men, a man no pipe for fortune's finger, a man at all times master of his fate, a man who, once satisfied of the justice of his end, swerved neither to the right hand nor to the left till he had achieved it.

A word must be said on the conduct of the action. So much has been written on the exceptional character of this play, that it is not necessary to labour the point here. As has been so often pointed out, its interest is epic rather than dramatic; it is the nearest approach on the part of the author to a national epic. His aim is above everything patriotic; his audience, even in spite of themselves, shall be compelled to recognise the greatness of their country's destiny, and to this end no resource that the poet can command shall be spared:

O for a Muse of fire, that would ascend  
The brightest heaven of invention!

In no play is the strenuousness of poetic effort more conspicuous, or the flow of impassioned rhetoric more sustained. To this end again he has no need of skilfully constructed plot, or subtle analysis of character; but in a succession of

highly elaborate and highly realistic pictures the national hero, that mirror of all Christian kings, shall stand before the eyes of the spectators in his very habit as he lived. This persistent realism also explains the introduction of the Chorus: it may serve to mark the division between the Acts,<sup>1</sup> to bridge over the intervals of time, and even to apologise for the inadequacy of the stage appliances;—it may do all this and yet not justify its existence; all these demands are made in other plays where there is no Chorus to satisfy them; the peculiar function of the Chorus in *Henry V.* is the appeal it makes to the historic imagination. The success or failure of the piece depends in a more than ordinary degree upon the extent to which the spectator can be made by means of the mimic shows of things to visualise the actual events for which they stand: the tension must never be relaxed, the eye of the mind must be as active as the eye of the body: the fervid appeals have sometimes almost the accent of despair:

Follow, follow:

Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy.

Again—

Work, work your thoughts, and therein see a siege;  
Behold the ordnance on their carriages,  
*With fatal mouths gaping on girded Harfleur.*

And again—

But now behold  
In the quick forge and working-house of thought. . . .

In a modern representation, such as it has been my lot to

<sup>1</sup> In Shakespeare's day, when the drop scene or front curtain were unknown, at any rate in the public theatres, this could only be done by a cessation of the action and the playing of music.

witness, with these sonorous and majestic incantations left out, the play loses half its justification, half its charm.

But epic as is the main impression produced by the play, it is not for all that exempt from the ordinary laws of dramatic action: the connecting plot is there, though we are apt to lose sight of it in the splendour of the situations that it links together. Thus in Act I. the causes of the action are set forth: in Act II. and the earlier scenes of Act III., its triumph over the obstacles that would have checked its growth, and its gradual progress towards the climax. This is reached in the enfeebled and famished condition to which the English army is reduced on its march to Calais<sup>1</sup> (III. v. 56-60, and vi. 145-164). Everything now depends upon the result of a single engagement; and for a while we are held in suspense, but the dénouement follows in the victory of the English, and the subsequent alliance between the two countries. The comic scenes have an interest of their own, and in no way affect the course of the main action; as Mr. Boswell-Stone observes, they "serve merely to vary the sameness of the historical action, and give more reality to the events by associating them with ordinary human interests and people."

Another question remains which we must not pass over without notice. Some critics have imagined that in writing this play Shakespeare had an eye to the events of his own day, and intended by the way to convey a political lesson. This view was first put forward by Mr. Richard Simpson in his paper on the "Politics of Shakspeare's Historical

<sup>1</sup> "The turning-point of the action," Mr. R. G. Moulton on "Character-Development in *Henry V.*" in the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1880-86, p. 568.

Plays":<sup>1</sup> in the play of *Henry V.* he finds a pronouncement in favour of the party of Essex: the acts of Essex "uniformly point to a grand idea of a union of all parties and all nationalities which were to be found in our group of Islands. This involved equal justice to all, a general toleration in religion, and an abolition of the privileges of one sect and of the penalties attached to another." To secure these ends he advocated a policy of foreign war; war abroad was the one salve for civil and religious dissensions at home. "Such is the policy of *Henry V.* It is a poem of victory, a glorification of war, not as an agony of brutal passions, but as an agent of civilisation—'when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner'" (III. vi. 116). For these ends also he favoured the succession of James to the English throne, and at the close of the play we have only to substitute "Scotland" for "France" to make the lesson plain; "the play ends with the union of the two belligerent countries, a symbol of the coming union with Scotland, and with the prayer—God combine your realms in one! may it be a spousal of the kingdoms, that no jealousy may thrust in between their paction."

Mr. Boswell-Stone follows on the same lines. Alluding to the widening of the breach between Protestant and Catholic owing to the increasing severity of the Government's measures against the latter, he writes: "The reign of Henry V. was a good subject for a dramatist who wished to cure his countrymen of these suicidal hatreds through an appeal to the national pride, by showing them what their ancestors had achieved, when, abandoning civil strife, they

<sup>1</sup> *New Shakspera Society's Transactions*, 1874, p. 416.

bent all their energies to the successful prosecution of a foreign war": and accordingly, in the words of Bates to Williams and the disguised king, who are exchanging defiances (IV. i. 228): "Be friends, you English fools, be friends: we have French quarrels enow, if you could tell how to reckon" (for "French" read "Spanish")—he conjectures a special significance. Again, he thinks that the lines (II. Chorus, 16-19),

O England! model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,  
What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,  
Were all thy children kind and natural!

"were levelled at those traitors who by their intrigues with the Spaniard endangered the liberties of England, or, at least, checked her career of conquest."

Of the value of this kind of interpretation I leave the reader to judge; personally, I think it dangerous, as tending to prove more than is warranted by the evidence: to say that a political lesson may be drawn<sup>1</sup> from a work of dramatic art is one thing, to say that the author created it with the view of conveying such lesson is another; nor does it follow that because a great poet may, broadly speaking, have a moral purpose, he would ever hamper it by such limitations of time and place as the word "political" implies.

As a case in point to support his contention that union between the four nationalities of these islands is advocated, Mr. Simpson appeals to Act III. sc. ii., where the Welsh, English, Scottish, and Irish captains are introduced serving side by side under a common flag, "as if to symbolise the union of the four nations under one crown, and their co-

<sup>1</sup> As was intended, when the adherents of Essex bespoke "the play of deposing King Richard II." for the eve of his intended outbreak.

operation in enterprises of honour, no longer hindered by the touchiness of a separatist nationalism." It has further been suggested that the latter part of this scene, in which the Irishman and the Scotsman appear, is a later insertion; this seems probable, but I think the insertion, if such it be, may be explained on other grounds than those indicated by Mr. Simpson. The facts regarding this part of the scene are somewhat peculiar. Gower brings a message from the Duke of Gloucester requiring Fluellen's immediate attendance at the mines; instead of obeying orders, Fluellen begins to criticise the engineering as "not according to the disciplines of the war,"<sup>1</sup> and this leads Gower to mention that the work is directed by a valiant Irishman—one Captain Macmorris, as Fluellen appears to be aware. True to the proverb, Macmorris then makes his appearance, "and the Scots captain, Captain Jamy, with him." This is the only appearance on the stage of this pair of worthies, and it is remarkable that from this point to the end of the scene the abbreviation prefixed to Fluellen's speeches suddenly becomes *Welch.* in the Folio instead of *Flu.* as uniformly hitherto and afterwards; quite consistently Jamy and Macmorris are distinguished as *Scot.* and *Irish.* Thus the Welshman, the Scotsman, and the Irishman, with a word or two from the Englishman, Gower, have the rest of the scene to themselves, and we are entertained with a violent altercation between Fluellen and Macmorris, while Jamy is too canny to do more than express his interest in the dispute without taking sides with either party.

Now it will not be denied that all this is an excrescence

<sup>1</sup> The fact that in the Quarto the scene terminates at this point may be taken for what it is worth.

upon the rest of the scene; the only doubt is how to account for it. In any case it has all the appearance of an afterthought; the very gratuitous and isolated intrusion of the Scottish and Irish captains serves no dramatic purpose, except so far as it gives greater scope to the part of the Welshman; it gives him one more chance of a disputation touching the disciplines of the war. But I very much doubt whether this addition was made with any idea of symbolising the union of the component parts of the United Kingdom. I would suggest a less ambitious motive. Fluellen had been a great success, his countryman Sir Hugh had secured the honour of special mention on the title-page of the Quarto of the play in which he figures, the "variable and pleasing humors" of the two Welshmen had brought down the house: "You have done so well with Taffy," we may imagine someone saying to the stage-manager, I will not say the author, "let us see what you can make of Paddy and Sandy." Hence the added portion, and hence the writer of it, whoever he may have been, to balance *Scot.* and *Irish.* is fain to dub Fluellen *Welch.* The two former having answered their purpose disappear into the obscurity from which they emerged.

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The reader is requested to note that the text of the present edition is substantially that of the Folio of 1623, modernised as far as spelling and punctuation are concerned; that the Folio has not been otherwise departed from without reason, and that all such departures have been carefully recorded. For any apparatus criticus of the text the Cam-



bridge Shakespeare remains the fountainhead, as do the eighteenth century editions for any interpretation of it.

No modern editor of an English classic can afford to neglect the storehouse of information contained in the *New English Dictionary* of Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley. My obligations to it will be apparent throughout, and it is hardly too much to say that its appearance marks a new departure in the history of Shakespearian criticism. My only regret is that I have only had the advantage of its company [1904] through the first half of the alphabet. It is referred to as *New Eng. Dict.*

I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Craig, the editor in chief of the Arden Shakespeare, for many valuable illustrations and suggestions.

In the critical notes F denotes the first Folio of 1623; when it is desired to distinguish it from the later Folios, F 2 (1632), F 3 (1663-64), F 4 (1685), it is quoted as F 1. *Mutatis mutandis* the same applies to Q, and Q 1 (1600), Q 2 (1602), Q 3 (1608). The other references explain themselves.

In the introduction and explanatory notes for plays other than the present one the references are to the Globe Shakespeare, and "Holinshed" refers to Mr. Boswell-Stone's *Shakspeare's Holinshed*.

THE LIFE OF  
KING HENRY THE FIFTH



## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, } *Brothers to the King.*  
DUKE OF BEDFORD, }

DUKE OF EXETER, *Uncle to the King.*

DUKE OF YORK, *Cousin to the King.*

EARLS OF SALISBURY, WESTMORELAND, and WARWICK.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BISHOP OF ELY.

EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

LORD SCROOP.

*Dramatis Personæ*] There is no list of *Dramatis Personæ* in the Folio. Rowe was the first to give one.

The following notes are chiefly taken from French's *Shakspeariana Genealogica*.

*Henry the Fifth*] b. 1388, accession 1413, d. 1422; eldest son of Henry IV.

*Duke of Gloucester*] b. 1391, d. 1447. Humphrey, fourth son of Henry IV., and the only one of Henry v.'s brothers actually present at Agincourt; present at Troyes.

*Duke of Bedford*] b. 1390, d. 1435. John of Lancaster, third son of Henry IV., appointed Lieutenant of England during his brother's first campaign in France, and therefore took no part in it. In the second campaign he took over large reinforcements to the king.

*Duke of Exeter*] d. 1427. Thomas Beaufort, third son of John of Gaunt and Catharine Swynford. On the surrender of Harfleur he was made captain of the town, and was not present at Agincourt; was one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage, and was present at Troyes.

*Duke of York*] d. 1415. Edward, son of Edmund, Duke of York; created Earl of Rutland and Duke of Albemarle (Aumerle) by Richard II.; elder brother of Richard, Earl of Cambridge.

*Earl of Salisbury*] d. 1428. Thomas Montacute, son of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who was beheaded at Cirencester in 1400; patron of Lydgate; one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage.

*Earl of Westmoreland*] d. 1425. Ralph Neville, warden of the West Marches towards Scotland, and not present in the French campaigns.

*Earl of Warwick*] b. 1381, d. 1439. Richard Beauchamp, present at Harfleur, but not at Agincourt; one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage, and present at Troyes.

*Archbishop of Canterbury*] b. circa 1362, d. 1443. Henry Chichele, Archbishop 1414; accompanied Henry on his second expedition to France; founder of All Souls College.

*Bishop of Ely*] d. 1425. John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, 1381; translated to Ely 1388; one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage, and perhaps for that reason introduced into Act I. sc. i.

*Earl of Cambridge*] d. 1415. Richard, second son of Edmund, Duke of York; father of Richard, Duke of York, slain at Wakefield 1460.

*Lord Scroop*] d. 1415. Henry, third Lord Scroop of Masham, eldest son of Sir Stephen Scroop, second Lord Scroop of Masham.

SIR THOMAS GREY.

SIR THOMAS ERPINGHAM, GOWER, FLUELLEN, MACMORRIS, JAMY,  
*Officers in King Henry's Army.*

BATES, COURT, WILLIAMS, *Soldiers in the same.*

PISTOL, NYM, BARDOLPH.

*Boy.*

*A Herald.*

CHARLES THE SIXTH, *King of France.*

LEWIS, *the Dauphin.*

DUKES OF BURGUNDY, ORLEANS, and BOURBON,  
*The Constable of France.*

RAMBURES and GRANDPRÉ, *French Lords.*

MONTJOY, *a French Herald.*

*Governor of Harfleur.*

*Ambassadors to the King of England.*

ISABEL, *Queen of France.*

KATHARINE, *Daughter to Charles and Isabel.*

ALICE, *A Lady attending on the Princess.*

*Hostess of a tavern in Eastcheap, formerly Mistress Quickly, and now married to Pistol.*

*Lords, Ladies, Officers, French and English Soldiers, Citizens, Messengers, and Attendants.*

#### CHORUS.

*SCENE: England; afterwards France.*

*Sir Thomas Grey*] d. 1415, son-in-law of the Earl of Westmoreland, and ancestor of the present Earl Grey.

*Sir Thomas Erpingham*] b. 1357, d. 1428; of Erpingham, Norfolk; distinguished at Agincourt; builder of the Erpingham Gate at Norwich.

*Charles the Sixth*] b. 1368, accession 1380, d. 1422; not present at Agincourt or at Troyes.

*Lewis, the Dauphin*] d. 1415; not present at Agincourt; succeeded as Dauphin by his brother John, d. 1417, and then by his brother Charles, afterwards Charles VII., b. 1403, d. 1461.

*Duke of Burgundy*] d. 1419. John the Fearless, assassinated at the bridge of Montereau; succeeded by his son

Philip, Count of Charlerois, the Good, who was present at Troyes.

*Duke of Orleans*] d. 1465. Charles D'Angoulême; imprisoned in England twenty-five years; father of Louis XII.

*Duke of Bourbon*] d. 1433, while still a prisoner in England; buried at Christ Church, Newgate Street.

*Constable of France*] d. 1415. Charles de-la-Bret, leader of the van at Agincourt.

*Isabel, Queen of France*] d. 1435, daughter of Stephen II., Duke of Bavaria.

*Katharine, daughter to Charles and Isabel*] b. 1401, d. 1438, married Henry V. 1420; mother of Henry VI.; by her second husband, Owen Tudor, grandmother of Henry VII.



On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth 10  
 So great an object: can this cockpit hold  
 The vasty fields of France? or may we cram  
 Within this wooden O the very casques  
 That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
 O, pardon! since a crooked figure may 15  
 Attest in little place a million;  
 And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,  
 On your imaginary forces work.  
 Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
 Are now confin'd two mighty monarchies, 20  
 Whose high upreared and abutting fronts  
 The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder:  
 Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;  
 Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
 And make imaginary puissance; 25  
 Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them

21. *high upreared*] Pope; *high, up-reared* F.

§ 247. The flat unraised spirits, in the depreciating language of the chorus, are the actors.

13. *this wooden O*] either the Curtain or the first Globe Theatre, built in 1599. The site is now covered by Barclay's Brewery. See Mr. Rendle on the Bankside Playhouses, New Shakspeare Society's Publications, Harrison's *Description of England*, Part ii. The letter O was used of any object of circular formation, e.g. of the stars in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 187, 188:

"Fair Helena, who more engilds the night

Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light."

13. *the very casques*] the actual helmets; spelt in F "casques."

15, 16. *since a . . . million*] Compare *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 6-9:

"like a cypher,

Yet standing in rich place, I multiply

With one 'we thank you' many thousands moe

That go before it."

18. *imaginary forces*] forces of imagination; compare "imagin'd wing," III. Chorus 1.

22. *The perilous narrow ocean*] the perilous English Channel. The seas separating France from England were known as the narrow seas, as in II. Chorus 38, and had a reputation for shipwrecks. See *Merchant of Venice*, III. i. 2-6.

Printing their proud hoofs i' the receiving earth ;  
 For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,  
 Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times,  
 Turning the accomplishment of many years 30  
 Into an hour-glass : for the which supply,  
 Admit me Chorus to this history ;  
 Who prologue-like your humble patience pray,  
 Gently to hear, kindly to judge, our play. [Exit.

## ACT I

SCENE I.—*London. An Antechamber in the  
 King's Palace.*

*Enter the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and  
 the Bishop of ELY.*

*Cant.* My lord, I'll tell you ; that self bill is urg'd,  
 Which in the eleventh year of the last king's reign

28. *our*] *out* Vaughan conj. *kings*] *king* Johnson conj.

*Act I. Scene 1.*

Act I.] Actus Primus. Scena prima F. London . . .] Pope. Enter . . .]  
 Rowe ; Enter the two Bishops of Canterbury and Ely F.

29. *Carry them*] *i.e.* your thoughts. The pronoun might of course, but for the absence of a conjunction, refer to "kings," and would do so, if we admit a possibility suggested by Henry Halford Vaughan, namely, that "carry" may be a corruption of the press for "carrying," the -ing having been lost owing to the same termination coming immediately under it ; but a compositor would be more likely to drop it in the second of the two lines than in the first ; compare, however, v. Chorus 8, 9 :

"Heave him [the king] away upon  
 your winged thoughts  
 Athwart the sea."

31. *for the which supply*] for filling up the intervals in the action—the times over which we have to jump.

*Act I. Scene 1.*

In the Folio the play is divided into acts, but not into scenes : Act I. includes our Acts I. and II. ; Act II. is our Act III. ; Act III. our Act IV. scenes i.-vi. ; Act IV. our Act IV. scenes vii.



Was like, and had indeed against us pass'd,  
 But that the scrambling and unquiet time  
 Did push it out of farther question. 5

*Ely.* But how, my lord, shall we resist it now?

*Cant.* It must be thought on. If it pass against us,  
 We lose the better half of our possession;  
 For all the temporal lands which men devout  
 By testament have given to the church 10  
 Would they strip from us; being valued thus:  
 As much as would maintain, to the king's honour,  
 Full fifteen earls and fifteen hundred knights,  
 Six thousand and two hundred good esquires;  
 And, to relief of lazars and weak age, 15  
 Of indigent faint souls past corporal toil,  
 A hundred almshouses right well supplied;  
 And to the coffers of the king beside,  
 A thousand pounds by the year. Thus runs the bill.

*Ely.* This would drink deep.

8. *half*] part F 2, 3, 4. 15, 16. *age, Of*] Capell; *age Of F.*

and viii.; Act v. our Act v. Pope was the first to divide the acts into scenes.

Scene London] According to Holinshed (p. 167) the events of this Act, with the exception of the episode of the tennis-balls, took place at Leicester in the late spring of 1414; the Dauphin's gift of "a barrell of Paris balles" had been made at Kenilworth in the Lent of the same year, *ibid.* p. 173. Theobald therefore laid the scene of the whole Act at Kenilworth; but as Shakespeare has made no distinction between the two localities, it seems better with Pope to fix upon London, where, as Boswell-Stone observes, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, we may generally assume that Shakespeare's scenes are laid.

2. *in the eleventh year*] in 1410, when the Commons renewed the proposal they had already made in 1404 for confiscating the revenues of the higher clergy.

4. *scrambling*] scrambling, scuffling; we have the word again in v. ii. 214, "I get thee with scrambling." Compare also *King John*, iv. iii. 145-147:

"England now is left

To tug and scamble, and to part by the teeth

The unowed interest of proud-swelling state."

9. *temporal lands*] a pleonastic expression, as Vaughan remarks, inasmuch as lands *must* be temporalities; but it is borrowed from Holinshed, p. 167.

*Cant.* 'Twould drink the cup and all. 20

*Ely.* But what prevention?

*Cant.* The king is full of grace and fair regard.

*Ely.* And a true lover of the holy church.

*Cant.* The courses of his youth promis'd it not.

The breath no sooner left his father's body, 25

But that his wildness, mortified in him,

Seem'd to die too; yea, at that very moment,

Consideration like an angel came,

And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him,

Leaving his body as a paradise, 30

To envelop and contain celestial spirits.

Never was such a sudden scholar made;

Never came reformation in a flood,

With such a heady currance, scouring faults;

Nor never Hydra-headed wilfulness 35

So soon did lose his seat and all at once

As in this king.

*Ely.* We are blessed in the change.

*Cant.* Hear him but reason in divinity,

And, all-admiring, with an inward wish

21. *But*] *It would indeed*, but Vaughan conj. 34. *currance*] *currant*  
*F* 2, 3; *current* *F* 4; *currence* Vaughan conj. 36. *seat*] *heads* Vaughan conj.

22-25. *The king . . . body*] On the ground that the Bishop of Ely sees the difficulties of the position, while the archbishop takes the cheerful view, Vaughan (anticipated by Keightley) proposes to distribute these lines as follows:

"*Cant.* The king is full of grace and fair regard,  
 And a true lover of the holy church.

*Ely.* The courses of his youth promised it not.

*Cant.* The breath no sooner left his father's body," etc.

25-31. *The breath . . . spirits*] Compare *Henry IV.* v. ii. 123, 124:

"My father is gone wild into his grave,  
 For in his tomb lie my affections."

33, 34. *Never . . . faults*] "Alluding to the method by which Hercules cleansed the famous [Augean] stables, when he turned a river through them. Hercules is still in our author's head when he mentions the Hydra" (*Johnson*).

You would desire the king were made a prelate: 40  
 Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,  
 You would say it hath been all in all his study:  
 List his discourse of war, and you shall hear  
 A fearful battle render'd you in music:  
 Turn him to any cause of policy, 45  
 The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,  
 Familiar as his garter; that, when he speaks,  
 The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,  
 And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,  
 To steal his sweet and honey'd sentences; 50  
 So that the art and practic part of life  
 Must be the mistress to this theoric:  
 Which is a wonder how his grace should glean it,  
 Since his addiction was to courses vain;  
 His companies unletter'd, rude, and shallow; 55  
 His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports;  
 And never noted in him any study,  
 Any retirement, any sequestration

49. *the*] *then* Vaughan conj. *wonder*] *wand'rer* Staunton conj.

48. *The air, a charter'd libertine*] Jaques (*As You Like It*, II. vii. 47-49) declares:

"I must have liberty  
 Withal, as large a charter as the  
 wind,  
 To blow on whom I please."

51. *art*] practical skill, as opposed to theory—in fact, "the practic part of life." Compare *Measure for Measure*, I. i. 10-14:

"The nature of our people,  
 Our city's institutions, and the terms  
 For common justice, you're as  
 pregnant in  
 As art and practice hath enriched any  
 That we remember."

The archbishop intimates that Henry's life having been the very reverse of a studious one, his philosophy must be the result of experience rather than of reading and contemplation. This is all in accordance with Shakespeare's portrait of Henry as the typical man of action.

55. *companies*] It is quite beside the mark to explain this as = companions, as is usually done; no doubt it comes to this ultimately, but the word is here simply the plural of the collective singular "company," and runs even with the "riots, banquets, sports" of the next line.

From open haunts and popularity.

*Ely.* The strawberry grows underneath the nettle, 60  
 And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best  
 Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality :  
 And so the prince obscur'd his contemplation  
 Under the veil of wildness ; which, no doubt,  
 Grew like the summer grass, fastest by night, 65  
 Unseen, yet crescive in his faculty.

59. *popularity*] mixing with the "populares" or common people. So *1 Henry IV.* III. ii. 60-69, Henry contrasting his own dignified seclusion with the easy manners of his predecessor says:

"The skipping king, he ambled up and down

With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits . . .

Grew a companion to the common streets,

Enfeoff'd himself to popularity."

Popular always has a depreciatory sense in Shakespeare = plebeian or vulgar, as in *IV.* i. 37, 38 :

"art thou officer ?

Or art thou base, common and popular?"

The nearest approach to the modern sense of the word occurs in *Coriolanus*, II. iii. 109, "since the wisdom of their choice is rather to have my hat than my heart, I will practice the insinuating nod, and be off to them most counterfeity ; that is, sir, I will counterfeit the bewitchment of some popular man."

60-62. *The strawberry . . . quality*] "It was the common opinion . . . that plants were affected by the neighbourhood of other plants to such an extent that they imbibed each other's virtues and faults. Thus sweet flowers were planted near fruit trees, with the idea of improving the flavour of the fruit, and evil-smelling trees, like the elder, were carefully cleared away from fruit trees, lest they should be tainted.

But the strawberry was supposed to be an exception to the rule, and . . . to thrive in the midst of 'evil communications' without being corrupted" (*Ellacombe, Plant-Lore and Garden-Craft of Shakespeare*, ed. 1878, p. 224). The strawberry in question was probably our wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*), perhaps somewhat improved by cultivation ; our finer garden varieties were then unknown. The statement as to the nettle must not be taken too literally ; Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, century v. § 441, writes : "Shade to some plants conduceth to make them large and prosperous, more than the sun ; as in strawberries and bays, etc. Therefore, amongst strawberries, sow here and there some borage-seed, and you shall find the strawberries under those leaves far more large than their fellows." And again (*ibid.* century iv. § 321) : "The apples covered with crabs and onions were likewise well matured."

63-66. *And so . . . faculty*] This explanation of the "wonder" offered by the bishop is in harmony with what Henry says of himself in *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 219 ff., and also with the opinion of the Constable of France (II. iv. 36-40 *post*), which is enforced by another horticultural simile.

64. *which*] *i.e.* his contemplation.

66. *crescive*] growing. Compare Drant (1566), *Wail. Hierim.*, K vii b, "The dragons . . . With propper brestes . . . do nurse theyr cresyve yonge."

66. *his faculty*] its inherent power

*Cant.* It must be so ; for miracles are ceas'd ;  
And therefore we must needs admit the means  
How things are perfected.

*Ely.* But, my good lord,  
How now for mitigation of this bill 70  
Urg'd by the commons ? Doth his majesty  
Incline to it, or no ?

*Cant.* He seems indifferent,  
Or rather swaying more upon our part  
Than cherishing the exhibitors against us ;  
For I have made an offer to his majesty, 75  
Upon our spiritual convocation,  
And in regard of causes now in hand,  
Which I have open'd to his grace at large,  
As touching France, to give a greater sum  
Than ever at one time the clergy yet 80  
Did to his predecessors part withal.

*Ely.* How did this offer seem receiv'd, my lord ?

*Cant.* With good acceptance of his majesty ;  
Save that there was not time enough to hear,  
As I perceiv'd his grace would fain have done, 85  
The severals and unhidden passages  
Of his true titles to some certain dukedoms,

86. *severals*] several Pope.

or capacity. Compare *Julius Cæsar*,  
I. iii. 66-68 :

"Why all these things change from  
their ordinance

Their natures and preformed facul-  
ties

To monstrous quality,"

and Lyte (1578), *Dodoens*, II. cvi. 296,  
"Lovege, in facultie and vertues doth  
not differ much from Ligusticum."

68. *the means*] here, contempla-

tion obscured under the veil of wild-  
ness.

74. *the exhibitors*] the introducers of  
the bill. Compare *Merry Wives*, II. i.  
29, "Why, I'll exhibit a bill in the  
parliament for the putting down of  
men."

86. *The severals and unhidden pass-  
ages*] the details, and the clearly estab-  
lished channels through which the titles  
passed or were derived.

And generally to the crown and seat of France,  
 Deriv'd from Edward, his great-grandfather.

*Ely.* What was the impediment that broke this off? 90

*Cant.* The French ambassador upon that instant  
 Crav'd audience; and the hour I think is come  
 To give him hearing: is it four o'clock?

*Ely.* It is.

*Cant.* Then go we in to know his embassy; 95  
 Which I could with a ready guess declare  
 Before the Frenchman speak a word of it.

*Ely.* I'll wait upon you, and I long to hear it. [*Exeunt*

SCENE II.—*The Same. The Presence Chamber.*

*Enter* KING HENRY, GLOUCESTER, BEDFORD, EXETER,  
 WARWICK, WESTMORELAND, and Attendants.

*K. Hen.* Where is my gracious lord of Canterbury?

*Exe.* Not here in presence.

*K. Hen.* Send for him, good uncle.

*West.* Shall we call in the ambassador, my liege?

*K. Hen.* Not yet, my cousin: we would be resolv'd,  
 Before we hear him, of some things of weight 5  
 That task our thoughts, concerning us and France.

*Enter the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and  
 the Bishop of ELY.*

*Cant.* God and his angels guard your sacred throne,

89. *great-grandfather*] Dyce; *great grandfather* F.

*Scene II.*

*Enter . . .*] Malone; *Enter the King, Humfrey, Bedford, Clarence, Warwick,  
 Westmerland, and Exeter* F. 6. *Enter . . .*] Rowe; *Enter two Bishops* F.

And make you long become it!

*K. Hen.*

Sure, we thank you.

My learned lord, we pray you to proceed,

And justly and religiously unfold 10

Why the law Salique that they have in France

Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim.

And God forbid, my dear and faithful lord,

That you should fashion, wrest, or bow your reading,

Or nicely charge your understanding soul 15

With opening titles miscreate, whose right

Suits not in native colours with the truth;

For God doth know how many now in health

Shall drop their blood in approbation

Of what your reverence shall incite us to. 20

Therefore take heed how you impawn our person,

How you awake our sleeping sword of war:

We charge you, in the name of God, take heed;

For never two such kingdoms did contend

Without much fall of blood; whose guiltless drops 25

Are every one a woe, a sore complaint

'Gainst him whose wrongs give edge unto the swords

That make such waste in brief mortality.

Under this conjuration speak, my lord,

And we will hear, note, and believe in heart 30

That what you speak is in your conscience wash'd

As pure as sin with baptism.

27. *wrongs give*] Malone; *wrongs gives* F 1; *wrong gives* F 2, 3, 4.  
28. *make*] Rowe; *makes* F.

15. *nicely*] sophistically.

15. *understanding*] that knows the truth to be otherwise, as Capell explains.

21. *impawn*] pledge; the warning is explained by the three preceding lines.

27. *wrongs*] wrong-doings.

*Cant.* Then hear me, gracious sovereign, and you peers,  
 That owe yourselves, your lives, and services  
 To this imperial throne. There is no bar 35  
 To make against your highness' claim to France  
 But this, which they produce from Pharamond,  
*In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant,*  
 "No woman shall succeed in Salique land:"  
 Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze 40  
 To be the realm of France, and Pharamond  
 The founder of this law and female bar.  
 Yet their own authors faithfully affirm  
 That the land Salique is in Germany,  
 Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe; 45  
 Where Charles the Great having subdued the Saxons—  
 There left behind and settled certain French;  
 Who, holding in disdain the German women  
 For some dishonest manners of their life,  
 Establish'd then this law; to wit, no female 50  
 Should be inheritrix in Salique land:  
 Which Salique, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,  
 Is at this day in Germany call'd Meisen.  
 Then doth it well appear the Salique law  
 Was not devised for the realm of France; 55  
 Nor did the French possess the Salique land

45, 52. *Elbe*] Capell; *Elue* F. 46. *Saxons*—] Vaughan conj.; *Saxons*, F.  
 54. *Then*] Thus Q, Pope.

33. *Then hear me*] This long speech is perhaps the most salient instance of Holinshed put into verse; see it printed in parallel columns with the original in Boswell-Stone's *Shakspeare's Holinshed*, pp. 169-171.

37. *Pharamond*] A semi-mythical

Frankish chief of the early part of the fifth century. The Salique law excluding females from the throne of France does not seem to have been heard of till the fourteenth century.

40. *gloze*] interpret as by a gloss.



Until four hundred one and twenty years  
 After defunction of King Pharamond,  
 Idly suppos'd the founder of this law ;  
 Who died within the year of our redemption 60  
 Four hundred twenty-six ; and Charles the Great  
 Subdued the Saxons, and did seat the French  
 Beyond the river Sala, in the year  
 Eight hundred five. Besides, their writers say,  
 King Pepin, which deposed Childeric, 65  
 Did, as heir general, being descended  
 Of Blithild, which was daughter to King Clothair,  
 Make claim and title to the crown of France.  
 Hugh Capet also, who usurp'd the crown  
 Of Charles the Duke of Lorraine, sole heir male 70  
 Of the true line and stock of Charles the Great,  
 To find his title with some shows of truth,  
 Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught,  
 Convey'd himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,

72. *find*] *fine* Q, Pope ; *fend* or *fence* Anon. conj. ; *face* Kinnear conj. 74.  
*as heir*] Q, Pope ; *as th' Heir* F.

57. *four hundred one and twenty*] As Rolfe was the first to point out, Shakespeare follows Holinshed here in an arithmetical blunder ; Charles the Great's colonisation of the Salique land in 805 is 379 (not 421) years later than the death of Pharamond in 426.

61. *Charles the Great*] Few readers will care to pause over the intricacies of the archbishop's argument, but it may be worth while to give the dates of the reigns of the sovereigns mentioned, in chronological order: Clothair I., 511-561 ; Childeric III., 742-752 ; Pepin, 752-768 ; Charles the Great, 768-814 ; Lewis I., *Le Debonnairs*, 814-840 ; Charles I., *the Bald*

(Charlemain, line 75), 840-877 ; Hugh Capet, 987-996 ; Lewis IX. (the Tenth, line 77), 1226-1270.

72. *To find . . . truth*] *Either* to trace out, discover, his title with some appearance of truth, *or* to find his title in, provide it with, some show of truth ; the latter explanation is the one usually adopted, but if it is correct, it is the only instance of this use of "find" in Shakespeare. Holinshed has, "to make his title seeme true, and appeare good."

74. *Convey'd himself as heir*] The best commentary on this expression is *Merry Wives*, I. iii. 32 :

"*Nym*. The good humour is to steal  
 at a minute's rest.

Daughter to Charlemain, who was the son 75  
 To Lewis the emperor, and Lewis the son  
 Of Charles the Great. Also King Lewis the  
 Tenth,  
 Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,  
 Could not keep quiet in his conscience,  
 Wearing the crown of France, till satisfied 80  
 That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother,  
 Was lineal of the Lady Ermengare,  
 Daughter to Charles the foresaid Duke of Lorraine:  
 By the which marriage the line of Charles the  
 Great  
 Was re-united to the crown of France. 85  
 So that, as clear as is the summer's sun,  
 King Pepin's title, and Hugh Capet's claim,  
 King Lewis his satisfaction, all appear  
 To hold in right and title of the female:  
 So do the kings of France unto this day; 90  
 Howbeit they would hold up this Salique law  
 To bar your highness claiming from the female;

75. *Charlemain*] *Charlechauve* Rann, from Ritson's conjecture. 76. *and Lewis*] *which was* Pope. 77. *Tenth*] *ninth* Pope. 88. *satisfaction*] *possession* Pope. 90. *kings*] *kings'* Vaughan conj. 92. *bar*] *F* 3, 4; *barre* *F* 1, 2.

*Pist.* 'Convey,' the wise it call.  
 'Steal!' foh! a fico for the  
 phrase!"

74. *Lingars*] Lingard in Holinshed, which, as Delius points out, is nearer to the German form Luitgard, the name, according to Ritson, of Charlemagne's fifth wife.

76. *and Lewis*] Pope's reading "which was" has the support of Holinshed's "that was."

77. *Lewis the Tenth*] Shakespeare

copies Holinshed in another mistake; Hall, whom Holinshed is reproducing, has correctly, "Kyng Lewes also the ninth." Holinshed himself adds in brackets, "otherwise called Saint Lewes."

82. *Ermengare*] Ermengard in Holinshed.

88. *King . . . satisfaction*] Pope's reading follows Holinshed, who has, "the possession of Lewes."

And rather choose to hide them in a net  
 Than amply to imbar their crooked titles  
 Usurp'd from you and your progenitors. 95

*K. Hen.* May I with right and conscience make this claim?

*Cant.* The sin upon my head, dread sovereign!

For in the book of Numbers is it writ:

“When the man dies, let the inheritance

Descend unto the daughter.” Gracious lord, 100

Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag;

Look back into your mighty ancestors:

Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb,

From whom you claim; invoke his war-like spirit,

And your great-uncle's, Edward the Black Prince, 105

Who on the French ground play'd a tragedy,

Making defeat on the full power of France;

94. *imbar*] F 3, 4; *imbarre* F 1, 2; *imbace* Q 1, 2; *embrace* Q 3; *make bare* Rowe (ed. 1); *imbare* Theobald on Warburton's conjecture; *unbrace* Vaughan conj. 99. *man*] *sonne* Q, Pope. 103. *great-grandsire's*] Dyce; *great Grandsires* F. 105. *great-uncle's*] Dyce; *great Vnclcs* F.

93, 94. *And rather . . . titles*] In spite of the fact that they really claim through the female, the French kings choose to take refuge behind the flimsy and transparent pretext (net) of the Salique law rather than make unreserved confession of the baselessness of their title. If the law were valid, it barred the title of Charles VI. equally with that of Henry; if it were invalid, Henry, who was descended from the elder son of Philip III., had a better title than Charles, who was descended from the younger son. *Imbar* is merely a variant of *embar*, and “amply to imbar” is to bar or exclude without restriction or subterfuge. But *embar* has also the meaning to enclose with bars, fence in; and Knight took the word in this sense here, explaining “hiding their crooked titles in a net, rather than

amply defending them”; but this is just what, on the archbishop's showing, they could not do. Moreover, if they could, there would no longer be any reason for their hiding them in a net. Theobald's reading “imbare” (*embare*), *i.e.* lay open, display to view, which has been adopted by most editors, may find support of a kind in the spelling of the first two Folios, and gives a better sense than Knight's interpretation of *imbar*, but is quite unnecessary. Vaughan explains his conjecture “unbrace” as = to expose by loosening and letting free—the opposite of hiding in a net.

99, 100. *When the man . . . daughter*] Numbers xxvii. 8, “If a man die, and have no son, then shall ye cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter,” in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad.

Whiles his most mighty father on a hill  
 Stood smiling to behold his lion's whelp  
 Forage in blood of French nobility. 110  
 O noble English! that could entertain  
 With half their forces the full pride of France,  
 And let another half stand laughing by,  
 All out of work, and cold for action.

*Ely.* Awake remembrance of these valiant dead, 115  
 And with your puissant arm renew their feats:  
 You are their heir, you sit upon their throne,  
 The blood and courage that renowned them  
 Runs in your veins; and my thrice-puissant liege  
 Is in the very May-morn of his youth, 120  
 Ripe for exploits and mighty enterprises.

*Exe.* Your brother kings and monarchs of the earth  
 Do all expect that you should rouse yourself,  
 As did the former lions of your blood.

*West.* They know your grace hath cause and means and  
 might; 125  
 So hath your highness; never king of England  
 Had nobles richer, and more loyal subjects,  
 Whose hearts have left their bodies here in England  
 And lie pavilion'd in the fields of France.

*Cant.* O! let their bodies follow, my dear liege, 130

125, 126. *cause . . . highness*] *cause*: and means and might *Too hath your highness* Vaughan conj.

108. *on a hill*] at the battle of Crecy, where Edward III. "stood aloft on a windmill hill" (Holinshed, p. 171). Charles VI. alludes to the same circumstance, II. iv. 53-62.

114. *cold for action*] cold as regards, *i.e.* for want of action, which would have made them warm. Similarly *Tempest*, I. ii.

112, "So dry he was for sway"; and *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 9, "[I] Am starved for meat, giddy for lack of sleep."

120. *in the very May-morn*] Henry was born at Monmouth, August 9, 1388, and was now in his twenty-seventh year.

With blood and sword and fire to win your right ;  
 In aid whereof we of the spirituality  
 Will raise your highness such a mighty sum  
 As never did the clergy at one time  
 Bring in to any of your ancestors. 135

*K. Hen.* We must not only arm to invade the French,  
 But lay down our proportions to defend  
 Against the Scot, who will make road upon us  
 With all advantages.

*Cant.* They of those marches, gracious sovereign, 140  
 Shall be a wall sufficient to defend  
 Our inland from the pilfering borderers.

*K. Hen.* We do not mean the coursing snatchers only,  
 But fear the main intendment of the Scot,  
 Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to us ; 145  
 For you shall read that my great-grandfather  
 Never went with his forces into France  
 But that the Scot on his unfurnish'd kingdom  
 Came pouring, like the tide into a breach,  
 With ample and brim fulness of his force, 150  
 Gallng the gleaned land with hot assays,  
 Girding with grievous siege castles and towns ;  
 That England, being empty of defence,

131. *blood*] F 3, 4 ; *Bloods* F 1. 143. *snatchers*] *sneakers* Q. 146. *great-grandfather*] Dyce ; *great Grandfather* F.

137. *our proportions*] the number of troops necessary. So line 304 below, and II. iv. 45.

139. *With all advantages*] Capell is probably right in interpreting "when-ever he sees advantage." *i.e.* opportunity ; so in III. vi. 125, "advantage is a better soldier than rashness." The modern reader will, of course, say it means "with everything in his

favour," but this is just one of the errors against which a more intimate acquaintance with Shakespeare's language puts us on our guard ; in that case he would probably have said, "with all advantage."

144. *the . . . Scot*] a general attack on the part of the nation as a whole.

151. *gleaned*] stripped of its defenders.

Hath shook and trembled at the ill neighbourhood.

*Cant.* She hath been then more fear'd than harm'd, my  
liege; 155

For hear her but exempl'd by herself:  
When all her chivalry hath been in France  
And she a mourning widow of her nobles,  
She hath herself not only well defended,  
But taken and impounded as a stray 160

The King of Scots; whom she did send to France,  
To fill King Edward's fame with prisoner kings,  
And make her chronicle as rich with praise  
As is the ooze and bottom of the sea  
With sunken wrack and sumless treasuries. 165

*West.* But there's a saying very old and true;  
If that you will France win,  
Then with Scotland first begin:  
For once the eagle England being in prey,  
To her unguarded nest the weasel Scot 170  
Comes sneaking and so sucks her princely eggs,  
Playing the mouse in absence of the cat,  
To tear and havoc more than she can eat.

*Exe.* It follows then the cat must stay at home:

155. *been*] Rowe; *bin* F. 163. *her*] Capell from Johnson's conjecture;  
*their* F; *your* Q, Steevens. 165. *wrack*] *wreck* Theobald (ed. 2). 166.  
*West.*] Capell; Lord. Q; Bish. Ely. F. 173. *tear*] Rowe (ed. 2); *tame* F;  
*spoyle* Q, Rowe (ed. 1); *taint* Theobald.

155. *fear'd*] frightened, as often.  
161. *The King of Scots*] David II.,  
who was taken prisoner at the battle  
of Nevill's Cross, October 17, 1346,  
during Edward III.'s absence in  
France. As a matter of fact, he was  
not sent to France at all; but, in  
the play of *Edward III.* (first printed  
1596), Act v., John Copland, "the  
proud presumptuous Squire of the

North," who had captured him in the  
battle, is represented as bringing over  
his prisoner to Edward at Calais.  
Hence perhaps the statement in the  
text.

166. *West.*] Capell made this change  
to square with Holinshed; besides, as  
Warburton pointed out, the bishops  
are advocating the invasion of France,  
and not raising obstacles to it.

Yet that is but a crush'd necessity, 175  
 Since we have locks to safeguard necessities  
 And pretty traps to catch the petty thieves.  
 While that the armed hand doth fight abroad  
 The advised head defends itself at home :  
 For government, though high and low and lower, 180  
 Put into parts, doth keep in one consent,  
 Congreeing in a full and natural close,  
 Like music.

*Cant.* Therefore doth heaven divide

175. *crush'd*] *curst* Q, Pope; *crude* Capell from Johnson's conjecture; *cured* Vaughan conj. 180. *though*] *through* Keightley conj. 182. *Congreeing*] *Congrueth* Q; *Congruing* Pope. 183. *Therefore*] *True: therefore* Q, Capell.

175. *crush'd*] squeezed, *i.e.* strained, forced; or squeezed out, *i.e.* annihilated; in either case the explanation is to be found in the following lines.

179. *advised*] As advice was used to mean consideration, deliberation (*Merchant of Venice*, IV. ii. 6, 7:

"My lord Bassanio, upon more advice,

Hath sent you here this ring"), so advised here means after due deliberation, judicious. Compare *Henry VI.* v. ii. 47: "The silver livery of advised age."

181. *part*] keeping up the figure from part-singing (*Aldis Wright*).

181. *consent*] An erroneous spelling of *concent*, *i.e.* harmony, common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and due to confusion with *consent*.

182. *Congreeing*] A "nonce word." See v. ii. 31.

182. *close*] cadence. So Milton, *Hymn on the Nativity*, 99, 100:

"The air, such pleasure loth to lose,  
 With thousand echoes still pro-  
 longs each heavenly close."

183-187. *Therefore . . . Obedience*] The comparison suggested by *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 96, "the state of man, Like to a little kingdom," and *Mac-*

*beth*, I. iii. 140, "Shakes so my single state of man" (compare also *King Lear*, III. i. 10, "his little world of man," and *Henry IV.* IV. iii. 118, "this little kingdom, man"), suggests that "the state of man" here means the human microcosm; but the units required by the context are not the various functions of the individual, but the various individuals themselves, who go to make up the state. "The state of man" here must therefore be the body politic, and we may interpret, "Therefore (to secure this harmony) heaven assigns to each member of the state his own particular function, to the exercise of which he is continually prompted, but these promptings must be regulated by a reference to the public good; obedience to this is the butt or target at which he must aim." There is a curious anticipation in line 185 of the philosophical language of Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I. vi. 23, "These small beginnings of Motion, within the body of Man . . . are commonly called Endeavour"; and again, *Elem. Philos.* (ed. 1839), p. 206, "I define endeavour to be motion made in less space and time than can be given." quoted in *New Eng. Dict.*

The state of man in divers functions,  
 Setting endeavour in continual motion; 185  
 To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,  
 Obedience: for so work the honey-bees,  
 Creatures that by a rule in nature teach  
 The act of order to a peopled kingdom.  
 They have a king and officers of sorts; 190  
 Where some, like magistrates, correct at home,  
 Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad,  
 Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,  
 Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds;  
 Which pillage they with merry march bring home 195  
 To the tent-royal of their emperor:  
 Who, busied in his majesty, surveys  
 The singing masons building roofs of gold,  
 The civil citizens kneading up the honey,  
 The poor mechanic porters crowding in 200  
 Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,  
 The sad-ey'd justice, with his surly hum,  
 Delivering o'er to executors pale  
 The lazy yawning drone. I this infer,  
 That many things, having full reference 205  
 To one consent, may work contrariously;

189. *act*] *art* Pope. 197. *majesty*] Q, Rowe; *Majesties* F. 199. *kneading*] *lading* Q; *laying* Vaughan conj. 204. *this*] *thus* Vaughan conj.

187. *so work the honey-bees*] Malone pointed out the resemblance between this description of the commonwealth of bees, and that in Lyly's *Euphues and his England* (1580), pp. 261-264, ed. Arber. (See Appendix.) The idea that the queen-bee was a male prevailed long after Shakespeare's time, and was one of the mediæval notions on natural history inherited from Aristotle.

189. *The act of order*] orderly action, or order in action.

190. *of sorts*] of various ranks.

199. *civil*] orderly. Compare *Two Gentlemen*, v. iv. 156:

"They [the outlaws] are reformed,  
 civil, full of good."

202. *sad-ey'd*] grave-looking.



As many arrows, loosed several ways,  
 Come to one mark ; as many ways meet in one town ;  
 As many fresh streams meet in one salt sea ;  
 As many lines close in the dial's centre ;                    210  
 So may a thousand actions, once afoot,  
 End in one purpose, and be all well borne  
 Without defeat. Therefore to France, my liege.  
 Divide your happy England into four ;  
 Whereof take you one quarter into France,                    215  
 And you withal shall make all Gallia shake.  
 If we, with thrice such powers left at home,  
 Cannot defend our own doors from the dog,  
 Let us be worried and our nation lose  
 The name of hardiness and policy.                            220

*K. Hen.* Call in the messengers sent from the Dauphin.

[*Exeunt some Attendants.*]

Now are we well resolv'd ; and by God's help,  
 And yours, the noble sinews of our power,  
 France being ours, we'll bend it to our awe  
 Or break it all to pieces : or there we'll sit,                    225  
 Ruling in large and ample empery  
 O'er France and all her almost kingly dukedoms,  
 Or lay these bones in an unworthy urn,  
 Tombless, with no remembrance over them :  
 Either our history shall with full mouth                        230  
 Speak freely of our acts, or else our grave,

208. *Come*] *flye* Q, Capell.      212. *End*] Q, Pope ; *And* F.      217. *such*  
*powers*] *that power* Q, Capell.      221. *Dauphin*] *Dolphin* F (and *passim*).  
*Exeunt* . . .] Capell ; omitted F.      222. *well*] F 1, 2 ; all F 3, 4.

207. *loosed several ways*] *i.e.* from different parts of the field. Loosing was the regular term in archery for the discharge of the arrow : Ascham, in his

*Toxophilus* (1545) (ed. 1788, pp. 203, 204), gives directions for its execution. 226. *empory*] Lat. *imperium* ; see line 35 above, "imperial throne."

Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,  
Not worshipp'd with a waxen epitaph.

*Enter Ambassadors of France.*

Now are we well prepar'd to know the pleasure  
Of our fair cousin Dauphin ; for we hear 235  
Your greeting is from him, not from the king.

*First Amb.* May't please your majesty to give us leave  
Freely to render what we have in charge ;  
Or shall we sparingly show you far off  
The Dauphin's meaning and our embassy ? 240

*K. Hen.* We are no tyrant, but a Christian king ;  
Unto whose grace our passion is as subject  
As are our wretches fetter'd in our prisons :  
Therefore with frank and with uncurbed plainness  
Tell us the Dauphin's mind.

*First Amb.* Thus then, in few. 245  
Your highness, lately sending into France,  
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right  
Of your great predecessor, King Edward the Third.  
In answer of which claim, the prince our master

233. *waxen*] *paper* Q, Malone. 237. *First Amb.*] Dyce ; *Amb. F* (and throughout the scene). *May't please*] *Pleaseth* Q, Capell. 243. *are*] Q, Rowe ; is F. 245. *then*] *than* F.

233. *Not . . . epitaph*] Without the honour even of a waxen epitaph, much less one of stone. An epitaph of paper (Quarto and Malone), such as was formerly affixed "to the herse or grave, with pins, wax, paste, etc." (*Gifford*, Ben Jonson's *Underwoods C.* note 6, ed. Cunningham, vol. ix. p. 44)—a custom which Aldis Wright informs us was last practised in Cambridge on the occasion of Porson's funeral (1808)—would be even more perishable than a waxen one. Many attempts have

been made to explain away the term "waxen" here ; I presume that a "waxen epitaph" can be neither more nor less than an epitaph written on wax, but I have not been able to find any other mention of such an epitaph. The reader may of course be content to take the word as a mere synonym for "perishable," "easily effaced," as Schmidt does [and *N.E.D.*], but this is the last resource of the desperate annotator.

Says that you savour too much of your youth, 250  
 And bids you be advis'd: there's nought in France  
 That can be with a nimble galliard won;  
 You cannot revel into dukedoms there.  
 He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,  
 This tun of treasure; and, in lieu of this, 255  
 Desires you let the dukedoms that you claim  
 Hear no more of you. This the Dauphin speaks.

*K. Hen.* What treasure, uncle?

*Exe.* Tennis-balls, my liege.

*K. Hen.* We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us;  
 His present and your pains we thank you for: 260  
 When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,  
 We will in France, by God's grace, play a set  
 Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.  
 Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler  
 That all the courts of France will be disturb'd 265  
 With chases. And we understand him well,

251. *advis'd: there's]* *advis'd, there's* Steevens.

251. *advis'd]* Compare line 179 above. If Steevens's punctuation is adopted the meaning is "informed," as in Act II. Chorus 12.

252. *galliard]* A lively dance, described by Sir John Davies in his poem on dancing entitled *Orchestra* (1596), stanzas 67 and 68.

255. *This tun of treasure]* the "barrell of Paris balles" of Holinshed. In the corresponding scene of the *Famous Victories*, ed. Daniel, p. 29, the stage direction occurs, "He delivereth a Tunne of Tennis balles."

259-266. *We are glad . . . chases]* "Wherefore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long [ere long], he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walls of

the best court in France" (Holinshed, p. 173). The application of Henry's threat is clear enough, but there are two technical terms, "hazard" and "chase," which will not be intelligible to those who are not familiar with a tennis court. The court is divided by the net into the hazard side, into which the ball is served, and the service side; and there are three openings or hazards, varying in size, by striking his ball into any one of which the player wins the stroke—on the hazard side the Winning Gallery and the Grille, and on the service side the Dedans; the first of these is generally *par excellence* termed the hazard. A chase is a stroke in abeyance. For example, if the player on the service side fails or declines to

How he comes o'er us with our wilder days,  
 Not measuring what use we made of them.  
 We never valu'd this poor seat of England;  
 And therefore, living hence, did give ourself 270  
 To barbarous license; as 'tis ever common  
 That men are merriest when they are from home.  
 But tell the Dauphin I will keep my state,  
 Be like a king and show my sail of greatness  
 When I do rouse me in my throne of France: 275  
 For that I have laid by my majesty  
 And plodded like a man for working-days,  
 But I will rise there with so full a glory  
 That I will dazzle all the eyes of France,  
 Yea, strike the Dauphin blind to look on us. 280  
 And tell the pleasant prince this mock of his  
 Hath turn'd his balls to gun-stones; and his soul

276. *that*] *this* Q.

return a ball, the nearer to his side of the net it makes its second impact the better for him, because when he changes over to the hazard side he will have a greater chance of getting behind this point, *i. e.* of sending his opponent a ball, which he in his turn shall fail to return, and which shall make its second impact further from the net and nearer to the end wall; the winner of the chase being the player whose unreturned ball makes its second impact *nearest* to the end wall on his opponent's side of the net. It will be seen that the parallel has a much closer application in the case of the "hazard" than in that of the "chases." In *Look about You* (1600) Fausconbridge says, "Aye, they have handed me from chase to chase; I have banded them their tennis-ball, since I did court" (Hazlitt's *Dodley*, vii. 490).

270. *living hence*] It suits Henry's purpose, in his ironical vein, to con-

trast "this poor seat of England" disadvantageously with "my throne of France," line 275; the slight value he attached to the former, he says, will explain his having absented himself from Court ("living hence") and given himself to barbarous license. See what his father says, *Richard II.* v. iii. 1-12, and *1 Henry IV.* iii. ii. 32-35.

274. *show my sail of greatness*] sail under full canvas, the reverse of striking sail.

275. *rouse me*] Compare iv. iii. 43.

277. *a man for working-days*] Compare iv. iii. 109.

282. *gun-stones*] the usual fifteenth and sixteenth century term for cannon-ball; the earliest instance of the latter in *New Eng. Dict.* is from Hudibras (1663). Shakespeare has, however, "cannon-bullets," *Twelfth Night*, i. v. 100. Stone was the material origin-

Shall stand sore charged for the wasteful vengeance  
 That shall fly with them : for many a thousand widows  
 Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands ;  
 Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down ; 286  
 And some are yet ungotten and unborn  
 That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.  
 But this lies all within the will of God,  
 To whom I do appeal ; and in whose name 290  
 Tell you the Dauphin I am coming on,  
 To venge me as I may and to put forth  
 My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause.  
 So get you hence in peace ; and tell the Dauphin  
 His jest will savour but of shallow wit 295  
 When thousands weep more than did laugh at it.  
 Convey them with safe conduct. Fare you well.

[*Exeunt Ambassadors.*]

*Exe.* This was a merry message.

*K. Hen.* We hope to make the sender blush at it.

Therefore, my lords, omit no happy hour 300  
 That may give furtherance to our expedition ;  
 For we have now no thought in us but France,  
 Save those to God, that run before our business.  
 Therefore let our proportions for these wars  
 Be soon collected, and all things thought upon 305  
 That may with reasonable swiftness add  
 More feathers to our wings ; for, God before,

ally employed, and perhaps had not yet been wholly superseded by iron and lead.

304. *proportions*] Compare line 137, above.

307. *God before*] inversion of "before God" on account of the rhyme ;

see v. ii. 145. "'Fore God," II. ii. 1, is a shorter form ; the expression = "as God knows," "by God," and is so common as hardly to require notice, had not some commentators tried to explain it here as = with God before us, *Deo favente*.

We'll chide this Dauphin at his father's door.  
 Therefore let every man now task his thought,  
 That this fair action may on foot be brought. 310  
 [*Exeunt. Flourish.*]

ACT II

*Enter* CHORUS.

Now all the youth of England are on fire,  
 And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;  
 Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought  
 Reigns solely in the breast of every man:  
 They sell the pasture now to buy the horse, 5  
 Following the mirror of all Christian kings,  
 With winged heels, as English Mercuries.  
 For now sits Expectation in the air,  
 And hides a sword from hilts unto the point  
 With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets, 10  
 Promised to Harry and his followers.  
 The French, advis'd by good intelligence  
 Of this most dreadful preparation,  
 Shake in their fear, and with pale policy  
 Seek to divert the English purposes. 15  
 O England! model to thy inward greatness,

310. Flourish] F (before "Enter Chorus").

9, 10. *And . . . coronets*] Although the edition of Holinshed used by Shakespeare was the second (1587), he may well have been acquainted with the first (1577); on p. 885, vol. iii. of the latter is a woodcut of Edward III. holding a sword encircled by two crowns, intended to indicate those of England and France. The cut is reproduced by Boswell-Stone, p. 174.

9. *hilts*] We say "hilt," but the plural is exceedingly common, the usage having regard to the two arms of the cross-piece in a cross-hilted sword.

16. *model*] Compare *Richard II.* III. ii. 153-154:

"that small model of the barren earth  
 Which serves as paste and cover to  
 our bones."

Like little body with a mighty heart,  
 What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,  
 Were all thy children kind and natural !  
 But see, thy fault France hath in thee found out, 20  
 A nest of hollow bosoms, which he fills  
 With treacherous crowns ; and three corrupted men,  
 One, Richard Earl of Cambridge, and the second,  
 Henry Lord Scroop of Masham, and the third,  
 Sir Thomas Grey, knight, of Northumberland, 25  
 Have, for the gilt of France,—O guilt indeed !—  
 Confirm'd conspiracy with fearful France ;  
 And by their hands this grace of kings must die,  
 If hell and treason hold their promises,  
 Ere he take ship for France, and in Southampton. 30  
 Linger your patience on ; and we'll digest  
 The abuse of distance ; force a play.  
 The sum is paid ; the traitors are agreed ;  
 The king is set from London ; and the scene  
 Is now transported, gentles, to Southampton : 35  
 There is the playhouse now, there must you sit :  
 And thence to France shall we convey you safe,  
 And bring you back, charming the narrow seas

20, 21. *But see, . . . nest]* *But see thy fault!* France . . . out A nest Capell.  
 31. *we'll well* Pope. 32. *distance; force a play]* distance, while we force a  
 play Pope.

18. *would thee do]* would wish thee  
 to do.

31, 32. *we'll . . . play]* The chorus  
 is apologising for the demands made  
 upon the imagination of the audience.  
 The abuse of distance is the neglect of  
 the conditions ordinarily imposed by  
 distance ; this difficulty, says the  
 chorus, we will digest, *s.c.* (as Verity,  
 Pitt Press edition, explains) "satisfac-  
 torily arrange, dispose of." Such  
 prosaic obstacles as space and time will  
 vanish at the touch of our art ; we shall

in fact force events to adjust themselves  
 to the requirements and compass of a  
 drama. I would suggest that the halt-  
 ing metre of line 32 is intended to  
 emphasise the amount of effort required  
 on the part of the actors to produce the  
 desired effect.

38. *charming]* Compare Milton, *On  
 the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, line  
 68 :

"While birds of calm sit brooding  
 on the charmed wave."

To give you gentle pass; for if we may,  
 We'll not offend one stomach with our play. 40  
 But, till the king come forth and not till then,  
 Unto Southampton do we shift our scene. [*Exit.*]

SCENE I.—*London. A Street.*

*Enter* CORPORAL NYM *and* LIEUTENANT BARDOLPH.

*Bard.* Well met, Corporal Nym.

*Nym.* Good morrow, Lieutenant Bardolph.

*Bard.* What, are Ancient Pistol and you friends yet?

*Nym.* For my part, I care<sup>?</sup> not: I say little; but when  
 time shall serve there shall be smiles; but that 5  
 shall be as it may. I dare not fight; but I will  
 wink and hold out mine iron. It is a simple one;  
 but what though? it will toast cheese, and it will  
 endure cold as another man's sword will: and  
 there's an end. 10

*Bard.* I will bestow a breakfast to make you friends,

London . . .] The same. A street Capell; Before Quickly's house in East-cheap Theobald. 5. *be smiles*] *be*—[smiles] Hanmer from Warburton's conjecture; *be smiles* Collier (ed. 2) from Farmer's conjecture. 10. *an end*] *the humour of it* Q, Steevens.

40. *not . . . stomach*] That is, you shall pass the sea without the qualms of sea-sickness (*Johnson*).

41. *till the king come forth*] as if he had been going on to say, "we do not shift," etc.; but the negative notion, being uppermost in his mind, thrusts itself in prematurely.

*Scene 1.*

1. *Nym*] the verb *nim* or *nym*=to steal; hence the adjective "nimble," ready to take, active.

3. *Ancient*] a corruption of *ensign* (*ensynne* having been confounded with

*ancien*, *New Eng. Dict.*); the full form of the title was Ancient-bearer.

5. *smiles*] See critical notes; but as Aldis Wright observes, Nym is not a master of language, and in his struggles to express himself is not always able to command the right word. Mr. Craig writes: "Can Nym mean, I will disarm suspicion by my pleasant demeanour; I will smile and then strike?"

7. *wink*] keep my eyes shut. Compare *Henry IV.* 1. iii. 33, "[Hotspur] winking leap'd into destruction."



and we'll be all three sworn brothers to France:  
let it be so, good Corporal Nym.

*Nym.* Faith, I will live so long as I may, that's the  
certain of it; and when I cannot live any longer, 15  
I will do as I may: that is my rest, that is the  
rendezvous of it.

*Bard.* It is certain, corporal, that he is married to  
Nell Quickly; and certainly she did you wrong,  
for you were troth-plight to her. 20

*Nym.* I cannot tell; things must be as they may:  
men may sleep, and they may have their throats  
about them at that time; and some say knives  
have edges. It must be as it may: though  
patience be a tired mare, yet she will plod. 25  
There must be conclusions. Well, I cannot tell.

*Enter PISTOL and Hostess.*

*Bard.* Here comes Ancient Pistol and his wife. Good cor-  
poral, be patient here. How now, mine host Pistol!

13. *let it*] Rowe; *Let't* F. 25. *mare*] Q, Theobald; *name* F. 26.  
Hostess] Hostes Quickly, his wife Q; Quickly F.

12. *sworn brothers to France*] sworn to share each other's fortunes in the expedition to France; so lines 90, 91, below, "We must to France together." Whalley notes: "The humour of sworn brothers should be opened a little. In the time of adventure, it was usual for two chiefs to bind themselves to share in each other's fortune, and divide their acquisitions between them . . . So these three scoundrels set out for France, as if they were going to make a conquest of the kingdom." So III. ii. 47, "sworn brothers in filching."

16. *my rest*] my resolve, as in the phrase borrowed from the game of

primero, "to set up one's rest," *i.e.* to stake one's all. See Mr. Craig on *King Lear*, I. i. 123.

27-31. *Here . . . lodgers*] The corresponding passage in the Quarto is as follows:

"*Bar.* Godmorrow ancient Pistoll.

Here comes ancient Pistoll, I  
prithee Nim be quiet.

*Nim.* How do you my Hoste?

*Pist.* Base slave, callest thou me  
hoste?

Now by gads lugges I sweare, I  
scorne the title,

Nor shall my Nell keepe lodging."

With Aldis Wright I think this arrange-

*Pist.* Base tike, call'st thou me host ?  
 Now, by this hand I swear, I scorn the term ; 30  
 Nor shall my Nell keep lodgers.

*Host.* No, by my troth, not long ; for we cannot lodge  
 and board a dozen or fourteen gentlewomen that  
 live honestly by the prick of their needles, but it  
 will be thought we keep a bawdy-house straight. 35  
 [*Nym and Pistol draw.*

O well-a-day, Lady, if he be not drawn now ! we  
 shall see wilful adultery and murder committed.

*Bard.* Good lieutenant ! good corporal ! offer nothing  
 here.

*Nym.* Pish ! 40

*Pist.* Pish for thee, Iceland dog ! thou prick-ear'd cur of  
 Iceland !

35. Nym . . . draw] Cambridge editors ; Nym, and Pistol, eye one another,  
 and draw Capell ; omitted F. 36. O . . . drawn now !] Hanmer ; O . . .  
*drawn ! now* Theobald ; O . . . *hewne now*, F ; O . . . *if he be not hewing*  
*now !* Steevens conj. ; O *Lord heeres Corporall Nims, now shall we have* Q.  
 41. *Iceland bis*] Steevens from Johnson's conjecture ; *Island* F ; *Iseland* Q.

ment preferable, as Bardolph's rôle is  
 that of peacemaker, and Pistol's vapour-  
 ing is directed against Nym, not against  
 him.

29. *tike*] cur.

36. *drawn*] Theobald's emendation ;  
 he quotes *Tempest*, II. i. 308 :

"Why, how now ? ho, awake ! Why  
 are you drawn ?"

Aldis Wright remarks : "If the  
 Hostess had used 'hewd,' which to  
 this day may be heard in Suffolk as the  
 equivalent of 'held,' the printers might  
 easily have altered it to 'hewn.'" The  
*Dialect Dictionary* quotes under Hold  
*v.*, "For still she hued it toight"  
 (Essex Dialect, 1839). Boswell-Stone,  
 who reads "if he be not hewne ! Now,"  
 etc., pertinently observes : "Mrs.  
*Quickly's* next sentence (not to men-  
 tion others) shows that she sometimes

used words without regarding their fit-  
 ness for her purpose . . . Besides if we  
 understand that she fears lest Nym or  
 Pistol may receive a sword-cut, hewn  
 has, at least, an intelligible meaning."

38. *Good lieutenant*] We need not  
 with Capell change this to "ancient."  
 [See 2 *Henry IV.*, v. v. 94.] Pistol is  
 generally an ancient, but the military  
 titles of these "irregular Humorists"  
 are apt to vary.

41. *Iceland dog*] The Folio reading is  
 the old spelling of the word. John  
 Kay, M.D., in his Latin treatise on  
*British Dogs* (1570) describes the Ice-  
 land dogs as being "curled and rough  
 all over, which by reason of the length  
 of their hair make shew neither of face  
 nor of body"; quoted by Aldis Wright  
 from *Topsell's History of Four-footed*  
*Beasts* (ed. 1658, p. 140). See also

*Host.* Good Corporal Nym, show thy valour and put up your sword.

*Nym.* Will you shog off? I would have you solus.

*Pist.* "Solus," egregious dog? O viper vile! 45

The "solus" in thy most mervailous face;  
 The "solus" in thy teeth, and in thy throat,  
 And in thy hateful lungs, yea, in thy maw, perdy;  
 And, which is worse, within thy nasty mouth!  
 I do retort the "solus" in thy bowels; 50  
 For I can take, and Pistol's cock is up,  
 And flashing fire will follow.

*Nym.* I am not Barbason; you cannot conjure me.  
 I have an humour to knock you indifferently well.  
 If you grow foul with me, Pistol, I will scour you 55  
 with my rapier, as I may, in fair terms: if you  
 would walk off, I would prick your guts a little,

46. *mervailous*] F 1, 2; *marvellous* F 3, 4. 49. *nasty*] *mesfull* Q. 51.  
*take*] *talke* Q, Capell.

Harrison, *Description of England*, New Shakspeare Society, Pt. II: p. 48: "Besides these also we have sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and made much of among us, because of their sawcinesse and quarrelling. Moreover they bite verie sore, and love candles exceedinglie, as doo the men and women of their countrie."

44.] The whole line is addressed to Pistol; compare "if you would walk off," line 56, below. Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, however, thought that "will you shog off?" was addressed to Mrs. Quickly. Shog = move off, be jogging, is a favourite word with Nym; he uses it again, II. iii. 46, below. It survives in dialect.

48. *perdy*] per Dieu.

51. *take*] certainly not "take fire," as some commentators explain, but in connection with what precedes, "poison,"

"do deadly harm," as in *Hamlet*, I. i. 163, "No fairy takes," and *Lear*, II. iv. 165, 166:

"Strike her young bones,  
 You taking airs, with lameness!"

53. *Barbason*] Compare *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 311, "Amaimon sounds well; Lucifer, well; Barbason, well; yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends." F. A. Marshall (*Henry Irving Shakespeare*, vol. iv. p. 70) notes that in the list of devils given in Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, bk. 15, chap. 2, no such fiend as Barbason appears; but there is *Barbato*, and he comes next after *Amon* or *Aamon*, who was probably the same as *Amaymon*, king of the east, mentioned in the next chapter. Pistol's rant suggests to the bewildered Nym the sounding exorcism of a conjurer.

in good terms, as I may ; and that's the humour of it.

*Pist.* O braggard vile and damned furious wight ! 60  
The grave doth gape, and doting death is near ;  
Therefore exhale.

*Bard.* Hear me, hear me what I say : he that strikes  
the first stroke, I'll run him up to the hilts, as I  
am a soldier. [Draws. 65

*Pist.* An oath of mickle might ; and fury shall abate.  
Give me thy fist, thy fore-foot to me give ;  
Thy spirits are most tall.

*Nym.* I will cut thy throat, one time or other, in fair  
terms ; that is the humour of it. 70

*Pist.* " Couple a gorge !"  
That is the word. I thee defy again.  
O hound of Crete, think'st thou my spouse to get ?  
No ; to the spital go,  
And from the powdering-tub of infamy 75  
Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,

61. *doting*] *groaning* Q, Pope. 65. [Draws] Malone. 71. *Couple a*  
*Couple* le Capell ; *Coupe* la Dyce. 72. *thee defy*] Q, Capell ; *defie thee* F.

62. *exhale*] hale or draw out ; here = draw your sword. In Ben Jonson's *Postaster*, III. I., Crispinus says to the lictors who have come to arrest him for debt, "Nay I beseech you, gentlemen, do not exhale me thus." A distinct word from exhale, to breathe out. The Quarto here adds the stage-direction, "They drawe."

71. "*Couple a gorge*"] Pistol's French need not be corrected.

75. *powdering-tub*] the tub used for powdering, *i.e.* salting, beef ; it came to be a cant name for the sweating-tub, used in the sweating cure for the malady of France. See the Variorum notes on

"the tub-fast, and the diet," *Timon of Athens*, IV. III. 87.

76. *lazar kite of Cressid's kind*] In the *Testament of Cressid* (c. 1460), written by Robert Henryson as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, we read that Cressida, having been turned out of doors by Diomedes, was struck with leprosy, and sent to the "spittail-hous," where she died. For kite used as a term of reproach, compare Fletcher *Wit without Money*, I. I., "maintaining hospitals for kites and curs." Owing doubtless to the alliteration, "kite of Cressid's kind" was a familiar phrase ; Steevens quotes Greene, *Cardes of*

Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse :  
 I have, and I will hold, the quondam Quickly  
 For the only she ; and—pauca, there 's enough.  
 Go to. 80

*Enter the Boy.*

*Boy.* Mine host Pistol, you must come to my master,  
 and your hostess : he is very sick, and would to  
 bed. Good Bardolph, put thy face between his  
 sheets and do the office of a warming-pan. Faith,  
 he 's very ill. 85

*Bard.* Away, you rogue !

*Host.* By my troth, he 'll yield the crow a pudding one  
 of these days. The king has killed his heart.  
 Good husband, come home presently.

*[Exeunt Hostess and boy.]*

*Bard.* Come, shall I make you two friends ? We must 90  
 to France together. Why the devil should we  
 keep knives to cut one another's throats ?

*Pist.* Let floods o'erswell, and fiends for food howl on !

*Nym.* You 'll pay me the eight shillings I won of you  
 at betting ? 95

79, 80. *enough.* Go to] Pope ; *enough to go to F.* 82. *your] you* Hanmer.  
 83. *face] nose* Q, Pope. 89. *Exeunt . . .]* Capell ; Exit F.

*Fancies*, 1587 (Prose Works, ed. Grosart, vol. iv. p. 132) : "What curtesie is to bee found in such Kites of Cressid's [misprinted Croesus] kinde?" and Gascoigne, *Dan Bartholmew of Bathe* (vol. i. p. 101, ed. Hazlitt), "nor seldome seene in kits [*sic*] of Cressides kind." See also Mr. Craig's note on *King Lear*, i. iv. 283.

80. Boy] Falstaff's page, given to him by Prince Henry, first appears in

*2 Henry IV.* i. ii. He had shared his master's imprisonment in the Fleet (*ibid.* v. v.).

87, 88. *he 'll . . . days]* The whoreson upright rabbit (*2 Henry IV.* ii. ii. 91) will come to the gallows, if he lives long enough. Yet some have actually applied the Hostess's apostrophe to Falstaff, to whom of course she refers in the next sentence.

*Pist.* Base is the slave that pays.

*Nym.* That now I will have; that's the humour of it,

*Pist.* As manhood shall compound: push home.

[*They draw.*

*Bard.* By this sword, he that makes the first thrust,

I'll kill him; by this sword, I will. 100

*Pist.* Sword is an oath, and oaths must have their course.

*Bard.* Corporal Nym, an thou wilt be friends, be friends: an thou wilt not, why then, be enemies with me too. Prithee, put up.

*Nym.* I shall have my eight shillings I won of you at 105  
betting?

*Pist.* A noble shalt thou have, and present pay;

And liquor likewise will I give to thee,

And friendship shall combine, and brotherhood:

I'll live by Nym, and Nym shall live by me. 110

Is not this just? for I shall sutler be

Unto the camp, and profits will accrue.

Give me thy hand.

*Nym.* I shall have my noble?

*Pist.* In cash most justly paid. 115

*Nym.* Well then, that's the humour of 't,

*Re-enter Hostess.*

*Host.* As ever you came of women, come in quickly

98. *They draw*] Q; Draw F. 105, 106. *I shall . . . betting?*] Q, Capell; omitted F. 116. *that's*] F 2; *that* F 1. *Re-enter*] Theobald; *Enter* F. 117. *came*] Q, F 2, 3, 4; *come* F 1.

96. *Base . . . pays*] a proverbial expression? compare Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, Pt. II. (*Dramatic Works*, 1874, ii. 416), "my Motto shall be, Base is the man that paies." But

this may be only a reminiscence of Ancient Pistol. The phrase is not in Camden's list of proverbs.

107. *A noble*] six and eightpence—a liberal discount for cash!

to Sir John. Ah, poor heart! he is so shaken of a burning quotidian tertian, that it is most lamentable to behold. Sweet men, come to him. 120

*Nym.* The king hath run bad humours on the knight; that's the even of it.

*Pist.* Nym, thou hast spoke the right; His heart is fracted and corroborate.

*Nym.* The king is a good king: but it must be as it may; he passes some humours and careers. 125

*Pist.* Let us condole the knight; for, lambkins, we will live. [Exeunt.

SCENE II.—*Southampton. A council-chamber.*

*Enter* EXETER, BEDFORD, and WESTMORELAND.

*Bed.* 'Fore God, his grace is bold to trust these traitors.

*Exe.* They shall be apprehended by and by.

*West.* How smooth and even they do bear themselves! As if allegiance in their bosoms sat, Crowned with faith and constant loyalty. 5

*Bed.* The king hath note of all that they intend,

118. *Ah*] Pope; *A F.*

*Scene II.*

Southampton] Pope. A council-chamber] Malone.

126. *he . . . careers*] he lets pass, indulges in, some humours and pranks; Nym is still thinking of the madcap Prince of Wales. "To pass a career" was a recognised phrase in horsemanship, and meant to make a short gallop at full speed. A kindred signification of career is given by Baret in his *Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionarie* (1580), "The short turning of a nimble horse, now this way, nowe that way."

Nym's use of the word may therefore have reference to one or both of these meanings.

127. *condole*] This use of the word without "with" was not peculiar to Pistol; the *New Eng. Dict.* quotes among others, D. Rogers (1588) in Ellis, *Original Letters*, II. iii. 151, "Others which have condoled and congratulated the yonge kinge."

127. *we*] emphatic.

By interception which they dream not of.

*Exe.* Nay, but the man that was his bedfellow,  
Whom he hath dull'd and cloy'd with gracious favours,  
That he should, for a foreign purse, so sell 10  
His sovereign's life to death and treachery!

*Trumpets sound. Enter KING HENRY, SCROOP,  
CAMBRIDGE, GREY, and Attendants.*

*K. Hen.* Now sits the wind fair, and we will aboard.  
My Lord of Cambridge, and my kind Lord of Masham,  
And you, my gentle knight, give me your thoughts:  
Think you not that the powers we bear with us 15  
Will cut their passagethrough the force of France,  
Doing the execution and the act  
For which we have in head assembled them?

*Scroop.* No doubt, my liege, if each man do his best.

*K. Hen.* I doubt not that; since we are well persuaded 20  
We carry not a heart with us from hence  
That grows not in a fair consent with ours;  
Nor leave not one behind that doth not wish  
Success and conquest to attend on us.

*Cam.* Never was monarch better fear'd and lov'd 25  
Than is your majesty: there's not, I think, a subject  
That sits in heart-grief and uneasiness

9. *dull'd*] F 1, 2; *lull'd* F 3, 4. 11. Trumpets sound] Sound Trumpets F. King Henry] Capell; the King F. Grey] and Gray F. and Attendants] Theobald; omitted F.

8. *his bedfellow*] "The said Lord Scroope was in such favour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow" (Holinshed, p. 175). Boswell - Stone remarks: "Neither Holinshed nor, I believe, any chronicler published in Shakspeare's day relates that the conspirators were led on by

Henry to doom themselves. The speech in which Henry upbraids the traitors was wholly Shakspeare's work, except that part of it where Scroope's dissimulation and ingratitude is denounced."

18. *head*] armed force, a very common use of the word.



Under the sweet shade of your government.

*Grey.* True: those that were your father's enemies  
Have steep'd their galls in honey, and do serve you 30  
With hearts create of duty and of zeal.

*K. Hen.* We therefore have great cause of thankfulness,  
And shall forget the office of our hand,  
Sooner than quittance of desert and merit  
According to the weight and worthiness. 35

*Scroop.* So service shall with steeled sinews toil,  
And labour shall refresh itself with hope,  
To do your grace incessant services.

*K. Hen.* We judge no less. Uncle of Exeter,  
Enlarge the man committed yesterday 40  
That rail'd against our person: we consider  
It was excess of wine that set him on;  
And on his more advice we pardon him.

*Scroop.* That's mercy, but too much security:  
Let him be punish'd, soyereign, lest example 45  
Breed, by his sufferance, more of such a kind.

*K. Hen.* O! let us yet be merciful.

*Cam.* So may your highness, and yet punish too.

*Grey.* Sir,  
You show great mercy, if you give him life, 50  
After the taste of much correction.

29. *Grey*] *Gray* F 4; *Kni.* F 1, 2, 3. *True: those*] *Even those* Q, *Capell.*  
35. *the weight*] *their cause* Q.

33. *the office of our hand*] *Steevens* suggests that this may be a reminiscence of Psalm cxxxvii. 5, "let my right hand forget her cunning."

43. *on his more advice*] on his thinking better of it; compare III. vi. 165, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. iv. 207, 208:

"How shall I dote on her with more advice,  
That thus without advice begin to love her!"

44. *security*] carelessness, want of caution.

46. *by his sufferance*] by suffering him, allowing him to go unpunished.

*K. Hen.* Alas! your too much love and care of me  
 Are heavy orisons 'gainst this poor wretch.  
 If little faults, proceeding on distemper,  
 Shall not be wink'd at, how shall we stretch our eye 55  
 When capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd, and digested,  
 Appear before us? We'll yet enlarge that man,  
 Though Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey, in their dear  
 care  
 And tender preservation of our person,  
 Would have him punish'd. And now to our French  
 causes: 60

Who are the late commissioners?

*Cam.* I one, my lord:  
 Your highness bade me ask for it to-day.

*Scroop.* So did you me, my liege.

*Grey.* And I, my royal sovereign. 65

*K. Hen.* Then, Richard Earl of Cambridge, there is yours;  
 There yours, Lord Scroop of Masham; and, sir knight,  
 Grey of Northumberland, this same is yours:  
 Read them; and know, I know your worthiness.  
 My Lord of Westmoreland, and uncle Exeter, 70  
 We will aboard to-night. Why, how now, gentlemen!  
 What see you in those papers that you lose  
 So much complexion? Look ye, how they change!  
 Their cheeks are paper. Why, what read you there,  
 That hath so cowarded and chas'd your blood 75

62. *l]* me Q, Capell. 75. *hath]* Q, F 4; *have* F 1, 2, 3.

54. *distemper]* intoxication. Steevens says, "Distemper'd in liquor is still a common expression."

55. *stretch our eye]* "If we may not wink at small faults, how wide must we open our eyes at great?" (*Johnson*).

61. *late]* recently appointed; now applied in this sense to things only, not to persons.

63. *it]* my commission.

Out of appearance ?

*Cam.* I do confess my fault,  
And do submit me to your highness' mercy.

*Grey, Scroop.* To which we all appeal.

*K. Hen.* The mercy that was quick in us but late  
By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd : 80  
You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy ;  
For your own reasons turn into your bosoms,  
As dogs upon their masters, worrying you.  
See you, my princes and my noble peers,  
These English monsters! My Lord of Cambridge  
here, 85  
You know how apt our love was to accord  
To furnish him with all appertinents  
Belonging to his honour ; and this man  
Hath, for a few light crowns, lightly conspir'd,  
And sworn unto the practices of France, 90  
To kill us here in Hampton : to the which  
This knight, no less for bounty bound to us  
Than Cambridge is, hath likewise sworn. But O !  
What shall I say to thee, Lord Scroop ? thou cruel,  
Ingrateful, savage and inhuman creature ! 95  
Thou that didst bear the key of all my counsels,  
That knew'st the very bottom of my soul,  
That almost might'st have coin'd me into gold  
Would'st thou have practis'd on me for thy use,

82. *into*] upon Q, Pope. 83. *you*] them Q, Capell. 87. *him*] F 2 ; omitted  
F 1. 99. *use,*] use: Q, Theobald ; use? F.

86, 87. *to accord To furnish*] to agree, of Bayeux accorded to furnish him with  
consent, to furnish. Compare Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*  
(1605), vi. 173, ed. 1628: "Odo Bishop of Bayeux accorded to furnish him with  
forty ships."  
87. *appertinents*] a refashioning after  
the Latin of *appurtenants*.

May it be possible that foreign hire 100  
 Could out of thee extract one spark of evil  
 That might annoy my finger? 'tis so strange  
 That, though the truth of it stands off as gross  
 As black and white, my eye will scarcely see it.  
 Treason and murder ever kept together, 105  
 As two yoke-devils sworn to either's purpose,  
 Working so grossly in a natural cause  
 That admiration did not hoop at them:  
 But thou, 'gainst all proportion, didst bring in  
 Wonder to wait on treason and on murder: 110  
 And whatsoever cunning fiend it was  
 That wrought upon thee so preposterously  
 Hath got the voice in hell for excellence:  
 All other devils that suggest by treasons  
 Do botch and bungle up damnation 115  
 With patches, colours, and with forms, being fetch'd  
 From glistening semblances of piety;  
 But he that temper'd thee bade thee stand up,

104. *and*] from Q, Capell. 107. *a natural*] F 2; *an naturall* F 1; *unnatural* Nicholson conj. 108. *hoop*] F 3, 4; *hoope* F 1 2; *whoop* Theobald.  
 114. *All*] Hanmer; *And* F. 118. *temper'd*] *tempted* Dyce (ed. 2.) from Johnson's conjecture.

102. *annoy*] hurt; this use survives in dialect.

107, 108. *Working . . . at them*] Scroop's unnatural conduct is contrasted with ordinary instances of the union of treason with murder; in these the cause in which they are fellow-workers is probably a natural one, in so far as it does not violate the recognised laws of human nature, and therefore occasions no outcry of astonishment. "Grossly" is used in the same sense as "gross" in line 103, above.

116. *being fetch'd*] which are fetch'd.

118. *temper'd thee*] moulded you, as

a sculptor does his model; made you what you are in disposition and temper.

118. *stand up*] when he had finished with you. Aldis Wright says, "like an honest man"; but this is just what those traitors did who committed treason under semblances of piety; I think it means "like a consummate villain, ready to commit treason, for treason's sake." Schmidt thinks it is "to rise in arms, rebel," but it is not in Shakespeare's manner to use the expression in this sense without further qualification; thus in *Corio-*

Gave thee no instance why thou should'st do treason,  
 Unless to dub thee with the name of traitor. 120  
 If that same demon that hath gull'd thee thus  
 Should with his lion gait walk the whole world,  
 He might return to vasty Tartar back,  
 And tell the legions: "I can never win  
 A soul so easy as that Englishman's." 125  
 O! how hast thou with jealousy infected  
 The sweetness of affiance. Show men dutiful?  
 Why, so didst thou: seem they grave and learned?  
 Why, so didst thou: come they of noble family?  
 Why, so didst thou: seem they religious? 130  
 Why, so didst thou: or are they spare in diet,  
 Free from gross passion or of mirth or anger,  
 Constant in spirit, not swerving with the blood,  
 Garnish'd and deck'd in modest complement,  
 Not working with the eye without the ear, 135  
 And but in purged judgment trusting neither?  
 Such and so finely bolted didst thou seem:

*Ianus*, II. iii. 16, we have "we stood up about the corn"; and in *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 167:

"We all stand up against the spirit of *Caesar*."

119. *instance*] motive; compare *Hamlet*, III. ii. 192, 193:

"The instances that second marriage move

Are base respects of thrift, but none of love."

122. *lion gait*] "your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour" (1 Peter v. 8).

134. *modest complement*] unostentatious demeanour; complement is that which goes to "complete" the gentleman, here the external graces as dis-

tinguished from the internal qualities just mentioned. Compare Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. ii.: "if you affect to be a gentleman indeed, you must observe all the rare qualities, humours, and complements of a gentleman." The same writer in his *Discoveries*, cxlii., *De stylo epistolari*, classifies "complement" with "accommodation" and "spirit" as "perfumed terms of the time" only to be used "properly and in their place."

135, 136. *Not . . . neither*] "He was a cautious man who did not trust the air or look of any man till he had tried him by enquiry and conversation" (*Johnson*).

137. *finely bolted*] sifted, like the finest flour.

And thus thy fall hath left a kind of blot,  
 To mark the full-fraught man and best indued  
 With some suspicion. I will weep for thee ; 140  
 For this revolt of thine, methinks, is like  
 Another fall of man. Their faults are open :  
 Arrest them to the answer of the law ;  
 And God acquit them of their practices !

*Exe.* I arrest thee of high treason, by the name of 145  
 Richard Earl of Cambridge.

I arrest thee of high treason, by the name of  
 Henry Lord Scroop of Masham.

I arrest thee of high treason, by the name of  
 Thomas Grey, knight, of Northumberland. 150

*Scroop.* Our purposes God justly hath discover'd,  
 And I repent my fault more than my death ;  
 Which I beseech your highness to forgive,  
 Although my body pay the price of it.

*Cam.* For me, the gold of France did not seduce, 155  
 Although I did admit it as a motive  
 The sooner to effect what I intended :  
 But God be thanked for prevention ;  
 Which I in sufferance heartily will rejoice,

139, 140. *To mark the . . . With*] Malone ; *To make thee full fraught man, and best indued With F* ; *To mark the full-fraught man, the best endu'd, With Theobald* ; *To make the full-fraught man, the best, endu'd With Pope* ; *To mark the full-fraught man, the best endow'd, Capell conj.* 148. *Henry*] Q, Theobald ; *Thomas F. Masham*] Rowe ; *Marsham F.* 150. *knight, of*] Collier ; *knight of F.* 159. ] F 2 ; omitted F 1.

155.] The real motive of the Earl of Cambridge in joining the conspiracy was to secure the succession for his wife's brother, the Earl of March, great-grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. March had no issue, and Cambridge hoped the crown would eventually pass

to his family ; in fact, his grandson did ultimately ascend the throne as Edward IV. See Holinshed, p. 175. This motive he anxiously concealed, and therefore, as Vaughan points out, Shakespeare seems to have written lines 155-157 rather inadvertently.

Beseeching God and you to pardon me. 160

*Grey.* Never did faithful subject more rejoice  
At the discovery of most dangerous treason  
Than I do at this hour joy o'er myself,  
Prevented from a damned enterprise.

My fault, but not my body, pardon, sovereign. 165

*K. Hen.* God quit you in his mercy! Hear your sentence.

You have conspir'd against our royal person,  
Join'd with an enemy proclaim'd, and from his coffers  
Receiv'd the golden earnest of our death;  
Wherein you would have sold your king to slaughter,  
His princes and his peers to servitude, 171

His subjects to oppression and contempt,  
And his whole kingdom into desolation.  
Touching our person seek we no revenge;  
But we our kingdom's safety must so tender, 175

Whose ruin you have sought, that to her laws  
We do deliver you. Get you therefore hence,  
Poor miserable wretches, to your death;  
The taste whereof, God of his mercy give you  
Patience to endure, and true repentance 180  
Of all your dear offences! Bear them hence.

[*Exeunt Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey, guarded.*

Now, lords, for France; the enterprise whereof  
Shall be to you, as us, like glorious.

176. *you have sought*] Q, Knight; *you sought* F 1; *you three sought* F 2, 3, 4.  
181. *Exeunt . . .*] Cambridge editors; Exit F; *Exeunt conspirators guarded* Capell.

166. *quit*] acquit, absolve.  
169. *earnest*] See Mr. Craig's note  
on "earnest of thy service," *King*  
*Lear*, I. iv. 103.

181. *dear*] heavy, grievous. On the

distinction of this adjective (O.E. *déor*)  
from *dear* (O.E. *déore*), loved or precious,  
see *New Eng. Dict.* It is found in  
Spenser and was perhaps revived by  
him; it occurs frequently in Shakespeare.

We doubt not of a fair and lucky war,  
 Since God so graciously hath brought to light 185  
 This dangerous treason lurking in our way  
 To hinder our beginnings. We doubt not now  
 But every rub is smoothed on our way.  
 Then forth, dear countrymen : let us deliver  
 Our puissance into the hand of God, 190  
 Putting it straight in expedition.  
 Cheerly to sea ; the signs of war advance :  
 No king of England, if not king of France. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.—*London. Before a Tavern.*

*Enter* PISTOL, *Hostess*, NYM, BARDOLPH, and *Boy*.

*Host.* Prithee, honey-sweet husband, let me bring thee  
 to Staines.

*Pist.* No ; for my manly heart doth earn.

Bardolph, be blithe ; Nym, rouse thy vaunting veins :

193. *Exeunt*] F 2 ; Flourish F 1.

*Scene III.*

London . . .] Capell ; Quickly's house in Eastcheap Theobald. Enter . . .]  
 Enter . . . and the Boy Capell ; enter Pistoll, Nim, Bardolph, Boy, and  
 Hostesse F. 1. *honey-sweet*] Theobald ; *honey sweet* F 1, 2 ; *honey, sweet* F  
 3, 4. 3, 6. *earn*] *erne* F 1, 2 ; *yern* F 3, 4.

188. *rub*] obstacle, hindrance, as in  
*Hamlet*, III. i. 65, "ay, there's the  
 rub"; an expression borrowed from  
 the game of bowls, the rub being any  
 obstacle that hinders the bowl from  
 taking its proper course. Thus Nash,  
*Lenten Stuff* (1597), p. 30, "these rubs  
 removed, on with our game as fast as we  
 may"; and Holinshed, *Chronicles*, Ire-  
 land, ed. 1586, p. 97, "whereby appear-  
 eth how dangerous it is to be a rub when  
 a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie."

*Scene III.*

2. *Staines*] The first stage on the  
 road to Southampton.

3. *earn*] This variant of yearn=  
 grieve survived till the middle of the  
 seventeenth century. So Jonson,  
*Bartholomew Fair*, iv. 6, "Alas, poor  
 wretch ! how it earns my heart for  
 him !" In its other meaning = "to  
 long for," "desire," the word is not  
 used by Shakespeare.



Boy, bristle thy courage up ; for Falstaff he is dead, 5  
And we must earn therefore.

*Bard.* Would I were with him, wheresome'er he is,  
either in heaven or in hell !

*Host.* Nay, sure, he's not in hell : he's in Arthur's  
bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom. A' 10  
made a finer end—and went away an it had been  
any christom child ; a' parted even just between  
twelve and one, even at the turning o' the tide :  
for after I saw him fumble with the sheets and  
play with flowers and smile upon his fingers' ends, 15  
I knew there was but one way ; for his nose was

11. a *finer*] F 1, 2 ; *finer* F 3, 4 ; a *fine* Capell ; a *final* Johnson conj.  
15. *play with*] *talk of* Q. *ends*] Q, Capell ; *end* F.

11. a *finer end*] I do not think it necessary to treat these words as the Hostess's mistake for "a final end," though this was no doubt a common pleonasm. I suggest that she had meant to run on in some such way as, "than many a one I've seen," but that in the fulness of her heart, and interrupted perhaps by a sob, for we know what a favourite Falstaff had been with her, she never finished her sentence. I have therefore ventured to insert a dash after "end." Verity suggests she means "he made too fine an end to be in hell."

12. *christom child*] The chrism was the consecrated oil with which the child was anointed at baptism. The chrism, or chrism-cloth, was a white robe put upon the child as a token of innocence, and worn by it for its first month ; if the child died within the month, the chrism was used as its shroud ; otherwise it, or its estimated value, was given as an offering at the mother's purification. A chrism or christom child is therefore a child in its chrism, or a child in its first

month ; and so, as in the text, "an innocent babe." Compare Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Dying*, chap. i. § 2 : "Every morning creeps out of a dark cloud, leaving behind it an ignorance and silence deep as midnight, and undiscerned, as are the Phantasms that make a chrismo child to smile."

13. *at the turning o' the tide*] "It was, and probably still is, a popular belief, that a person at point of death will live till the tide turns" (*Aldis Wright*). Vaughan quotes Holland's *Plinie*, ii. 98 : "Hereunto addeth Aristotle, for I would not omit willingly anything that I know, that no living creature dieth, but in the reflux and ebbe of the sea."

14. *fumble with the sheets*] So Holland's *Plinie*, vii. 51 : "Now let us take a view of deadly tokens in sickness : in rage and furious madness to laugh is a mortal signe ; in frenzie, wherein men are bestraght of their right wits, to take care of the skirts, fringes, and welts of their garments that they be in good order ; to keepe a fumbling and pleting of the bed-clothes . . . prognosticate death."

as sharp as a pen, and a' babled of green fields.  
 "How now, Sir John?" quoth I: "what, man!  
 be o' good cheer." So a' cried out "God, God,  
 God!" three or four times: now I, to comfort him, 20  
 bid him a' should not think of God, I hoped there  
 was no need to trouble himself with any such  
 thoughts yet. So a' bade me lay more clothes on

17. *and a' babled*] Theobald; *and a Table F*; *in a table* Malone conj. 19.  
*be o' good*] Capell; *be a good F*; *be of good* Theobald.

17. *a' babled*] The most famous of Theobald's immortal emendations. He first published it in his *Shakespeare Restored*, 1726, p. 138—the forerunner of the long succession of publications devoted to the textual criticism of the poet—and it first took its place in the text of the play in his first edition (1733). "I have," he writes in the earlier publication, "an Edition of *Shakespeare* by Me with some Marginal Conjectures of a gentleman sometime deceas'd, and he is of the Mind to correct this Passage thus: 'for his Nose was as sharp as a Pen, and a' talked of green Fields.' It is certainly observable of People near Death, when they are delirious by a Fever, that they talk of moving; as it is of Those in a Calenture, that they have their Heads run on green Fields. The Variation from 'Table' to 'talked' is not of a very great Latitude; tho' we may still come nearer to the Traces of the Letters, by restoring it thus: 'for his Nose was as sharp as a Pen, and a' babled of green Fields.' To 'bable,' or 'babble,' is to mutter, or speak indiscriminately, like Children that cannot yet talk, or dying Persons, when they are losing the Use of Speech." Theobald printed "babled" in both his editions; to modernise his spelling is only to detract from the merits of his emendation. Pope's notion that the words "a table of green fields" are a stage-direction which has found its way into the text, and should be printed

"A table of Greenfield's," Greenfield being the property-man of the day,—is one of the curiosities of Shakespearian criticism. It may be as well to give the passage as it stands in the Quarto, where the occurrence of the words italicised is worth notice; the prose is as usual printed as verse:

"His nose was as sharpe as a pen :  
 For when I saw him fumble with  
 the sheetes,  
*And talk of floures*, and smile  
 upon his fingers ends  
 I knew there was no way but  
 one."

Before quitting this famous passage, the reader may like to turn to *New Eng. Dict.*, sub. "Field," § 14, where Mr. Bradley, who, if Theobald's emendation is to be given up, would read "on a Table," quotes the following passage: "1470 *Liber Niger in Househ. Ord.* (1790), 51, And suche dayes as the Kings chappell removeth, every of these children then present receveth iiiid. at the grene feald of the countyng-house for horse hyre dayly, as long as they be journeying." The "grene feald" is the green cloth of the counting-house.

20. *now I, to comfort him*] Malone suggests that Shakespeare was indebted to the following story in *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, etc., 1595: "A gentlewoman fearing to be drowned, said, now Jesu receive our soules! Soft, mistress, answered the waterman; I trow, we are not come to that passe yet."

his feet: I put my hand into the bed and felt  
them, and they were as cold as any stone; then I  
felt to his knees, and so upward, and upward, and  
all was as cold as any stone. 25

*Nym.* They say he cried out of sack.

*Host.* Ay, that a' did.

*Bard.* And of women. 30

*Host.* Nay, that a' did not.

*Boy.* Yes, that a' did; and said they were devils  
incarnate.

*Host.* A' could never abide carnation; 'twas a colour  
he never liked. 35

*Boy.* A' said once, the devil would have him about  
women.

*Host.* A' did in some sort, indeed, handle women; but  
then he was rheumatic, and talked of the whore  
of Babylon. 40

*Boy.* Do you not remember a' saw a flea stick upon  
Bardolph's nose, and a' said it was a black soul  
burning in hell-fire? •

*Bard.* Well, the fuel is gone that maintained that fire:  
that's all the riches I got in his service. 45

*Nym.* Shall we shog? the king will be gone from  
Southampton.

26. *upward, and upward*] Q, F 3, 4; *vp-peer'd and vpwrd* F 1. 34. *Host.*  
Rowe; Woman F. 43. *hell-fire*] Capell; *hell fire* Q 1, 2; *hell* Q 3, F.

33. *incarnate*] not only = in the flesh, but also the name of a colour, though now so used only in botany as a translation of *incarnatum*, e.g. *Trifolium incarnatum* — the incarnate (flesh-coloured) clover.

39. *rheumatic*] with the accent on the first syllable, came to the Hostess's

mouth more readily than lunatic (*Aldis Wright*). Capell remarks on line 9, "'Arthur's bosom' is a bevue of the good lady's, 'tis likely, for Abram's bosom; and in 'rheumatick' her intention is 'lunatick.'"

46. *shog*] See II. I. 44, note.

*Pist.* Come, let's away. My love, give me thy lips.  
 Look to my chattels and my moveables:  
 Let senses rule, the word is "Pitch and pay"; 50  
 Trust none;  
 For oaths are straws, men's faiths are wafer-cakes,  
 And hold-fast is the only dog, my duck:  
 Therefore, Caveto be thy counsellor.  
 Go, clear thy crystals. Yoke-fellows in arms, 55  
 Let us to France; like horse-leeches, my boys,  
 To suck, to suck, the very blood to suck!  
*Boy.* And that's but unwholesome food, they say.  
*Pist.* Touch her soft mouth, and march.  
*Bard.* Farewell, hostess. [Kissing her. 60  
*Nym.* I cannot kiss, that is the humour of it; but  
 adieu.  
*Pist.* Let housewifery appear: keep close, I thee com-  
 mand.  
*Host.* Farewell; adieu. [Exeunt.

50. *word*]-Q 1, 3, Rowe (ed. 2); *world* F, Q 2. 54. *Caveto*] *cophetua* Q.  
 60. [Kissing her] Capell.

50. *Pitch and pay*] a proverbial saying inculcating ready-money payment. This is clear from the following passage in Middleton's *Blurt Master-Constable*, I. iii. 172, quoted by Steevens: "I will commit you, Signior, to mine own house. But will you pitch and pay, or will your worship run,"—*i.e.* run up a score, as appears from line 177,—"*i.* if he runs upon the score." The origin is obscure, but Farmer notes that one of the rules of Blackwell-hall, the old cloth-hall of London, was that a penny be paid by the owner of every bale of cloth for pitching. Hence, as Aldis Wright observes, it appears that "pitching" was the term for depositing cloth at the

hall, and "pitch and pay" one of its rules. Capell quotes another proverb of similar import, "Touch pot, touch penny."

53. *hold-fast is the only dog*] Alluding to the proverbial saying, "Brag is a good dog, but hold-fast is a better" (*Douce*).

55. *clear thy crystals*] Steevens quotes Chapman, *Gentleman Usher*, Act IV. (vol. i. p. 314, ed. 1873):

"An old wives eye  
 Is a blew Cristall full of sorcerie,"  
 and Beaumont and Fletcher, *Double Marriage*, v. 1:

"sleep you sweet glasses,  
 An everlasting slumber crown those  
 christals."

SCENE IV.—*France. The French King's Palace.*

*Flourish. Enter the French KING, attended; the DAUPHIN, the Dukes of BERRI and BRETAGNE, the Constable, and Others.*

*Fr. King.* Thus comes the English with full power upon us;

And more than carefully it us concerns

To answer royally in our defences.

Therefore the Dukes of Berri and of Bretagne,

Of Brabant and of Orleans, shall make forth, 5

And you, Prince Dauphin, with all swift dispatch,

To line and new repair our towns of war

With men of courage and with means defendant;

For England his approaches makes as fierce

As waters to the sucking of a gulf. 10

It fits us then to be as provident

As fear may teach us out of late examples

Left by the fatal and neglected English

Upon our fields.

*Dau.* My most redoubted father,

It is most meet we arm us 'gainst the foe; 15

For peace itself should not so dull a kingdom,

Though war nor no known quarrel were in question,

But that defences, musters, preparations,

France . . .] France Pope; The French King's Palace Theobald. Flourish . . .] Cambridge editors; Flourish. Enter the French King, the Dolphin, the Dukes of Berry and Britaine F. 1. comes] come Rowe.

*Constable*] the Commander-in-chief of the French army.

1. comes] Aldis Wright says "the English," in the singular, is here used for the English king or general, and compares iv. iv. 78: "the French might have a good prey of us if he knew of it." A singular verb preceding a plural subject is, however, common enough; see Abbott, § 335.

Should be maintain'd, assembled, and collected,  
 As were a war in expectation. 20  
 Therefore, I say 'tis meet we all go forth  
 To view the sick and feeble parts of France:  
 And let us do it with no show of fear ;  
 No, with no more than if we heard that England  
 Were busied with a Whitsun morris-dance : 25  
 For, my good liege, she is so idly king'd  
 Her sceptre so fantastically borne  
 By a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth,  
 That fear attends her not.

*Con.* O peace, Prince Dauphin !  
 You are too much mistaken in this king. 30  
 Question your grace the late ambassadors,  
 With what great state he heard their embassy,  
 How well supplied with noble counsellors,  
 How modest in exception, and withal  
 How terrible in constant resolution, 35  
 And you shall find his vanities forespent  
 Were but the outside of the Roman Brutus,  
 Covering discretion with a coat of folly ;  
 As gardeners do with ordure hide those roots  
 That shall first spring and be most delicate. 40

*Dau.* Well, 'tis not so, my lord high constable ;  
 But though we think it so, it is no matter :  
 In cases of defence 'tis best to weigh  
 The enemy more mighty than he seems :  
 So the proportions of defence are fill'd ; 45

28. *humorous*] full of humours, hasty and tinder-like upon too trivial capricious. So in *Coriolanus* (II. i. motion."  
 51) Menenius says of himself, "I am 34. *exception*] making objections, known to be a humorous patrician . . . Compare IV. ii. 25.

Which of a weak and niggardly projection  
Doth, like a miser, spoil his coat with scanting  
A little cloth.

*Fr. King.* Think we King Harry strong ;  
And, princes, look you strongly arm to meet  
him.

The kindred of him hath been flesh'd upon us, 50  
And he is bred out of that bloody strain  
That haunted us in our familiar paths :  
Witness our too much memorable shame  
When Cressy battle fatally was struck,  
And all our princes captiv'd by the hand 55  
Of that black name, Edward, Black Prince of  
Wales ;

Whiles that his mountain sire, on mountain standing,  
Up in the air, crown'd with the golden sun,  
Saw his heroical seed, and smil'd to see him,  
Mangle the work of nature, and deface 60  
The patterns that by God and by French fathers  
Had twenty years been made. This is a stem

52. *haunted*] *hunted* Warburton conj. 57. *mountain sire*] *mounting sire*  
Theobald.

46. *Which . . . projection*] which if projected on a weak or niggardly scale.

50. *flesh'd*] like hounds, which were said to be flesh'd when rewarded with a portion of the first game they had killed. Compare III. iii. 11.

57. *Whiles . . . standing*] Compare I. ii. 108-110. By the expression "mountain sire" Steevens believes the poet meant to give an idea of more than human proportion in the figure of the king. Theobald explains his emendation as "high-minded, aspir-

ing," but, as Malone appositely remarks, "the repetition of the word 'mountain' is much in our author's manner." Capell's note here is perhaps not quite so absurd as it seems at first sight: "The father of Edward the Third was a Welshman, his distinction in chronicles is—Edward of Carnarvon; hence the epithet, 'mountain.'" At any rate the word "Wales" has just been uttered, and (v. i. 36) Pistol jeered at the Welshman Fluellen by calling him "mountain-squire."

Of that victorious stock ; and let us fear  
The native mightiness and fate of him.

*Enter a Messenger.*

*Mess.* Ambassadors from Harry King of England 65

Do crave admittance to your majesty.

*Fr. King.* We'll give them present audience. Go, and  
bring them.

*[Exeunt Messenger and certain Lords.*

You see this chase is hotly follow'd, friends.

*Dau.* Turn head, and stop pursuit ; for coward dogs  
Most spend their mouths when what they seem to  
threaten 70

Runs far before them. Good my sovereign,  
Take up the English short, and let them know  
Of what a monarchy you are the head :  
Self-love, my liege, is not so vile a sin  
As self-neglecting.

*Re-enter Lords, with EXETER and Train.*

*Fr. King.* From our brother of England? 75

67. Exeunt . . .] Capell ; omitted F. 75. Re-enter . . .] Capell ; Enter  
Exeter F. 75. *brother of England*] Q 3, F ; *brother England* Q 1, 2, Pope.

64. *fate*] what he is destined to do.  
Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, III.  
xiii. 168, 169 :

" Cæsar sits down in Alexandria ;  
where

I will oppose his fate."

70. *spend their mouths*] Aldis Wright  
quotes Gervase Markham, *Country  
Contentments*, ed. 1675, p. 6 : " If  
you would have your Kennel for sweet-  
ness of cry, then you must compound  
it of some large dogs, that have deep  
solemn Mouths and are swift in spend-

ing." The most luminous book on  
Shakespeare's knowledge of sport ap-  
peared in 1897, namely, the Rt. Hon.  
D. H. Madden's *Diary of Master  
William Silence*.

75. *brother of England*] Pope and  
Dyce omitted " of " here and at line  
115. In v. ii. 2 Henry calls Charles  
vi. " brother France," and is addressed  
by Charles (line 10) and Queen Isabel  
(line 12) as " brother England." But,  
as Boswell-Stone well remarks, " of "  
accords better with the formally



*Exe.* From him ; and thus he greets your majesty.  
 He wills you, in the name of God Almighty,  
 That you divest yourself, and lay apart  
 The borrow'd glories that by gift of heaven,  
 By law of nature and of nations, longs 80  
 To him and to his heirs ; namely, the crown  
 And all wide-stretched honours that pertain  
 By custom and the ordinance of times  
 Unto the crown of France. That you may know  
 'Tis no sinister nor no awkward claim, 85  
 Pick'd from the worm-holes of long-vanish'd days,  
 Nor from the dust of old oblivion rak'd,  
 He sends you this most memorable line,  
 In every branch truly demonstrative ;  
 Willing you overlook this pedigree ; 90  
 And when you find him evenly deriv'd  
 From his most fam'd of famous ancestors,  
 Edward the Third, he bids you then resign  
 Your crown and kingdom, indirectly held  
 From him the native and true challenger. 95

80. *longs*] *long* Pope.

courteous tone of Charles's speeches in this scene. Henry is a brother merely because he belongs to the royal caste, whereas in Act v. Scene ii., the friendly interchange of "brother France" and "brother England" marks the complete reconciliation of the two monarchs.

80. *longs*] Compare Act i. Chorus 9.

83. *ordinance of times*] prescription of centuries (*A. J. F. Collins*).

85. *no sinister nor no awkward*] Sinister is left, not right, so unfair. Henry's claim was legitimate, branded by no bar sinister. Awkward is "turned the wrong way," "not straightforward," "back-handed," from the obsolete adjective, "awk," from the left, back-

handed, perverse, as in *King Arthur* (1557), v. x. :

"With an awke stroke gave hym a grete wounde."

88. *memorable*] Used by Shakespeare four times in this play, and not elsewhere. In line 53 above it means "kept in memory," "famous"; here, in iv. vii. 108, and v. i. 75, it="tending to preserve the remembrance of something, recalling to the memory."

91. *evenly*] "directly, without any interruptions in the straight line of descent. Contrasted with the 'crooked titles' mentioned in i. ii. 94" (*Aldis Wright*).

94. *indirectly*] by crooked methods, unfairly.

*Fr. King.* Or else what follows?

*Exe.* Bloody constraint; for if you hide the crown  
 Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it:  
 Therefore in fierce tempest is he coming,  
 In thunder and in earthquake like a Jove, 100  
 That, if requiring fail, he will compel;  
 And bids you, in the bowels of the Lord,  
 Deliver up the crown, and to take mercy  
 On the poor souls for whom this hungry war  
 Opens his vasty jaws; and on your head 105  
 Turning the widows' tears, the orphans' cries,  
 The dead men's blood, the pining maidens' groans,  
 For husbands, fathers, and betrothed lovers,  
 That shall be swallow'd in this controversy.  
 This is his claim, his threat'ning, and my message; 110  
 Unless the Dauphin be in presence here,  
 To whom expressly I bring greeting too.

*Fr. King.* For us, we will consider of this further:  
 To-morrow shall you bear our full intent  
 Back to our brother of England.

101. *fail, he will*] *fail him, will* Vaughan conj. 103. *to*] *so* Vaughan conj.  
 106. *Turning*] *turnes he* Q, Capell. 107. *pinings*] Q, Pope; *priny* F.  
 112. *greeting too*] Q, F 2, 3, 4; *greeting to* F 1. 115. *brother of England*] Q 3, F; *brother England* Q 1, 2, Pope.

102. *And . . . Lord*] In a letter which he dispatched to Charles VI. before putting to sea Henry (Holinshed, p. 178) "exhorted the French King, in the bowels of Jesu Christ to render him that which was his owne; whereby effusion of Christian blood might be avoided." For the expression, see, e.g., Philippians i. 8 in A. V., where the Revised Version has "tender mercies."

106, 107. *Turning . . . groans*] Johnson proposed to arrange these lines as follows:—

"Turning the dead mens blood,  
 the widows' tears,  
 The orphans' cries, the pining  
 maidens' groans."  
 This certainly corresponds better with the order, husbands, fathers, brothers, in the next line, and Capell was "fully convinc'd that it is intitl'd to a place in the text."  
 107. *pinings*] Schmidt explains the reading of the Folio as "the secret groans of maidens."

*Dau.* For the Dauphin, 115

I stand here for him: what to him from England?

*Exe.* Scorn and defiance; slight regard, contempt,  
 And any thing that may not misbecome  
 The mighty sender, doth he prize you at.  
 Thus says my king: an if your father's highness 120  
 Do not, in grant of all demands at large,  
 Sweeten the bitter mock you sent his majesty,  
 He'll call you to so hot an answer of it,  
 That caves and womby vaultages of France  
 Shall chide your trespass and return your mock 125  
 In second accent of his ordinance.

*Dau.* Say, if my father render fair return,  
 It is against my will; for I desire  
 Nothing but odds with England: to that end,  
 As matching to his youth and vanity, 130  
 I did present him with the Paris balls.

*Exe.* He'll make your Paris Louvre shake for it,  
 Were it the mistress-court of mighty Europe:  
 And, be assur'd, you'll find a difference,  
 As we his subjects have in wonder found, 135  
 Between the promise of his greener days  
 And these he masters now. Now he weighs time  
 Even to the utmost grain; that you shall read

123. *hot*] *loud* Q, Capell. *of it*] *for it* Q, Pope. 126. *ordinance*] *ordnance*  
 Malone. 127. *return*] *reply* Q, Pope. 131. *the*] *those* Q, Capell. 132.  
*Louvre*] Pope; *Louer* Q, F 1; *Loover* F 2; *Lover* F 3; *Louver* F 4. 137.  
*masters*] *musters* Q. 138. *that*] *which* Q, Pope.

117. *defiance* ;] The semicolon was first substituted for the comma of the Folio by Capell; as he observes, "the words that precede [*sic*] it, relate to the Dauphin's question; and those only that follow it, to the words *doth he prize you at*."  
 123. *answer*] a reply to a charge. Compare *Henry VI.* II. i. 203, "call these foul offenders to their answers."

In your own losses, if he stay in France.

*Fr. King.* To-morrow shall you know our mind at full. 140

*Exe.* Dispatch us with all speed, lest that our king

Come here himself to question our delay ;

For he is footed in this land already.

*Fr. King.* You shall be soon dispatch'd with fair conditions :

A night is but small breath and little pause 145

To answer matters of this consequence.

[*Flourish.* *Exeunt.*

### ACT III

*Enter* CHORUS.

Thus with imagin'd wing our swift scene flies

In motion of no less celerity

Than that of thought. Suppose that you have seen

The well-appointed king at Hampton pier

146. Flourish] after line 140 in F, transferred by Dyce.

*Act III. Chorus.*

Act III.] Actus Secundus F. Enter Chorus] F 2, 3, 4; Flourish. Enter Chorus F 1. 4. *Hampton*] Theobald; *Dover* F.

143. *he is . . . already*] Henry disembarked near Harfleur August 14, 1415; historically Exeter's embassy had taken place in the previous February. For "footed" compare *Lear*, III. vii. 44, 45:

"what confederacy have you  
with the traitors

Late footed in the kingdom?"

146. Flourish] Capell thought that the occurrence of this direction after line 140 in the Folio indicated "that the French king rises from his throne in this place, as dismissing the embassy ;

a matter worthy the noting, as it shews the boldness of Exeter, who will not be so dismiss'd."

*Act III. Chorus.*

1. *imagin'd wing*] wing of imagination; as imagin'd speed (*Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 52) is speed of imagination.

4. *Hampton*] Theobald dares "acquit the Poet from so flagrant a Variation [as *Dover* for *Hampton*]. The indolence of a Transcriber, or a Workman at Press, must give rise to such an Error.

Embark his royalty; and his brave fleet 5  
 With silken streamers the young Phoebus fanning:  
 Play with your fancies, and in them behold  
 Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing;  
 Hear the shrill whistle which doth order give  
 To sounds confus'd; behold the threaden sails, 10  
 Borne with the invisible and creeping wind,  
 Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea,  
 Breasting the lofty surge. O! do but think  
 You stand upon the rivage and behold  
 A city on the inconstant billows dancing; 15  
 For so appears this fleet majestic,  
 Holding due course to Harfleur. Follow, follow!  
 Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy,  
 And leave your England, as dead midnight still,  
 Guarded with grandsires, babies, and old women, 20  
 Either past or not arriv'd to pith and puissance:  
 For who is he, whose chin is but enrich'd  
 With one appearing hair, that will not follow  
 These cull'd and choice-drawn cavaliers to France?  
 Work, work your thoughts, and therein see a siege;  
 Behold the ordinance on their carriages, 26  
 With fatal mouths gaping on girded Harfleur.

6. *fanning*] Rowe; *fayning* F. 12. *furrow'd*] Rowe; *furrowed* F. 17.  
*Harfleur*] Rowe; *Harflew* F (and *passim*). 26. *ordinance*] *ordenance* F 1, 2, 3;  
*ordnance* F 4.

They seeing *Peer* [*sic* Folio] at the End of the Verse, unluckily thought of *Dover-peer*, as the best known to them; and so unawares corrupted the Text." Thomas Warton noted that among the records of Southampton is preserved a minute account of the encampment of Henry v. on a level called Westport, now covered by the sea.

14. *rivage*] shore. Compare Knolles, *History of the Turks* (1603), 25 E., "A city of Phœnicia standing on the rivage of the sea."

18. *sternage*] astern of; a word probably invented for the occasion.

24. *choice-drawn*] drawn or selected by choice, *i.e.* with special care.

Suppose the ambassador from the French comes back ;  
 Tells Harry that the king doth offer him  
 Katharine his daughter ; and with her, to dowry, 30  
 Some petty and unprofitable dukedoms :  
 The offer likes not : and the nimble gunner  
 With linstock now the devilish cannon touches,  
 [Alarum, and chambers go off.  
 And down goes all before them. Still be kind,  
 And eche out our performance with your mind. 35  
 [Exit.

SCENE I.—*France. Before Harfleur.*

*Alarums. Enter KING HENRY, EXETER, BEDFORD,  
 GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers, with scaling-ladders.*

*K. Hen.* Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,  
 Or close the wall up with our English dead.  
 In peace there's nothing so becomes a man  
 As modest stillness and humility :  
 But when the blast of war blows in our ears, 5  
 Then imitate the action of the tiger ;  
 Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,  
 Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage ;  
 Then lend the eye a terrible aspect ;

35. *eche*] *eek* F 1 ; *ech* F 2, 3, 4 ; *eke* Pope.

*Scene 1.*

France . . . scaling-ladders] Cambridge editors ; Enter the King, Exeter, Bedford, and Gloucester. Alarum : scaling Ladders at Harflew F. 7. *summon*] Rowe ; *commune* F.

28-31. *Suppose . . . dukedoms*] These terms were offered to Henry at Winchester, June 1415 ; Henry landed near Harfleur on August 14 (Holinshed, pp. 178, 179).

33. *linstock*] the stick which held the gunner's match.

35. *eche out*] supplement ; now superseded by the northern form "eke out ;" the latter in *As You Like It*, 1. ii. 208 :

"Ros. The little strength that I have,  
 I would it were with you.

*Cel.* And mine, to eke [*Folio eek*] out hers."

Let it pry through the portage of the head 10  
 Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it  
 As fearfully as doth a galled rock  
 O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,  
 Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.  
 Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide, 15  
 Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit  
 To his full height! On, on, you noblest English!  
 Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof;  
 Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,  
 Have in these parts from morn till even fought, 20  
 And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.  
 Dishonour not your mothers; now attest  
 That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.  
 Be copy now to men of grosser blood, 24  
 And teach them how to war. And you, good yeomen,  
 Whose limbs were made in England, show us here  
 The mettle of your pasture; let us swear  
 That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;

17. *noblest*] F 2, 3, 4; *Noblish* F 1.

24. *men*] F 4; *me* F 1, 2, 3.

10. *portage*] port-hole.

13. *jutty*] project over.

13. *confounded*] wasted, worn away;  
 used of time in *1 Henry IV.* i. iii.

100, 101:

"He did confound the best part of  
 an hour

In changing hardiment with great  
 Glendower";

and in *Coriolanus*, i. vi. 17:

"How couldst thou in a mile con-  
 found an hour?"

14. *Swill'd*] greedily swallowed.

Compare *Richard III.* v. ii. 7-9:

"The wretched, bloody, and usurp-  
 ing boar,

That spoil'd your summer fields  
 and fruitful vines,

Swills your warm blood like wash.'

16. *bend up*] strain to the utmost,  
 like a bow. Compare *Macbeth*, i. vii.  
 79, 80:

"I am settled, and bend  
 up

Each corporal agent to this terrible  
 feat."

18. *fet*] fetched; past participle of  
 the verb "fet" (O. E. *fetian*), which still  
 survives in dialect. It occurs again in  
*Richard III.* ii. ii. 120, 121:

"Me seemeth good, that, with some  
 little train,

Forthwith from Ludlow the young  
 prince be fet" (Quarto, "fetched").

21. *arguments*] anything to quarrel  
 about. Compare *IV.* i. 146.

For there is none of you so mean and base  
 That hath not noble lustre in your eyes. 30  
 I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,  
 Straining upon the start. The game's afoot :  
 Follow your spirit ; and upon this charge  
 Cry, " God for Harry, England, and Saint George !"  
 [*Exeunt. Alarum, and chambers go off.*]

SCENE II.—*The Same.*

*Enter* NYM, BARDOLPH, PISTOL, *and* Boy.

*Bard.* On, on, on, on, on! to the breach, to the  
 breach!

*Nym.* Pray thee, corporal, stay : the knocks are too  
 hot ; and for mine own part, I have not a case of  
 lives : the humour of it is too hot, that is the 5  
 very plain-song of it.

*Pist.* The plain-song is most just, for humours do abound :

Knocks go and come, God's vassals drop and die ;  
 And sword and shield,  
 In bloody field, 10  
 Doth win immortal fame.

*Boy.* Would I were in an alehouse in London ! I would  
 give all my fame for a pot of ale, and safety.

32. *Straining*] Rowe ; *Straying* F. 34. *Exeunt*] omitted F ; *Exeunt* King  
 and Train Theobald.

*Scene II.*

3. *corporal*] *lieutenant* Capell.

33, 34. *charge* . . . *George*] notice the  
 rhyme.

34. *chambers*] A chamber was a  
 small cannon without a carriage, stand-  
 ing on its breech, and used to fire  
 salutes.

*Scene II.*

4. *a case*] a set. So a surgeon has  
 his "case" of instruments. A "case"  
 of pistols, or of rapiers, was a pair.

6. *plain-song*] the simple air without  
 variations.



*Pist.* And I:

If wishes would prevail with me, 15  
My purpose should not fail with me,

*Boy.*

But thither would I hie.  
As duly,  
But not as truly,  
As bird doth sing on bough. 20

*Enter* FLUELLEN.

*Flu.* Up to the breach, you dogs! avaunt, you cullions!

[*Driving them forward.*]

*Pist.* Be merciful, great duke, to men of mould!

Abate thy rage, abate thy manly rage;  
Abate thy rage, great duke! 24  
Good bawcock, bate thy rage; use lenity, sweet chuck!

*Nym.* These be good humours! your honour wins bad  
humours. [*Exeunt all but Boy.*]

*Boy.* As young as I am, I have observed these three  
swashers. I am boy to them all three, but all  
they three, though they would serve me, could 30  
not be man to me; for indeed three such antics  
do not amount to a man. For Bardolph, he is

20. Enter Fluellen] Enter Flewellen and beates them in Q. 21. Driving  
. . .] Driving them forward with his Partizan Capell; not in F. 26. *wins*]  
*runs* Rann from Capell's conj. 27. Exeunt all but Boy] Cambridge editors;  
Exit F. 31. *antics*] Cambridge editors; *Antiques* F; *Anticks* Theobald.

22. *men of mould*] men of earth,  
mortal men. Pistol borrows a phrase  
from the old ballad poetry. Dyce in  
his Glossary quotes *True Thomas and  
the Queen of Elsthand*, "Man of Molde,  
thou wilt me marre," Jamieson's *Popu-  
lar Ballads*, ii. 16.

25. *bawcock*] fine fellow; French,  
*beau coq*. Compare IV. i. 44. In this play  
this Gallicism is used only by Pistol.

26. *wins*] Capell's conjecture is  
based on II. i. 121.

30. *though they would serve me*] even  
if they were willing to serve me, in-  
stead of my serving them.

31. *antics*] clowns, buffoons. So  
Bishop Hall (1618), *Sermons*, v. 113,  
"Are they Christians or Antics in  
some carnival?"

white - livered and red - faced; by the means whereof a' faces it out, but fights not. For Pistol, he hath a killing tongue and a quiet sword; by the means whereof a' breaks words, and keeps whole weapons. For Nym, he hath heard that men of few words are the best men; and therefore he scorns to say his prayers, lest a' should be thought a coward: but his few bad words are matched with as few good deeds; for a' never broke any man's head but his own, and that was against a post when he was drunk. They will steal any thing and call it purchase. Bardolph stole a lute-case, bore it twelve leagues, and sold it for three half-pence. Nym and Bardolph are sworn brothers in filching, and in Calais they stole a fire-shovel; I knew by that piece of service the men would carry coals. They would have me as familiar with men's pockets as their gloves or their handkerchers: which makes much against my manhood if I should take from another's pocket to put into mine; for it is plain pocketing up of wrongs. I must leave them and seek some better service: their villany goes

47. *Calais*] Pope; *Callice F.*

44. *purchase*] thieves' euphemism for stolen goods, as "convey" for "stealing" in *Merry Wives*, I. iii. 32.

47. *sworn brothers*] See II. i. 12 note.

49. *carry coals*] to carry coals was a familiar expression for "to do any degrading service," "put up with an affront." So H. Crosse, *Vertues Com-*

*monwealth* (1603), 15, "For now if one . . . will carrie coales, and meekly suffer rebuke, he is noted of cowardice."

54. *pocketing up of wrongs*] putting up with affronts. Compare Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, iv. 3, "when they come in swaggering company, and will pocket up any thing, may they not properly be said to be white-liver'd?"

against my weak stomach, and therefore I must  
cast it up. [Exit

*Re-enter FLUELLEN, GOWER following.*

*Gow.* Captain Fluellen, you must come presently to  
the mines; the Duke of Gloucester would speak  
with you. 60

*Flu.* To the mines! tell you the duke it is not so good  
to come to the mines. For look you, the mines is  
not according to the disciplines of the war; the  
concavities of it is not sufficient; for, look you, th'  
athversary, you may discuss unto the duke, look 65  
you, is digt himself four yard under with counter-  
mines. By Cheshu, I think a' will plough up all  
if there is not better directions.

*Gow.* The Duke of Gloucester, to whom the order of  
the siege is given, is altogether directed by an 70  
Irishman, a very valiant gentleman, i' faith.

*Flu.* It is Captain Macmorris, is it not?

*Gow.* I think it be.

*Flu.* By Cheshu, he is an ass, as in the world: I will  
verify as much in his beard: he has no more 75  
directions in the true disciplines of the wars, look  
you, of the Roman disciplines, than is a puppy-dog.

57. *Re-enter . . .*] Steevens; Enter Gower F. 66. *with*] Vaughan conj.;  
*the F, Q; i' th'* Wright conj. 72. *Flu.*] Rowe; Welch. F (and throughout  
the scene).

65. *discuss*] make known, declare.  
Compare IV. iv. 5 and 29, and Nym in  
*Merry Wives*, I. iii. 104, "I will dis-  
cuss the humour of this love to Page."  
*New Eng. Dict.* quotes Caxton, *Chron.*  
*Eng.* (1520), III. xix. 2, "[Daniel]  
discussed the dreames of the Kyng."

66. *with countermines*] Vaughan's  
conjecture, which I have adopted in  
the text, is supported by Holinshed, p.  
180, "For although they [the defenders  
of Harfleur] with their countermining  
somewhat disappointed the English-  
men," etc.

*Enter MACMORRIS and JAMY, at a distance.*

*Gow.* Here a' comes; and the Scots captain, Captain Jamy, with him.

*Flu.* Captain Jamy is a marvellous falorous gentleman, 80  
that is certain; and of great expedition and  
knowledge in th' aunchient wars, upon my par-  
ticular knowledge of his directions: by Cheshu,  
he will maintain his argument as well as any  
military man in the world, in the disciplines of 85  
the pristine wars of the Romans.

*Jamy.* I say gud day, Capt<sup>ain</sup> Fluellen.

*Flu.* God-den to your worshop, good Captain James.

*Gow.* How now, Captain Macmorris! have you quit  
the mines? have the pioners given o'er? 90

*Mac.* By Chrish, la! tish ill done: the work ish give  
over, the trompet sound the retreat. By my hand,  
I swear, and my father's soul, the work ish ill  
done; it ish give over: I would have blowed up  
the town, so Chrish save me, la! in an hour: O! 95  
tish ill done, tish ill done; by my hand, tish ill done.

*Flu.* Captain Macmorris, I beseech you now, will you  
voutsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you,  
as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of  
the war, the Roman wars, in the way of argument, 100  
look you, and friendly communication; partly to  
satisfy my opinion, and partly for the satisfaction,

77. Enter . . . ] Capell; enter Makmorrice, and Captaine Jamy F. 87. Jamy] Rowe; Scot F (and throughout the scene). 90. *pioners*] *pioneers* Rowe. 91. Mac.] Rowe; Irish. F (and throughout the scene). 91, 95, 116. *la*] Capell; *law* F.

81. *expedition*] a blunder between 88. *God-den*] good evening.  
"experience" and "erudition."

look you, of my mind, as touching the direction of the military discipline: that is the point.

*Jamy.* It sall be vary gud, gud feith, gud captains 105  
bath: and I sall quit you with gud leve, as I  
may pick occasion; that sall I, marry.

*Mac.* It is no time to discourse, so Chrish save me:  
the day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and  
the king, and the dukes: it is no time to discourse. 110  
The town is beseeched, and the trumpet call us  
to the breach; and we talk, and, be Chrish, do  
nothing: 'tis shame for us all; so God sa' me, 'tis  
shame to stand still; it is shame, by my hand; and  
there is throats to be cut, and works to be done; 115  
and there ish nothing done, so Chrish sa' me, la!

*Jamy.* By the mess, ere these eyes of mine take them-  
selves to slomber, aile de gud service, or aile lig  
i' the grund for it; ay, or go to death; and aile  
pay it as valorously as I may, that sall I suerly 120  
do, that is the breff and the long. Marry, I wad  
full fain heard some question 'tween you tway.

*Flu.* Captain Macmorris, I think, look you, under your  
correction, there is not many of your nation—

*Mac.* Of my nation! What ish my nation? Ish a 125

122. *heard*] *hear* Cambridge editors from S. Walker's conj.; *ha' heard* Anon. conj.

106. *quit you*] requite you, give you my ideas.

122. *heard*] The omission of "have" is said to be common in the north. Boswell-Stone suggests that Jamy may mean, "I wish you two *had* discussed military disciplines instead of quarrelling."

125-127. *Of my . . . nation?*] Mr. Craig writes: "I cannot but think that

this has been generally misunderstood. Macmorris, I think, spoiling for a fight, invites them to say one opprobrious word against his country or his character or honour;—what are you going to say agin my country now? I suppose you'll be after calling me a villain and a bastard? It is like the modern 'tread on the tail of my coat.'"

villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal—  
 What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?

*Flu.* Look you, if you take the matter otherwise than  
 is meant, Captain Macmorris, peradventure I shall  
 think you do not use me with that affability as in 130  
 discretion you ought to use me, look you; being  
 as good a man as yourself, both in the disciplines  
 of war, and in the derivation of my birth, and in  
 other particularities.

*Mac.* I do not know you so good a man as myself: 135  
 so Chrish save me, I will cut off your head.

*Gow.* Gentlemen both, you will mistake each other.

*Jamy.* A! that's a foul fault. [A parley sounded.

*Gow.* The town sounds a parley.

*Flu.* Captain Macmorris, when there is more better 140  
 opportunity to be required, look you, I will be so  
 bold as to tell you I know the disciplines of  
 war; and there is an end. [Exeunt.

SCENE III.—*The Same. Before the Gates.*

*The Governor and some Citizens on the walls; the English  
 Forces below. Enter KING HENRY and his Train.*

*K. Hen.* How yet resolves the governor of the town?  
 This is the latest parle we will admit:

126. *rascal*—] Wright; *Rascal*. F. 138. A parley sounded] Rowe; A  
 Parley F. 143. Exeunt] Rowe; Exit F.

*Scene III.*

The Same . . .] Cambridge editors; Enter the King and all his Train before  
 the Gates F.

137. *you will mistake*] probably= Walker suggested "you still mistake,"  
 you persist in mistaking. Sidney and so Hudson printed.

Therefore to our best mercy give yourselves ;  
 Or like to men proud of destruction  
 Defy us to our worst : for, as I am a soldier, 5  
 A name that in my thoughts becomes me best,  
 If I begin the battery once again,  
 I will not leave the half-achieved Harfleur  
 Till in her ashes she lie buried.  
 The gates of mercy shall be all shut up, 10  
 And the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart,  
 In liberty of bloody hand shall range  
 With conscience wide as hell, mowing like grass  
 Your fresh-fair virgins and your flowering infants.  
 What is it then to me, if impious war, 15  
 Array'd in flames like to the prince of fiends,  
 Do, with his smirch'd complexion, all fell feats  
 Enlink'd to waste and desolation ?  
 What is't to me, when you yourselves are cause,  
 If your pure maidens fall into the hand 20  
 Of hot and forcing violation ?  
 What rein can hold licentious wickedness  
 When down the hill he holds his fierce career ?  
 We may as bootless spend our vain command  
 Upon the enraged soldiers in their spoil 25  
 As send precepts to the leviathan  
 To come ashore. Therefore, you men of Harfleur,  
 Take pity of your town and of your people,

4. *proud of*] *proud* to Daniel conj. 14. *fresh-fair*] hyphenated by Steevens (1793).

11. *flesh'd*] initiated in slaughter ;  
 see II. iv. 50.

16. *Array'd in flames*] Campion, in  
 his *Lords' Masque* (1613), introduces  
 "sixteen pages, like fiery spirits, all  
 their attires being alike composed

of flames, with fiery wings and  
 bases."

26. *precepts*] with the accent on the  
 second syllable, summons. Compare  
 & *Henry IV.* v. i. 14, "those pre-  
 cepts cannot be served."

Whiles yet my soldiers are in my command ;  
 Whiles yet the cool and temperate wind of grace 30  
 O'erblows the filthy and contagious clouds  
 Of heady murder, spoil, and villany.  
 If not, why, in a moment look to see  
 The blind and bloody soldier with foul hand  
 Defile the locks of your shrill-shrieking daughters ; 35  
 Your fathers taken by the silver beards,  
 And their most reverend heads dash'd to the walls ;  
 Your naked infants spitted upon pikes,  
 Whiles the mad mothers with their howls confus'd  
 Do break the clouds, as did the wives of Jewry 40  
 At Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen.  
 What say you ? will you yield, and this avoid ?  
 Or, guilty in defence, be thus destroy'd ?

*Gov.* Our expectation hath this day an end.  
 The Dauphin, whom of succours we entreated, 45  
 Returns us that his powers are yet not ready  
 To raise so great a siege. Therefore, great king,  
 We yield our town and lives to thy soft mercy.  
 Enter our gates ; dispose of us and ours ;  
 For we no longer are defensible. 50

32. *heady*] F 3, 4 ; *headly* F 1 ; *headdy* F 2 ; *deadly* Steevens, 1793, from Capell's conj. ; *headlong* Vaughan conj. 35. *Defile*] Rowe (ed. 2) ; *Desire* F. 43.] After this line F has "Enter Governour." 45. *succours*] *succour* Q, Capell. 46. *us that*] *us word* Q. *yet not*] *not yet* Q, Capell. 47. *great*] *dread* Q, Capell.

31. *O'erblows*] blows over, blows away. Vaughan well compares *Henry IV.* iv. v. 99, 100 :

"my cloud of dignity  
 Is held from falling with so weak  
 a wind

That it will quickly drop."

32. *headly*] violent, impetuous, as in i. i. 34, "a heady currance." It may be worth while to observe that the word

"headly," found in F 1, meaning as applied to sins "deadly," existed as late as the fourteenth century. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Wyclif (1380), *Sel. Wks.*, iii. 162, "This weddyng is broken by iche hedly synne."

50. *defensible*] capable of defending ourselves ; not, as in modern use, capable of being defended.



*K. Hen.* Open your gates! Come, uncle Exeter,  
 Go you and enter Harfleur; there remain,  
 And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French:  
 Use mercy to them all. For us, dear uncle,  
 The winter coming on and sickness growing 55  
 Upon our soldiers, we will retire to Calais.  
 To-night in Harfleur will we be your guest;  
 To-morrow for the march are we address.  
 [*Flourish. The King and his train enter the town.*]

SCENE IV.—*Rouen. A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter KATHARINE and ALICE.*

*Kath.* Alice, tu as esté en Angleterre, et tu parles  
 bien le langage.

*Alice.* Un peu, madame.

*Kath.* Je te prie, m'enseignez; il faut que j'apprenne

54. *all. For . . . uncle,*] Pope; *all for . . . Uncle. F.* 56. *Calais*] Rowe; *Calis F.* 58. *Flourish . . .*] Cambridge editors; *Flourish and enter the Towne F.*

*Scene IV.*

Rouen. . . . Enter . . . ] Malone; Enter Katherine, Alice Q; Enter Katherine and an old Gentlewoman F. 1, 2. *parles bien*] Warburton; *bien parlas F.*

51. *Exeter*] Exeter appointed as his lieutenant "one Sir John Fastolfe," who appears in *1 Henry VI.*, and whose name has another interest for us. See Holinshed, p. 181.

54. *Use mercy to them all*] Holinshed (p. 181) says: "The souldiors were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen."

*Scene IV.*

In this scene I have only noted two of the changes made in the French of the Folio. The Cambridge editors remark: "We content ourselves with a few specimens of the errors and variations of the old copies in this scene. The French was set right, or nearly so, by successive alterations made by Rowe, Pope, Theo-

bald, Warburton, and Capell. Some obvious corrections in the distribution of the dialogue were made by Theobald." Hanmer regarded the whole scene as spurious, and relegated it to the margin. Capell observed in its behalf, "that the subject of it is natural, and its language easy; that it favours that continual alternation of comic and serious which prevails in this play; and brings us early acquainted with a character of some importance, that would otherwise come in most irregularly when the action is near concluding." We must also remember the promise given to the audience in the Epilogue to *2 Henry IV.* to "make you merry with fair Katharine of France."

à parler. Comment appelez vous la main en Anglois ? 5

*Alice.* La main ? elle est appellée de hand.

*Kath.* De hand. Et les doigts ?

*Alice.* Les doigts ? ma foy, je oublie les doigts, mais je me souviendray. Les doigts ? je pense qu'ils sont appellés de fingres ; ouy, de fingres. 10

*Kath.* La main, de hand ; les doigts, de fingres. Je pense que je suis le bon escolier. J'ai gagné deux mots d'Anglois vistement. Comment appelez vous les ongles ? 15

*Alice.* Les ongles ? nous les appellons de nails.

*Kath.* De nails. Escoutez ; dites moy si je parle bien : de hand, de fingres, et de nails.

*Alice.* C'est bien dict, madame ; il est fort bon Anglois. 20

*Kath.* Dites moy l'Anglois pour le bras.

*Alice.* De arm, madame.

*Kath.* Et le coude ?

*Alice.* De elbow.

*Kath.* De elbow. Je m'en fais la répétition de tous les mots que vous m'avez appris dès à présent. 25

*Alice.* Il est trop difficile, madame, comme je pense.

*Kath.* Excusez moy, Alice ; escoutez : de hand, de fingres, de nails, de arma, de bilbow.

*Alice.* De elbow, madame. 30

*Kath.* O Seigneur Dieu ! je m'en oublie ; de elbow. Comment appelez vous le col ?

*Alice.* De nick, madame.

*Kath.* De nick. Et le menton ?

- Alice.* De chin. 35
- Kath.* De sin. Le col, de nick ; le menton, de sin.
- Alice.* Ouy. Sauf vostre honneur, en vérité, vous prononcez les mots aussi droict que les natifs d'Angleterre.
- Kath.* Je ne doute point d'apprendre par la grace de Dieu, et en peu de temps. 40
- Alice.* N'avez vous déjà oublié ce que je vous ay enseigné ?
- Kath.* Non, je reciteray à vous promptement. De hand, de fingre, de mails,— 45
- Alice.* De nails, madame.
- Kath.* De nails, de arme, de ilbow.
- Alice.* Sauf vostre honneur, d'elbow.
- Kath.* Ainsi dis je ; d'elbow, de nick, et de sin. Comment appelez vous le pied et la robe ? 50
- Alice.* Le foot, madame ; et le coun.
- Kath.* Le foot, et le coun ? O Seigneur Dieu ! ils sont les mots de son mauvais, corruptible, gros, et impudique, et non pour les dames d'honneur d'user. Je ne voudrois prononcer ces mots devant less seigneurs de France, pour tout le monde. 55
- Foh ! le foot et le coun ! Néant-moins je reciteray une autre fois ma leçon ensemble : d'hand, de fingre, de nails, d'arm, d'elbow, de nick, de sin, de foot, le coun. 60
- Alice.* Excellent, madame !
- Kath.* C'est assez pour une fois : allons nous à diner.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.—*The Same.*

*Enter the King of France, the DAUPHIN, the Duke of BOURBON, the Constable of France, and others.*

*Fr. King.* 'Tis certain he hath pass'd the river Somme.

*Con.* And if he be not fought withal, my lord,  
Let us not live in France; let us quit all,  
And give our vineyards to a barbarous people.

*Dau.* O Dieu vivant! shall a few sprays of us, 5  
The emptying of our fathers' luxury,  
Our scions, put in wild and savage stock,  
Spirt up so suddenly into the clouds,  
And overlook their grafters?

*Bour.* Normans, but bastard Normans, Norman bastards! 10  
Mort de ma vie! if they march along  
Unfought withal, but I will sell my dukedom,

the Duke of Bourbon] Theobald; Burbon Q; omitted F. 7. *scions*] *Syens* F.  
10, 32. Bour.] Theobald; Bur. Q; Brit. F. 11. *de*] F 2; du F 1.

1. *the river Somme*] on his retreat towards Calais, iii. 56, above.

7-9. *Our scions . . . grafters*] A grafter here is not "one who grafts," but the original tree from which the scion was taken. For the imagery, compare *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 92-95:

"You see, sweet maid, we marry  
A gentler scion to the wildest stock,  
And make conceive a bark of baser kind  
By bud of nobler race."

10. Bour.] In Holinshed, p. 182, the Dukes of Berrie and Britaine, and not the Duke of Bourbon, are mentioned as belonging to the French king's council. The Cambridge editors suggest that Shakespeare first intended to introduce the Duke of Britaine, and then changed his mind, but forgot to

substitute "Bour." for "Brit." in lines 10 and 32. As far as line 10 is concerned, the change was made in the Quarto, and line 32 is absent from it.

11. *vie*] a dissyllable here; so *batailles*, line 15, is a trisyllable.

12. *but*] For this use of "but" (=if not) after an asseveration, compare *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 208:

"I'll die for't but some woman had the ring,"

and in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, ch. vii., 'Squire Thornhill exclaims, "May this glass suffocate me but a fine girl is worth all the priestcraft in the nation"; and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, ch. xiii., "I wish I may die, said Mr. Tigg. . . . but this is one of the most tremendous meetings in Ancient or Modern History!"

12-14. *I will sell . . . Albion*] The

To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm  
In that nook-shotten isle of Albion.

*Con.* Dieu de batailles! where have they this mettle? 15  
Is not their climate foggy, raw and dull,  
On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,  
Killing their fruit with frowns? Can sodden water,  
A drench for sur-rein'd jades, their barley broth,  
Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat? 20  
And shall our quick blood, spirited with wine,  
Seem frosty? O, for honour of our land,  
Let us not hang like roping icicles  
Upon our houses' thatch, whiles a more frosty people

23. *roping*] *frozen* Q, Pope.

corresponding passage in the Quarto is:

"Ile sell my Dukedome for a foggy  
farme

In that short nooke Ile of Eng-  
land."

The shorthand writer, or the transcriber of his notes found "slobbery" and "nook-shotten" too much for him, and line 16 suggested an easier epithet for the farm.

13. *slobbery*] sloppy, wet.

14. *nook-shotten*] As blood-shotten, or bloodshot, means shot or suffused with blood, so nook-shotten must mean shot with nooks, *i.e.* shot into nooks or inlets, referring to the irregularly indented shape of England on the map. Steevens quotes Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory* (1688), III. ix. 385, "Querke is a nook-shotten pane," *i.e.* a pane the outline of which is full of irregularities; and Miss Georgina Jackson, in her *Glossary of Shropshire Words*, says: "An old farmer cautioned a certain person against taking a short cut across some fields, because the way was very *neuk-shotten*." On the other hand, Knight

thought the expression meant "thrust into a corner, apart from the rest of the world,"—an interpretation favoured by another Shropshire use of the word given by Miss Jackson, "stationed—as a matter of idle habit—in the chimney corner, 'sich a neuk-shotten thing inna wuth 'er saut.'"

18. *sodden*] boiled, past participle of seethe.

19. *sur-rein'd*] overridden; "hurt in the reins," as Capell says. Steevens quotes *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1600), iv. 42-44:

"*Bra. Ju.* What thinke you of the lines of Decius? Writes he not a good cordiall sappie stile?

*Bra. Sig.* A surreinde jaded wit, but a rubbes on."

20. *Decoct*] warm up, as in cooking. Originally meaning to boil down, the word came to mean simply to boil or cook.

23. *roping*] So iv. ii. 48, down-roping. Compare the French *avoir la roupie*, to snivel. A reminiscence, perhaps, of Golding's *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, bk. i. leaf 2b., "Then iscycles hung roping down."

Sweat drops of gallant youth in our rich fields!— 25  
 Poor we may call them in their native lords.

*Dau.* By faith and honour,  
 Our madams mock at us, and plainly say  
 Our mettle is bred out; and they will give  
 Their bodies to the lust of English youth 30  
 To new-store France with bastard warriors.

*Bour.* They bid us to the English dancing-schools,  
 And teach lavoltas high and swift corantos;  
 Saying our grace is only in our heels,  
 And that we are most lofty runaways. 35

*Fr. King.* Where is Montjoy the herald? speed him hence:  
 Let him greet England with our sharp defiance.  
 Up, princes! and, with spirit of honour edg'd  
 More sharper than your swords, hie to the field:  
 Charles Delabreth, high constable of France; 40  
 You Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and of Berri,  
 Alençon, Brabant, Bar, and Burgundy;  
 Jaques Chatillon, Rambures, Vaudemont,  
 Beaumont, Grandpré, Roussi, and Fauconberg,  
 Foix, Lestrale, Bouciqualt, and Charolois; 45

26. *we may call*] F 2; *we call* F 1. 35. *lofty*] *lusty* Vaughan conj. 43.  
*Vaudemont*] F 2; *Vandemont* F 1. 44. *Fauconberg*] Capell; *Faulconbridge* F.  
 45. *Foix*] Capell; *Loys* F. *Bouciqualt*] Theobald; *Bouciquall* F. *Charolois*]  
 Capell; *Charaloyes* F.

33. *lavoltas . . . corantos*] The *lavolta* was a dance for two persons involving high and active bounds; the *coranto*, on the other hand, required a running or gliding step; in fact, they may have differed much as our polka differs from the waltz. The *coranto* is also described by Davies; see note on "galliard," i. ii. 252.

35. *lofty runaways*] proud, and running away in high *lavoltas* (*Schmidt*).

44. *Fauconberg*] These names, except *Charolois*, are taken from the list of those slain or taken prisoners at Agincourt, from which Capell corrected the *Faulconbridge* of the Folio. See iv. viii. 82 ff., and Holinshed, pp. 195, 196. The printers of the Folio had been used to the name *Faulconbridge* in *King John*, and hence perhaps the error was theirs.

High dukes, great princes, barons, lords, and knights,  
For your great seats now quit you of great  
shames,

Bar Harry England, that sweeps through our land  
With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur :  
Rush on his host, as doth the melted snow 50  
Upon the valleys, whose low vassal seat  
The Alps doth spit and void his rheum upon :  
Go down upon him, you have power enough,  
And in a captive chariot into Roan  
Bring him our prisoner.

*Con.* This becomes the great. 55

Sorry am I his numbers are so few,  
His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march,  
For I am sure when he shall see our army  
He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,  
And for achievement offer us his ransom. 60

*Fr. King.* Therefore, lord constable, haste on Montjoy,  
And let him say to England that we send  
To know what willing ransom he will give.  
Prince Dauphin, you shall stay with us in Roan.

*Dau.* Not so, I do beseech your majesty. 65

*Fr. King.* Be patient, for you shall remain with us.

46. *knights*] Pope (ed. 2) from Theobald's conjecture; *Kings F.* 54. *captive chariot*] *chariot, captive* Daniel conj. 54, 64. *Roan*] *Rouen* Malone.

54. *chariot*] "The noble men had devised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conveie the king captive to the cite of Paris" (Holinshed, p. 182).

60. *And . . . ransom*] The constable is giving his reasons for regretting the reduced and feeble condition of the English army. I take him to mean therefore in this line, — "in-

stead of our achieving the victory over the English king which we should otherwise be sure to gain, all we shall get will be the offer of his ransom." Malone, in defiance of the train of thought, interprets, "instead of [his] achieving a victory over us"; Aldis Wright rather tamely, "to bring the affair to a conclusion."

Now forth, lord constable and princes all,  
And quickly bring us word of England's fall.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.—*The English Camp in Picardy.*

*Enter GOWER and FLUELLEN.*

*Gow.* How now, Captain Fluellen! come you from  
the bridge?

*Flu.* I assure you there is very excellent services  
committed at the bridge.

*Gow.* Is the Duke of Exeter safe? 5

*Flu.* The Duke of Exeter is as magnanimous as  
Agamemnon; and a man that I love and honour  
with my soul, and my heart, and my duty, and  
my life, and my living, and my uttermost power:  
he is not,—God be praised and blessed!—any 10  
hurt in the world, but keeps the bridge most  
valiantly, with excellent discipline. There is an  
aunchient lieutenant there at the pridge; I think  
in my very conscience he is as valiant a man as  
Mark Antony; and he is a man of no estimation in 15  
the world; but I did see him do as gallant service.

*Gow.* What do you call him?

*Flu.* He is called Aunchient Pistol.

*Gow.* I know him not.

The . . . ] Malone. Enter . . . ] Q 3; Enter Captaines, English and Welch,  
Gower and Fluellen F; Enter Gower and Fluellen meeting Capell. 4, 11.  
*bridge*] *pridge* Pope. 9. *life*] Q, Rowe; *live* F. 16. *as*] omitted Q, Capell.

2. *the bridge*] The French were defeated in an attempt to break down the bridge over the Ternoise (Holinshed p. 183).



*Enter* PISTOL.

*Flu.* Here is the man. 20

*Pist.* Captain, I thee beseech to do me favours :  
The Duke of Exeter doth love thee well.

*Flu.* Ay, I praise God ; and I have merited some love  
at his hands.

*Pist.* Bardolph, a soldier firm and sound of heart, 25  
And of buxom valour, hath, by cruel fate  
And giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel,  
That goddess blind,  
That stands upon the rolling restless stone—

*Flu.* By your patience, Aunchient Pistol. Fortune is 30  
painted blind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify  
to you that Fortune is blind : and she is painted  
also with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the  
moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and  
mutability, and variation : and her foot, look you, is 35  
fixed upon a spherical stone, which rolls, and rolls,  
and rolls : in good truth, the poet makes a most  
excellent description of it : Fortune is an excellent  
moral.

*Pist.* Fortune is Bardolph's foe, and frowns on him ; 40

20. *Here is*] *Do you not knowe him, here comes* Q, Capell. 29. *stone—*  
Rowe ; *stone. F.* 31. *painted blind*] *painted* Warburton. *her*] Q, Rowe ; *his F.*

26. *buxom*] brisk, lively. For the history of this meaning, see *New Eng. Dict.*

27-39. *And giddy Fortune's . . . moral*] This allegorical picture of Fortune was a poetical commonplace. Ritson suggests that Pistol's words may have been inspired by Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, v. pp. 21, 22):

" Fortune is blind, and sees not my deserts : . . .

What help can be expected at her hands,

Whose foot is standing on a rolling stone,

And mind more mutable than fickle winds ?"

38, 39. *is an excellent moral*] Fluellen's way of saying " reads us an excellent lesson."

40. *Fortune is Bardolph's foe*] " Staunton pointed out that this refers

For he hath stol'n a pax, and hanged must a' be.  
A damned death!

Let gallows gape for dog, let man go free  
And let not hemp his wind-pipe suffocate.

But Exeter hath given the doom of death 45  
For pax of little price.

Therefore, go speak; the duke will hear thy voice;  
And let not Bardolph's vital thread be cut  
With edge of penny cord and vile reproach:

Speak, captain, for his life, and I will thee requite. 50

*Flu.* Aunchient Pistol, I do partly understand your  
meaning.

*Pist.* Why then, rejoice therefore.

41, 46. *pax*] *pix* Theobald.

to the popular old ballad, 'Fortune, my foe!' which begins—

'Fortune, my foe! why dost thou  
frown on me?'

See Chappell's *Popular Music of the  
Olden Time*, p. 162" (*Aldis Wright*).

41. *a pax*] The theft and its punishment are historical, but the thing stolen is described by all the authorities (*e.g.* Holinshed, p. 184) as a *pix*, and Theobald "set right" the text accordingly. The thief mistook a *pix* of copper-gilt for real gold and stole it from the church at Corbie; he was hanged on a tree, close to the church, in sight of the whole army. Marshall (*Henry Irving Shakespeare*, vol. iv. p. 75) has a note which is worth quoting: "The *pix* or *pyx* . . . is 'a vase in which the Blessed Sacrament is preserved'; that is to say, not the large wafer called the Host, but the smaller consecrated wafer which is given to communicants at mass . . . (see *Addis and Arnold's Catholic Dictionary*, sub *Pyx*). The '*pax*' is a totally different thing. It was the practice in the early church to give the kiss of peace . . . and it was

this ceremony which gave rise to the practice of separating the sexes in church. The kiss of peace was first given by the bishop to the priest, then by the priests to one another, lastly by the laity to each other. 'It was only at the end of the thirteenth century that it gave way to the use of the . . . "*pax*," . . . a plate with a figure of Christ on the Cross stamped upon it, kissed first by the priest, then by the clerics and congregation. It was introduced into England by Archbishop Walter of York, in 1250. Usually now the "*Pax*" is not given at all in low Mass, and in high Mass an embrace is substituted for the old kiss and given only to those in the sanctuary' (*ut supra*, sub *KISS (of peace)*). Figures both of a *Pax* and a *Pyx* will be found in French's *Shakspeariana Genealogica*, pp. 107 and 109. Dr. Johnson thought they were the same thing, and it would seem that already in Shakespeare's time the distinction had been forgotten.

47. *will hear thy voice*] Mr. Craig suspects that this is a reminiscence of John x. 16.

*Flu.* Certainly, aunchient, it is not a thing to rejoice at; for if, look you, he were my brother, I would 55  
desire the duke to use his good pleasure and put him to execution; for discipline ought to be used.

*Pist.* Die and be damn'd; and figo for thy friendship!

*Flu.* It is well.

*Pist.* The fig of Spain! [Exit. 60

*Flu.* Very good.

*Gow.* Why, this is an arrant counterfeit rascal: I remember him now; a bawd, a cut-purse.

*Flu.* I'll assure you a' uttered as prave words at the pridge as you shall see in a summer's day. But 65  
it is very well; what he has spoke to me, that is well, I warrant you, when time is serve.

*Gow.* Why, 'tis a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier. And 70  
such fellows are perfect in the great commanders' names, and they will learn you by rote where services were done; at such and such a sconce, at such a breach, at such a convoy; who came off bravely, who was shot, who disgraced, what terms 75  
the enemy stood on; and this they con perfectly

60. *The fig of Spain*] "A contemptuous gesture which consisted in thrusting the thumb between two of the closed fingers or into the mouth" (*New Eng. Dict.*). See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1839, pp. 302-309.

61. *Very good*] In place of these two words the Quarto gives Fluellen the following: "Captain Gow, cannot you hear it lighten and thunder?"—perhaps an impromptu sally on the actor's part, and not a bad one!

65. *as you shall see in a summer's day*] a favourite proverbial phrase with Fluellen; see IV. viii. 22. We find it again in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. ii. 89, "a proper man as one shall see in a summer's day"; and in Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abington* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 356) it is one of the many proverbial expressions put into the mouth of Nicholas Proverbs.

73. *sconce*] a redoubt or earthwork.

in the phrase of war, which they trick up with new-tuned oaths: and what a beard of the general's cut and a horrid suit of the camp will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on. But you must learn to know such slanders of the age, or else you may be marvellously mistook. 80

*Flu.* I tell you what, Captain Gower; I do perceive he is not the man that he would gladly make show to the world he is: if I find a hole in his coat I will tell him my mind. [*Drum heard.* 85  
Hark you, the king is coming, and I must speak with him from the pridge.

*Drum and Colours.* Enter KING HENRY, GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers.

*Flu.* God pless your majesty! 90

*K. Hen.* How now, Fluellen! camest thou from the bridge?

*Flu.* Ay, so please your majesty. The Duke of Exeter has very gallantly maintained the pridge: the French is gone off, look you, and there is gallant and most prave passages. Marry, th' athversary was have possession of the pridge, but he is enforced to retire, and the Duke of Exeter is master 95

79. *suit*] *shout* Q, Capell. 87. Drum heard] Capell. 89. Enter . . .] Malone; Enter the King and his poore Souldiers F. 96. *was*] *wish* Vaughan conj.

79. *suit*] pronounced "shoot" in Shakespeare's time; hence probably the "shout" of the Quarto. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. 109, where there is a pun on "suitor" and "shooter," the

spelling of the Quarto of 1598 and of the Folio is "shooter." This was first pointed out by Malone.

82. *slanders of the age*] i.e. slanders of the age, people who disgrace it.

of the pridge. I can tell your majesty the duke is a prave man.

*K. Hen.* What men have you lost, Fluellen? 100

*Flu.* The perdition of th' athversary hath been very great, reasonable great: marry, for my part, I think the duke hath lost never a man but one that is like to be executed for robbing a church; one Bardolph, if your majesty know the man: his 105  
face is all bubukles, and whelks, and knobs, and flames o' fire; and his lips blows at his nose, and it is like a coal of fire, sometimes plue and sometimes red; but his nose is executed, and his fire's out. 110

*K. Hen.* We would have all such offenders so cut off: and we give express charge that in our marches through the country there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful 115  
language; for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner.

107. o'] Dyce; a F. 116. lenity] Q Rowe; Leuitis F.

106. *bubukles*] Fluellen's confusion of bubo and carbuncle (*New Eng. Dict.*). Mr. Craig suggests that Shakespeare had read Chaucer's description of the Somnour (*Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, 623 ff.). He had "a fyreed cherubinnes face," "whelkes whyte," and "knobbes sittinge on his chekes."

109, 110. *his fire's out*] Johnson has a note here, which will probably express the feelings of the modern reader: "This is the last time that any sport can be made with the red face of Bardolph, which, to confess the truth, seems to have taken more hold on Shakespeare's imagination than on any

other. The conception is very cold to the solitary reader, though it may be somewhat invigorated by the exhibition on the stage. This poet is always more careful about the present than the future, about his audience than his readers."

111. *We . . . cut off*] Mr. Collins remarks: "Henry gives no sign of having known Bardolph in his wilder days, though it was for Bardolph's sake that he had struck the Lord Chief Justice" (*Henry IV.* i. ii. 62-64).

117. *gamester*] Compare Blount, *Boscobel* (1662), ii. 9, "His Majestie was askt by one of the gamesters, if he could play a game of Ball call'd *Fives*."

*Tucket. Enter MONTJOY.*

*Mont.* You know me by my habit.

*K. Hen.* Well then I know thee: what shall I know of thee? 120

*Mont.* My master's mind.

*K. Hen.* Unfold it.

*Mont.* Thus says my king: Say thou to Harry of England: Though we seemed dead, we did but sleep: advantage is a better soldier than rashness. 125  
Tell him we could have rebuked him at Harfleur, but that we thought not good to bruise an injury till it were full ripe: now we speak upon our cue, and our voice is imperial: England shall repent his folly, see-his weakness, and admire our sufferance. 130  
Bid him therefore consider of his ransom; which must proportion the losses we have borne, the subjects we have lost, the disgrace we have digested; which in weight to re-answer, his pettiness would bow under. For our losses, his exchequer is too 135  
poor; for the effusion of our blood, the muster of his kingdom too faint a number; and for our disgrace, his own person, kneeling at our feet, but a weak

128. *our cue*] *our Q. F.*

118. *Tucket*] One of the signals on the trumpet, "which being hearde simply of itselfe, without addition, commands nothing but marching after the leader" (Markham, quoted by Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ii. 255).

118. *Montjoy*] "Mont-joye: m. The title of the chiefe Herald of France" (*Cotgrave*); — as Garter is among us.

119. *my habit*] my tabard.

127. *bruise an injury*] metaphor from a boil or tumour.

128. *upon our cue*] the time being come for us to play our part (*Aldis Wright*). Johnson is to the point again here: "This phrase the authour learned among players, and has imparted it to kings."

and worthless satisfaction. To this add defiance:  
 and tell him, for conclusion, he hath betrayed 140  
 his followers, whose condemnation is pronounced.  
 So far my king and master, so much my office.

*K. Hen.* What is thy name? I know thy quality.

*Mont.* Montjoy.

*K. Hen.* Thou dost thy office fairly. Turn thee back, 145  
 And tell thy king I do not seek him now,  
 But could be willing to march on to Calais  
 Without impeachment; for, to say the sooth,  
 Though 'tis no wisdom to confess so much  
 Unto an enemy of craft and vantage, 150  
 My people are with sickness much enfeebled,  
 My numbers lessen'd, and those few I have  
 Almost no better than so many French;  
 Who when they were in health, I tell thee, herald,  
 I thought upon one pair of English legs 155  
 Did march three Frenchmen. Yet, forgive me, God,  
 That I do brag thus! this your air of France  
 Hath blown that vice in me; I must repent.  
 Go therefore, tell thy master here I am;  
 My ransom is this frail and worthless trunk, 160  
 My army but a weak and sickly guard;  
 Yet, God before, tell him we will come on,  
 Though France himself and such another neighbour  
 Stand in our way. There's for thy labour, Montjoy.

147. *Calais*] Rowe; *Calice* F 1, 2, 3; *Calice* F 4.

148. *impeachment*] hindrance, the original meaning of the word (French, *empêchement*).

150. *Unto . . . vantage*] "to a cunning enemy who is besides favoured by circumstances," says Schmidt;

but better, as Verity puts it, "an enemy so quick to seize an opportunity," —a sarcastic echo of Montjoy's words, line 125, "advantage is a better soldier than rashness."

Go, bid thy master well advise himself: 165  
 If we may pass, we will; if we be hinder'd,  
 We shall your tawny ground with your red blood  
 Discolour: and so, Montjoy, fare you well.  
 The sum of all our answer is but this:  
 We would not seek a battle as we are; 170  
 Nor, as we are, we say we will not shun it:  
 So tell your master.

*Mont.* I shall deliver so. Thanks to your highness. [*Exit.*]

*Glou.* I hope they will not come upon us now.

*K. Hen.* We are in God's hand, brother, not in theirs. 175

March to the bridge; it now draws toward night:  
 Beyond the river we'll encamp ourselves,  
 And on to-morrow bid them march away. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VII.—*The French Camp, near Agincourt.*

*Enter the Constable of France, the LORD RAMBURES,  
 ORLEANS, DAUPHIN, with others.*

*Con.* Tut! I have the best armour of the world.  
 Would it were day!

*Orl.* You have an excellent armour; but let my horse  
 have his due.

*Con.* It is the best horse of Europe. 5

*Orl.* Will it never be morning?

173. Exit] Rowe; omitted F.

*Scene VII.*

The French . . .] Theobald.

Dauphin] the Dauphin's presence at Agincourt is unhistorical; see v. 64, above. The Quarto assigns to Bourbon what it prints of his speeches.

with the plural "armours," e.g. Caxton, *Golden Legend* (1483), 278, 1, "He had . . . armours ynowe for to garnysse with seven thousand men."

3. an . . . armour] a suit of mail,



*Dau.* My lord of Orleans, and my lord high constable, you talk of horse and armour?

*Orl.* You are as well provided of both as any prince in the world. 10

*Dau.* What a long night is this! I will not change my horse with any that treads but on four pasterns. Ça, ha! He bounds from the earth as if his entrails were hairs; le cheval volant, the Pegasus, chez les narines de feu! When I bestride him, I soar, 15 I am a hawk: he trots the air; the earth sings when he touches it; the basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipe of Hermes.

*Orl.* He's of the colour of the nutmeg.

*Dau.* And of the heat of the ginger. It is a beast 20 for Perseus: he is pure air and fire; and the dull elements of earth and water never appear in him, but only in patient stillness while his rider mounts him: he is indeed a horse: and all other jades you may call beasts. 25

*Con.* Indeed, my lord, it is a most absolute and excellent horse.

*Dau.* It is the prince of palfreys; his neigh is like the bidding of a monarch, and his countenance enforces homage. 30

8. *armour?*] *armour*,—Capell.  
 Ça, ha!] Theobald; *ch'ha* F.  
*qui a* Capell; *avec* Nicholson conj.  
 Warburton.

12. *pasterns*] F 2; *postures* F 1. 13.  
*chez*] Theobald; *ches* F; *qu'il a* Rowe;  
 25. *jades . . . beasts*] *beasts . . . jades*

14. *hairs*] tennis balls were stuffed with hair. Compare *Much Ado*, III. ii. 45: "the barber's man hath been seen with him, and the old ornament of his cheek hath already stuffed tennis-balls.

25. *jades*] The word was sometimes

used without any depreciatory sense, simply for horse.

25. *beasts*] the general term for quadrupeds may suffice for all other horses (*Malone*). Warburton's alteration is therefore unnecessary.

*Orl.* No more, cousin.

*Dau.* Nay, the man hath no wit that cannot, from the rising of the lark to the lodging of the lamb, vary deserved praise on my palfrey: it is a theme as fluent as the sea; turn the sands into eloquent tongues, and my horse is argument for them all. 'Tis a subject for a sovereign to reason on, and for a sovereign's sovereign to ride on; and for the world, familiar to us and unknown, to lay apart their particular functions and wonder at him. I once writ a sonnet in his praise and began thus: "Wonder of nature,"—

*Orl.* I have heard a sonnet begin so to one's mistress.

*Dau.* Then did they imitate that which I composed to my courser; for my horse is my mistress.

*Orl.* Your mistress bears well.

*Dau.* Me well; which is the prescript praise and perfection of a good and particular mistress.

*Con.* Nay, for methought yesterday your mistress shrewdly shook your back.

*Dau.* So perhaps did yours.

*Con.* Mine was not bridled.

*Dau.* O! then belike she was old and gentle; and you rode, like a kern of Ireland, your French hose off, and in your strait strossers.

55. *strossers*] *trossers* Theobald; *troussers* Hanmer.

33. *lodging*] lying down. Compare *Henry VI.* III. ii. 176: "Like to the summer's corn by tempest lodged," *i.e.* laid flat.

48. *particular*] belonging to me only.

54. *French hose*] loose wide breeches; see Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, ed.

1883, p. 56, "the common french-hose (as they list to call them) containeth length, breadth, and sidenes sufficient, and is made very round."

55. *strossers*] trowsers. Before this garment had supplanted knee-breeches, the word was the occasion for a vast

*Con.* You have good judgment in horsemanship.

*Dau.* Be warned by me, then: they that ride so, and ride not warily, fall into foul bogs. I had rather have my horse to my mistress.

*Con.* I had as lief have my mistress a jade. 60

*Dau.* I tell thee, constable, my mistress wears his own hair.

*Con.* I could make as true a boast as that if I had a sow to my mistress.

*Dau.* Le chien est retourné à son propre vomissement, 65  
et la truie lavée au boubier: thou makest use of any thing.

*Con.* Yet do I not use my horse for my mistress; or any such proverb so little kin to the purpose.

*Ram.* My lord constable, the armour that I saw 70  
in your tent to-night, are those stars or suns upon it?

*Con.* Stars, my lord.

*Dau.* Some of them will fall to-morrow, I hope.

*Con.* And yet my sky shall not want. 75

*Dau.* That may be, for you bear a many superfluously, and 'twere more honour some were away.

*Con.* Even as your horse bears your praises; who would trot as well were some of your brags dis-  
mounted. 80

61. *his*] *her* Q, Pope. 66. *et*] Rowe; *est* F. *truie*] Rowe; *leuye* F.

amount of comment, as may be seen in the Variorum editions. Steevens explains that "trossers appear to have been tight breeches"; and Theobald, after quoting Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Coxcombe* [Act II. p. 104, ed. 1647], "I'll have you flead, and trossers made

of thy skin to tumble in," seizes the point of the present passage correctly when he writes: "By 'strait Trossers' our Poet humourously means, *femoribus denudatis*; for the Kernes of Ireland wear no Breeches, any more than the Scotch Highlanders do."

*Dau.* Would I were able to load him with his desert !  
Will it never be day ? I will trot to-morrow a  
mile, and my way shall be paved with English  
faces.

*Con.* I will not say so for fear I should be faced out 85  
of my way. But I would it were morning, for I  
would fain be about the ears of the English.

*Ram.* Who will go to hazard with me for twenty  
prisoners ?

*Con.* You must first go yourself to hazard, ere you 90  
have them.

*Dau.* 'Tis midnight ; I'll go arm myself. [Exit

*Orl.* The Dauphin longs for morning

*Ram.* He longs to eat the English.

*Con.* I think he will eat all he kills. 95

*Orl.* By the white hand of my lady, he's a gallant  
prince.

*Con.* Swear by her foot, that she may tread out the oath.

*Orl.* He is simply the most active gentleman of France.

*Con.* Doing is activity, and he will still be doing. 100

*Orl.* He never did harm, that I heard of.

*Con.* Nor will do none to-morrow : he will keep that  
good name still.

*Orl.* I know him to be valiant.

*Con.* I was told that by one that knows him better 105  
than you.

*Orl.* What's he ?

*Con.* Marry, he told me so himself ; and he said he  
cared not who knew it.

*Orl.* He needs not ; it is no hidden virtue in him. 110

*Con.* By my faith, sir, but it is ; never any body saw it but his lackey: 'tis a hooded valour; and when it appears, it will bate.

*Orl.* Ill will never said well.

*Con.* I will cap that proverb with "There is flattery in 115 friendship."

*Orl.* And I will take up that with "Give the devil his due."

*Con.* Well placed: there stands your friend for the devil: have at the very eye of that proverb with 120 "A pox of the devil."

*Orl.* You are the better at proverbs, by how much "A fool's bolt is soon shot."

*Con.* You have shot over.

*Orl.* 'Tis not the first time you were overshot. 125

*Enter a Messenger.*

*Mess.* My lord high constable, the English lie within fifteen hundred paces of your tents.

*Con.* Who hath measured the ground?

112, 113. *'tis a hooded valour . . . bate*] In the language of falconry a hawk when unhooded is said to bate, that is beat or flap the wings preparatory to flight. So in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. 14, Juliet says:

"Hood my unmann'd blood, bating in my cheeks,"

with reference to which Harting, *Ornithology of Shakespeare*, p. 62, writes: "An 'unmanned' hawk was one not sufficiently reclaimed to be familiar with her keeper, and such birds generally 'bated,' that is, fluttered or beat their own wings violently in their efforts to escape." In the text there is, of course, a play upon the other meaning of "bate," namely, to abate or become dejected.

114-123. *Ill will . . . soon shot*] For a very early instance of the last of these five proverbs I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Hart, "Proverbs of Alfred" (1246-1250), in Morris's *Specimens of Early English*, Pt. i. p. 151, "Sottes bolt is sone i-schote"; and "Proverbs of Hendyng" (1272-1307), *ibid.* Pt. ii. p. 37, "Sottes bolt is sone shote."

124. *shot over*] the mark, *i.e.* gone too far in your praise of your friend.

125. *overshot*] beaten in shooting, worsted. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 143-145:

"So study evermore is overshot:

While it doth study to have what it would,

It doth forget to do the thing it should."

*Mess.* The Lord Grandpré.

*Con.* A valiant and most expert gentleman. Would 130  
it were day! Alas! poor Harry of England, he  
longs not for the dawning as we do.

*Orl.* What a wretched and peevish fellow is this king  
of England, to mope with his fat-brained fol-  
lowers so far out of his knowledge! 135

*Con.* If the English had any apprehension, they would  
run away.

*Orl.* That they lack; for if their heads had any in-  
tellectual armour, they could never wear such  
heavy head-pieces. 140

*Ram.* That island of England breeds very valiant crea-  
tures; their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage.

*Orl.* Foolish curs! that run winking into the mouth of  
a Russian bear and have their heads crushed like  
rotten apples. You may as well say that's a valiant 145  
flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion.

*Con.* Just, just; and the men do sympathize with  
the mastiffs in robustious and rough coming on,  
leaving their wits with their wives: and then  
give them great meals of beef and iron and steel, 150  
they will eat like wolves and fight like devils.

*Orl.* Ay, but these English are shrewdly out of beef.

152. *shrewdly*] F 2; *shrowdly* F 1.

133. *peevish*] silly, thoughtless.

134. *mope*] to move unconsciously,  
without self-guidance. Compare *Tem-  
pest*, v. 239, 240:

"Even in a dream were we divided  
from them

And were brought moping hither."

136. *any apprehension*] "another [see  
lines 112, 113 above] of the Constable's  
grim jests: he means both 'any sense,

perception' (in satirical reference to  
'knowledge' in line 135), and 'any  
fear.' Orleans, however, sees only the  
former meaning" (*Verity*).

143. *winking*] See II. i. 7.

152. *shrowdly*] The Folio spelling  
represents the pronunciation of the day  
"shroadly"; we retain it in "shew"  
with the alternative spelling "show."

*Con.* Then shall we find to-morrow they have only  
stomachs to eat and none to fight. Now is it  
time to arm; come, shall we about it? 155

*Orl.* It is now two o'clock: but, let me see, by ten  
We shall have each a hundred Englishmen.

[*Exeunt*

## ACT IV

*Enter* CHORUS.

Now entertain conjecture of a time  
When creeping murmur and the poring dark  
Fills the wide vessel of the universe.  
From camp to camp through the foul womb of night  
The hum of either army stilly sounds, 5  
That the fix'd sentinels almost receive  
The secret whispers of each other's watch:  
Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames  
Each battle sees the other's umber'd face;

156. *o'*] Theobald (ed. 2); *a* F.

*Act IV. Chorus.*

Act IV.] Actus Tertius F. Enter] Rowe; omitted F. 6. *sentinels*] Johnson; *Centinels* F.

1. *conjecture*] Under the verb conject=suppose, *New Eng. Dict.* quotes the following, which will illustrate the use of our word here, Mellis, *Briefe Instr.* (1588), F v, "Conject in your owne imagination, that this . . . shoppe were a person Debitor."

2. *poring*] trying to see clearly, like a short-sighted person. This seems to be merely a case of transposition of the epithet, from the person to the thing, as in III. v. 63, "what willing ransom he will give" for "what ransom he will willingly give," and in line 38

below, "the weary and all-watched night." Perhaps we should read "peering."

6, 7. *That . . . watch*] "The armies were encamped not more than 250 paces from each other" (Holinshed, p. 186).

9. *umber'd*] "Our author's profession probably furnished him with this epithet; for from an old manuscript play in my possession, entitled *The Tell Tale* [reclaimed by Dulwich College from the Boswell sale in 1825], it appears that 'umber' was used in the

Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs 10  
 Piercing the night's dull ear; and from the tents  
 The armourers, accomplishing the knights,  
 With busy hammers closing rivets up,  
 Give dreadful note of preparation.  
 The country cocks do crow, the clocks do toll, 15  
 And the third hour of drowsy morning name.  
 Proud of their numbers, and secure in soul,  
 The confident and over-lusty French  
 Do the low-rated English play at dice;  
 And chide the cripple tardy-gaited night 20  
 Who, like a foul and ugly witch, doth limp  
 So tediously away. The poor condemned English,

16. *And . . . name.*] Steevens, 1778 (from Tyrwhitt's conjecture); *And . . . nam'd, E*; *And (the . . . morning nam'd)* Pope.

stage-exhibitions of his time. In that piece one of the marginal directions is, 'He umbers her face'" (*Malone*). So in *As You Like It* (i. iii. 114) Celia says she will "with a kind of umber smirch her face." No doubt the reference is, as Verity remarks, to the effect of the firelight cast on the faces of the soldiers.

13. *closing rivets up*] See Douce, *Illustrations*, p. 308. "This does not solely refer to the business of riveting the plate armour before it was put on, but as to part when it was on. Thus the top of the cuirass had a little projecting bit of iron, that passed through a hole pierced through the bottom of the casque. When both were put on, the smith or armourer presented himself, with his riveting hammer, 'to close the rivet up,' so that the party's head should remain steady notwithstanding the force of any blow that might be given on the cuirass or helmet."

16. *And . . . name*] Tywhitt, whom "the publication of Mr. Johnson's long-expected edition of Shakespeare's

Plays" had tempted to look "over once more the enchanting scenes of that admirable Poet," writes in 1766 of Pope's reading of this line, "I believe every reader of taste must be hurt by that heavy Parenthesis." His emendation has been almost universally adopted by editors since his time.

18. *over-lusty*] over-lively and merry.

20. *cripple*] spelt creepie in the Folio.

22. *The poor condemned English, etc.*] With the view of enhancing the effect produced by the influence of the king's personal courage, Shakespeare has somewhat exaggerated the depression of the English army; see Holinshed, p. 187, "The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter; and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore travelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit, reconciling themselves with God by hoossell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelic giver of victorie, they determined rather to die than to yeeld, or flee."



Like sacrifices, by their watchful fires  
 Sit patiently, and inly ruminatè  
 The morning's danger, and their gesture sad           25  
 Investing lank-lean cheeks and war-worn coats  
 Presenteth them unto the gazing moon  
 So many horrid ghosts. O! now, who will be-  
     hold  
 The royal captain of this ruin'd band  
 Walking from watch to watch, from tent to tent,   30  
 Let him cry "Praise and glory on his head!"  
 For forth he goes and visits all his host,  
 Bids them good-morrow with a modest smile,  
 And calls them brothers, friends and country-  
     men.  
 Upon his royal face there is no note               35  
 How dread an army hath enrounded him;  
 Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour  
 Unto the weary and all-watched night;  
 But freshly looks and overbears attaint  
 With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty;       40  
 That every wretch, pining and pale before,  
 Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks.  
 A largess universal like the sun  
 His liberal eye doth give to every one,

27. *Presenteth*] Hanmer; *Presented* F.

25. *gesture*] bearing, deportment.

39. *overbears attaint*] Attaint literally means the act of touching or hitting, especially in tilting, and Aldis Wright accordingly explains "conquers the infecting influences," comparing *Venus ana Adonis*, 741, 742:

"The marrow-eating sickness, whose attaint

Disorder breeds by heating of the blood."

But the ordinary meaning of the word is "a stain upon honour, purity," etc, and this is just the sense which the context seems to require; we may then interpret "overcomes or resists all stain upon the freshness of his royal face."

Thawing cold fear, that mean and gentle all, 45  
 Behold, as may unworthiness define,  
 A little touch of Harry in the night.  
 And so our scene must to the battle fly;  
 Where, O for pity! we shall much disgrace  
 With four or five most vile and ragged foils, 50  
 Right ill-dispos'd in brawl ridiculous,  
 The name of Agincourt. Yet sit and see;  
 Minding true things by what their mockeries be.

[*Exit.*

SCENE I.—*The English Camp at Agincourt.*

*Enter* KING HENRY, BEDFORD, and GLOUCESTER.

*K. Hen.* Gloucester, 'tis true that we are in great danger;  
 The greater therefore should our courage be.  
 Good morrow, brother Bedford. God Almighty!  
 There is some soul of goodness in things evil,  
 Would men observingly distil it out; 5  
 For our bad neighbour makes us early stirrers,

45. *fear, that . . . all] fear. Then, mean and gentle, all* Theobald.

*Scene 1.*

The English . . .] Theobald. King Henry] Rowe; the King F.

45-47. *that . . . night]* Theobald's conjecture was adopted by all the subsequent eighteenth century editors, and was explained by him as follows: "The Poet, first, expatiates on the real Influence that Harry's Eye had on his Camp; and then addressing himself to every Degree of his Audience, he tells them he'll shew (as well as his unworthy Pen and Powers can describe it) a little Touch, or Sketch of this Hero in the Night; a faint Resemblance of that Cheerfulness and Resolu-

tion which this brave Prince express'd in himself, and inspired in his Followers." I think, however, that the original reading gives a quite satisfactory sense, and that the meaning is, "so that all ranks in the English army behold, as far as our feeble powers can express it, a little touch, etc." Compare Chorus 1. q. It is only another detail in which we shall much disgrace . . . The name of Agincourt."

53. *Minding]* forming a conception of—literally, having in the mind.

Which is both healthful and good husbandry :  
 Besides, they are our outward consciences,  
 And preachers to us all ; admonishing  
 That we should dress us fairly for our end. 10  
 Thus may we gather honey from the weed,  
 And make a moral of the devil himself.

*Enter* ERPINGHAM.

Good morrow, old Sir Thomas Erpingham :  
 A good soft pillow for that good white head  
 Were better than a churlish turf of France. 15

*Erp.* Not so, my liege : this lodging likes me better,  
 Since I may say " Now lie I like a king."

*K. Hen.* 'Tis good for men to love their present pains  
 Upon example ; so the spirit is eased :  
 And when the mind is quicken'd, out of doubt, 20  
 The organs, though defunct and dead before,  
 Break up their drowsy grave, and newly move  
 With casted slough and fresh legerity.

Lend me thy cloak, Sir Thomas. Brothers both,  
 Commend me to the princes in our camp ; 25  
 Do my good-morrow to them ; and anon  
 Desire them all to my pavilion.

*Glou.* We shall, my liege.

*Erp.* Shall I attend your grace ?

23. *legerity*] *celerity* F 3, 4. 24. throwing the cloak about him] Capell.

8. *they*] The train of thought seems to require that this should refer to " things evil," and not to the French, as Aldis Wright insists ; though of course in this instance the " evil thing" is " our bad neighbour."

10. *fairly*] as we should. So III. vi. 145, " Thou dost thy office fairly."

12. *make a moral of*] of = out of ; " draw a moral precept from," as Verity puts it.

23. *legerity*] nimbleness. We still talk of *legerdemain*.

*K. Hen.* No, my good knight;  
 Go with my brothers to my lords of England: 30  
 I and my bosom must debate awhile,  
 And then I would no other company.  
*Erp.* The Lord in heaven bless thee, noble Harry!  
 [Exeunt all but King.  
*K. Hen.* God-a-mercy, old heart! thou speak'st cheerfully.

Enter PISTOL.

*Pist.* Qui va là? 35  
*K. Hen.* A friend.  
*Pist.* Discuss unto me; art thou officer?  
 Or art thou base, common and popular?  
*K. Hen.* I am a gentleman of a company.  
*Pist.* Trai'l'st thou the puissant pike? 40  
*K. Hen.* Even so. What are you?  
*Pist.* As good a gentleman as the emperor.  
*K. Hen.* Then you are a better than the king.  
*Pist.* The king's a bawcock, and a heart of gold,  
 A lad of life, an imp of fame; 45  
 Of parents good, of fist most valiant:

33. Exeunt all . . .] Cambridge editors; Exeunt F. 35. *Qui va là?* Rowe; *Che vous là?* F. 45. *A lad*] *The king's a lad* Vaughan conj.

38. *popular*] Compare i. i. 59.  
 40. *Trai'l'st . . . pike*] In Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ed. 1788, vol. ii., will be found a series of plates illustrating Pike exercise. Plate IV. fig. 23 illustrates the order, "Trayle your Pike"; the pike is grasped in the right hand just below the head, while the foot trails on the ground behind. The pike was superseded by the bayonet at the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century.

44. *bawcock*] See III. ii. 25.  
 45. *imp of fame*] Pistol had already saluted the king with this title; see *2 Henry IV.* v. v. 46. The word "imp" means a shoot or scion; as applied to persons its use was poetical or affected, and by Shakespeare is only put into the mouth of such worthies as Pistol, Holofernes, and Armado.

I kiss his dirty shoe, and from heart-string  
I love the lovely bully. What is thy name?

*K. Hen.* Harry le Roy.

*Pist.* Le Roy! a Cornish name: art thou of Cornish  
crew? 50

*K. Hen.* No, I am a Welshman.

*Pist.* Know'st thou Fluellen?

*K. Hen.* Yes.

*Pist.* Tell him, I'll knock his leek about his pate  
Upon Saint Davy's day. 55

*K. Hen.* Do not you wear your dagger in your cap  
that day, lest he knock that about yours.

*Pist.* Art thou his friend?

*K. Hen.* And his kinsman too.

*Pist.* The figo for thee then! 60

*K. Hen.* I thank you. God be with you!

*Pist.* My name is Pistol called. [*Exit.*]

*K. Hen.* It sorts well with your fierceness.

*Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.*

*Gow.* Captain Fluellen!

*Flu.* So! in the name of Jesu Christ, speak lower. 65  
It is the greatest admiration in the universal

48. *What is?* *What's* Pope. 60. Turns to go] Nicholson conj. 63.  
[Manet King F. 65. *So!*] Capell; 'So, F. *lower*] Q 3, Malone; *fewer* F;  
*lewer* Q 1, 2.

65. *Speak lower*] Steevens attempted to defend the Folio reading by a story to the effect that in Sussex "speak fewer" meant "don't speak so loud"; but this theory does not seem to have been corroborated, and is in fact unknown to the Dialect Dictionary. The Quarto reading adopted by Malone is in harmony with what follows (see line

81, "I will speak lower"), and, moreover, finds some support in Holinshed, p. 187: "Order was taken by commandement from the king, after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that, in marching forth to this village, everie man kept himself quiet."

world, when the true and aunchient prerogatifes  
 and laws of the wars is not kept. If you would  
 take the pains but to examine the wars of  
 Pompey the Great, you shall find, I warrant you, 70  
 that there is no tiddle taddle nor pibble pabble  
 in Pompey's camp; I warrant you, you shall find  
 the ceremonies of the wars, and the cares of it,  
 and the forms of it, and the sobriety of it, and  
 the modesty of it, to be otherwise. 75

*Gow.* Why, the enemy is loud; you hear him all night.

*Flu.* If the enemy is an ass and a fool and a prating  
 coxcomb, is it meet, think you, that we should  
 also, look you, be an ass and a fool and a prating  
 coxcomb? in your own conscience now? 80

*Gow.* I will speak lower.

*Flu.* I pray you and beseech you that you will.

[*Exeunt Gower and Fluellen.*]

*K. Hen.* Though it appear a little out of fashion,  
 There is much care and valour in this Welshman.

*Enter three soldiers, JOHN BATES, ALEXANDER COURT, and  
 MICHAEL WILLIAMS.*

*Court.* Brother John Bates, is not that the morning 85  
 which breaks yonder?

*Bates.* I think it be; but we have no great cause to  
 desire the approach of day.

*Will.* We see yonder the beginning of the day, but I  
 think we shall never see the end of it. Who 90  
 goes there?

71. *pabble*] Theobald; *babie* F. 80. *coxcomb*?] Collier; *Coxcombe*, F. 82.  
 Exeunt . . .] Capell; Exit F.

*K. Hen.* A friend.

*Will.* Under what captain serve you?

*K. Hen.* Under Sir Thomas Erpingham.

*Will.* A good old commander and a most kind gentle- 95  
man: I pray you, what thinks he of our estate?

*K. Hen.* Even as men wracked upon a sand, that look  
to be washed off the next tide.

*Bates.* He hath not told his thought to the king?

*K. Hen.* No; nor it is not meet he should. For, 100  
though I speak it to you, I think the king is but  
a man, as I am: the violet smells to him as it  
doth to me; the element shows to him as it doth  
to me; all his senses have but human conditions:  
his ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he 105  
appears but a man; and though his affections  
are higher mounted than ours, yet when they  
stoop, they stoop with the like wing. Therefore  
when he sees reason of fears, as we do, his fears,  
out of doubt, be of the same relish as ours are: 110  
yet, in reason, no man should possess him with  
any appearance of fear, lest he, by showing it,  
should dishearten his army.

94. *Thomas*] Pope ed. 2 (on Theobald's suggestion); *John F.* 97.  
*wracked*] *wrecked* Theobald (ed. 2); *wrackt* F.

97. *wracked*] The vowel in this word is always *a* in the old editions, and I prefer to leave it unchanged; compare i. ii. 165, and *Macbeth*, v. v. 51, where "wrack" rhymes with "back."

103. *the element*] the sky. "This sense is apparently due to Mediæval Latin *elementum ignis* as a name of the starry sphere; but there may be a mixture of the sense 'air'" (*New Eng.*

*Dict.*). Compare Sidney, *Arcadia* (1580), v. 458 (ed. 1590), "Morning had taken full possession of the element"; still in use dialectically.

106. *his affections*] his emotions, feelings, which move in a higher plane than ours.

108. *stoop*] the language of falconry again, as in III. vii. 112.

111, 112. *possess . . . fear*] compare line 296, "Possess them not with fear."

*Bates.* He may show what outward courage he will,  
 but I believe, as cold a night as 'tis, he could 115  
 wish himself in Thames up to the neck, and so I  
 would he were, and I by him, at all adventures,  
 so we were quit here.

*K. Hen.* By my troth, I will speak my conscience of  
 the king: I think he would not wish himself any 120  
 where but where he is.

*Bates.* Then I would he were here alone; so should he  
 be sure to be ransomed, and a many poor men's  
 lives saved.

*K. Hen.* I dare say you love him not so ill to wish 125  
 him here alone, howsoever you speak this to feel  
 other men's minds: methinks I could not die  
 any where so contented as in the king's company,  
 his cause being just and his quarrel honourable.

*Will.* That's more than we know. 130

*Bates.* Ay, or more than we should seek after; for we  
 know enough if we know we are the king's sub-  
 jects. If his cause be wrong, our obedience to  
 the king wipes the crime of it out of us.

*Will.* But if the cause be not good, the king him- 135  
 self hath a heavy reckoning to make; when  
 all those legs and arms and heads, chopped off  
 in a battle, shall join together at the latter  
 day, and cry all "We died at such a place";  
 some swearing, some crying for a surgeon, some 140  
 upon their wives left poor behind them, some

126, 127. *alone, . . . minds*:] Cambridge editors; *alone: . . . minds*, F.

131. *Ay, or more*] Capell proposed on line 193, below.  
 to give this speech to Court; see note



upon the debts they owe, some upon their children rawly left. I am afraid there are few die well that die in a battle; for how can they charitably dispose of any thing when 145 blood is their argument? Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the king that led them to it, who to disobey were against all proportion of subjection.

*K. Hen.* So, if a son that is by his father sent about 150 merchandise do sinfully miscarry upon the sea, the imputation of his wickedness, by your rule, should be imposed upon his father that sent him: or if a servant, under his master's command transporting a sum of money, be assailed by 155 robbers and die in many irreconciled iniquities, you may call the business of the master the author of the servant's damnation. But this is not so: the king is not bound to answer the particular endings of his soldiers, the father of his 160 son, nor the master of his servant; for they purpose not their death when they purpose their services. Besides there is no king, be his cause never so spotless, if it come to the arbitrement of swords, can try it out with all unspotted soldiers. 165

148. *who*] *whom* F 2, 3, 4.

143. *rawly*] without due preparation and provision. Compare *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 26-28:

"Why in that rawness left you wife and child,

Those precious motives, those strong knots of love,  
Without leave-taking?"

145. *charitably dispose of any thing*] settle anything in a spirit of charity.

146. *argument*] Compare III. i. 21.

151. *sinfully miscarry*] die in his sins.

Some, peradventure, have on them the guilt of premeditated and contrived murder; some, of beguiling virgins with the broken seals of perjury; some, making the wars their bulwark, that have before gored the gentle bosom of peace 170 with pillage and robbery. Now, if these men have defeated the law and outrun native punishment, though they can outstrip men, they have no wings to fly from God: war is his beadle, war is his vengeance; so that here men are punished 175 for before-breach of the king's laws in now the king's quarrel: where they feared the death they have borne life away, and where they would be safe they perish. Then, if they die unprovided, no more is the king guilty of their damnation 180 than he was before guilty of those impieties for the which they are now visited. Every subject's duty is the king's; but every subject's soul is his own. Therefore should every soldier in the wars do as every sick man in his bed, wash every 185 mote out of his conscience; and dying so, death is to him advantage; or not dying, the time was blessedly lost wherein such preparation was gained: and in him that escapes, it were not sin to think that, making God so free an offer, he 190

176. *before-breach*] Capell; *before breach* F. 186. *mote*] Malone; *moth* F; *moath* Q. 188. *blessedly lost*] *well spent* Q.

172. *native punishment*] punishment in their own country. So, "native graves," iv. iii. 96, below.

186. *mote*] the Folio "moth" is merely an alternative spelling. On the pronunciation of *th* as *t* in the

sixteenth century, see Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, iii. 969-972. As far as this word is concerned, the Folio spelling is consistent, it is always "moth."

let him outlive that day to see his greatness, and to teach others how they should prepare.

*Will.* 'Tis certain, every man that dies ill, the ill upon his own head; the king is not to answer it.

*Bates.* I do not desire he should answer for me; and 195 yet I determine to fight lustily for him.

*K. Hen.* I myself heard the king say he would not be ransomed.

*Will.* Ay, he said so, to make us fight cheerfully; but when our throats are cut he may be ransomed, 200 and we ne'er the wiser.

*K. Hen.* If I live to see it, I will never trust his word after.

*Will.* You pay him then. That's a perilous shot out of an elder-gun, that a poor and a private displeasure can do against a monarch. You may as 205 well go about to turn the sun to ice with fanning in his face with a peacock's feather. You'll never trust his word after! come, 'tis a foolish saying.

*K. Hen.* Your reproof is something too round: I should be angry with you if the time were convenient. 210

*Will.* Let it be a quarrel between us, if you live.

*K. Hen.* I embrace it.

193. *upon*] *is upon* F 4. 203. *You pay*] *Mas youle pay* Q, Malone.  
204. *a private*] *a* omitted F 3, 4.

193. *'Tis certain*] Capell proposed to give this speech, as unsuitable to the stubbornness of the characters of Williams and Bates, to Court, of whom "we see nothing in what editions have given him; who bring him in unaccountably only to ask a question about the morning, and then shut up his mouth. . . . At all events, [it] should be taken from Williams (being too flat a contradiction to character, and to what

he said last), and, if you will, join'd to Bates's." This seems reasonable enough; it might indeed be replied that Williams has been led to modify his views by the king's speech; but if so, his pessimistic humour shows itself again immediately in what he next says.  
204. *elder-gun*] *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Sir Thomas Overbury, *A Wife* (circa 1613), "As boyes doe Pellets in Elderne guns."

*Will.* How shall I know thee again ?

*K. Hen.* Give me any gage of thine, and I will wear  
it in my bonnet: then, if ever thou darest ac- 215  
knowledge it, I will make it my quarrel.

*Will.* Here's my glove: give me another of thine.

*K. Hen.* There.

*Will.* This will I also wear in my cap: if ever thou  
come to me and say after to-morrow, "This is 220  
my glove," by this hand I will take thee a box  
on the ear.

*K. Hen.* If ever I live to see it, I will challenge it.

*Will.* Thou darest as well be hanged.

*K. Hen.* Well, I will do it, though I take thee in the 225  
king's company.

*Will.* Keep thy word: fare thee well.

*Bates.* Be friends, you English fools, be friends: we  
have French quarrels enow, if you could tell how  
to reckon. 230

*K. Hen.* Indeed, the French may lay twenty French  
crowns to one, they will beat us; for they bear  
them on their shoulders: but it is no English  
treason to cut French crowns, and to-morrow the  
king himself will be a clipper. [*Exeunt Soldiers.* 235  
Upon the king! let us our lives, our souls,

235. Exeunt . . . ] Johnson ; Exit . . . after line 230 F.

236-243.] Arranged as in the Cam-  
bridge Shakespeare. In the Folio the  
lines are printed thus :

"Vpon the King, let vs our Liues,  
our Soules,  
Our Debts, our carefull Wiues,  
Our Children, and our Sinnes, lay  
on the King :  
We must beare all.

O hard Condition, Twin-borne  
with Greatnesse,  
Subject to the breath of euerie  
foole, whose sence  
No more can feele, but his owne  
wringing.  
What infinite hearts-case must  
Kings neglect,  
That priuate men enioy?"

Our debts, our careful wives,  
 Our children, and our sins lay on the king!  
 We must bear all. O hard condition!  
 Twin-born with greatness, subject to the breath 240  
 Of every fool, whose sense no more can feel  
 But his own wringing. What infinite heart's ease  
 Must kings neglect that private men enjoy!  
 And what have kings that privates have not too,  
 Save ceremony, save general ceremony? 245  
 And what art thou, thou idol ceremony?  
 What kind of god art thou, that suffer'st more  
 Of mortal griefs than do thy worshippers?  
 What are thy rents? what are thy comings-in?  
 O ceremony, show me but thy worth! 250  
 What is thy soul of adoration?  
 Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form,  
 Creating awe and fear in other men?  
 Wherein thou art less happy, being fear'd,  
 Than they in fearing. 255  
 What drink'st thou oft, instead of homage sweet,  
 But poison'd flattery? O! be sick, great greatness,  
 And bid thy ceremony give thee cure.  
 Think'st thou the fiery fever will go out  
 With titles blown from adulation? 260

239. *We*] F 1, 2; *He* F 3, 4. 251. *What is . . . adoration?*] Knight;  
*What? is thy Soule of Odoration?* F; *What? is thy Soule of Adoration?* F 2.  
 252. *ought*] Theobald; *ought* F. 259. *Think'st*] Rowe; *Thinks* F.

237. *careful*] full of cares, anxious.  
 251. *thy soul of adoration*] trans-  
 position for "the soul of thy adora-  
 tion," i.e. the essence or secret of the  
 adoration paid to thee. So *Julius*  
*Cæsar*, II. i. 256:

"Make me acquainted with your  
 cause of grief,"  
 i.e. the cause of your grief.  
 259, 260. *Think'st . . . adulation*]  
 "The imagery is that of adulation  
 with titles, which are the breath of his

Will it give place to flexure and low-bending?  
 Canst thou, when thou command'st the beggar's knee,  
 Command the health of it? No, thou proud dream,  
 That play'st so subtly with a king's repose;  
 I am a king that find thee; and I know 265  
 'Tis not the balm, the sceptre and the ball,  
 The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,  
 The intertissued robe of gold and pearl,  
 The farced title running 'fore the king,  
 The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp 270  
 That beats upon the high shore of this world,  
 No, not all these, thrice-gorgeous ceremony,  
 Not all these, laid in bed majestical,  
 Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,  
 Who with a body fill'd and vacant mind 275  
 Gets him to rest, cramm'd with distressful bread;  
 Never sees horrid night, the child of hell,  
 But, like a lackey, from the rise to set  
 Sweats in the eye of Phoebus, and all night  
 Sleeps in Elysium; next day after dawn, 280  
 Doth rise and help Hyperion to his horse,  
 And follows so the ever-running year  
 With profitable labour to his grave:

264. *subtly*] *subtily* F. 281. *Hyperion*] *Hiperion* F 2; *Hiperio* F 1.

lips, vainly puffing at the strong fire of a fever, as if it were a mere candle flame, which a breath can extinguish" (*Vaughan*).

269. *farced*] stuffed, filled out with pompous phrases.

276. *distressful*] not, of course, "causing distress," as in *1 Henry VI*. v. iv. 126, "distressful war"; but "earned by distress," *i.e.* hard work.

278. *lackey*] Mr. Craig writes: "a lackey was one who ran before the coaches of great people to announce their coming; they were often Irishmen."

280, 281. *next day . . . horse*] "Does the poetry of the world contain language of more felicitous daring than [these lines]—words in which homeliness and sublimity kiss each other?" (*Vaughan*).

And, but for ceremony, such a wretch,  
 Winding up days with toil and nights with sleep, 285  
 Had the fore-hand and vantage of a king.  
 The slave, a member of the country's peace,  
 Enjoys it; but in gross brain little wots  
 What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,  
 Whose hours the peasant best advantages. 290

*Enter* ERPINGHAM.

*Exp.* My lord, your nobles, jealous of your absence,  
 Seek through your camp to find you.

*K. Hen.* Good old knight,  
 Collect them all together at my tent:  
 I'll be before thee.

*Exp.* I shall do 't, my lord. [*Exit.*]

*K. Hen.* O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts; 295  
 Possess them not with fear; take from them now  
 The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers  
 Pluck their hearts from them. Not to-day, O Lord!  
 O! not to-day, think not upon the fault  
 My father made in compassing the crown. 300  
 I Richard's body have interred new,  
 And on it have bestow'd more contrite tears

297, 298. *reckoning, if . . . Pluck*] Steevens (1778) from Tyrwhitt's conjecture; *reckning of th' opposed numbers: Pluck F; reck'ning; lest th' opposed numbers Pluck* Theobald.

290. *Whose . . . advantages*] the hours of which the peasant employs to the best advantage, by means of the "profitable labour" of line 283. For this use of the verb advantage, compare *Richard III.* iv. iv. 323:

"Advantaging their loan with interest."  
 This is much more natural than the

usual interpretation which originated with Steevens; according to this, "hours" is the subject and "peasant" the object of the verb.

297. *if the opposed*] Tyrwhitt suggests that his reading, as compared with Theobald's, has the merit "of producing a given effect with the least possible force."

Than from it issued forced drops of blood.  
 Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,  
 Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up 305  
 Toward heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built  
 Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests  
 Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do;  
 Though all that I can do is nothing worth,  
 Since that my penitence comes after all, 310  
 Imploring pardon.

*Enter GLOUCESTER.*

*Glou.* My liege!

*K. Hen.* My brother Gloucester's voice! Ay;  
 I know thy errand, I will go with thee:  
 The day, my friends; and all things stay for me.

*[Exeunt*

SCENE II.—*The French Camp.*

*Enter the DAUPHIN, ORLEANS, RAMBURES, and others.*

*Orl.* The sun doth gild our armour; up, my lords!

*Dau.* Montez à cheval! My horse! valet! lacquais! ha!

314. *friends*] Q, Theobald; *friend* F.

*Scene II.*

The French Camp] Theobald. and others] Capell; and Beaumont F. 1. *armour; up,*] *armour, up* F 2, 3; *Armour up,* F 1. 2. *Montez à*] Steevens from Capell's conjecture; *Monte F. valet*] F 2, 3, 4; *Verlot* F 1; *varlet* Dyce.

307. *Two chantries*] "The charter-house of monks called Shene, [and] the house of close nunnas called Syon" (Fabyan's *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis), p. 589). Aldis Wright quotes the passage at length, at the same time pointing out that, according to "the charters of foundation of the two religious houses of Bethlehem at Shene

and of Sion on the opposite side of the river, Henry did *not* establish them that masses might be sung for the repose of Richard's soul."

*Scene II.*

2-6. *Montez . . . Orleans*] Aldis Wright observes: "If anyone should find a meaning in these ejaculations,



*Orl.* O brave spirit!

*Dau.* Via! les eaux et la terre!

*Orl.* Rien puis? l'air et le feu!

5

*Dau.* Ciel! cousin Orleans.

*Enter Constable.*

Now, my lord constable!

*Con.* Hark, how our steeds for present service neigh!

*Dau.* Mount them, and make incision in their hides,  
That their hot blood may spin in English eyes, 10  
And dout them with superfluous courage, ha!

*Ram.* What! will you have them weep our horses' blood?  
How shall we then behold their natural tears?

*Enter Messenger.*

*Mess.* The English are embattail'd, you French peers.

*Con.* To horse, you gallant princes! straight to horse! 15  
Do but behold yon poor and starved band,  
And your fair show shall suck away their souls,  
Leaving them but the shales and husks of men.  
There is not work enough for all our hands;  
Scarce blood enough in all their sickly veins 20

4. *les eaux*] Theobald; *les ewes* F; *les cieux* Rowe. *la terre*] Rowe; *terre* F.  
5. *Rien puis? l'air*] Malone; *Rien puis le air* F. *le feu*] Rowe; *feu* F. 6.  
*Ciel!*] Theobald; *Cein*, F.

he will probably discover more than Shakespeare intended, if indeed he wrote the lines at all. The actor who took the part of the Dauphin probably had a smattering of French and was supposed to represent the typical Frenchman." Rann (1786) had found a meaning as follows:—"The Dauphin on the sight of his horse, is here supposed rapturously to exclaim,

'See how high he bounds above the waters and the earth!' 'Well,' replies Orleans, 'but what think you of the air and the fire?' 'Why, cousin Orleans,' continues the Dauphin, 'he will not only surmount them, but the heavens also upon occasion.'" Malone ventured another interpretation, but the reader has probably had enough.  
18. *shales*] variant of shells.

To give each naked curtle-axe a stain,  
 That our French gallants shall to-day draw out,  
 And sheathe for lack of sport : let us but blow on them,  
 The vapour of our valour will o'erturn them.  
 'Tis positive 'gainst all exceptions, lords, 25  
 That our superfluous lackeys and our peasants,  
 Who in unnecessary action swarm  
 About our squares of battle, were enow  
 To purge this field of such a hilding foc,  
 Though we upon this mountain's basis by 30  
 Took stand for idle speculation :  
 But that our honours must not. What's to say ?  
 A very little little let us do,  
 And all is done. Then let the trumpets sound  
 The tucket sonance and the note to mount : 35  
 For our approach shall so much dare the field  
 That England shall couch down in fear, and yield.

25. 'gainst] F 2 ; against F 1. 35. sonance] Johnson ; Sonuance F.

21. *curtle-axe*] a perverted form of cutlass (sixteenth century, coutelase).

27. *unnecessary action*] useless activity.

29. *hilding*] sorry, worthless ; generally used by Shakespeare as a substantive.

35. *tucket sonance*] See III. vi. 118. The Folio reading is clearly a mistake for "sonaunce," sound.

36, 37. *For our . . . yield*] The imagery is from lark-catching, as in *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 279-282 :

"If we live thus tamely,

To be thus jaded by a piece of  
 scarlet,  
 Farewell nobility ; let his grace go  
 forward,  
 And dare us with his cap like  
 larks."

"Dare" in this sense (M.E. *darien*) is quite a distinct word from "dare," to venture (O.E. *durran*) ; see *New Eng. Dict.* for details. Used intransitively, it means to stare like one stupefied or fascinated ; thus Skelton (1526), *Magnyf.* 1358, "I have an hoby can make larkys to dare" ; and transitively to daze, fascinate ; e.g. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 107 : "Like unto men that dare larks, which hold up an hoby, that the larks' eyes being ever upon the hoby, should not see the net that is laid on their heads." This was one method of daring ; another is thus described by Harting, *Ornithology of Shakespeare*, p. 136 : "Formerly a curious method of taking larks was practised by means of small pieces of looking-glass and red cloth.

*Enter GRANDPRÉ.*

*Grand.* Why do you stay so long, my lords of France ?

Yon island carrions, desperate of their bones,  
Ill-favour'dly become the morning field : 40

Their ragged curtains poorly are let loose,  
And our air shakes them passing scornfully :  
Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggar'd host,  
And faintly through a rusty beaver peeps :

The horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks, 45  
With torch-staves in their hand ; and their poor  
jades

Lob down their heads, dropping the hides and hips,  
The gum down-roping from their pale-dead eyes,  
And in their pale dull mouths the gimmel'd bit

43. *bankrupt*] Rowe ; *banqu'roust* F. 47. *hides*] *sides* Vaughan conj. 49.  
*gimmel'd*] Delius, 1872 ; *lymold* F ; *gimmel* Johnson.

These were made to move at a little distance from the fowler by means of a string, and when the birds, impelled by curiosity, came within range, they were taken in a net." This is the method referred to in the passage from *Henry VIII.*, the cardinal's biretta being of scarlet cloth. Yarell suggests that the bits of revolving looking-glass are perhaps mistaken by the birds for the gleam of running water. "Scores of larks," he writes, "are attracted in this way during the 'flight,' and uselessly shot" (*British Birds* (ed. 1874), i. 620).

41. *Their . . . curtains*] their colours, as Monck Mason remarks.

44. *beaver*] properly the lower part of the face-guard of a helmet, from the O.F. *bavière*, a child's bib, but often, as here, not distinguished from the visor, or upper part ; in this case it could be pushed up over the top of the helmet, and drawn down at pleasure.

45, 46. *The . . . hand*] Steevens quotes Webster, *White Devil* (ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 19) : "I saw him at last tilting : he showed like a pewter candlestick, fashioned like a man in armour, holding a tilting-staff in his hand, little bigger than a candle of twelve i' the pound." He also gives a "representation of one of these candlesticks, now in possession of Francis Douce, Esq." It is a figure in armour with outstretched arms and a candle socket in each hand.

47. *Lob*] The word survives dialectically. In Northampton and Suffolk a tired or heavy-headed horse would be said to "lob 'as hid," *i.e.* hang down his head. See the *Dialect Dictionary*.

48. *down-roping*] See III. v. 23.

49. *gimmel'd*] The *New Eng. Dict.* defines the word, "made with gimmals or joints ; consisting of two similar parts hinged

Lies foul with chaw'd grass, still and motionless; 50

And their executors, the knavish crows,

Fly o'er them, all impatient for their hour.

Description cannot suit itself in words

To demonstrate the life of such a battle

In life so lifeless as it shows itself. 55

*Con.* They have said their prayers, and they stay for death.

*Dau.* Shall we go send them dinners and fresh suits,

And give their fasting horses provender,

And after fight with them?

*Con.* I stay but for my guard. On to the field! 60

50. *chaw'd grass*] F 2; *chaw'd-grasse* F 1; *chew'd grass* Johnson. *still*] *stiff* Vaughan conj. 52. *them, all*] Rowe; *them all*, F. 55. *lifeless*] Capell; *livelesse* F. 60. *guard. On*] *guidon*: Anon. conj.

together," and quotes another example of its use from *Edward III.* (1596), i. ii. 26-29:

"And never shall our bonny riders rest . . .

Nor lay aside their Iacks of Gy-mould mayle."

Capell had reprinted *Edward III.* in his *Prolusions* (1760), and this example did not, of course, escape Steevens, but he kept to Johnson's reading nevertheless.

50. *still and motionless*] Vaughan characterises this as "mere verbiage," and in support of his conjecture "stiff" appeals to "the nature of the gimball bit, consisting of rings or links, which, unless fouled with rust or some other hindrance, played freely and constituted a flexible instrument—just the opposite of 'stiff.'" Surely this is over-refining.

51. *their executors*] Johnson's note is: "The crows who are to have the disposal of what they shall leave, their hides and their flesh." On this Aldis Wright remarks: "This is scarcely the legal definition of an executor. Perhaps it was in accordance with Shakespeare's experience." We need not, however, tie Shakespeare down to the

legal definition. Toppell—*History of Four-footed Beasts* (1607), ed. 1673, 177—may be allowed the same latitude: "He destroyeth them . . . and so maketh himself executor to their heaps of hony."

60. *guard. On*] The Folio reading gives a satisfactory sense, and I therefore retain it. The Constable is waiting for his bodyguard, among whom was his standard-bearer, but these men not coming up in time, he snatches a banner from a trumpeter, and makes it serve instead of his proper ensign. This is substantially Malone's interpretation, and squares well enough with the parallel passage in Holinshed (p. 189), a passage also quoted in support of the rival reading;—it will be observed that Shakespeare has substituted the Constable for the Duke of Brabant: "They [the French] thought themselves so sure of victorie, that diverse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their servants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards; as, amongst others, the Duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be

I will the banner from a trumpet take,  
 And use it for my haste. Come, come, away!  
 The sun is high, and we outwear the day. [Exeunt.]

SCENE III.—*The English camp.*

*Enter* GLOUCESTER, BEDFORD, EXETER, ERPINGHAM, *with  
 all his host*; SALISBURY, and WESTMORELAND.

*Glou.* Where is the king?

*Bed.* The king himself is rode to view their battle.

*West.* Of fighting men they have full threescore thousand.

*Exe.* There's five to one; besides, they all are fresh.

*Sal.* God's arm strike with us! 'tis a fearful odds. 5

God be wi' you, princes all; I'll to my charge:

If we no more meet till we meet in heaven,

Then, joyfully, my noble Lord of Bedford,

My dear Lord Gloucester, and my good Lord Exeter,

And my kind kinsman, warriors all, adieu! 10

*Bed.* Farewell, good Salisbury; and good luck go with thee!

The English camp] Theobald. 6. *be wi'*] Rowe; *buy'* F.

taken from a trumpet and fastened to a spear; the which he commanded to be borne before him in stead of his standard." The anonymous conjecture "guidon" ("I stay but for my guidon: to the field!") is recorded in the Rev. Joseph Rann's edition (Oxford, 1786-94), and was adopted by the Cambridge editors. Knight, Dyce, and others also adopted it, but attributed it to Dr. Thackeray, Provost of King's, who probably made it independently. A guidon is a pennon broad at the end next the staff, and forked or pointed at the other, and therefore to be distinguished from the more imposing standard—the ensign for which, accord-

ing to Holinshed, the Duke of Brabant [Constable] was waiting, and which the hastily substituted "banner" taken from a trumpet would resemble, in so far as it would be square and not triangular.

61. *banner from a trumpet*] banner must here be used for *banderole*, the little fringed flag that hangs from a trumpet. It is not necessary with Schmidt and Aldis Wright to take "trumpet" here as "trumpeter."

*Scene III.*

10. *my kind kinsman*] Westmoreland's younger son had married Salisbury's daughter.

*Exe.* Farewell, kind lord. Fight valiantly to-day:  
And yet I do thee wrong to mind thee of it,  
For thou art fram'd of the firm truth of valour.

[*Exit Salisbury.*

*Bed.* He is as full of valour as of kindness; 15  
Princely in both.

*Enter the King.*

*West.* O! that we now had here  
But one ten thousand of those men in England  
That do no work to-day.

*K. Hen.* What's he that wishes so?  
My cousin Westmoreland? No, my fair cousin:  
If we are mark'd to die, we are enow 20  
To do our country loss; and if to live,  
The fewer men, the greater share of honour.  
God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more.  
By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,

13, 14. *And yet . . . valour*] these lines follow 11, *go with thee!* in F; transposed by Theobald, on Thirlby's conjecture. 14. *Exit Salisbury*] Rowe; omitted F. 19. *Westmoreland?*] Rowe; *Westmerland* F. 24. *Jove*] *Heaven* Malone conj.

13, 14. *And yet . . . valour*] "The ingenious Dr. Thirlby's" emendation, as Theobald remarked, is supported by the corresponding passage in the Quartos:—

"Farewell kind Lord, fight valiantly to-day,

And yet in truth, I do thee wrong,  
For thou art made on the true sparkes of honour."

16-18. *O! that we now . . . to-day*] This wish was really uttered by Sir Walter Hungerford, who was at Agincourt with a train of seventeen lances and fifty-five archers. The King's chaplain, who was present, records the circumstance as follows in his *Henrici Quinti*

*Gesta*: "Et inter caetera quae tunc dicta notavi, quidam dominus Walterus Hungyrford miles impraecabatur ad faciem regis quod habuisset ad illam paucam familiam quam ibi habuit, decem millia de melioribus sagittariis Angliae, qui secum desiderarent esse. Cui rex, . . . nollem habere etsi possem plures per unum quam habeo."

24. *By Jove*] Johnson's note is, "The King prays like a Christian and swears like a heathen"; but "Jove" is probably an alteration of some such word as "Heaven" (see critical note) made by the editors of the Folio in consequence of the Act of 3 James I. (1605) against profanity on the stage.

Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost ;                    25  
 It yearns me not if men my garments wear ;  
 Such outward things dwell not in my desires :  
 But if it be a sin to covet honour,  
 I am the most offending soul alive.  
 No, faith, my coz, wish not a man from England : 30  
 God's peace ! I would not lose so great an honour  
 As one man more, methinks, would share from me,  
 For the best hope I have. O ! do not wish one more :  
 Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,  
 That he which hath no stomach to this fight,                    35  
 Let him depart ; his passport shall be made,  
 And crowns for convoy put into his purse :  
 We would not die in that man's company  
 That fears his fellowship to die with us.  
 This day is call'd the feast of Crispian :                            40  
 He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,  
 Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,  
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.  
 He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
 Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,                    45  
 And say " To-morrow is Saint Crispian " :  
 Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,  
 And say " These wounds I had on Crispin's day."  
 Old men forget ; yet all shall be forgot,  
 But he 'll remember with advantages                            50

38. *die]* *live* Hudson from Coleridge's conj.    44. *shall live . . . and see]*  
 Pope ; *shall see . . . and live* F.    48. *And . . . day]* Q, Malone ; omitted F.  
 49, 50. *be forgot, But]* Q, Malone ; *be forgot : But* F.

26. *yearns]* grieves, spelt "yernes"    50. *with advantages]* interest ; all  
 in the Folio here ; see II. iii. 3, where    that took place, and probably more  
 the Folio spells "erne."                    too.

What feats he did that day. Then shall our names,  
 Familiar in his mouth as household words,  
 Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,  
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,  
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd. 55  
 This story shall the good man teach his son ;  
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,  
 From this day to the ending of the world,  
 But we in it shall be remembered ;  
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers ; 60  
 For he to-day that sheds his blood with me  
 Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile  
 This day shall gentle his condition :  
 And gentlemen in England now a-bed  
 Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here, 65  
 And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks  
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

*Re-enter SALISBURY.*

*Sal.* My sovereign lord, bestow yourself with speed :  
 The French are bravely in their battles set,  
 And will with all expedience charge on us. 70

*K. Hen.* All things are ready, if our minds be so.

*West.* Perish the man whose mind is backward now !

52. *his mouth*] *their mouths* Q, Malone. 67. *Re-enter*] Capell ; *Enter F.*

57. *Crispin Crispian*] Crispinus and his brother Crispianus, the patron saints of shoemakers, fled from Rome to Soissons in the time of Diocletian. They supported themselves by shoemaking, and suffered martyrdom in 287 by being thrown into a caldron of boiling lead. They are commemorated on October 25th.

63. *This day . . . condition*] Sir

Harris Nicolas, *Agincourt*, p. cccci, says : "When the King upon the occasion of another expedition in 1417 found it necessary to restrain the assumption of coats of arms, he specially excepted such as had borne them at Agincourt."

[69. *battles*] lines, divisions. So *battle* = army in ii. 54 *ante*.]



*K. Hen.* Thou dost not wish more help from England, coz ?

*West.* God's will ! my liege, would you and I alone,  
Without more help, could fight this royal battle ! 75

*K. Hen.* Why, now thou hast unwish'd five thousand men ;  
Which likes me better than to wish us one.

You know your places : God be with you all !

*Tucket.* Enter MONTJOY.

*Mont.* Once more I come to know of thee, King Harry,  
If for thy ransom thou wilt now compound, 80

Before thy most assured overthrow :

For certainly thou art so near the gulf

Thou needs must be englutted. Besides, in mercy,

The constable desires thee thou wilt mind

Thy followers of repentance ; that their souls 85

May make a peaceful and a sweet retire

From off these fields, where, wretches, their poor  
bodies

Must lie and fester.

*K. Hen.* Who hath sent thee now ?

*Mont.* The Constable of France.

*K. Hen.* I pray thee, bear my former answer back : 90

Bid them achieve me and then sell my bones.

Good God ! why should they mock poor fellows thus ?

The man that once did sell the lion's skin

75. *could fight this royal battle] might fight this battle out Q, Capell.*

76. *five thousand men] according to Holinshed, p. 189, the English army consisted of 15,000 men, horse and foot ; but as Johnson says, "Shakespeare never thinks of such trifles as numbers."*

91. *achieve me] bring me to my end, slay me. New Eng. Dict. quotes Lord Berner's Boke of M. Aurelius (1534) B (ed. 1546), "All these thynges tyme acheveth and burieth."*

While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.  
 A many of our bodies shall no doubt 95  
 Find native graves; upon the which, I trust,  
 Shall witness live in brass of this day's work;  
 And those that leave their valiant bones in France,  
 Dying like men, though buried in your dunghills,  
 They shall be fam'd; for there the sun shall greet  
 them, 100  
 And draw their honours reeking up to heaven,  
 Leaving their earthly parts to choke your clime,  
 The smell whereof shall breed a plague in France.  
 Mark then abounding valour in our English,  
 That being dead, like to the bullet's grazing, 105  
 Break out into a second course of mischief,  
 Killing in relapse of mortality.  
 Let me speak proudly: tell the constable  
 We are but warriors for the working-day;  
 Our gayness and our gilt are all besmirch'd 110  
 With rainy marching in the painful field;  
 There's not a piece of feather in our host—  
 Good argument, I hope, we will not fly—

104. *abounding*] *abundant* Q; a *bounding* Theobald. 105. *bullet's*] Hanmer; *bullets* F. *grazing*] Theobald (ed. 2); *grasing* F 2; *crasing* F 1. 113. *will*] *shall* Q, Capell.

104. *abounding*] The Folio reading was restored by Malone. Theobald explains his conjecture a bounding "as comparing the Revival of the English Valour to the rebounding of a Cannon-ball." Boswell-Stone remarks, "the 'abounding,' *i.e.* the superfluous valour of the English is the cause of their 'killing in relapse of mortality.'"

105. *grazing*] glancing off either from the first man it hits or from the ground. Compare Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, v. i. 344 (ed. 1652): "But as

those bullets which graze on the ground do most mischief to an army; so she hurts most with those glances which are shot from a down-cast eye."

107. *relapse of mortality*] a deadly rebound. Steevens, without any authority, hazarded the guess that *relapse* here might = *rebound*, and then the words would mean a deadly rebound. But more probably the word is used in its ordinary sense of falling back, and the expression signifies that the bodies fall back into their elements, decompose in fact.

And time hath worn us into slovenry :  
 But, by the mass, our hearts are in the trim ; 115  
 And my poor soldiers tell me, yet ere night  
 They 'll be in fresher robes, or they will pluck  
 The gay new coats o'er the French soldiers' heads,  
 And turn them out of service. If they do this,  
 As, if God please, they shall, my ransom then 120  
 Will soon be levied. Herald, save thou thy labour ;  
 Come thou no more for ransom, gentle herald :  
 They shall have none, I swear, but these my joints ;  
 Which if they have as I will leave 'em them,  
 Shall yield them little, tell the constable. 125

*Mont.* I shall, King Harry. And so fare thee well :

Thou never shalt hear herald any more. [*Exit.*]

*K. Hen.* I fear thou wilt once more come again for a ransom.

*Enter YORK.*

*York.* My lord, most humbly on my knee I beg

The leading of the vaward. 130

124. *leave 'em them,*] *leave 'em, they* Vaughan conj.; *'em* Rowe; *vm* F 1, 2, 3; *'um* F 4. 128. *thou wilt . . . for a ransom*] *thou 'lt . . . for ransom* Theobald. *come again*] *common* Vaughan conj.

117. *or they will*] Hanmer robbed the line of its point by substituting "for" for "or."

128. *I fear . . . ransom*] Theobald's alteration is supported by Aldis Wright on the ground that all Henry's speeches in this scene are in verse. But how much more dramatic is it that, Montjoy having departed and the tension of the interview relaxed, the King should fall back into the language of everyday life, and pronounce these words, with measured irony, as if thinking aloud, "I fear thou *wilt*—once more—come again—for—a ransom!"

128. *come again*] Vaughan in support

of his conjecture refers to Holinshed, p. 191: "Here we may not forget how the French, thus in their iolitic, sent a herald to King Henrie, to inquire what ransome he would offer. Whereunto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliverance; promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasse should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his living bodie should paie anie ransome."

130. *vaward*] vanguard.

*K. Hen.* Take it, brave York. Now, soldiers, march away :  
And how thou pleasest, God, dispose the day !

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.—*The Field of Battle.*

*Alarums. Excursions. Enter PISTOL, French Soldier,  
and Boy.*

*Pist.* Yield, cur !

*Fr. Sold.* Je pense que vous estes gentilhomme de  
bonne qualité.

*Pist.* Qualtitie calmie custure me ! Art thou a gentleman ?  
What is thy name ? discuss. 5

*Fr. Sold.* O Seigneur Dieu !

*Pist.* O, Signieur Dew should be a gentleman :

Perpend my words, O Signieur Dew, and mark :

O Signieur Dew, thou diest on point of fox,

The Field . . .] Theobald. and Boy] Rowe ; Boy F. 2. gentilhomme] *le  
Gentilhomme* F. 4. Qualtitie calmie custure me/] *Quality calmy custure me* F 4.

*Scene iv.*] Here again it is not worth while to record all the corrections of the Folio's French ; see III. iv. note.

4. *Qualtitie . . . me !*] I leave these words as they stand in the Folio ; the French of the Folio in this play may best be described as a hash, and this is Pistol's re-hash. He catches at the last word uttered by his prisoner, and makes what capital he can out of it. For him his gabble had no further meaning, but nevertheless his editors have not been discouraged from attempting to endow his purposes with words. They may be divided into two camps : (1) those who, following Warburton, take "custure me" to be a corruption of "construe me" ; (2) those who follow the lead of Malone and treat the words "calmie custure me"

as the burden of an old song, whether they print "Calen o custure me," or "Callino, castore me" ! The former is the name of a tune to which a "Sonet of a Lover," in Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delight's* (1584), p. 33, ed. Arber, is to be sung, the latter an Irish song preserved in Playford's *Musical Companion* (1673). Pistol, however, does not seem to be in any mood for music ; if the foreign jargon, as he deems it, does haply recall to him the burden of some tavern ditty, he has no time to waste in humming or singing it,—no, he flings out the words with truculent impatience ; his sole idea is to be fingering the brave French crowns with the least possible delay.

9. *fox*] This word for a sword is well

Except, O signieur, thou do give to me 10  
Egregious ransom.

*Fr. Sold.* O, prenez misericorde! ayez pitié de moy!

*Pist.* Moy shall not serve; I will have forty moys;  
Or I will fetch thy rim out at thy throat  
In drops of crimson blood. 15

*Fr. Sold.* Est il impossible d'eschapper la force de  
ton bras?

*Pist.* Brass, cur!  
Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,  
Offer'st me brass? 20

*Fr. Sold.* O pardonnez moy!

*Pist.* Say'st thou me so? is that a ton of moys?  
Come hither, boy: ask me this slave in French  
What is his name.

*Boy.* Escoutez: comment estes vous appellé? 25

*Fr. Sold.* Monsieur le Fer.

*Boy.* He says his name is Master Fer.

*Pist.* Master Fer! I'll fer him, and firke him, and  
ferret him. Discuss the same in French unto him.

14. *Or*] Hanmer from Theobald's conj.; *for F.* 27, 28. *Master*] Capell;  
*M. F* 1, 2, 3; *Mr. F* 4.

known to readers of the Elizabethan drama. It has been conjectured that the figure of a wolf on certain sword blades was mistaken for a fox—but this guess must be taken for what it is worth.

13. *Moy*] What coin is intended has not been discovered.

14. *rim*] the midriff or diaphragm. But Nares justly remarks: "Pistol, with a very vague notion of the anatomical meaning of 'rymme' [so spelt in *F* 1], seems to use it in a general way for any part of the intestines."

28. *Master Fer!* *I'll fer him*] We have a similar piece of jocularly in *Coriolanus*, II. i. 144:

"*Men.* Has he disciplined Aufidius soundly?"

*Vol.* Titus Lartius writes, they fought together, but Aufidius got off.

*Men.* And 'twas time for him too, I'll warrant him that: an he had stayed by him, I would not have been so fidiused for all the chests in Corioli."

28. *firk*] drub, beat.

29. *ferret*] worry like a ferret. For the combination of "ferret" and "firk" compare Dekker, *Northwara Ho*, vol. iii. p. 64, ed. 1873, "weele ferret them and firk them, in-faith." Probably, a cant phrase of the day.

*Boy.* I do not know the French for fer, and ferret, and 30  
firk.

*Pist.* Bid him prepare, for I will cut his throat.

*Fr. Sold.* Que dit-il, monsieur ?

*Boy.* Il me commande à vous dire que vous faites vous  
prest ; car ce soldat icy est disposé tout à cette 35  
heure de couper vostre gorge.

*Pist.* Owy, cuppele gorge, permafoy,  
Peasant, unless thou give me crowns, brave crowns ;  
Or mangled shalt thou be by this my sword.

*Fr. Sold.* O ! je vous supplie pour l'amour de Dieu, 40  
me pardonner. Je suis gentilhomme de bonne  
maison : gardez ma vie, et je vous donneray deux  
cents escus.

*Pist.* What are his words ?

*Boy.* He prays you to save his life : he is a gentleman 45  
of a good house ; and for his ransom he will give  
you two hundred crowns.

*Pist.* Tell him my fury shall abate, and I  
The crowns will take.

*Fr. Sold.* Petit monsieur, que dit-il ? 50

*Boy.* Encore qu'il est contre son jurement de pardonner  
aucun prisonnier ; neant-moins, pour les escus que  
vous l'avez promis, il est content de vous donner  
la liberté, le franchisement.

*Fr. Sold.* Sur mes genoux je vous donne mille remer- 55  
ciemens ; et je m'estime heureux que je suis tombé  
entre les mains d'un chevalier, je pense, le plus

34. d] de F 2. 35, 36. à cette heure] Rowe ; asture F. 41. suis] F 2 ;  
suis le F 1. 42. gardez] Theobald ; garde F. 53. l'avez promis] Malone ;  
layt a promets F ; luy promettes F 2. 56. suis tombé] Rowe ; in tombe F.  
57. mains] F 2 ; main. F 1.

brave, vaillant, et très-distingué seigneur d'Angleterre.

*Pist.* Expound unto me, boy. 60

*Boy.* He gives you, upon his knees, a thousand thanks ; and he esteems himself happy that he hath fallen into the hands of one, as he thinks, the most brave, valorous, and thrice-worthy signieur of England. 65

*Pist.* As I suck blood, I will some mercy show.  
Follow me !

*Boy.* Suivez vous le grand capitaine.

[*Exeunt Pistol and French Soldier.*]

I did never know so full a voice issue from so empty a heart : but the saying is true, "The empty vessel makes the greatest sound." Bar- 70  
dolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring devil i' the old play, that every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger ; and they are both hanged ; and so would this be if 75  
he durst steal any thing adventurously. I must stay with the lackeys, with the luggage of our camp : the French might have a good prey of us

58. *distingué*] Capell ; *distinie* F. 67. *me!*] *me cur* Q, Pope. 68. *Suivez*] Rowe ; *Saave* F. *Exeunt . . .*] Pope ; omitted F. 69. *full*] *wofull* F 2. 70. *saying*] *song* F 2.

73, 74. *this roaring . . . dagger*] "The Devil was no doubt imported into Moral-plays from the old Miracle-plays, . . . he was rendered as hideous as possible by the mask and dress he wore ; . . . his ordinary exclamation on entering was, 'Ho, ho, ho !' and on all occasions he was prone to roaring and crying out, especially when, for the amusement of the spectators, he was provoked to it by castigation at the

hands of the Vice. . . . The Vice, like the fool, was often furnished with a dagger of lath" (Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, ed. 1879, vol. ii. pp. 187-192). In a note to the Clown's song, *Twelfth Night*, iv. ii., Malone explains that the devil was supposed to keep his nails unpared from choice, and therefore to pare them was an affront.

if he knew of it; for there is none to guard it  
but boys. [Exit. 80

SCENE V.—*Another Part of the Field.*

*Enter* CONSTABLE, ORLEANS, BOURBON, DAUPHIN,  
*and* RAMBURES.

*Con.* O diable!

*Orl.* O seigneur! le jour est perdu! tout est perdu!

*Dau.* Mort de ma vie! all is confounded, all!

Reproach and everlasting shame

Sits mocking in our plumes. O meschante fortune! 5

Do not run away. [A short alarum.

*Con.* Why, all our ranks are broke.

*Dau.* O perdurable shame! let's stab ourselves.

Be these the wretches that we play'd at dice for?

*Orl.* Is this the king we sent to for his ransom?

*Bour.* Shame, and eternal shame, nothing but shame! 10

Let us die in honour: once more back again;

And he that will not follow Bourbon now,

Let him go hence, and with his cap in hand,

Another . . .] Theobald. 2. perdu . . . perdu] Rowe; *perdia* . . .  
*perdie* F. 3. *de*] Rowe; *Dieu* F; *du* Q. 4. *Reproach and*] *Reproach*,  
*reproach and* Capell; *Reproach, contempt and* S. Walker conj.; *Reproach and*  
*shame*—an Vaughan conj. 6. *away*] now Vaughan conj. 11. *Let us die*  
*in honour: once*] Cambridge editors; *Let's die in honour: once* Knight; *Lets*  
*dye with honour* Q; *Let us dye in once* F 1; *Let us flye in once* F 2, 3, 4; *Let us*  
*dye, instant*:—once Theobald; *Let us die in*—once Keightley; *Let us die in it*:  
*once* Vaughan conj.

80. Exit] to appear no more; for in  
Scene vii. line 5, Gower reports that  
"Tis certain there's not a boy left  
alive."

*Scene v.*

11. *in honour*] In support of his

conjecture "in it" (*i.e.* in our shame)  
Vaughan urges that "there was no  
longer any question of gaining, or  
'dying in,' honour. The only course  
now for the brave and proud was not  
to survive their shame."



Like a base pandar, hold the chamber-door  
 Whilst by a slave, no gentler than my dog, 15  
 His fairest daughter is contaminated.

*Con.* Disorder, that hath spoil'd us, friend us now!  
 Let us on heaps go offer up our lives.

*Orl.* We are enow yet living in the field  
 To smother up the English in our throngs, 20  
 If any order might be thought upon.

*Bour.* The devil take order now! I'll to the throng:  
 Let life be short, else shame will be too long.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.—*Another Part of the Field.*

*Alarums.* Enter KING HENRY and Forces; EXETER,  
 and others.

*K. Hen.* Well have we done, thrice-valiant countrymen:  
 But all's not done; yet keep the French the  
 field.

*Exe.* The Duke of York commends him to your majesty.

*K. Hen.* Lives he, good uncle? thrice within this  
 hour

I saw him down; thrice up again and fighting; 5

15. *by a slave*] Q, Pope; *a base slave* F 1; *by a base slave* F 2, 3, 4. 23.  
*Exeunt*] Rowe; *Exit* F.

*Scene vi.*

Another . . .] The same. Another Part of it Capell. *Alarums*] Capell;  
*Alarum* F. Enter . . .] Capell; Enter the King and his trayne, with  
 Prisoners F.

18. *our lives*] Steevens added here For "fame" Vaughan proposed to read  
 from the Quarto the line: "shame."  
 "Unto these English, or else die with  
 fame."

From helmet to the spur all blood he was.  
*Exe.* In which array, brave soldier, doth he lie,  
 Larding the plain; and by his bloody side,  
 Yoke-fellow to his honour-owing wounds,  
 The noble Earl of Suffolk also lies. 10  
 Suffolk first died; and York, all haggled over,  
 Comes to him, where in gore he lay insteep'd,  
 And takes him by the beard, kisses the gashes  
 That bloodily did yawn upon his face;  
 And cries aloud, "Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk! 15  
 My soul shall thine keep company to heaven;  
 Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast,  
 As in this glorious and well-foughten field  
 We kept together in our chivalry!"  
 Upon these words I came and cheer'd him up; 20  
 He smil'd me in the face, raught me his hand,  
 And, with a feeble gripe, says "Dear my lord,  
 Commend my service to my sovereign."  
 So did he turn, and over Suffolk's neck  
 He threw his wounded arm, and kiss'd his lips; 25  
 And so espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd  
 A testament of noble-ending love.  
 The pretty and sweet manner of it forc'd  
 Those waters from me which I would have stopp'd;

15. *And*] Q, Pope; *He F. dear*] Q, Steevens (1778); *my F.* 27. *noble-ending love*] *neuer ending loue* Q.

8. *Larding*] Steevens is undoubtedly right in understanding this as=fattening; so in *1 Henry IV.* II. ii. 116, 117:  
 "Falstaff sweats to death,  
 And lards the lean earth as he  
 walks along."

10. *Earl of Suffolk*] Michael de la Pole, third Earl; nephew of his suc-

cessor, William de la Pole, fourth Earl, and first Duke of Suffolk.

11. *haggled*] hacked, mangled; from the northern "hag," to cut, hew. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Capt. Smith, *Virginia* (1624), ed. 1629, 145, "They not only slew him and his family, but butcher-like haged their bodies."

But I had not so much of man in me, 30  
 And all my mother came into mine eyes  
 And gave me up to tears.

*K. Hen.* I blame you not ;  
 For, hearing this, I must perforce compound  
 With mistful eyes, or they will issue too. [*Alarum.*  
 But, hark ! what new alarum is this same ? 35  
 The French have reinforc'd their scatter'd men :  
 Then every soldier kill his prisoners !  
 Give the word through. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VII.—*Another Part of the Field.*

*Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.*

*Flu.* Kill the poys and the luggage ! 'tis expressly  
 against the law of arms : 'tis as arrant a piece of

31. *And all*] *But all* Q, Pope. 34. *mistfu*] Theobald from Warburton's  
 conjecture ; *mixtfull* F. 36, 37. *The French . . . Then*] Enter a Messenger.  
 Mess. *The French . . .* K. Hen. *Then* Upton conj. 37. *Then*] *Bid* Q.  
 38. *Exeunt*] Rowe (ed. 2) ; Exit F.

*Scene VII.*

Scene VII.] Actus Quartus F. Another . . .] The same. Another Part of it  
 Capell. 1. *Kill*] *Godes plud kil* Q. *and*] at quoted by Rann.

30-32. *But I . . . tears*] Verity  
 (after Steevens) compares *Paradise*  
*Lost*, xi. 494-498 :

"Sight so deform what heart of rock  
 could long  
 Dry-eyed behold? Adam could  
 not, but wept,  
 Though not of woman born : com-  
 passion quelled  
 His best of man, and gave him up  
 to tears

A space ;—"

and adds, "a passage in which the  
 references to *Macbeth*, v. viii. 12, 13, 18,  
 are equally striking." Compare also  
*Twelfth Night*, II. i. 42 : "my bosom

is full of kindness, and I am yet so  
 near the manners of my mother, that  
 upon the least occasion more mine eyes  
 will tell tales of me."

38.] The Quarto's stage-direction at  
 the beginning of this scene is "Enter the  
 King and his Nobles, Pistol," and here  
 at its close it preserves what was no  
 doubt a bit of the stage business of the  
 day,—Pistol as he quits the stage ex-  
 claims, "Couple gorge."

*Scene VII.*

1. *luggage*] In Scene iv. 76, above,  
 the Boy says, "I must stay with the  
 lackeys, with the luggage of our camp."

knavery, mark you now, as can be offer't; in your conscience now, is it not?

*Gow.* 'Tis certain there's not a boy left alive; and the cowardly rascals that ran from the battle ha' done this slaughter: besides, they have burned and carried away all that was in the king's tent; wherefore the king most worthily hath caused every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat. O! 'tis a gallant king. 5 10

*Flu.* Ay, he was porn at Monmouth, Captain Gower. What call you the town's name where Alexander the Pig was born?

*Gow.* Alexander the Great. 15

*Flu.* Why, I pray you, is not pig great? the pig, or the great, or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variations.

*Gow.* I think Alexander the Great was born in Macedon: his father was called Philip of Macedon, as I take it. 20

*Flu.* I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn. I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers 25 30

3. offer't; in] Cambridge editors offer'd; in Capell; offert in F. 17. the great] misprinted the gear in F 1; corrected in F 2.

is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.  
 If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Mon-  
 mouth's life is come after it indifferent well; for  
 there is figures in all things. Alexander, God 35  
 knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies,  
 and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods,  
 and his displeasures, and his indignations, and  
 also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did,  
 in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best 40  
 friend, Cleitus.

*Gow.* Our king is not like him in that: he never killed  
 any of his friends.

*Flu.* It is not well done, mark you now, to take the  
 tales out of my mouth, ere it is made and finished. 45  
 I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it:  
 as Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his  
 ales and his cups, so also Harry Monmouth, being  
 in his right wits and his good judgments, turned  
 away the fat knight with the great-belly doublet: 50  
 he was full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and  
 mocks; I have forgot his name.

50. *great-belly doublet*] Wright; *great belly doublet* F; *great-pelly doublet*  
 Capell; *great belly-doublet* Theobald.

50. *great-belly doublet*] The lower  
 part of the doublet was sometimes called  
 the "belly," and this might be either  
 "great" or "thin." This appears from  
*Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 19, where  
 the Folio has, "with your arms crost  
 on your thinbellie doublet" (Quarto,  
 "thinbellies doblet")—Armado's page  
 is describing how to perform a "French  
 brawl"; and also from Stubbes, *Ana-  
 tomy of Abuses*, p. 55, ed. 1879, "Their  
 dublettes are noe lesse monstrous than  
 the reste; For now the fashion is to have  
 them hang down to the middest of their

theighes, . . . beeing so harde-quilted,  
 and stuffed, bombasted and sewed, as  
 they can verie hardly eyther stoupe  
 downe, or decline them selves to the  
 grounde, soe styffe and sturdy they  
 stand about them. . . . Certaine I am  
 there was never any kinde of apparell  
 ever invented that could more dispro-  
 portion the body of man then these  
 Dublets with great bellies . . . stuffed  
 with foure, five or six pound of Bombast  
 at the least." Capell was therefore right  
 in putting the hyphen after "great"  
 and not after "belly" as Theobald did.

*Gow.* Sir John Falstaff.

*Flu.* That is he. I'll tell you there is good men porn  
at Monmouth.

55

*Gow.* Here comes his majesty.

*Alarum.* Enter KING HENRY and Forces; WARWICK,  
GLOUCESTER, EXETER, and others.

*K. Hen.* I was not angry since I came to France  
Until this instant. Take a trumpet, herald;  
Ride thou unto the horsemen on yon hill:  
If they will fight with us, bid them come down, 60  
Or void the field; they do offend our sight.  
If they'll do neither, we will come to them,  
And make them skirr away, as swift as stones  
Enforced from the old Assyrian slings.  
Besides, we'll cut the throats of those we have, 65

56. Enter . . .] Capell; Enter King Harry and Burbon with prisoners.  
Flourish F. 59. *yon*] Pope; *yond* F.

63. *skirr*] scurry. I am indebted to Mr. Craig for calling my attention to the fact that Byron revived this word, *Siege of Corinth*, 647:

"Mount ye, spur ye, skirr the plain," where, as in *Macbeth*, v. iii. 35, "skirr the country round," the verb is used transitively.

65. *Besides . . . we have*] Johnson remarks: "The King is in a very bloody disposition. He has already cut the throats of his prisoners, and threatens now to cut them again. . . . There must be some dislocation of the scenes." But if we refer to Holinshed's account of these transactions, and attend to the stage-directions of the Folio, we shall see our way clear. In the first part of the battle the English put the French to flight, and took a great number of prisoners. This marks the opening of Act iv. Scene vi., where the stage-direction in the Folio is "Alarum.

Enter the King and his trayne, with Prisoners." The King says, lines 1, 2, "Well have we done . . . But all's not done; yet keep the French the field," and then, line 35, "But hark! what new alarum is this same? The French have reinforc'd their scatter'd men"; thereupon he gives the order to put the prisoners,—namely, those already taken,—to death. This "new alarum" had been caused by "certeine Frenchmen, . . . to the number of six hundred horsemen (which were the first that fled)," who, "hearing that the English tents and pavilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either upon a covetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or upon a desire to be revenged, entred upon the king's campe; and there spoiled the hails [pavilions], robbed the tents, broke up chests, and

And not a man of them that we shall take  
Shall taste our mercy. Go and tell them so.

*Enter* MONTJOY.

*Exe.* Here comes the herald of the French, my liege.

*Glou.* His eyes are humbler than they used to be.

*K. Hen.* How now! what means this, herald? know'st thou  
not

That I have fin'd these bones of mine for ransom?  
Com'st thou again for ransom?

*Mont.*

No, great king:

I come to thee for charitable license,  
That we may wander o'er this bloody field  
To book our dead, and then to bury them;

75

70. *means this, herald*] Steevens (1793); *meanes this Herald* F 1; *meanes their herald* F 2. 75. *book*] *look* Collier (ed. 2).

carried awaie caskets, and slue such servants as they found to make anie resistance" (Holinshed, p. 192). At the end of Scene vi., after giving the order for killing the prisoners *exit* king, to reappear in Scene vii. line 56, where the Folio's stage-direction is, "Alarum. Enter King Harry and Bourbon with prisoners." In the interval therefore Henry had again engaged the French, and captured Bourbon and a second batch of prisoners; and in fact we have only to turn back to Scene v. to find that at the end of that scene Bourbon and his friends had rushed out with the intention of selling their lives as dearly as they could. Hence it appears that the words "those we have" in line 65 must refer to this second batch of prisoners, consisting of Bourbon and his party. According to Holinshed, however (p. 193), the defeated party was another one, consisting of "the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine."

But in any case, Henry, "perceiving his enemies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to give a new battell for preservation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald" (Holinshed, p. 194) with the threat of line 65, "we'll cut the throats of those we have." Compare Scene viii. lines 79-81.

71. *fin'd*] promised to pay as a fine; see IV. iii. 91.

75. *book*] *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Udall, *Translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus* (1548), Acts v. 14, "As for thothers, whiche had not yet by baptisme booked them selves as sould-yers, to fyght under the baner of Christe's capytayne, none durst company with them." "Book" as a verb is also found in 2 *Henry IV.* iv. iii. 50, and in Sonnet cxvii. 9. Collier's "look" is supported by *Merry Wives*, iv. ii. 73, "Mistress Page and I will look some linen for your head"; and *As You Like It*, II. v. 34, "He hath

To sort our nobles from our common men ;  
 For many of our princes—woe the while !—  
 Lie drown'd and soak'd in mercenary blood ;  
 So do our vulgar drench their peasant limbs  
 In blood of princes ; and their wounded steeds 80  
 Fret fetlock deep in gore, and with wild rage  
 Yerk out their armed heels at their dead masters,  
 Killing them twice. O ! give us leave, great king,  
 To view the field in safety and dispose  
 Of their dead bodies.

*K. Hen.* I tell thee truly, herald, 85  
 I know not if the day be ours or no ;  
 For yet a many of your horsemen peer  
 And gallop o'er the field.

*Mont.* The day is yours.

*K. Hen.* Praised be God, and not our strength, for it !  
 What is this castle call'd that stands hard by ? 90

*Mont.* They call it Agincourt.

*K. Hen.* Then call we this the field of Agincourt,  
 Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus.

*Flu.* Your grandfather of famous memory, an 't please

80. *their*] Malone ; *with F ; the Capell.*

been all this day to look you" ; but the change is unnecessary. "It was the herald's duty," writes Boswell-Stone, "after a battle, to make lists of the slain, in order that questions relating to succession and the extinction of titles might not afterwards arise." See lines 120-122, below.

82. *Yerk*] Compare North's *Plutarch*, ed. 1595, p. 719: "The horse was found so rough and churlish that the riders [trainers] said he would never do service, for he would let no man get

upon his backe nor abide any of the gentlemen's voyces about King Philip, but would yerke out at them." The word is used in *Othello* (i. ii. 5) of stabbing, "I had thought to have yerk'd him here under the ribs."

83-85. *O! give us leave . . . bodies*] Compare *Famous Victories*, sc. xv.: "*Herald.* He hath sent me to desire your Maiestie, to give him leaue to go into the field to view his poore country men, that they may all be honourably buried."



your majesty, and your great-uncle Edward the 95  
Plack Prince of Wales, as I have read in the  
chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in  
France.

*K. Hen.* They did, Fluellen.

*Flu.* Your majesty says very true: if your majesties 100  
is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good  
service in a garden where leeks did grow, wear-  
ing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your  
majesty know, to this hour is an honourable  
badge of the service; and I do believe your 105  
majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon  
Saint Tavy's day.

*K. Hen.* I wear it for a memorable honour;  
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.

*Flu.* All the water in Wye cannot wash your majesty's 110  
Welsh plood out of your pody, I can tell you  
that: God pless it and preserve it, as long as it  
pleases his grace, and his majesty too!

*K. Hen.* Thanks, good my countryman.

*Flu.* By Jeshu, I am your majesty's countryman, I 115  
care not who know it; I will confess it to all the  
'orld: I need not to be ashamed of your majesty,

95. *great-uncle*] Capell; *great Vncle F.* 114. *countryman*] F 2; *country-*  
*men F 1.*

95. *a most prave pattle*] If Fluellen is thinking of Crecy, he has overlooked the fact that John of Gaunt, Henry's grandfather, was only six years old at the time. For the fact of service done by Welshmen in a garden of leeks, either at Crecy or any other battle in the French war, Fluellen remains our only authority. As to the selection of the leek, as the Welsh emblem, in spite of

the usually quoted story referring it to St. David, Theophilus Jones was probably right when he wrote, "all we know at present of this custom is, that it is derived from the English, who probably at first meant it as a mark of contempt, though it has since been adopted by the Britons as an honorary badge of distinction" (*History of Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 143).

praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man.

*K. Hen.* God keep me so! Our heralds go with him: 120  
Bring me just notice of the numbers dead  
On both our parts. Call yonder fellow hither.

[*Points to Williams. Exeunt Herald with Montjoy.*

*Exe.* Soldier, you must come to the king.

*K. Hen.* Soldier, why wearest thou that glove in thy cap? 125

*Will.* An't please your majesty, 'tis the gage of one that I should fight withal, if he be alive.

*K. Hen.* An Englishman?

*Will.* An't please your majesty, a rascal that swaggered with me last night; who, if alive and ever 130  
dare to challenge this glove, I have sworn to take him a box o' th' ear: or if I can see my glove in his cap, which he swore as he was a soldier he would wear if alive, I will strike it out soundly.

*K. Hen.* What think you, Captain Fluellen? is it fit 135  
this soldier keep his oath?

*Flu.* He is a craven and a villain else, an't please your majesty, in my conscience.

*K. Hen.* It may be his enemy is a gentleman of great sort, quite from the answer of his degree. 140

*Flu.* Though he be as good a gentleman as the devil is, as Lucifer and Belzebub himself, it is necessary, look your grace, that he keep his vow and his

120. *God*] F 3, 4; *Good* F 1, 2. 122. *Points to Williams*] Malone. Enter Williams F (after *so*, line 120). *Exeunt . . .*] Theobald; omitted F. 130. *alive*] *a' live* Capell. 132, 178. *o' th'*] *a' th* F 1, 2, 3; *o' th'* F 4.

140. *quite from . . . degree*] Accord- was only bound to fight with one of ing to the laws of the Duello, a knight his own rank.

oath. If he be perjured, see you now, his reputation is as arrant a villain and a Jack-sauce as 145  
ever his black shoe trod upon God's ground and his earth, in my conscience, la!

*K. Hen.* Then keep thy vow, sirrah, when thou meetest the fellow.

*Will.* So I will, my liege, as I live. 150

*K. Hen.* Who servest thou under?

*Will.* Under Captain Gower, my liege.

*Flu.* Gower is a good captain, and is good knowledge, and literated in the wars.

*K. Hen.* Call him hither to me, soldier. 155

*Will.* I will, my liege. [*Exit.*]

*K. Hen.* Here, Fluellen; wear thou this favour for me and stick it in thy cap. When Alençon and myself were down together I plucked this glove from his helm: if any man challenge this, he 160  
is a friend to Alençon, and an enemy to our person; if thou encounter any such, apprehend him, an thou dost me love.

*Flu.* Your grace doo's me as great honour as can be desired in the hearts of his subjects: I would 165  
fain see the man that has but two legs that shall find himself aggrieved at this glove, that is all; but I would fain see it once, and please God of his grace that I might see.

147. *conscience, la*] Capell; *conscience law* F 1, 2, 3, Theobald; *conscience, law* F 4, Rowe. 163. *me love*] *love me* Pope. 164. *doo's*] *does* F 4. 169. *see*] *see it* Capell.

158, 159. *When Alençon . . . together*] "The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the Duke of Alanson; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome, when he would have yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand" (Holinshed, p. 195).

*K. Hen.* Knowest thou Gower? 170

*Flu.* He is my dear friend, an please you.

*K. Hen.* Pray thee, go seek him, and bring him to my tent.

*Flu.* I will fetch him. [Exit.

*K. Hen.* My Lord of Warwick, and my brother Gloucester, 175

Follow Fluellen closely at the heels.

The glove which I have given him for a favour

May haply purchase him a box o' th' ear;

It is the soldier's; I by bargain should

Wear it myself. Follow, good cousin Warwick: 180

If that the soldier strike him, as I judge

By his blunt bearing, he will keep his word,

Some sudden mischief may arise of it;

For I do know Fluellen valiant,

And touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder, 185

And quickly will return an injury:

Follow and see there be no harm between them.

Go you with me, uncle of Exeter. [Exeunt.

SCENE VIII.—*Before King Henry's Pavilion.*

*Enter GOWER and WILLIAMS.*

*Will.* I warrant it is to knight you, captain.

*Enter FLUELLEN.*

*Flu.* God's will and his pleasure, captain, I beseech you now come apace to the king: there is more

Before . . .] Theobald.

good toward you peradventure than is in your  
knowledge to dream of. 5

*Will.* Sir, know you this glove?

*Flu.* Know the glove! I know the glove is a glove.

*Will.* I know this; and thus I challenge it.

[*Strikes him.*

*Flu.* 'Sblood! an arrant traitor as any's in the universal  
world, or in France, or in England. 10

*Gow.* How now, sir! you villain!

*Will.* Do you think I'll be forsworn?

*Flu.* Stand away, Captain Gower: I will give treason  
his payment into plows, I warrant you.

*Will.* I am no traitor. 15

*Flu.* That's a lie in thy throat. I charge you in his  
majesty's name, apprehend him: he's a friend of  
the Duke Alençon's.

*Enter WARWICK and GLOUCESTER.*

*War.* How now, how now! what's the matter?

*Flu.* My Lord of Warwick, here is, praised be God 20  
for it! a most contagious treason come to light,  
look you, as you shall desire in a summer's day.  
Here is his majesty.

*Enter KING HENRY and EXETER.*

*K Hen.* How now! what's the matter?

*Flu.* My liege, here is a villain and a traitor, that, 25  
look your grace, has struck the glove which  
your majesty is take out of the helmet of  
Alençon.

9. any's] F 4; anyes F 1, 2, 3.  
23. King Henry] Rowe; King F.

14. into] in two Heath conj.; in Capell.

*Will.* My liege, this was my glove; here is the fellow  
of it; and he that I gave it to in change prom- 30  
ised to wear it in his cap: I promised to strike  
him if he did. I met this man with my glove in  
his cap, and I have been as good as my word.

*Flu.* Your majesty hear now, saving your majesty's  
manhood, what an arrant, rascally, beggarly, 35  
lousy knave it is. I hope your majesty is pear  
me testimony and witness, and will avouchment  
that this is the glove of Alençon that your  
majesty is give me; in your conscience now?

*K. Hen.* Give me thy glove, soldier: look, here is the 40  
fellow of it.

'Twas I, indeed, thou promised'st to strike;  
And thou hast given me most bitter terms.

*Flu.* An please your majesty, let his neck answer for  
it, if there is any martial law in the world. 45

*K. Hen.* How canst thou make me satisfaction?

*Will.* All offences, my lord, come from the heart:  
never came any from mine that might offend  
your majesty.

*K. Hen.* It was ourself thou didst abuse. 50

*Will.* Your majesty came not like yourself: you  
appeared to me but as a common man; witness  
the night, your garments, your lowliness; and  
what your highness suffered under that shape, I  
beseech you, take it for your own fault and not 55

40. *thy*] *my* Johnson conj. 45. *martial*] Pope; *Marshall* F.

29-39. *My liege* . . . *conscience* contrast between two types of national  
*now*] Verity well remarks: "The two character as any passages in the  
speeches seem to me to afford as fine a play."

mine: for had you been as I took you for, I made no offence; therefore, I beseech your highness, pardon me.

*K. Hen.* Here, uncle Exeter, fill this glove with crowns,  
And give it to this fellow. Keep it, fellow; 60  
And wear it for an honour in thy cap  
Till I do challenge it. Give him the crowns.

And, captain, you must needs be friends with him.

*Flu.* By this day and this light, the fellow has mettle  
enough in his belly. Hold, there is twelve pence 65  
for you, and I pray you to serve God, and keep  
you out of prawls, and prabbles, and quarrels, and  
dissensions, and, I warrant you, it is the better  
for you.

*Will.* I will none of your money. 70

*Flu.* It is with a good will; I can tell you it will serve  
you to mend your shoes: come, wherefore should  
you be so pashful? your shoes is not so good:  
'tis a good silling, I warrant you, or I will change it.

*Enter an English Herald.*

*K. Hen.* Now, herald, are the dead numbered? 75

*Her.* Here is the number of the slaughter'd French.

*[Kneeling and delivering papers.]*

*K. Hen.* What prisoners of good sort are taken, uncle?

*Exe.* Charles Duke of Orleans, nephew to the king;

74. Enter an English Herald] Malone; Enter Herauld F. 76. Kneeling and  
delivering papers] Capell.

72. *to mend your shoes*] Malone remarks: "In the most minute particulars we find Shakspeare as observant as in matters of the highest moment.

'Shoes' are, above any other article of dress, an object of attention to the common soldier, and most liable to be worn out."

John Duke of Bourbon, and Lord Bouciqualt :  
 Of other lords and barons, knights and squires, 80  
 Full fifteen hundred, besides common men.

*K. Hen.* This note doth tell me of ten thousand French  
 That in the field lie slain : of princes, in this number,  
 And nobles bearing banners, there lie dead  
 One hundred twenty-six : added to these, 85  
 Of knights, esquires, and gallant gentlemen,  
 Eight thousand and four hundred ; of the which  
 Five hundred were but yesterday dubb'd knights :  
 So that, in these ten thousand they have lost,  
 There are but sixteen hundred mercenaries ; 90  
 The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,  
 And gentlemen of blood and quality.  
 The names of those their nobles that lie dead :  
 Charles Delabreth, high constable of France ;  
 Jacques of Chatillon, admiral of France ; 95  
 The master of the cross-bows, Lord Rambures ;  
 Great Master of France, the brave Sir Guichard  
 Dauphin ;  
 John Duke of Alençon ; Anthony Duke of Brabant,  
 The brother to the Duke of Burgundy ;  
 And Edward Duke of Bar : of lusty earls, 100  
 Grandpré and Roussi, Fauconberg and Foix,  
 Beaumont and Marle, Vaudemont and Lestrale.  
 Here was a royal fellowship of death !  
 Where is the number of our English dead ?

[*Herald shows him another paper.*

79. *Bouciqualt*] Theobald (ed. 2), *Bouchiquald* F. 101. *Fauconberg*] Capell ; *Fauconbridge* F. *Foix*] Capell ; *Foyes* F ; *Foy* Q. 104. Herald . . .] Capell ; omitted F.

84. *nobles bearing banners*] their heraldic banners, of course.



Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, 105  
 Sir Richard Ketly, Davy Gam, esquire :  
 None else of name ; and of all other men  
 But five and twenty. O God ! thy arm was here ;  
 And not to us, but to thy arm alone,  
 Ascribe we all. When, without stratagem, 110  
 But in plain shock and even play of battle,  
 Was ever known so great and little loss  
 On one part and on the other ? Take it, God,  
 For it is none but thine !

*Exe.* 'Tis wonderful !

*K. Hen.* Come, go we in procession to the village : 115  
 And be it death proclaimed through our host  
 To boast of this or take that praise from God  
 Which is his only.

*Flu.* Is it not lawful, an please your majesty, to tell  
 how many is killed ? 120

*K. Hen.* Yes, captain ; but with this acknowledgment,  
 That God fought for us.

*Flu.* Yes, my conscience, he did us great good.

*K. Hen.* Do we all holy rites :  
 Let there be sung "Non nobis" and "Te Deum"; 125  
 The dead with charity enclos'd in clay.

105. *Edward*] *Exe.* prefixed Q 2, 3, Pope. 108. *O God*] King prefixed  
 Q 2, 3, F 2, 3, 4, Pope. 112, 113. *loss . . . other? Take*] Pope; *losse? . . .*  
*other, take F.* 115. *we*] F 2; *we* F 1. 124. *rites*] Pope; *Rights* F. 126.  
*enclos'd*] *enterred* Q.

106. *Davy Gam, esquire*] David ab Llewelyn, called Gam (*i.e.* squinting) of Garthbrenny, Brecon, and through his daughter Gwladus, an ancestor of the Herberts. He was accompanied to Agincourt by three archers, and according to a story, which first appears in Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, when questioned by the king on the eve of the battle as to the numbers of the enemy, he replied that there were enough to be slain, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.

And then to Calais ; and to England then ;  
Where ne'er from France arriv'd more happy men.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT V

*Enter* CHORUS.

Vouchsafe to those that have not read the story,  
That I may prompt them : and of such as have,  
I humbly pray them to admit the excuse  
Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,  
Which cannot in their huge and proper life 5  
Be here presented. Now we bear the king  
Toward Calais : grant him there ; there seen,  
Heave him away upon your winged thoughts  
Athwart the sea. Behold, the English beach  
Pales in the flood with men, with wives, and boys, 10  
Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea,  
Which, like a mighty whiffler, 'fore the king

127. *And*] *Weele* Q ; *We'll* Capell. *Calais*] Rowe ; *Callice* F. 128. *happy*] *happier* Q, Capell.

*Act V. Chorus.*

7. *Calais*] Rowe ; *Callice* F. 10. *with wives*] F 2 ; *Wiues* F 1 ; *and wives* Anon. conj.

Chorus] "The Chorus plays a historic 'interim' beginning on October 29, 1415, when the audience must imagine Henry at Calais (lines 6, 7), and ending on August 1, 1417, the date of his 'backe retourne againe to France' (lines 39-43). Nothing is said touching his second campaign, which lasted about four years, and was brought to a close by the treaty of Troyes, in 1420" (Boswell-Stone, *Holinshed*, p. 197).

2. *of such as have*] probably confused or condensed for, "such of them as have," or, as Mr. Collins suggests, *of may=as regards*. Compare *Hamlet*, III. i. 13 :

"Niggard of question ; but, of our demands,  
Most free in his reply " ;

and *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 187-188 :

"That did but show thee, of a fool,  
inconstant,  
And damnable ingrateful."

10. *Pales . . . boys*] In the first Folio this line is printed,

"Pales in the flood ; with Men,  
Wiues, and Boyes."

Dr. Nicholson proposed to mend it by inserting "maids" after "wives"—

"Pales in the flood with men, wives,  
maids, and boys."

12. *whiffler*] a man who walks before a procession to clear the way. Douce (*Illustrations*, p. 316) derives the word from "whiffle," a fife, his theory being that a whiffler originally meant a fifer, and that as processions were com

Seems to prepare his way : so let him land,  
 And solemnly see him set on to London.  
 So swift a pace hath thought that even now      15  
 You may imagine him upon Blackheath ;  
 Where that his lords desire him to have borne  
 His bruised helmet and his bended sword  
 Before him through the city : he forbids it,  
 Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride ;      20  
 Giving full trophy, signal and ostent,  
 Quite from himself, to God. But now behold,  
 In the quick forge and working-house of thought,  
 How London doth pour out her citizens.  
 The mayor and all his brethren in best sort,      25  
 Like to the senators of the antique Rome,  
 With the plebeians swarming at their heels,

monly headed by fifers, the word came to signify any person who went before a procession, whether he were a fifer or not. Thus according to Forby (*Vocabulary of East Anglia*, quoted by Aldis Wright) the "whiffers" in Norwich processions "are two active men very lightly equipped, . . . bearing swords of lath or latten, which they keep in perpetual motion, 'whiffing' the air on either side, and now and then giving an unlucky boy a slap on the shoulders or posteriors with the flat side of their weapons." Compare Kemp, *Nine Daies Wonder*, p. 17, ed. Camden Society, "Passing the gate, Wiffers (such officers as were appointed by the Mayor) to make me way through the throng of the people." Aldis Wright, however, gives quite a distinct account of the origin of the word. From a mention by Stow (*Survey*, ed. Thoms, p. 39) of "whiffers" as distinct from "fifes" or "fifers," from a mention by Hall (*Chronicle*, p. 289) of "wyfflers on horsbacke" armed with javelins or

battle-axes, and "wiffelers on foote" armed with javelins or "slaughswords," from the mention of "Wifles" among the weapons formerly at Caistor Castle, and further from the fact that "wyfle" and "twibill" occur as equivalent for the Latin *bipennis*,—he suggests that a wiffle is a kind of axe, and that the word has the same connexion with twibill, as "thwitell" has with "whittle." If this is correct, a whiffler would answer to a pioneer rather than to drum-major. Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 241, quotes a MS., "late in the collection of Mr. Anstis," from which it appears that whiffers were officers whose duty it was—(1) to instruct the soldiers how to carry their weapons ; (2) to keep the ranks and files at the proper distance from one another when on the march.

21. *signal*] symbol or sign of victory.

21. *ostent*] external show.

25. *in best sort*] "in all their formalities," says Rann ; *i. e.* in full robes of office, with mace, etc.

Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in :  
 As, by a lower, but by loving likelihood,  
 Were now the general of our gracious empress, 30  
 As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,  
 Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,  
 How many would the peaceful city quit  
 To welcome him! much more, and much more  
 cause,  
 Did they this Harry. Now in London place him; 35  
 As yet the lamentation of the French  
 Invites the King of England's stay at home ;  
 The emperor's coming in behalf of France,  
 To order peace between them ; and omit  
 All the occurrences, whatever chanc'd, 40  
 Till Harry's back-return again to France :  
 There must we bring him ; and myself have play'd  
 The interim, by remembering you 'tis past.  
 Then brook abridgement, and your eyes advance,  
 After your thoughts, straight back again to France. 45  
 [Exit.

29. *lower, but by loving*] *lower but loving* Cambridge editors, from Seymour's conjecture. *loving*] *living* Vaughan conj. 38. *emperor's*] *emperor* Delius, from Heath's and Mason's conjecture.

29. *by . . . likelihood*] "on the probable occasion of an event of inferior importance, but much cherished by us" (*Schmidt*).

30-34. *Were now . . . welcome him*] The only *direct* allusion to contemporary events in Shakespeare, and therefore startling in its uniqueness ; but Essex was the popular hero of the hour, and the lines would be well received by the audience. Stow gives an account of his enthusiastic "send-off" on March 27, 1599. The only other plain undisguised mention of the reign-

ing sovereign is at the close of the Epilogue to *Henry IV.*, "and so kneel down before you ;—but, indeed, to pray for the queen" ; though, practically of course, Elizabeth is intended in *Merry Wives*, v. v. 50, "Our radiant queen hates sluts and sluttery."

38. *The emperor's coming*] *i.e.* the emperor [Sigismund] is coming. He "came into England [May 1416], to the intent that he might make an attonegment betweene king Henrie and the French king" (*Holinshed*, p. 199).

SCENE I.—*France. The English Camp.**Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.*

*Gow.* Nay, that's right; but why wear you your leek to-day? Saint Davy's day is past.

*Flu.* There is occasions and causes why and wherefore in all things: I will tell you, asse my friend, Captain Gower. The rascally, scauld, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave, Pistol, which you and yourself and all the world know to be no petter than a fellow, look you now, of no merits, he is come to me and prings me pread and salt yesterday, look you, and bid me eat my leek. It was in a place where I could not breed no contention with him; but I will be so bold as to wear it in my cap till I see him once again, and then I will tell him a little piece of my desires.

*Enter PISTOL.*

*Gow.* Why, here he comes, swelling like a turkey-cock.

*Flu.* 'Tis no matter for his swellings nor his turkey-cocks. God pless you, Aunchient Pistol! you scurvy, lousy knave, God pless you!

France . . .] Cambridge editors; The English camp in France Theobald; France. A Court of Guard Capell.

*Scene 1.*] Johnson wanted to place this scene at the end of the last Act, on the ground that the quarrel happened before the return of the army to England, but, as Steevens pointed out, Fluellen says that it was only yesterday that he received the affront, he intends

to punish, from Pistol. This affair therefore is not immediately connected with Pistol's outbreak in Act III. sc. vi.

5. *scauld*] scabby, scurvy—literally (scalled) afflicted with the "scale," or scall.

*Pist.* Ha! art thou bedlam? dost thou thirst, base  
Trojan 20

To have me fold up Parca's fatal web?  
Hence! I am qualmish at the smell of leek.

*Flu.* I peseech you heartily, scurvy lousy knave, at my  
desires and my requests and my petitions to  
eat, look you, this leek; because, look you, you 25  
do not love it, nor your affections and your  
appetites and your disgestions doo's not agree  
with it, I would desire you to eat it.

*Pist.* Not for Cadwallader and all his goats.

*Flu.* There is one goat for you. [*Strikes him.*] Will 30  
you be so good, scauld knave, as eat it?

*Pist.* Base Trojan, thou shalt die.

*Flu.* You say very true, scauld knave, when God's will  
is. I will desire you to live in the mean time  
and eat your victuals: come, there is sauce for it. 35  
[*Strikes him.*] You called me yesterday moun-  
tain-squire, but I will make you to-day a squire  
of low degree. I pray you, fall to: if you can  
mock a leek you can eat a leek.

*Gow.* Enough, captain: you have astonished him. 40

*Flu.* I say, I will make him eat some part of my leek,  
or I will peat his pate four days. Bite, I pray  
you; it is good for your green wound and your  
ploddy coxcomb.

27. *disgestions*] digestions Rowe. *doo's*] *does* F 4. 36. *Strikes him*] Pope; omitted F.

37, 38. *a squire of low degree*] "a quibbling reference, 'low' being contrasted with 'mountain,' to a popular old romance in verse" (*Verity*). *The squyre of lo degreé* is mentioned by Robert Laneham in his list of Captain Cox's books (*Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Kenilworth*, ed. Furnivall, p. 30), and has been reprinted by Ritson and by Hazlitt.

- Pist.* Must I bite? 45
- Flu.* Yes, certainly, and out of doubt and out of question too and ambiguities.
- Pist.* By this leek, I will most horribly revenge. I eat and eat, I swear—
- Flu.* Eat, I pray you. Will you have some more sauce to your leek? there is not enough leek to swear by. 50
- Pist.* Quiet thy cudgel; thou dost see I eat.
- Flu.* Much good do you, scauld knave, heartily. Nay, pray you, throw none away; the skin is good 55 for your broken coxcomb. When you take occasions to see leeks hereafter, I pray you, mock at 'em; that is all.
- Pist.* Good.
- Flu.* Ay, leeks is good. Hold you, there is a groat 60 to heal your pate.
- Pist.* Me a groat!
- Flu.* Yes, verily and in truth, you shall take it; or I have another leek in my pocket, which you shall eat. 65
- Pist.* I take thy groat in earnest of revenge.
- Flu.* If I owe you any thing I will pay you in cudgels: you shall be a woodmonger, and buy nothing of me but cudgels. God b' wi' you, and keep you, and heal your pate. [Exit. 70
- Pist.* All hell shall stir for this.
- Gow.* Go, go; you are a counterfeit cowardly knave.

48, 49. *I eat and eat, I swear—*] Dyce; *I eate and eate I swears.* F; *I eat and eke I swear* Rann from Johnson's conjecture; *I eat and—* Flu. *Eat!* Pist. *I swear—* Delius conj.; *I eat! an I eat, I swear—* Cambridge editors conj. 69. *God b' wi'*] Capell; *God bu 'y* F.

Will you mock at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of predeceased valour, and dare not avouch in your deeds any of your words? I have seen you gleeking and galling at this gentleman twice or thrice. You thought, because he could not speak English in the native garb, he could not therefore handle an English cudgel: you find it otherwise; and henceforth let a Welsh correction teach you a good English condition. Fare ye well. 75 80 [Exit.

*Pist.* Doth Fortune play the huswife with me now? News have I that my Nell is dead i' the spital Of malady of France; 85  
And there my rendezvous is quite cut off.  
Old I do wax, and from my weary limbs  
Honour is cudgelled. Well, bawd I'll turn,

73. *begun*] Capell; *began* F. 85. *Nell*] Johnson conj., Capell; *Doll* F, Q.  
86. *malady*] Pope; *a malady* F. *France*;] *France*; *mine hostess too* Farmer conj. MS.

74. *respect*] reason, consideration.

77. *gleeking and galling*] gibing and scoffing. In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. i. 146-150, Bottom says to Titania, "to say the truth, reason and love keep little company together now-a-days; the more the pity that some honest neighbours will not make them friends. Nay, I can gleek upon occasion"—*i.e.* I can jest.

80. *garb*] fashion. Compare Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, II. vi. 65, "others . . . use some obsolete garb in their garments, gestures, or discourse."

84. *huswife*] now in this sense reduced to "hussy."

85. *Nell*] The credit of this obvious correction is usually given to Capell, but Johnson in his first edition (1765),

published before Capell's appeared, though he retains "Dol" in the text, remarks, "We must read, my Nell is dead." Aldis Wright gives the following list from this play of proper names erroneously printed in the Folio: "Thomas" for "Henry," II. ii. 148; "Dover" for "Hampton," III. chor. 4; "John" for "Thomas," IV. i. 94; "Ireland" for "England," V. ii. 12. The reader who wishes to see an elaborate argument by Brinsley Nicholson in favour of retaining "Doll" on the ground that it is a familiar appellation of Pistol's Nell, may refer to the New Shakspere Society's *Transactions*, 1880-86, pp. 209-211.

87. *my rendezvous*] the comfortable home, for the sake of which he had and held the quondam Quickly (II. i. 78).



And something lean to cut-purse of quick hand. 90  
 To England will I steal, and there I'll steal:  
 And patches will I get unto these cudgell'd scars,  
 And swear I got them in the Gallia wars. [*Exit.*]

SCENE II.—*Troyes in Champagne. An Apartment  
 in the French King's Palace.*

*Enter, at one door, KING HENRY, EXETER, BEDFORD,  
 GLOUCESTER, WARWICK, WESTMORELAND, and other  
 Lords; at another, the French King, QUEEN ISABEL,  
 the PRINCESS KATHARINE, ALICE, and other Ladies,  
 the DUKE OF BURGUNDY, and his Train.*

*K. Hen.* Peace to this meeting, wherefore we are met!  
 Unto our brother France, and to our sister,  
 Health and fair time of day; joy and good wishes  
 To our most fair and princely cousin Katharine;  
 And, as a branch and member of this royalty, 5  
 By whom this great assembly is contriv'd,  
 We do salute you, Duke of Burgundy;  
 And, princes French, and peers, health to you all!

93. *swear*] F 3, 4; *swore* F 1, 2.

93. *Exit*] to reappear in the *Merry Wives*. See Introduction, pp. xv-xvii.

*Scene II.*

Troyes . . . ] Malone; The French Court, at Trois in Champaigne Theobald; The same. A Room in some Palace Capell; France. A royal palace Cambridge editors. Enter . . . ] Cambridge editors; Enter at one doore, King Henry, Exeter, Bedford, Warwick, and other Lords. At another, Queene Isabel, the King, the Duke of Bourgongne, and other French. F. 7. *Burgundy*] Rowe; *Burgogne* F 1; *Burgoigne* F 2.

stage-direction] Capell was the first to introduce Alice here; in the Folio and Quarto she is simply "Lady." See Act III. sc. iv.

*Duke of Burgundy*] see p. 4. He had succeeded his murdered father, and was now acting as deputy for

the insane King Charles VI., whose presence at Troyes is as unhistorical as at Agincourt (III. v.).

1. *Peace . . . met*] "Peace, for which we are here met, be to this meeting" (*Johnson*).

*Fr. King.* Right joyous are we to behold your face,  
 Most worthy brother England; fairly met: 10  
 So are you, princes English, every one.

*Q. Isa.* So happy be the issue, brother England,  
 Of this good day and of this gracious meeting,  
 As we are now glad to behold your eyes;  
 Your eyes, which hitherto have borne in them 15  
 Against the French, that met them in their bent,  
 The fatal balls of murdering basilisks:  
 The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,  
 Have lost their quality, and that this day  
 Shall change all griefs and quarrels into love. 20

*K. Hen.* To cry amen to that, thus we appear.

*Q. Isa.* You English princes all, I do salute you.

*Bur.* My duty to you both, on equal love,  
 Great Kings of France and England! That I have  
 labour'd  
 With all my wits, my pains, and strong endeavours, 25  
 To bring your most imperial majesties  
 Unto this bar and royal interview,  
 Your mightiness on both parts best can witness.

12. *England*] F 2; *Ireland* F 1. 17. *murdering*] Johnson; *murthering* F.  
 23. *on*] and Capell conj.; *one* Nicholson conj. 28. *mightiness*] *mightinesses*  
 Rowe.

17. *murdering basilisks*] Basilisk was not only the name of a fabulous creature, but also of a large cannon throwing a shot of two hundred pounds weight. A figure of the former may be seen in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. i. p. 775; it was hatched by a serpent from an egg laid by a cock; its glance was fatal to all who approached it.

23. *on*] on the ground of, proceeding from. So II. ii. 54, and *Richard III.* IV. i. 3, 4:

"she's wandering to the Tower,  
 On pure heart's love to greet the  
 tender princes."

27. *this bar*] Boswell-Stone (*Holinshed*, p. 200) suggests that perhaps Shakespeare supposed that at Troyes, as at the conference at Meulan (May 29, 1419), Henry had his ground "barred about and ported, wherein his tents were pight in a princelie manner."

28. *mightiness*] "The plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in *s*, *se*, *ss*, *ce*, and *ge*, are frequently written, and still more frequently pronounced, without the additional syllable" (*Abbott*, § 471, where several other examples are given).

Since then my office hath so far prevail'd  
 That face to face, and royal eye to eye, 30  
 You have congreeted, let it not disgrace me  
 If I demand before this royal view,  
 What rub or what impediment there is,  
 Why that the naked, poor, and mangled Peace,  
 Dear nurse of arts, plenty, and joyful births, 35  
 Should not in this best garden of the world,  
 Our fertile France, put up her lovely visage?  
 Alas! she hath from France too long been chas'd,  
 And all her husbandry doth lie on heaps,  
 Corrupting in it own fertility. 40  
 Her vine, the merry cheerer of the heart,  
 Unpruned dies; her hedges even-pleach'd,  
 Like prisoners wildly overgrown with hair,  
 Put forth disorder'd twigs; her fallow leas  
 The darnel, hemlock and rank fumitory 45  
 Doth root upon, while that the coulter rusts  
 That should deracinate such savagery;  
 The even mead, that erst brought sweetly forth  
 The freckled cowslip, burnet, and green clover,  
 Wanting the scythe, all uncorrected, rank, 50  
 Conceives by idleness, and nothing teems

40. *it*] F 1, 2; *it's* F 3, 4.  
 F 1, 2; *even, pleach'd* F 3, 4.  
 46. *coulter*] Johnson; *culter* F.

31. *congreeted*] like "congreeing" complaint, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 81-117.

31. *disgrace*] put me out of favour; "not so strong a word as it is now" (*A. J. F. Collins*).

33. *rub*] See II. ii. 188.

38-67. *Alas! . . . qualities*] The rhythmical movement and general tone of these lines remind us of Titania's

42. *even-pleach'd*] Hanmer; *even-pleach'd* F 1, 2; *even, pleach'd* F 3, 4.  
 45. *fumitory*] F 4; *Femetary* F 1, 2, 3.  
 50. *all*] Rowe; *withall* F.

complaint, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 81-117.

40. *it*] *its*; this use survives dialectically. The latest literary example in *New Eng. Dict.* is from the year 1622, *Wither Works*, ed. 1633, 653:

"Each part as faire doth show  
 In it kind, as white in snow,"  
 and see Mr. Craig's note on *King Lear*, I. iv. 236.

But hateful docks, rough thistles, kecksies, burrs,  
 Losing both beauty and utility.  
 And as our vineyards, fallows, meads, and hedges,  
 Defective in their natures, grow to wildness, 55  
 Even so our houses and ourselves and children  
 Have lost, or do not learn for want of time,  
 The sciences that should become our country,  
 But grow like savages, as soldiers will  
 That nothing do but meditate on blood, 60  
 To swearing and stern looks, defus'd attire,  
 And every thing that seems unnatural.  
 Which to reduce into our former favour  
 You are assembled; and my speech entreats  
 That I may know the let, why gentle Peace 65  
 Should not expel these inconveniences,  
 And bless us with her former qualities.

*K. Hen.* If, Duke of Burgundy, you would the peace,  
 Whose want gives growth to the imperfections  
 Which you have cited, you must buy that peace 70  
 With full accord to all our just demands;  
 Whose tenours and particular effects

54, 55. *as . . . wildness*] Capell; *all . . . wildnesse*. F. 59. *will*] *wild*  
 Vaughan conj. 61. *defus'd*] F 1, 2; *diffus'd* F 3, 4. 68. *Burgundy*] Rowe;  
*Burgonie* F 1; *Burgony* F 2. 72. *tenours*] Theobald; *Tenures* F.

54. *kecksies*] another form of "kexes,"  
 the dry hollow stalks of various coarse  
 umbelliferous plants, but sometimes, as  
 possibly here, the living plant.

54, 55. *as . . . wildness*] Boswell-  
 Stone retains the Folio reading, but  
 this line resumes what has been already  
 said of the vines, hedges, and fallows  
 in lines 41-47. Capell's conjecture had  
 been made independently by Roderick,  
 "a most ingenious gentleman, an as-  
 sistant in the *Canons of Criticism*," as  
 Capell, who never, if he can help it,

calls another editor or critic by his  
 name, describes him.

61. *defus'd*] disordered; the same  
 word as "diffused." See Mr. Craig  
 on *King Lear*, i. iv. 2.

63. *favour*] appearance. Compare  
 Fuller, *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, i.  
 viii. 23: "Palestine . . . tricked and  
 trimmed with many new cities had the  
 favour thereof quite altered."

72. *tenours*] often spelt "tenures"  
 in the Folio.

You have, enschedul'd briefly, in your hands.

*Bur.* The king hath heard them ; to the which as yet  
There is no answer made.

*K. Hen.* Well then the peace, 75  
Which you before so urg'd, lies in his answer.

*Fr. King.* I have but with a cursorary eye  
O'erglanc'd the articles : pleaseth your grace  
To appoint some of your council presently  
To sit with us once more, with better heed 80  
To re-survey them, we will suddenly  
Pass our accept and peremptory answer.

*K. Hen.* Brother, we shall. Go, uncle Exeter,  
And brother Clarence, and you, brother Gloucester,  
Warwick and Huntingdon, go with the king ; 85  
And take with you free power to ratify,  
Augment, or alter, as your wisdoms best  
Shall see advantageable for our dignity,  
Any thing in or out of our demands,  
And we'll consign thereto. Will you, fair sister, 90  
Go with the princes, or stay here with us ?

*Q. Isa.* Our gracious brother, I will go with them.

77. *cursorary*] Q 3, Pope ; *cursorarie* F ; *cursorary* Q 1, 2. 80. *us once more, with] us, once more with* Rowe. 82. *Pass our accept] Pass, or accept* Theobald, from Warburton's suggestion ; *Pass, or except* Malone conj.

77. *cursorary*] The word "cursory," which Hanmer actually printed here, to the detriment of the metre, was as yet hardly established (the earliest quotation in *New Eng. Dict.* is of 1601) ; some latitude therefore, especially under stress of metrical needs, is excusable, and the manifest perplexity of the printers of the Folio and Quartos easily intelligible.

81. *suddenly*] immediately.

82. *Pass . . . answer*] Pronounce our accepted (*i.e.* adopted) and decisive

answer. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes several examples of "accept" = "accepted," of which the present passage is the latest. Warburton explained his reading, "waive and decline what he disliked, and consign to such as he approved of."

84. *Clarence*] Thomas, Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV., *b.* 1389, slain at Beaugé, 1421.

85. *Huntingdon*] John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, *d.* 1443.

Haply a woman's voice may do some good  
 When articles too nicely urg'd be stood on.

*K. Hen.* Yet leave our cousin Katharine here with us: 95  
 She is our capital demand, compris'd  
 Within the fore-rank of our articles.

*Q. Isa.* She hath good leave.

[*Exeunt all but King Henry, Katharine, and Alice.*]

*K. Hen.* Fair Katharine, and most fair,  
 Will you vouchsafe to teach a soldier terms  
 Such as will enter at a lady's ear 100  
 And plead his love-suit to her gentle heart?

*Kath.* Your majesty shall mock at me; I cannot  
 speak your England.

*K. Hen.* O fair Katharine! if you will love me soundly  
 with your French heart, I will be glad to hear 105  
 you confess it brokenly with your English tongue.  
 Do you like me, Kate?

*Kath.* Pardonnez-moy, I cannot tell vat is "like me."

*K. Hen.* An angel is like you, Kate, and you are  
 like an angel. 110

*Kath.* Que dit-il? que je suis semblable à les anges?

*Alice.* Ouy, vrayment, sauf vostre grace, ainsi dit-il.

*K. Hen.* I said so, dear Katharine, and I must not  
 blush to affirm it.

*Kath.* O bon Dieu! les langues des hommes sont 115  
 pleines de tromperies.

*K. Hen.* What says she, fair one? that the tongues  
 of men are full of deceits?

93. *Haply*] F 4; *Happily* F 1; *Happely* F 2, 3. 98. *Exeunt all . . .*  
*Delius*; *Exeunt omnes.* Manet King and Katherine F. 108. *vat*] Rowe;  
*wat* F. 116. *pleines*] Pope; *plein* F.

*Alice.* Ouy; dat de tongues of de mans is be full of  
deceits: dat is de princess. 120

*K. Hen.* The princess is the better Englishwoman.  
I' faith, Kate, my wooing is fit for thy under-  
standing: I am glad thou canst speak no better  
English; for if thou could'st, thou would'st find  
me such a plain king that thou would'st think I 125  
had sold my farm to buy my crown. I know  
no ways to mince it in love, but directly to  
say "I love you": then if you urge me farther  
than to say "Do you in faith?" I wear out  
my suit. Give me your answer; i' faith, do: 130  
and so clap hands and a bargain. How say  
you, lady?

*Kath.* Sauf vostre honneur, me understand vell.

*K. Hen.* Marry, if you would put me to verses, or to  
dance for your sake, Kake, why you undid me: 135  
for the one, I have neither words nor measure,  
and for the other, I have no strength in measure,  
yet a reasonable measure in strength. If I could  
win a lady at leap-frog, or by vaulting into my  
saddle with my armour on my back, under the 140  
correction of bragging be it spoken, I should  
quickly leap into a wife. Or if I might buffet  
for my love, or bound my horse for her favours,

120. *is de princess.*] *is de princess say.* Keightley. 133. *understand*] *under-*  
*stand not* Keightley; *understand no* Vaughan conj. *well*] Capell; *well* F. 139.  
*vaulting*] F 3, 4; *vawting* F 1, 2.

121. *The princess . . . English-*  
*woman*] *i.e.* for saying so. Henry is  
thinking of the proverbial proneness  
of Frenchmen to make compliments,  
and likes Katharine the better for her  
seeing through his (*A. J. F. Collins*).

133. *me understand vell*] Vaughan  
argues in favour of his emendation that

in 134 ff. Henry is expounding and  
explaining what he had said in his  
previous speech, which it would not be  
necessary for him to do, if Katharine  
understood him, but, as Boswell-Stone  
observes, he appears to be merely  
pursuing the same theme.

I could lay on like a butcher and sit like a jack-  
 an-apes, never off. But, before God, Kate, I can- 145  
 not look greenly nor gasp out my eloquence, nor  
 I have no cunning in protestation ; only downright  
 oaths, which I never use till urged, nor never break  
 for urging. If thou canst love a fellow of this  
 temper, Kate, whose face is not worth sun-burning, 150  
 that never looks in his glass for love of any thing  
 he sees there, let thine eye be thy cook. I speak  
 to thee plain soldier : if thou canst love me for  
 this, take me ; if not, to say to thee that I shall  
 die, is true ; but for thy love, by the Lord, no ; 155  
 yet I love thee too. And while thou livest, dear  
 Kate, take a fellow of plain and uncoined con-  
 stancy, for he perforce must do thee right, because  
 he hath not the gift to woo in other places ; for  
 these fellows of infinite tongue, that can rime them- 160  
 selves into ladies' favours, they do always reason  
 themselves out again. What ! a speaker is but a  
 prater ; a rime is but a ballad. A good leg will  
 fall, a straight back will stoop, a black beard will  
 turn white, a curled pate will grow bald, a fair 165

155. *by the Lord*] Rowe ; *by the L. F.* 160, 163. *rime*] *ryme* F ; *rhime* Rowe ; *rhyme* Johnson.

144, 145. *jack-an-apes*] An interesting discussion of the origin of this expression will be found in *New Eng. Dict.*

157-159. *a fellow . . . places*] if his constancy resembled a piece of current coin it would be qualified to circulate in other places as well, *i.e.* among other ladies. Henry's constancy, however, is like a plain piece of unstamped metal, which, being useless for exchange, must remain stationary in one place. Such is the explanation of

"uncoined constancy" which the context requires. This is more than can be said of Johnson's interpretation "genuine," "not counterfeit." We have the converse in *Lucrece*, 1072, 1073 :

"I will not poison thee with my attaint,

Nor fold my fault in clearly-coin'd excuses."

164. *fall*] fall away, shrink.



face will wither, a full eye will wax hollow; but a good heart, Kate, is the sun and the moon; or rather the sun, and not the moon; for it shines bright and never changes, but keeps his course truly. If thou would have such a one, take me; 170 and take me, take a soldier; take a soldier, take a king. And what sayest thou then to my love? speak, my fair, and fairly, I pray thee.

*Kath.* Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of 175  
France?

*K. Hen.* No; it is not possible you should love the enemy of France, Kate; but, in loving me, you should love the friend of France, for I love France so well that I will not part with a village 180 of it; I will have it all mine: and Kate, when France is mine and I am yours, then yours is France and you are mine.

*Kath.* I cannot tell vat is dat.

*K. Hen.* No, Kate? I will tell thee in French, which 185 I am sure will hang upon my tongue like a new-married wife about her husband's neck, hardly to be shook off. Je quand sur le possession de France, et quand vous avez le possession de moy —let me see, what then? Saint Denis be my 190 speed!—donc vostre est France, et vous estes mienne. It is as easy for me, Kate, to conquer the kingdom as to speak so much more French: I shall never move thee in French, unless it be to laugh at me. 195

184. *vat*] Capell; *wat* F; *what* Rowe.

188. *Je quand sur*] *Quand j'ay* Pope.

*Kath.* Sauf vostre honneur, le François que vous parlez il est meilleur que l'Anglois lequel je parle.

*K. Hen.* No, faith, is't not, Kate; but thy speaking of my tongue, and I thine, most truly-falsely, 200 must needs be granted to be much at one. But, Kate, dost thou understand thus much English? Canst thou love me?

*Kath.* I cannot tell.

*K. Hen.* Can any of your neighbours tell, Kate? I'll 205 ask them. Come, I know thou lovest me: and at night when you come into your closet you'll question this gentlewoman about me; and I know, Kate, you will to her dispraise those parts in me that you love with your heart: but, good Kate, 210 mock me mercifully; the rather, gentle princess, because I love thee cruelly. If ever thou be'st mine, Kate, as I have a saving faith within me tells me thou shalt, I get thee with scrambling, and thou must therefore needs prove a good soldier- 215 breeder. Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?

196. *que] ques* F. 197. *il est] il & F; est* Pope. *meilleur]* Hanmer; *melieus* F; *melieur* Rowe; *mellieur* Pope. 200. *truly-falsely]* Cambridge editors, from S. Walker's conjecture; *truly falsely* F.

214. *scrambling]* See i. i. 4.

219. *the Turk]* Theobald notes that the Turks were not in possession of Constantinople till thirty-one years after Henry's death. To take the Turk (*i.e.* the Sultan) by the beard seems to have been a colloquial expression for

the performance of a feat of heroism. Thus Brome, *Antipodes* (1638), i. 4:

"We had three sonnes, and all great travellers,

That one had shooke the great Turke by the beard."

shall we not? what sayest thou, my fair flower- 220  
de-luce?

*Kath.* I do not know dat.

*K. Hen.* No; 'tis hereafter to know, but now to  
promise: do but now promise, Kate, you will  
endeavour for your French part of such a boy, and 225  
for my English moiety take the word of a king  
and a bachelor. How answer you, la plus belle  
Katharine du monde, mon très cher et divin  
déesse?

*Kath.* Your majesté ave fausse French enough to de- 230  
ceive de most sage damoiselle dat is en France.

*K. Hen.* Now, fie upon my false French! By mine  
honour, in true English, I love thee, Kate: by  
which honour I dare not swear thou lovest me;  
yet my blood begins to flatter me that thou dost, 235  
notwithstanding the poor and untempering effect  
of my visage. Now beshrew my father's ambi-  
tion! he was thinking of civil wars when he got  
me: therefore was I created with a stubborn out-  
side, with an aspect of iron, that when I come to 240  
woo ladies I fright them. But, in faith, Kate, the  
elder I wax the better I shall appear: my comfort  
is, that old age, that ill layer-up of beauty, can  
do no more spoil upon my face: thou hast me, if

236. *untempering*] *untempting* Warburton, Dyce.

220. *flower-de-luce*] The form "fleur-de-lis" is hardly ever found in English use before the nineteenth century.

236. *untempering*] incapable of tempering or softening you; compare *Venus and Adonis*, 565, 566:

"What wax so frozen but dissolves  
with tempering,  
And yields at last to every light  
impression?"

See also *II. ii.* 118.

thou hast me, at the worst; and thou shalt wear 245  
 me, if thou wear me, better and better. And  
 therefore tell me, most fair Katharine, will you  
 have me? Put off your maiden blushes; avouch  
 the thoughts of your heart with the looks of an  
 empress; take me by the hand, and say "Harry 250  
 of England, I am thine": which word thou shalt  
 no sooner bless mine ear withal, but I will tell  
 thee aloud "England is thine, Ireland is thine,  
 France is thine, and Henry Plantagenet is thine";  
 who, though I speak it before his face, if he be 255  
 not fellow with the best king, thou shalt find the  
 best king of good fellows. Come, your answer in  
 broken music; for thy voice is music, and thy  
 English broken; therefore, queen of all, Kath-  
 arine, break thy mind to me in broken English: 260  
 wilt thou have me?

*Kath.* Dat is as it sall please de roy mon père.

*K. Hen.* Nay, it will please him well, Kate; it shall  
 please him, Kate.

*Kath.* Den it sall also content me. 265

248. *your maiden*] F 1, 2; *those Maiden* F 3, 4. 259, 260. *all, Katharine,*  
*all Katharines,* Dyce (ed. 2) from Capell's conjecture. 262. *sall*] *shall* F.

258. *broken music*] See line 106,  
 above. The following explanation of  
 "broken music" was given to Aldis  
 Wright by Mr. Chappell, the author of  
*Popular Music of the Olden Time*:  
 "Some instruments, such as viols,  
 violins, flutes, etc., were formerly made  
 in sets of four, which when played to-  
 gether formed a 'consort.' If one or  
 more of the instruments of one set were  
 substituted for the corresponding ones  
 of another set, the result was no longer

a 'consort,' but 'broken music.'" That the expression was also used in the sense of "concerted music," *i.e.* music arranged in parts, is clear from Beaumont, *Inner-Temple Masque* (1613): "Then Mercury, for his part, brings forth an anti-masque all of spirits or divine natures; but yet not of one kind or livery (because that had been so much in use heretofore), but, as it were, in consort, like to broken music."

*K. Hen.* Upon that I kiss your hand, and I call you my queen.

*Kath.* Laissez, mon seigneur, laissez, laissez! Ma foy, je ne veux point que vous abaissiez vostre grandeur, en baisant la main d'une de vostre 270 seigneurie indigne serviteur: excusez moy, je vous supplie, mon très puissant seigneur.

*K. Hen.* Then I will kiss your lips, Kate.

*Kath.* Les dames et damoiselles, pour estre baisées devant leur nopces, il n'est pas le coutume de 275 France.

*K. Hen.* Madam my interpreter, what says she?

*Alice.* Dat it is not be de fashion pour les ladies of France—I cannot tell vat is baiser in English.

*K. Hen.* To kiss. 280

*Alice.* Your majesty entendre better que moy.

*K. Hen.* It is not a fashion for the maids in France to kiss before they are married, would she say?

*Alice.* Ouy, vraiment.

*K. Hen.* O Kate! nice customs curtsy to great kings. 285

Dear Kate, you and I cannot be confined within the weak list of a country's fashion: we are the makers of manners, Kate; and the liberty that follows our places stops the mouth of all find-

268. *Laissez*] Rowe; *Laisse* F. *Ma*] *may* F. 269. *abaissiez*] Cambridge editors; *abbaissez* Rowe; *abbaisse* F. 270. *grandeur*] F 2; *grandeus* F 1. 270, 271. *la main d'une de vostre seigneurie indigne serviteur*] Cambridge editors, who print *votre*; *le main d'une nostre Seigneur indignie seruiteur* F; *la main d'une vostre indigne serviteur* Pope. 271. *excusez moy*] Rowe; *excuse moy* F. 274. *baisées*] Theobald; *baisee* F. 275. *coutume*] Rowe; *costume* F. 278. *les*] Theobald; *le* F. 279. *vat*] Capell; *wat* F. *baiser*] Hanmer; *buisse* F; *baisser* Theobald. *English*] F 3, 4; *Anglisch* F 1, 2. 285. *curtsy*] Wright; *cursie* F; *curtsie* Rowe; *curtsy* Johnson.

287. *list*] boundary, barrier.

faults, as I will do yours, for upholding the nice 290  
 fashion of your country in denying me a kiss :  
 therefore, patiently and yielding. [*Kissing her.*]  
 You have witchcraft in your lips, Kate : there is  
 more eloquence in a sugar touch of them than in  
 the tongues of the French council ; and they 295  
 should sooner persuade Harry of England than a  
 general petition of monarchs. Here comes your  
 father.

*Re-enter the French King and his Queen,  
 BURGUNDY, and other Lords.*

*Bur.* God save your majesty ! My royal cousin, teach  
 you our princess English ? 300

*K. Hen.* I would have her learn, my fair cousin,  
 how perfectly I love her ; and that is good  
 English.

*Bur.* Is she not apt ?

*K. Hen.* Our tongue is rough, coz, and my condition 305  
 is not smooth ; so that, having neither the voice  
 nor the heart of flattery about me, I cannot so  
 conjure up the spirit of love in her, that he will  
 appear in his true likeness.

*Bur.* Pardon the frankness of my mirth if I answer 310  
 you for that. If you would conjure in her, you  
 must make a circle ; if conjure up love in her in  
 his true likeness, he must appear naked and blind.

292. Kissing her] Rowe ; omitted F. 298. Re-enter . . .] Cambridge edi-  
 tors ; Enter the French Power, and the English Lords F ; Re-enter . . . Bur-  
 gundy, Lords, etc., Capell.

305. *condition*] disposition, character ; so v. i. 83.

Can you blame her then, being a maid yet rosed  
 over with the virgin crimson of modesty, if she 315  
 deny the appearance of a naked blind boy in  
 her naked seeing self? It were, my lord, a hard  
 condition for a maid to consign to.

*K. Hen.* Yet they do wink and yield, as love is blind  
 and enforces. 320

*Bur.* They are then excused, my lord, when they see  
 not what they do.

*K. Hen.* Then, good my lord, teach your cousin to  
 consent winking.

*Bur.* I will wink on her to consent, my lord, if 325  
 you will teach her to know my meaning: for  
 maids, well summered and warm kept, are like  
 flies at Bartholomew-tide, blind, though they have  
 their eyes; and then they will endure handling,  
 which before would not abide looking on. 330

*K. Hen.* This moral ties me over to time and a hot  
 summer; and so I shall catch the fly, your cousin,  
 in the latter end, and she must be blind too.

*Bur.* As love is, my lord, before it loves.

*K. Hen.* It is so: and you may, some of you, thank 335  
 love for my blindness, who cannot see many a  
 fair French city for one fair French maid that  
 stands in my way.

*Fr. King.* Yes, my lord, you see them perspectively,

319. *wink*] See II. i. 7.

328. *flies at Bartholomew-tide*] About St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, the evenings are apt to become chilly; "St. Bartholomew Brings the cold dew," says an old rhyme. "At this time," writes Miss Phipson (*Animal*

*Lore of Shakspeare's Time*, p. 421), "especially if the season be wet, flies seek the shelter of houses in great numbers, and become drowsy and semi-torpid, or, as children call them, tame."

339. *perspectively*] as through a perspective, a glass so cut as to pro-

the cities turned into a maid ; for they are all 340  
girdled with maiden walls that war hath never  
entered.

*K. Hen.* Shall Kate be my wife ?

*Fr. King.* So please you.

*K. Hen.* I am content ; so the maiden cities you talk 345  
of may wait on her : so the maid that stood in  
the way for my wish shall show me the way to  
my will.

*Fr. King.* We have consented to all terms of reason.

*K. Hen.* Is 't so, my lords of England ? 350

*West.* The king hath granted every article :

His daughter first, and then in sequel all,  
According to their firm proposed natures.

*Exe.* Only he hath not yet subscribed this :

Where your majesty demands, that the King of 355  
France, having any occasion to write for matter  
of grant, shall name your highness in this form,  
and with this addition in French, Notre très  
cher filz Henry, Roy d'Angleterre, Héritier  
de France ; and thus in Latin, Præclarissimus 360

341 never] Rowe; omitted F; not Capell. 347. for my] of my Heath  
conj. 352. and then in] F 2; and in F 1. 353. firm proposed] first-pro-  
posed S. Walker conj. 359. Héritier] Cambridge editors; Heretier Rowe;  
Heretere F.

duce an optical delusion when looked through. Compare *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 48, 49 :

“Contempt his scornful perspective did lend me,  
Which warp'd the line of every other favour.”

“Perspective” is elsewhere used by Shakespeare (*Richard II.* II. ii. 18, and *Twelfth Night*, v. i. 224) to mean a picture which represented a different object according to the point from

which it was looked at, like certain modern advertisements of patent soap. The word also meant a telescope.

360. *Præclarissimus*] an instance of the perpetuation of a blunder by the copyist. The first edition of Hall's *Chronicle* (1548) has *præcharissimus*, the correct translation of “très cher”; the second edition (1550) “*præclarissimus*”; this error was repeated in both editions of Holinshed, and hence in the text of this passage.



filius noster Henricus, Rex Angliæ, et Hæres  
Franciæ.

*Fr. King.* Nor this I have not, brother, so denied,  
But your request shall make me let it pass.

*K. Hen.* I pray you then, in love and dear alliance, 365  
Let that one article rank with the rest;  
And thereupon give me your daughter.

*Fr. King.* Take her, fair son; and from her blood raise  
up  
Issue to me; that the contending kingdoms  
Of France and England, whose very shores look  
pale 370

With envy of each other's happiness,  
May cease their hatred, and this dear conjunction  
Plant neighbourhood and Christian-like accord  
In their sweet bosoms, that never war advance 374  
His bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France.

*All.* Amen.

*K. Hen.* Now welcome, Kate: and bear me witness all,  
That here I kiss her as my sovereign queen.

[*Flourish*

*Q. Isa.* God, the best maker of all marriages,  
Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one! 380  
As man and wife, being two, are one in love,  
So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal  
That never may ill office, or fell jealousy,  
Which troubles oft the bed of blessed marriage,  
Thrust in between the paction of these kingdoms, 385

367. *daughter*] *daughter here* S. Walker conj. 376. *All*] Rowe; Lords F.  
385. *paction*] Theobald; *Paction* F 1, 2; *Passion* F 3, 4.

385. *paction*] compact.

To make divorce of their incorporate league ;  
 That English may as French, French Englishmen,  
 Receive each other ! God speak this Amen !

*All.* Amen !

*K. Hen.* Prepare we for our marriage : on which day, 390  
 My Lord of Burgundy, we'll take your oath,  
 And all the peers', for surety of our leagues.  
 Then shall I swear to Kate, and you to me ;  
 And may our oaths well kept and prosperous be !

[*Sennet. Exeunt.*

*Enter* CHORUS.

Thus far, with rough and all-unable pen,  
 Our bending author hath pursu'd the story ;  
 In little room confining mighty men,  
 Mangling by starts the full course of their glory.  
 Small time, but in that small most greatly liv'd 5  
 This star of England : Fortune made his sword,  
 By which the world's best garden he achiev'd,  
 And of it left his son imperial lord.

392. *peers'*] Capell ; *Peeres* F.

387, 388. *That English . . . each other*] As so rational a critic as Vaughan has stumbled at these lines, it may be as well to remark that their plain meaning is, "that in their receiving of each other Englishmen may act in the spirit of Frenchmen, and Frenchmen in the spirit of Englishmen."

394. *Sennet*] a particular set of notes on the trumpet or cornet sounded at the entrance or exit of a company or procession ; distinct from a flourish. See Mr. Craig on *King Lear*, i. i. 33.

*Chorus.*

2. *bending*] Steevens says, "unequal

to the weight of his subject, and bending beneath it ; or he may mean, as in *Hamlet* [III. ii. 160], 'Here stooping to your clemency.' I prefer the latter. Compare *Richard III.* iv. 95 :

"Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee?"

It should be noted also that the line quoted by Steevens from *Hamlet* is one of the three composing the brief prologue to the Players' tragedy.

4. *Mangling by starts*] "by touching only on select parts" (*Johnson*).

7. *the world's best garden*] Bur- gundy's phrase, v. ii. 36.

Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crown'd King  
 Of France and England, did this king succeed ; 10  
 Whose state so many had the managing,  
 That they lost France and made his England bleed :  
 Which oft our stage hath shown ; and, for their sake,  
 In your fair minds let this acceptance take.

[*Exit.*

14. Exit] Capell ; omitted F.

13. *off*] in the three parts of *Henry* been received with favour.  
*VI.*, which, the Chorus insinuates, had

## APPENDIX

### ACT I. SCENE II. LINES 183-204.

MR. WARWICK BOND, in his note on the following passage, writes: "The description, on which Shakespeare probably based his in *Henry V.* I. ii., is freely transcribed from Pliny, xi. ch. 4-22, supplemented perhaps by Lyly's own observation. Pliny says nothing about the suicide of the unwittingly disobedient, not about their Parliament, except 'convocantur,' c. 22":—

*Euphues* delighted with the discourses of old *Fidus*, was content to heare any thing, so he myght heare him speake some thing, and consenting willingly, hee desired *Fidus* to go forward: who nowe remouing him-selfe neerer to the Hyues, beganne as followeth.

Gentlemen, I haue for ye space of this twenty yeares dwelt in this place, taking no delight in any thing but only in keeping my Bees, and marking them, and this I finde, which had I not seene, I shold hardly haue beleued. That they vse as great wit by induction, and arte by workmanship, as euer man hath, or can, vsing betweene themeselues no lesse iustice then wisdome, and yet not so much wisdome as maiestie: insomuch as thou wouldest thinke, that they were a kinde of people, a common wealth for *Plato*, where they all labour, all gather honny, flye all together in a swarme, eate in a swarm, and sleepe in a swarm, so neate and finely, that they abhorre nothing so much as vncleannes, drinking pure and cleere water, delighting in sweete and sound Musick, which if they heare but once out of tune, they flye out of sight: and therefore are they called the *Muses* byrds, bicause they folow not the sound so much as the

consent. They lyue vnder a lawe, vsing great reuerence to their elder, as to the wiser. They chuse a King, whose pallaxe they frame both brauer in show, and stronger in substance: whome if they finde to fall, they establish again in his throne, with no lesse duty then deuotion, garding him continually, as it were for feare he should miscarry, and for loue he should not: whom they tender with such fayth and fauour, that whether-soeuer he flyeth, they follow him, and if hee can-not flye, they carry him: whose lyfe they so loue, that they will not for his safety stick to die, such care haue they for his health, on whome they build all their hope. If their Prince dye, they know not how to liue, they languish, weepe, sigh, neither intending their work, nor keeping their olde societie.

And that which is most meruailous, and almoste incredible: if ther be any that hath disobeyed his commaundements, eyther of purpose, or vnwittingly, hee kylleth him-selfe with his own sting, as executioner of his own stubbornesse. The King him-selfe hath his sting, which hee vseth rather for honour then punishment: And yet *Euphues*, al-beit they lyue vnder a Prince, they haue their priueledge, and as great liberties as straight lawes.

They call a Parliament, wher-in they consult, for lawes, statutes, penalties, chusing officers, and creating their king, not by affection but reason, not by the greater part, but ye better. And if such a one by chaunce be chosen (for among men som-times the worst speede best) as is bad, then is there such ciuill war and dissention, that vntill he be pluckt downe, there can be no friendship, and ouer-throwne, there is no enmitie, not fighting for quarrelles, but quietnesse.

Euery one hath his office, some trimming the honny, some working the wax, one framing hiues, an other the combes, and that so artificially, that *Dedalus* could not with greater arte or excellencie, better dispose the orders, measures, proportions, distinctions, ioynts and circles. Diuers hew, others polish, all are carefull to doe their worke so strongly, as they may resist the craft of such drones, as seek to liue by their labours, which maketh them to keepe watch and warde, as luyng in a camp to others, and as in a court to them-selues. Such a care of chastitie,

that they neuer ingender, such a desire of cleannesse, that there is not so much as meate in all their hiues. When they go forth to work, they marke the wind, the clouds, and whatsoeuer doth threaten either their ruine, or raign, and hauing gathered out of euery flower honny they return loden in their mouthes, thighs, wings, and all the bodye, whome they that tarried at home receyue readily, as easing their backes of so great burthens.

The Kyng him-selfe not idle, goeth vp and downe, entreating, threatning, commaunding, vsing the counsell of a sequel, but not loosing the dignitie of a Prince, preferring those y<sup>t</sup> labour to greater authoritie, and punishing those that loyter, with due seueritie. All which thinges being much admirable, yet this is most, that they are so profitable, bringing vnto man both honnye and wax, each so wholsome that wee all desire it, both so necessary that we cannot misse them. Here *Euphues* is a common wealth, which oftentimes calling to my minde, I cannot chuse but commend aboute any that either I haue heard or read of. Where the king is not for euery one to talke of, where there is such homage, such loue, such labour, that I haue wished oftentimes, rather be a Bee, then not be as I should be.

In this little garden with these hiues, in this house haue I spent the better parte of my lyfe, yea and the best: I was neuer busie in matters of state, but referring al my cares vnto the wisdom of graue Counsellors, and my confidence in the noble minde of my dread Souereigne and Queene, neuer asking what she did, but alwayes praying she may do well, not enquiring whether she might do what she would, but thinking she would do nothing but what she might.

Thus contented with a meane estate, and neuer curious of the high estate, I found such quiet, that mee thinketh, he which knoweth least, lyueth longest: insomuch that I chuse rather to be an Hermitte in a caue, then a Counsellor in the court.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (1580), pp. 261-264, ed. Arber. *Complete Works of John Lyly*, vol. ii. pp. 44-46, ed. Warwick Bond.

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