

ABSTRACT

A TEXTUAL EDITION OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF HENRY V

By

Jonathan Harold Spinner

For the past half-century, the term "bad quarto" has been used to define and describe a number of editions of some of Shakespeare's plays. One of the editions so named is the first quarto of Henry V. However, the quarto has been labeled "bad" without any close study of the printing procedures used or the press and textual variants resulting from these procedures. The major part of my thesis is an investigation of the first quarto to determine how it was printed and what were the consequences of this printing textually. In addition, a study is made of what constitutes "bad quartos," and how and why such editions might have come into existence.

Besides the first quarto (Q1), printed in 1600, two other quartos were published: the second quarto, Q2 (1602), and the third quarto, Q3 (a Pavier quarto of 1619, title-page 1608). Additionally, there is the Folio text of 1623,

which differs substantially from the quartos. I have collated all available copies of Q1, one copy of Q2, and two copies of Q3, in order to establish whether Q2 and Q3 are reprints of the first quarto as is generally assumed, and if so, how they differ from Q1. With regard to the third quarto, I have made a study of the kinds and types of changes in that edition. No full textual comparison has been made between the Folio and Q1, nor between Q2 and Q3 and the Folio, since both of these studies have already been done, but I have presented the dramatic elements abridged or removed in Henry V Q1 as compared to F1.

The bulk of the thesis is the text itself; printing variations found in the copies of Q1, in the second and third quartos, and the first Folio are footnoted or indicated marginally. The introduction deals with the problems I have already raised, as well as with some other aspects of the printing of the quarto, their relation to Q2 and Q3, to the Folio, and to "bad quartos" in general.

The first section of the introductory essay is concerned with the printing of all three quartos, beginning with Q1. I have started with a study of the publisher's and printer's professional records, in order to examine the possibility of a relationship between their general

practices and their handling of the text. I have found that the men responsible for the publishing and printing of the play (Busby, Millington, and Creede) were not unusual in their methods of obtaining the play, even though their copyright was challenged by Pavier. Their actions were not considered criminal either by their fellow Stationers or by English law.

Aside from questioning the ethics of the publisher and printer, an examination of professional methodology is necessary since it sheds some light on how the text was dealt with in the print shop. From this, a deeper discussion of the composition, press-work, variants in the edition, and size of the edition follows.

Regarding the composition of the text, I have considered whether or not the cast-off copy/printing by formes method was utilized, have suggested two theories, one based on spelling evidence, the other on typographical findings. The first indicates that only one compositor is responsible for the text; the second that the cast-off copy/printing by formes method was used, and that two compositors worked on the edition. The general question of the numbers and kinds of variants has been examined. Both the second and third quartos have been approached in a similar, though less

exhaustive, manner. Further questions concerning composition, such as proof of reprinting from Q1 and the extent to which it was carried out, or the amount and significance of variants in these editions have been studied.

The second part of the essay is a survey of the theories of the relation of the quartos to the first Folio. Using findings based upon my own studies and those of various critics and scholars, I have concluded that the quarto is based on the same manuscript used for the Folio, and that memorial reconstruction best explains the discrepancies between the two editions.

A study of the various theories of "bad quartos" in relation to the first quarto of Henry V follows. Since the phrase (used by Heminge and Condell, the editors of the first Folio) "stolne and surreptitious copies" is one of the bases for the concept of "bad quartos," its meaning and its possible relation to Q1 have been investigated. I believe I have shown that the phrase refers only to the Pavier quartos of 1619 and not to any other edition.

Having discussed the "how" of "bad quartos" production, I have touched on the "why," that is, some reasons that have been suggested as to why such editions were

printed. Of especial interest to me have been the theories about abridged copy for provincial companies. The origin of such companies, the main features of their usual and known copy, and the abridged versions previously subjected to scholars' study have been reviewed. Consideration has been given as to the possibilities of Henry V Q1 being such an abridgement.

Beyond these general examinations of the practices of provincial companies, more specific studies have been made in regard to this edition and its possible use away from the London stage. Dramatic elements found in F1 and missing in the first quarto have been scrutinized as to their abridgement or suppression for utilization outside of London. Finally, a history of the Lord Chamberlain's Men for the years 1599-1602, as it is relevant to Q1 and Q2, has been presented. Since these were the years in which the Plague was prevalent in London, and the stages were closed, companies were sometimes forced to go "on the road" with their productions. An examination of the Lord Chamberlain's Men's company history for these years is obviously valuable in assessing what possible effects, if any, this had on the printing of the first two quartos.

I have tried to outline the goals of this textual edition of the first quarto of Henry V. I have presented a survey of scholarly opinion on what constitutes a "bad quarto" (and whether the term itself is defensible, since it is so variable in content), why and how such quartos came into existence, and how Q1 of Henry V relates to a theory of "bad quartos." In addition, I have attempted to account for the corruption of the text, both through abridgement and compositorial error.

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OF HENRY V

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without whose continuing affection, encouragement, and
interest I would have surely given up long ago.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF CHARTS	v
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY	1
Introduction--The Problem.	1
The Publishers and Printer of the First Quarto	5
Composition and Presswork.	12
The Second Quarto.	27
The Pavier Quarto.	32
The Relation of the Quartos to the Folio	39
"Bad Quarto" Theories and Q1	58
Abridged Copy for Provincial Companies	69
Conclusion	84
THE TEXT OF THE PLAY	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart	Page
1. Noun, Verb, and Adjective Endings.	14
2. Type Anomalies--D, E, F, and G Quires.	19
3. Line Averages for Outer and Inner Forms	22
4. Memorial Reconstruction in Q1.	49

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Introduction--The Problem

For the past half-century, the term "bad quarto" has been used to define and describe a number of editions of some of Shakespeare's plays. One of the editions so named is the first quarto of Henry V. However, the quarto has been labeled "bad" without any close study of the printing procedures used or the press and textual variants resulting from these procedures. The major part of my thesis is an investigation of the first quarto to determine how it was printed and what were the consequences of this printing textually. In addition, a study is made of what constitutes "bad quartos," and how and why such editions might have come into existence.

The first section of the introductory essay is concerned with the printing of all three quartos, beginning with Q1. I have started with a study of the publisher's and printer's professional records, in order to examine the possibility of a relationship between their general practices and their handling of the text. Aside from questioning the ethics of the publisher and printer, an examination

of professional methodology is necessary since it sheds some light on how the text was dealt with in the print shop. From this, a deeper discussion of the composition, press-work, variants in the edition, and size of the edition follows.

Regarding the composition of the text, I have considered whether or not the cast-off copy/printing by formes method was utilized, based on spelling evidence and on typographical findings. The general question of the numbers and kinds of variants has been examined. Both the second and third quartos have been approached in a similar, though less exhaustive, manner. Further questions concerning composition, such as proof of reprinting from Q1 and the extent to which it was carried out, or the amount and significance of variants in these editions have been studied.

Besides the first quarto (Q1), printed in 1600, two other quartos were published: the second quarto, Q2 (1602), and the third quarto, Q3 (a Pavier quarto of 1619, title-page 1608). Additionally, there is the Folio text of 1623, which differs substantially from the quartos. I have collated all available copies of Q1, one copy of Q2, and two copies of Q3, in order to establish whether Q2 and Q3 are reprints of the first quarto as is generally assumed, and

if so, how they differ from Q1. With regard to the third quarto, I have made a study of the kinds and types of changes in that edition. No full textual comparison has been made between the Folio and Q1, nor between Q2 and Q3 and the Folio, since both of these studies have already been done, but I have presented the dramatic elements abridged or removed in Henry V Q1 as compared to F1.

The second part of the essay is a survey of the theories of the relation of the quartos to the first Folio. I have attempted to state some of my conclusions of the relation based upon my own studies and those of various critics and scholars.

A study of the various theories of "bad quartos" in relation to the first quarto of Henry V follows. Since the phrase (used by Heminge and Condell, the editors of the first Folio) "stolne and surreptitious copies" is one of the bases for the concept of "bad quartos," its meaning and its possible relation to Q1 have been investigated.

Having discussed the "how" of "bad quartos" production, I have touched on the "why," that is, some reasons that have been suggested as to why such editions were printed. Of especial interest to me have been the theories about abridged copy for provincial companies. The origin

of such companies, the main features of their usual and known copy, and the abridged versions previously subjected to scholars' study have been reviewed. Consideration has been given as to the possibilities of Henry V Q1 being such an abridgement.

Beyond these general examinations of the practices of provincial companies, more specific studies have been made in regard to this edition and its possible use away from the London stage. Dramatic elements found in F1 and missing in the first quarto have been scrutinized as to their abridgement or suppression for utilization outside of London. Finally, a history of the Lord Chamberlain's Men for the years 1599-1602, as it is relevant to Q1 and Q2, has been presented. Since these were the years in which the Plague was prevalent in London, and the stages were closed, companies were sometimes forced to go "on the road" with their productions. An examination of the Lord Chamberlain's Men's company history for these years is obviously valuable in assessing what possible effects, if any, this had on the printing of the first two quartos.

The Publishers and Printer of
the First Quarto

The play entitled The Life of Henry the Fifth in the first folio of 1623 first appeared in quarto form in 1600 under the title The Chronicle Historie of Henry the fifth. This first quarto of Henry V was printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington and John Busby. Two of the three men appear to have been well-established printers and fairly normal in their methods and practices. Nothing would seem to indicate any foul play by any of the three in the obtaining and printing of the play, although Millington did have some fines levied against him by the Stationers' Company; however, neither the amounts nor the offenses appear unusual.¹

John Busby began his apprenticeship on Michaelmas, 1576, "but was allowed to serve his time with Andrew Maunsell, draper, exercising the art of a stationer."² The

¹E. Arber, ed., Registers of the Company of Stationers (five volumes, 1875-1894), Vol. ii, pp. 710, 822, 826, 836; W. W. Greg and Boswell, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602 (London, 1930), p. 55.

²R. B. McKerrow, Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640 (London, 1910), p. 57.

early years of the seventeenth century seemed to have been the time of Busby's greatest involvement with the theatre, since the Stationers' Register indicate four plays produced by his shop during this period.³ Of special interest, as McKerrow points out, is his having been the "procurer of Shakespeare's Merry Wives and as having had a share in Henry V and apparently in King Lear."⁴ Busby's part as "procurer" of Merry Wives sheds some light on the method possibly used to register questionably gained material, since, as Arber notes, the play was entered by Busby and transferred to his partner, Arthur Johnson.⁵ However, there does not appear to be anything illegal in Busby's actions, and neither the Stationers' Company nor any other agency or individual protested. Busby must be seen then as being a model of the average stationer. Compared to the records of fines of Thomas Millington, he must be seen as an ideal stationer in his avoidance of legal entanglements.

³Arber, iii, pp. 199, 333, 354, 366.

⁴McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 58.

⁵Arber, iii, 199. A similar method was used regarding the "Pied Bull" Lear, with the proviso added under John Wright's assignment of the play that "Simon Stafford shall have the printing of this book" (Arber, iii, p. 289).

Millington became a freeman of the Company on November 8, 1591, after serving as apprentice to Harry Carre for eight years.⁶ A sometime partner of John Busby, Nicholas Ling, and Thomas Gosson, his involvement in the printing of dramas began with his very first entry, The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster.⁷ However, except for the assignment of Titus Andronicus to Thomas Pavier, Millington seems to have entered only one other drama, The Rich Jew of Malta in May, 1594.⁸ Millington was before the Wardens of the Company a number of times, both as plaintiff and defendant.⁹ Some of Millington's troubles seemed to stem from his printing of ballads "and other ephemeral literature."¹⁰ Since such material depended on a quick sale to a fickle public, printers probably were tempted to produce such ballads too hastily, and occasionally were fined for

⁶Arber, ii, pp. 123, 710.

⁷McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 194.

⁸Arber, ii, 650 and iii, 204.

⁹Arber, ii, 710, 822, 826, 836. Greg and Boswell, p. 55. Interestingly, on February 7, 1597, Millington was fined for printing a ballad assigned to Creede, but was "to enjoye the ballad" once the fine was paid.

¹⁰McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 194.

infringement of the rights of other Stationers. Certainly these actions against Millington did not affect his standing within the Company. He was an active printer throughout his ten years of freedom in the Stationers' ranks, and at his death his business passed in the usual way to his wife.¹¹

Like Busby, Creede seemed to be able to conduct his business without becoming embroiled in court cases.¹² Thomas Creede seems to have gained an early reputation for "superior workmanship" as a journeyman printer, for upon gaining freeman status in the Company, he was immediately favored by William Ponsonby.¹³ His abilities appear to have attracted a large and admiring following, for the Stationers' Records show a variety and quantity of works produced in his shop, including the "preparation of many volumes of importance in English literature."¹⁴ Further

¹¹McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 193.

¹²However, Creede was charged a 2s 6d fine for not reporting Henry Vawse's apprenticeship, for as G. W. Williams points out, "the printers continually and knowingly violated the ordinances" (G. W. Williams, Unpubl. diss., "The 'Good' Quarto of Romeo and Juliet," University of Virginia, 1957).

¹³McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 80. Ponsonby is considered by McKerrow to have been "the most important publisher of the Elizabethan period" (pp. 217-18).

¹⁴Williams, p. 2.

examination of the Stationers' Register seems to indicate that Creede's printing shop was a "modestly substantial one,"¹⁵ with at least one apprentice indentured at any time.

Unlike Busby's and Millington's irregular association with drama, Creede seems to have been in the forefront of dramatic output by the London press. From 1593 to 1606, he was responsible for the printing of 21 new plays and eight reprints, thus accounting for 16.7% of the published plays of those fourteen years.¹⁶ As was the case with the Henry V quarto, Creede joined with Busby and Millington in the publishing of other Shakespearian "bad" quartos or source plays. Busby's Merry Wives of Windsor and Millington's The First Part of the Contention Between the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster were both printed in Creede's shop, as were other plays owned by other Stationers and usually placed in these categories.¹⁷ However, Creede's dramatic printing was not limited to "bad" quartos and source plays; he printed editions of plays by Lodge,

¹⁵Williams, p. 4.

¹⁶Williams notes (p. 5) that in this same fourteen-year period, Creede produced such notable non-dramatic works as Machiavelli's Florentine History (1594), Sidney's Defense of Poesie (1595), Spenser's Colin Clout's Come Home Again (1595), and Shepherds Calendar (1597).

¹⁷Williams, p. 5.

Lyly, Peele, and Greene and put himself in the 1590's "in the forefront of dramatic printing."¹⁸ After 1606, Creede's production of plays dropped abruptly.

It would appear from this short review of the careers of Busby, Millington, and Creede, that they were neither nefarious nor unusual in either their business methods or procedures for obtaining works to be printed. Their fines were not excessive nor does it appear that they were at any time severely consured for their practices regarding the printing of plays. Whatever difficulties they had that brought them to the attention of the Wardens of the Company or under the scrutiny of higher authority seem to have been a normal occurrence in the life of a book-seller and stationer. Although the first quarto of Henry V has been labeled "bad," this appellation applies to its textual quality and should not prejudice a view of its printer and publishers.

Not only were the three men responsible for the printing and publication of the first edition of Henry V in good standing with their fellow Stationers, but Thomas Creede appears to have been held in esteem due to his superior abilities and workmanship as a printer. George

¹⁸Williams, p. 6.

Walton Williams, in his dissertation on the "good" quarto of Romeo and Juliet, includes a study of the printing procedures used in Creede's shop in the production of dramatic works for the years 1594 through 1602.¹⁹ Although the first quarto of Henry V was printed in Creede's shop within these years, Williams is mainly concerned with the 1602 reprint of the play. However, Williams does provide a starting point for a study of the printing methods used during the composition of this text.

¹⁹See chapter 1, "Dramatic Prints and Reprints From the Shop of Thomas Creede," pp. 2-88, from George Walton Williams' unpub. diss. "The 'Good' Quarto of Romeo and Juliet," Univ. of Virginia.

Composition and Presswork

Beginning with an examination of The Contention, Williams outlines the basic procedural habits of a workman he has termed Compositor A.²⁰ Williams notes that, as a general pattern, Compositor A set proper names in distinguishing type in stage directions. Furthermore, regarding spelling:

Compositor A preferred the -ie endings for nouns, verbs, and adjectives. For adverbs he seems to have preferred the -ly ending; this trait is evidenced also in some other forms ending in -l- but the line of demarcation is not clear Some specific spellings may be mentioned . . . "bene," "do," "here," "ile" seem to be the preferred forms. Occasional variants occur.²¹

However, in his quick review of the first quarto of Henry V, Williams states that some of Compositor A's habits have changed considerably:

Proper names are irregularly distinguished in stage directions, and on four signatures (Blv, D3v, Elv, E3v) both distinguished and

²⁰Williams, p. 11.

²¹Williams, p. 12.

non-distinguished settings occur. The customary preference of this compositor for the -ie terminations of nouns, verbs, and adjectives is similarly upset in this play. In nearly every sheet there are more -y forms than -ie. On the other hand, the preference for the adverb in -ly is strictly maintained. The spellings "bene" and "here" are consistent with only two exceptions: "bin" A3, "heeres" Blv.²²

Williams, taking a conservative approach, argues that the quarto "is the work of Compositor A whose practices are changing" and refuses to "hypothecate a third compositor for the shop sharing many of the habits of A."²³

Using Williams' study as a guideline, my own investigation of spelling evidence alone seems to bear out his belief that one compositor is alone responsible for the setting of the play, that Compositor A is this workman, and that his habits show considerable change. The -ie endings for nouns, verbs, and adjectives are no longer predominant; -y endings occur over 60% of the time. A detailed breakdown (Chart 1) shows no significant order which might be explained by another compositor's working on the text. The endings are randomly placed and probably are governed by line justification. In addition to Williams' findings concerning Compositor A's spelling method in such words as

²²Williams, pp. 83-84.

²³Williams, p. 84.

Chart 1

Noun, Verb, and Adjective Endings

	<u>-ie</u>	<u>other</u>		<u>-ie</u>	<u>other</u>
A1r	0	3	D2v	0	1
A2r	1	0	D3	2	2
A2v	1	2	D3v	1	2
A3r	1	3	D4	1	3
A3v	3	2	D4v	1	4
A4r	0	9	E1	1	2
A4v	2	2	E1v	2	1
B1	0	6	E2	3	2
B1v	2	5	E2v	4	3
B2	1	4	E3	2	1
B2v	1	2	E3v	5	7
B3	5	0	E4	2	9
B3v	2	2	E4v	1	6
B4	2	3	F1	0	5
B4v	0	3	F1v	8	6
C1	2	2	F2	3	5
C1v	3	0	F2v	8	4
C2	5	3	F3	2	3
C2v	1	1	F3v	4	4
C3	7	4	F4	2	3
C3v	4	4	F4v	1	4
C4	2	5	G1	1	6
C4v	3	1	G1v	4	6
D1	3	1	G2	2	12
D1v	6	1	G2v	5	4
D2	2	3	G3	1	1

Other endings predominant 60.4%.

"here" and "bene," I can see no pattern in the spelling of words peculiar to the play, such as "Auntient," "Pistoll," or "battell." Again, any spelling changes in these words in the text seem to involve justification of a line. Even firmer spelling evidence that probably only one compositor is responsible for the first quarto is the consistent handling of "blood" and "litle." Williams, in his analysis of the second quarto, postulates the possibility of a second compositor based on a change from "blood" to "bloud" and from "litle" to "little" in the E quire and following.²⁴ No such change occurs in the first quarto, except for "plud" on C2v and E4v, which is used to indicate Flewellen's Welsh dialect, and "little" on B2r, which I think can be attributed to line justification.

Evidence of type shortage, however, creates some problems in considering one compositor being responsible for the setting of the quarto. Compositor A usually set speech heads and proper names in italic and used Roman type throughout the rest of the text. Except for a single anomalous Roman K in quire A, beginning in D quire and continuing through the remaining registers, various consistent type anomalies involving Roman K, Roman S, and italic I

²⁴Williams, p. 87.

occur. Generally, in King. speech heads, Roman capital K replaces the preferred italic capital, while the italic I replaces the preferred Roman capital I in the text, and in Sol. speech heads, Roman capital S replaces the preferred italic capital S. Other anomalies, such as the Lord. and L. speech heads and catchword on D4v, where Sol. or its speech head variants are expected, the missigned G2r leaf, the dropped speech head on A2v, and the "h" anomaly in the running title on A4r (see below), present difficulties in assigning positive compositor identification.

Line counts introduce additional difficulties in determining compositor responsibilities. Quires A, D, and G are remarkably consistent in line count, while the other quires, excepting F quire, vary greatly from page to page. A visual examination of the quarto reveals that the A quire is well set up, with almost no spacing and very little crowding of lines; this is also true of G quire, although some spacing appears on G1r and G2v around the stage directions. D quire is also remarkably well set up, with the only spacing occurring on D4r, again around a stage direction ("Enter three Souldiers").

Watermarks and running title evidence also present some problems for a one-compositor theory. A study of the

Elizabethan Club's copy of the quarto reveals that three different stocks of paper seem to have been used in the printing of the edition. Quires A, D, and G all have a large fleur de lis watermark pattern, while C and F quires have a small fleur de lis and B and E a different but undetermined watermark, possibly a bell. Regarding headlines, the running title on A4r ("of Henry the fifth.") is the only anomalous one in the edition, and is not repeated elsewhere.

Some situations can be postulated where two compositors having little or no variation in their spelling habits might work on a text together, and thus possibly account for these unusual findings in typography, watermarks, and line counts. It is possible that compositor A fell behind and was given some assistance in setting up some quires. Or perhaps his helper was an apprentice²⁵ who was being given an opportunity to compose some part of a text, but under the supervision of compositor A. In an effort to teach without slowing down the printing too much,

²⁵Williams (p. 4) notes that a Daniel Duxfield was apprenticed to Creede on February 2, 1595. Although Duxfield does not appear to have taken up his freedom, since nothing more is heard about him officially, he remains a possibility as a third compositor in the shop.

the new man might have been allowed to help set certain quires or either the inner or outer forme, probably with the order to follow compositor A's style and spelling habits closely.²⁶ Under such conditions, a study of spelling evidence would not indicate the presence of this compositor.

Following Charlton Hinman's demonstration that first the inner forme of a quire was usually set and imposed, and then the outer forme, an investigation of the type shortage evidence shows that this quarto was set by formes (Chart 2). Examination of Roman and italic capital I indicates that as Roman I was exhausted as the inner forme was set, the compositor switched to italic I in D4r and the inner forme was imposed. The same case must have been used for the outer forme, since such type shortages continued, and another compositor then set the outer forme and it was impressed. The inner forme of E was then set, and a return was made at E4r. The outer forme was then set and imposed, with the exhaustion of Roman I coming at E3r. This pattern continued, with returns at Flv, F4 (inner), F2v, F4v (outer),

²⁶ This would not be unusual for Creede's shop since, as Williams remarks, Compositor B had been "well and closely trained, and he followed his master in many details of style and spelling." (P. 88)

Chart 2 (cont.)

	<u>Outer Forme</u>				<u>Inner Forme</u>			
	G1	G2v	G3	G4v	G1v	G2	G3v	G4
<u>K</u>	4	4	3		12	2		
K	2	0	0		0	12		
<u>S</u>	0	0	0		0	0		
S	0	1	0		3	1		
<u>I</u>	6	1	1		10	10		
I	0	0	0		0	0		

and Glv (inner). A similar analysis of the other anomalous capitals yields the same conclusion.

Another anomaly in typography more clearly indicates a setting by formes by two compositors. The anomalous L. and Lord. speech heads on D4v (outer forme) must have been set by another compositor than the one that set D4 (inner forme), since it is on this page that the three soldiers are introduced. The same compositor would have probably corrected such a speech head error written into the manuscript based on his knowledge gained from his working on D4. Thus, I think it can be assumed that two compositors worked on the quarto.

Further evidence of setting by formes is found in the crowding of type at various places in some quires,

indicated by ampersands, barred vowels, and run-over words dropped or raised a line. While some of these phenomena occur in other places in the quarto and can be explained by simple line justification, where they occur en masse, they are evidence of cast-off copy. Such evidence is found on C4r (inner forme) and C4v (outer), and D4r (inner), and D4v (outer).

I have mentioned how uneven some line counts of various quires are. Such line counts appear to be too random and haphazard to indicate setting either by formes or seriatim. However, by averaging the line counts of each quire B through G, it is found that the inner forme average line count per page is 34.5, while the outer forme average line count per page is 33.76 (Chart 3). This difference indicates that the quarto was set by formes, since with seriatim setting, little difference would be detected between formes or pages in each quire, or from quire to quire.

The crowding of lines of C4 and C4v and D4 and D4v, as well as the typographical anomalies that become evident in D quire, can be explained in part not only by the setting by formes of the quarto, but also by examining the time confusion found in D2v-D3. Bourbon, on D2v, asks:

Will it neuer be morning?

(line 33)

Chart 3

Line Averages for Outer and Inner Formes

	<u>Outer</u>	<u>Inner</u>	<u>Outer formes</u>
B	34	36	34.2
	33	37	32.7
	36	36	35
	34	32	33.2
	$4/137 = 34.2$	$4/141 = 35.2$	34.5
			33
C	33	35	$6/202.6 = 33.76$
	35	35	average
	30	33	per page
	33	34	
	$4/131 = 32.7$	$4/137 = 34.2$	
D	35	35	<u>Inner formes</u>
	35	35	35.2
	35	34	34.2
	35	33	34.2
	$4/140 = 35$	$4/137 = 34.2$	34.2
E	35	35	34.2
	35	35	35
	31	35	$6/207.0 = 34.5$
	32	32	average
	$4/133 = 33.2$	$4/137 = 34.2$	per page
F	35	34	
	35	34	
	34	34	
	34	35	
	$4/138 = 34.5$	$4/137 = 34.2$	
G	33	35	
	average	average	
	for 2	for 2	
	pages	pages	

Yet in the same scene on D3r, the Constable states:

Come, come away:

The Sun is hie, and we weare out the day.

(lines 34-35)

The mistake in time sense is obvious, and has been attributed to the telescoping of two scenes into one.²⁷ Possibly, the actors abridging the play fell behind in getting this section of it to the print shop in time, and a hasty error was made in time reference.

This possibility of the text being brought to the print shop as it was being written down is bolstered by the unusual way in which the quarto was registered. The Stationers' Register shows that the quarto was "Staied" on August 4, 1600, and entered to Thomas Pavier on August 14. I believe that Pavier disputed Busby and Millington's registration of the play, and so forced them to ask Creede to quicken his printing of the play. Only another Stationer could have challenged Busby and Millington's claim of Henry V within the rules of the Company. Thus, the

²⁷ See H. T. Price, The Text of "Henry V"; G. I. Duthie, "The Quarto of Shakespeare's Henry V," in Papers Mainly Shakespearean; R. E. Burkhart, "Shakespeare's Bad Quarto: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for a Performance by a Reduced Cast" (unpubl. diss.); P. A. Daniel, "Introduction," King Henry V (ed. Nicholson); et al. I will deal with this aspect of the play in greater detail below.

compositors began casting off copy and setting types by formes in quire B, using Roman letters initially, but switching to italic when the Roman case was exhausted. This was a normal procedure with this type of text. The compositors corrected any mistakes they found, such as the anomalous dropped speech head in the Bodleian copy on C2v (which was corrected in all other copies), after examining the page proofs. However, with the pressure put on the entire operation by Pavier's challenge, the compositors soon found themselves forced to wait for the scene involving the four French lords, after finishing quires B through D2v.

Pavier's challenge affected the players abridging the play, too. Pressed for time, the players probably sent each page of their abridgement to Creede's shop as fast as they could remember scenes and lines and write them down. The possibility exists that the players had more than a little trouble with this part of the play, perhaps because they were not on stage during this scene, thus unfamiliar with the lines, and could not deliver the required pages.

Faced with this late delivery of these pages, the compositors set the remainder of D quire aside, and probably turned to some other tasks in the shop. When the

missing scene was finally given to the composers, they rapidly proceeded to compose the rest of D quire; the use of Lord. instead of Soul. on D4v may be the result of confusion due to haste, either on the composers' part or on the part of the scribe writing down the actors' account of the play. Quires E, F, and G were then set by formes while A was set, as usual, after the rest of the play was in the press. The anomalous running title on A3v indicates that the composers were not able to examine page proofs at this point in the printing process because of the time factor introduced by Pavier's challenge.

It is obvious that Busby and Millington's attempts to retain their claim on the play failed, or were only partially successful. While their names were shown on the title page, Pavier was granted the rights to Henry V, as indicated by the August 14 entry. Pavier, having obtained the rights to the play, held it through Quarto 2, although his claim was challenged and disallowed in Q3.

My theory of composers setting from cast-off copy while under pressure of haste cannot be regarded as proved entirely by the evidence I have cited. Nevertheless, the anomalies I have discovered in the text cannot be discounted and they present difficult textual questions.

These difficulties are not made easier by the scarcity of surviving copies; only five full copies plus a fragment are in existence.²⁸ Most probably the press run was around fifteen hundred copies, the usual amount for a drama.²⁹ This may seem too small a number to make the sale of the play profitable, but enough interest must have been shown in the play to warrant a reprint in 1602.

²⁸British Museum (C.12 g.22: George III); Bodleian Library (Malone); Trinity College, Cambridge (Capell); Huntington Library (Stevens-Kemble-Devonshire); Yale, Elizabethan Club Library (Heber-Daniel-Huth). Folger Shakespeare Library (Locker-Church-Huntington) is a fragment containing the first seven leaves. I was fortunate enough to examine the Elizabethan Club copy first-hand, but was unable to obtain a microfilm or reprint of the Trinity College, Cambridge copy.

²⁹A. Stevenson, "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographic Evidence," Papers of the Bibliographic Society, University of Virginia, Volume I (1948/49), pp. 158-159, and R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford, 1927), pp. 130-133 on the length of editions.

The Second Quarto

Much of the 1602 reprint has been dealt with quite thoroughly in George Walton Williams' study of Creede's shop. Before reviewing some aspects of Williams' work, I would like to deal with the publisher of the second quarto, Thomas Pavier. Although the quarto was printed at Creede's shop, Thomas Pavier's methods and history must be studied in order to determine what part he played in the production of the text. Since Pavier had gained the copyright to the play, and would make it one of the dramas collected in his 1619 edition of Shakespeare's plays, his role vis-a-vis this reprint obviously grows in importance.

Other than the infamous copyright battle of 1619, nothing else in Pavier's history as a Stationer would indicate anything especially villainous about him or his business methods. The fines charged against him do not seem to have been very different from those charged against others in the Company.³⁰ His reputation certainly could not have

³⁰Arber records fines brought against Pavier on March 4, 1601, September or October, 1602, June 27, 1603, and June 17, 1604. The last fine was placed against 27

been damaged within the Company because of the 1619 controversy, since, as McKerrow notes, "he was elected Junior Warden of the Company in 1622."³¹ Like a number of other Stationers, he was sworn and translated into the Stationers' Company from the Drapers.³² Aside from holding the copyrights for Henry V, he obtained some other copyrights to Shakespeare's plays. The First and Second Parts of Henry VI and Titus Andronicus were assigned to him by Thomas Millington, and he published Pericles in 1619. Since the third quarto of Henry V was a part of the set of Shakespeare's plays published by Pavier, I will deal with the problems of copyright later in this introduction. Excepting the copyright fight of 1619, Pavier's history as a Stationer reveals a publisher not much different from any other.

Turning to the bibliographic examination of the second quarto, my own study of one copy of the text does not allow me to come to conclusions differing from the results of Williams' investigation. The second quarto is a reprint of the first and as Williams says:

other Stationers for selling a book forbidden and burned by the Star Chamber. Pavier also received money for copyright damages from a Mr. Waterson (Greg and Boswell, p. 85).

³¹ McKerrow, A Dictionary, p. 212.

³² Arber, ii, 725. Ten other Drapers were sworn into the Company with Pavier.

The evidence for this statement will be found in such bibliographical links as the exact fidelity to the verse lineation of the prose speeches of the comic scenes and the virtual literatim copying of the French orthographical peculiarities in the scenes in which that language is spoken by Frenchmen and Englishmen alike.³³

Regarding the machining of the text, Williams states:

The second quarto is printed with two skeletons that alternate with perfect regularity in sheets B through E. In sheet F, the skeleton that has been imposing the outer formes imposes both outer and inner. The inner-forme skeleton imposes G half-sheet. This pattern need signify nothing more than that half-sheet G was ready for the press as F inner came from it, a normal situation in seriatim setting.³⁴

While I have no argument with Williams based on my own studies of one quarto copy, considering Hinman's findings concerning presswork, further study is needed to verify Williams' findings.

Williams continues his study with a comparison of speech prefixes, stage directions, capitals, punctuation, and italics; in all of these items, Q2 follows Q1 closely. In order to avoid too great a repetition of Williams' work,

³³Williams, p. 83.

³⁴Williams, p. 84.

I will summarize his findings without reproducing his extensive and valuable tables and charts. The second quarto holds to the first quarto's use of speech prefixes with a fidelity of 84.6%, with only four prefixes added, and just 78 of the 473 changed. Regarding stage directions, "the great majority of Q1 directions is copied exactly," but almost all proper names set in roman in Q1 are put into italic in Q2. Most importantly, the text has been condensed in Q2 in order to save two leaves. Consequently, "35 blank lines above and below Q1 directions have been filled." The reprint is very faithful in the use of capitals, with a fidelity of 76% to Q1. In the matter of punctuation, Williams notes that the text is strengthened in 41 instances, while being reduced in 37 places. Finally, Q2 closely follows Q1 in the use of italics and so "is good proof that Q2 was indeed set directly from the earlier print."³⁵

As I have stated earlier, Williams concludes that only one compositor was responsible for the setting of the reprint. Since I have already dealt with this question in the investigation of the possible compositors of Q1, I will

³⁵Williams, pp. 85-86.

not restate Williams' findings. Williams' final analysis on both quartos is that:

Conservative judgement would most wisely attribute the play to Compositor A throughout, with the consciousness that by the date of the reprint many familiar practices had become less habitual and characteristic. Compositors B and A have many traits in common, and the distinction between them is not always obvious. Surely it would be straining coincidence to suppose a third compositor, sharing some of the peculiarities of both and exhibiting no new ones of his own.³⁶

I believe Williams' underlying conservatism, based as it is on spelling evidence for the most part, to be justified; my somewhat liberal presentation concerning Q1 is a response to some of the conflicting typographical evidence found in the text.

³⁶Williams, p. 87.

The Pavier Quarto

The third quarto of Henry V is one of the plays that was included in the 1619 Pavier Quartos. The story of the discovery of the true nature of the Pavier Quartos is as fascinating as the publishing history of the Quartos as reconstructed by various scholars.³⁷ As supposed by Greg, the Pavier Quartos were originally intended to be "a perfectly regular collection of ten plays that had at one time or another been ascribed to Shakespeare."³⁸ Included in the collection was Henry V, to which Pavier had the copyright. During the printing of The Merchant of Venice, as indicated by the first use of the false 1608 dating on the title-page, Greg supposes that the King's Men, the

³⁷ See P. W. Miller, "The 1619 Pavier Quartos of Shakespeare: A Recapitulation," Michigan Academician, Vol. III, no. 1 (1970), pp. 95-99, for a summary of Pol-lard's, Greg's, and Neidig's efforts to bring to light how the Quartos were published. See also W. W. Greg, "The First Folio and Its Publishers," Studies in the First Folio, M. H. Spielman (ed.), et al. (London, 1924), pp. 139-145, and Richard Altick's brief summary in The Scholar Adventurers (New York, 1951), pp. 189-195.

³⁸ Miller, p. 96.

company to which Shakespeare had belonged, heard of the project and moved to stop production of the collection. Since they had done business with Jaggard in the past, they approached him and persuaded him to give up his project. Possibly they offered him the printing job of the 1623 folio as compensation.³⁹ Evidently, Jaggard then persuaded Pavier to cease publication of the collection, but worked out an arrangement in which the five remaining unprinted plays were to be produced, backdated, and sold as quartos. At this time (May 3, 1619), the Stationers' Company was ordered by the Lord Chamberlain not to allow the printing of any plays belonging to the King's Men without consent. However, this order was evidently circumvented by the use of false dates in the Pavier Quartos and so the plays were released and sold.

Obviously, such a convoluted story of publishing intrigue would seem to tarnish the reputations of the men involved. Yet Pavier's and Jaggard's contemporaries and peers did not appear to see anything reprehensible in their actions. I have already pointed out Pavier's election to the position of Junior Warden of the Stationers' Company

³⁹Greg, p. 142.

after the 1619 controversy. Aside from his involvement in the printing of the First Folio, William Jaggard's career as a Stationer does not reveal anything unusual or unorthodox in his business methods, although he effected some change in printing procedures.

William Jaggard obtained his freedom from Henry Denham on December 6, 1591 after having been apprenticed for eight years.⁴⁰ McKerrow notes that "he emulated and surpassed the methods of his contemporaries in the art of book production."⁴¹ Certainly he produced a wide range of material, from contemporary works like Hero and Leander and The Passionate Pilgrim to classical authors like Sallust and Thucydides,⁴² plus a great many religious and political works. He became printer to the City of London in 1608, after buying James Roberts' printing business.⁴³ Except for being fined in 1600 for printing a work "without license and contrary to order,"⁴⁴ it seems he was not

⁴⁰Arber, ii, 126, 710.

⁴¹McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 153.

⁴²Hero and Leander, 1616; The Passionate Pilgrim, 1599, Sallust and Thucydides, 1608.

⁴³McKerrow, Dictionary, p. 153.

⁴⁴October 23, 1600 (Arber, ii).

involved in disputes before the Wardens of the Company. From the records of the Stationers', Jaggard took in a number of apprentices in the years 1595-1604, only two of which gained their freedom.⁴⁵ Jaggard died in November, 1623, around the time the First Folio was entered by his son Isaac and Edward Blount.⁴⁶

From the standpoint of Shakespearian scholarship, the work habits of the composers in Jaggard's shop are of great importance, since the First Folio was printed there. Charlton Hinman's detailed study of the printing of the folio presents the most complete investigation of the work practices used in Jaggard's shop,⁴⁷ while W. S. Kable's study of the spelling habits of the Pavier Quartos' Compositor B focuses on one aspect of these quartos and the printing shop.⁴⁸ For the purposes of this study, I

⁴⁵Of the five men apprenticed, Francis Langeley and Thomas Cotes gained their freedom. Nothing is found concerning the others. Thomas Cotes, with his brother Richard, was assigned Isaac Jaggard's (William's son) copyrights, and so succeeded to the Jaggard business in June, 1627 (Arber, iv, 182).

⁴⁶McKerrow, Dictionary, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁷Charlton Hinman, The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio, Clarendon Press, 1963.

⁴⁸Unpubl. diss., W. S. Kable, "A Comprehensive Analysis of the Spelling of Jaggard's Compositor B in the Pavier Quartos," University of Virginia, 1967. See also

will concentrate on the similarities and differences in the two quartos, with only a cursory glance at the possible compositor or compositors of Q3. Therefore, spelling and punctuation comparisons will not be investigated, since these are the usual indicators of compositorial differences.

The most apparent change between the first and third quartos is the increase in the number of pages. An entire page has been added through the relinement of prose, poetry, and stage directions toward the end of the text. The effects of lengthening on various textual phenomena are noticeable. Additionally, an investigation of speech prefixes, stage directions, typography, and capitalization shows to some extent how closely Q3 follows the first quarto. There is a 78% fidelity to first quarto speech prefixes, with three additions and one deletion all correctly made. This is somewhat less true to the first quarto than Q2 is,⁴⁹ but reveals more of a need for line justification than for any great editing changes. While the third quarto follows Q1's stage directions either fully or partially 65% of the time, some significant changes have

W. S. Kable, "The Influence of Justification on Spelling in Jaggard's Compositor B," Studies in Bibliography (1967), v. 20, pp. 235-239, and "Compositor B, the Pavier Quartos, and Copy Spellings," Studies in Bibliography (1968), v. 21.

⁴⁹Williams, p. 85.

been made. Generally, all directions are put into italic, although some that were italicized in Q2 follow the first quarto's use of Roman. One direction has been added in Roman type. While one line is saved in Q3, nine lines are added in the directions, one indication of the attempt to lengthen the play. This is in contrast to the second quarto, in which the number of pages have been shortened.

While the stage directions are generally italicized, the typographical changes indicate an attempt to put into Roman type many of the proper names in the text. Combined with this phenomenon is a general capitalization of nouns. Toward the end of the quarto, however, as a general result of the increase of the number of pages, and the attempted editing of lines into more acceptable blank verse, the number of letters capitalized or reduced tends to be the same.

The substantive changes which appear in the third quarto, like the other textual phenomena, show how closely Q3 follows the first edition. None of the changes are the same as those made in Q2, and one of the second quarto's corrections of an obvious mistake in Q1 ("your a nasse goe"-D4v) is completely disregarded. Since Pavier owned Q2, and presumably had a copy of it, it is difficult to explain

why the second quarto was used so infrequently in the re-editing of the text. A possible explanation is that Q2 was avoided because the Pavier quarto was meant to be part of a larger edition. Hence, the shorter second quarto would not be useful to a printer attempting to increase the number of pages, and so make the larger edition it belonged to more saleable. Based on textual evidence, I believe that the third quarto is an edited, lengthened (in number of pages) version of the first quarto, and that the second quarto played a small part in the creation of Q3. Since both the 1602 and the 1619 quartos are based on the first quarto, Q1's importance and how it was obtained increases.

The Relation of the Quartos to the Folio

Since the beginnings of Shakespearian textual study, two basic theories have dominated thinking about the relationship between the quarto and folio texts of Henry V. The first holds that the quarto is a genuine text of a distinct and earlier play upon which the folio text is based--the "first sketch" theory. The second, the "abridgement" theory, maintains that the quarto is derived from the manuscript upon which the folio is also based and was obtained in some surreptitious manner. Pope, Johnson, Knight, Collier, and Fleay support the first theory, while Upton, Capell, Steevens, Malone, Boswell, and Halliwell are of the second opinion.⁵⁰

The New Shakspeare Society reprints of the quarto and folio texts in 1875 continued the controversy in a rather unusual way. Brinsley Nicholson began a parallel text edition, but could not complete it due to illness.

⁵⁰G. I. Duthie, "The Quarto of Shakespeare's Henry V," Papers Mainly Shakespearian (ed., Duthie) Edinburgh (1964), p. 106.

His successor, P. A. Daniel, presented his views in his introduction:

The opinion I have formed from a careful examination, line for line, of both texts is, that the play of 1599 (the Fo) was shortened for stage representation; the abridgement done with little care, and printed in the Qo edition with less: probably from an imperfect manuscript surreptitiously obtained and vamped up from notes taken during the performance, as we know was frequently done. Indeed it is quite possible that the whole of the quarto edition was obtained in this manner; and the fact that it is printed from beginning to end as verse, would seem to lend some support to this conjecture. The fact, also, that the publishers of the Qos were Millington and Busbie, and their successor Pavier, may of itself be taken as evidence that these editions are of doubtful authenticity.⁵¹

Thus, Daniel aligned himself with the "abridgement" theory camp, while Nicholson, whose work he had taken over, in a later lecture⁵² held to the "first draft" theory.

Most critics since Daniel and Nicholson have sided with Daniel. H. T. Price, in his monograph, The Text of "Henry V,"⁵³ believes that the quarto was obtained from the folio by shorthand, with additional material filled in by a

⁵¹P. A. Daniel, "Introduction," Parallel Texts of Shakespeare's "Henry V" (ed. Nicholson), New Shakspeare Society Reprint, 1877, p. x.

⁵²Duthie, p. 106.

⁵³H. T. Price, The Text of "Henry V," Mandley and Unett, Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1920.

traitor-actor. E. K. Chambers also holds the folio text anterior to the quarto, and considers the Q1 text to be "a continual perversion"⁵⁴ of the F text. Hardin Craig, however, takes the opposite view and presents the argument "that the manuscript from which the Quarto was printed was a genuine manuscript of the play, illegible in places and probably torn, but not the product of shorthand reporting and not showing the unmistakable characteristics of the work of a pirate-actor."⁵⁵ Yet in a more recent book, Craig tempers this statement with the observation that "it is at least possible that the quarto is based on an earlier version of Henry V than that of the folio of 1623."⁵⁶ G. I. Duthie, in a 1964 article, rejects both of Craig's hypotheses, as well as Price's belief in a shorthand method that could be used in a theatre to copy down a play.⁵⁷ He makes use of the memorial reconstruction theory, and finds

⁵⁴E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare (Oxford, 1930), Vol. 1, p. 391.

⁵⁵H. Craig, "The Relation of the First Quarto Version to the First Folio of Shakespeare's Henry V," Philological Quarterly (1927), Vol. 6, pp. 225-234.

⁵⁶H. Craig, A New Look at Shakespeare's Quartos, Stanford University Press, 1961, p. 83.

⁵⁷Duthie, p. 108.

"in the 'anticipations' and 'recollections' with which Q abounds" the explanation for the play's creation, thus putting him firmly in the "abridgement" theory camp.⁵⁸ A further twist to the "abridgement" theory is that put forward by R. E. Burkhart, who holds that Henry V Q1 is among those quartos which "are the result of deliberate abridgements, made by a member of the acting company, for the purpose of permitting a play to be performed in the provinces by a smaller-than-normal company."⁵⁹ Finally, there is another theory of the relationship between the quartos and the folio; however, this concept is an attempt to explain the effect of the quartos on the printing of the folio. A. S. Cairncross has suggested that the "First Folio text of Henry V was set up . . . from one or more corrected exemplars of the bad quarto."⁶⁰ In terms of how the quarto

⁵⁸Duthie, p. 108. The memorial reconstruction theory was first proposed by W. W. Greg in his Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor," 1602 (Oxford, 1910).

⁵⁹R. E. Burkhart, "Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast" (Unpub. diss.), University of Cincinnati, 1967, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁰A. S. Cairncross, "Quarto Copy for Folio Henry V," Studies in Bibliography, Vol. 8 (1956), p. 67.

came into existence, however, Cairncross believes that it is an abridged text of the one used for the folio.

There are obvious differences between the folio and the quarto. The folio is longer than the quarto (3381 lines as compared to 1623 in the quarto), and has a prologue and choruses before Acts II-V, as well as a final chorus. Additionally, the folio has more characters, has a higher style and language, and is more complete in speeches and dialogue than the quarto. A good deal of the folio is in prose, but much of the blank verse of the quarto comes out of a compositor's need to fill space rather than out of a dramatist's desire to write poetry. The folio also has certain characteristics that indicate that it was set up from a manuscript.⁶¹ As J. H. Walter points out:

One or two unusually descriptive stage directions, "scaling ladders at Harfleur," "the king with his poore soldiers," together with some unusual spellings ("mervailous," II.i.46; "Deules," II.iii.32; "Deule," II.iii.36; "aunchiant," III.ii.82; "moth," IV.i.186; "vawting," V.ii.139, etc.) are presumably the work of the author, since a professional playhouse scribe would tend to simplify unusual spellings in his copy for the sake of clarity.

⁶¹C. Hinman, The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare (Oxford, 1963), Vol. 2, p. 14.

Finally, there are a number of misprints and errors which can be corrected by reference to Shakespeare's style of letter formation ["mare" (name), II.i.25; "here" (hewne), II.i.36; "pasterns" (postures), III.vii.12].⁶²

Beside these manuscript indications, two printing anomalies found in the folio are the interchanging of scenes iv and v in Act IV, and the unusual position of the heading Actus Quartus between scenes vi and vii. Despite these differences, I believe the Q text is based on the same text that was later printed in the folio.

In spite of Craig's contention that "the folio in passage after passage seems actually and consciously a revision of the quarto, and the quarto, when considered in detail, does not seem to be either merely an abridgement of the folio, much less a revision of that text, or the result of bad reporting,"⁶³ there is very little evidence that the manuscript for the quarto was transcribed earlier than that of the folio. Craig's conclusions, many of which are dependent upon textual differences that are now known to have been caused by problems in the printing house, do

⁶²J. H. Walter, ed., Shakespeare's "King Henry V," The Arden Shakespeare Edition, Methuen and Co., Ltd. (London, 1965), introduction, p. xxxv.

⁶³Craig, p. 226.

not seem strong enough to prove his argument. While I agree with Craig that some of the language in the quarto is more theatrical, more "action-filled" than that in the folio, it does not follow that this makes the quarto better than the folio. In certain places, such as in Act IV, too much comprehension is lost in a possible effort for theatricality through cutting and rearrangement of scenes. Craig also believes that because the folio is better than the quarto in various common passages, such as Flewellen's pedantic description of war, the account of Falstaff's death due to his rejection by the king, and Kate's actions while being courted by Henry, we have evidence of an improvement made from quarto to folio. He discounts the possibility of a loss of quality from folio to quarto because of some sort of abridgement. Craig is on stronger ground when he points out that the quarto is based on an authentic manuscript of the play; how such a manuscript came into being is a difficult problem, one that I do not think can be answered by such a "first draft" theory as Craig proposes.

One "abridgement" supporter, H. T. Price, believes the quarto manuscript came into existence through the efforts of a stenographer in the audience. Price, like other

critics, largely based his belief in an audience stenographer on Thomas Heywood's couplet that:

. . . Some by stenography drew
The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word true:).

However, verbatim stenography has been shown to be infeasible by Duthie in his book on various Elizabethan shorthand theories.⁶⁴ Duthie demonstrates that the only shorthand systems known to have been available before 1600 were those of Bright and Bales, both primitive and very cumbersome. Neither would have been of much use for a word-for-word reporting of a theatrical performance.

If verbatim reporting of dialogue is not feasible with shorthand, one possible use of stenography in the obtaining of a text has been suggested that accounts for such an inadequacy. I. A. Shapiro has stated that perhaps Heywood meant that the scenario, not the play in toto, had been taken down by shorthand, and then, with the aid of a traitor-actor, expanded into a bad quarto, thus preserving all the earmarks of memorial reconstruction. The rewriting of a scenario "would be simple and easy to organize, and would avoid the personal or legal consequences that might

⁶⁴G. I. Duthie, Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of "King Lear," Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1949.

attend a breach of faith or contract by actors tempted to participate in memorial reconstruction."⁶⁵ This theory is attractive, but it only tries to make stenography a workable concept while admitting how much a play such as Henry V Q1 appears to have been reconstructed memorially.

Since Greg's presentation of the memorial reconstruction theory, most scholars have come to accept it as the method used to create various bad quartos. Such an argument has been made for Henry V Q1 by G. I. Duthie. Duthie begins his investigation of Henry V Q1 and the possibilities of its having been memorially reconstructed with a basic question that should be asked of any play thought to be a "first sketch." "Why suppose that in an authentic first draft Shakespeare, having written perfectly regular verse for some time, should suddenly lapse into prosodic uncertainty or even clumsy irregularity?"⁶⁶ Using this question as a base from which to explore the possibilities for memorial reconstruction in Q1 Henry V, Duthie has discovered what appear to be a number of prosodic uncertainties

⁶⁵ I. A. Shapiro, "Stenography and 'Bad Quartos,'" Times Literary Supplement, May 13, 1960, p. 305. The "Enter Erpingham" stage direction (Elr) might be due to such stenographic practices.

⁶⁶ Duthie, p. 108.

and clumsy irregularities in the Q1 text (Chart 4).⁶⁷

Duthie concludes that not only is the quarto manuscript dependent on the folio manuscript, and that this dependency produces a great many errors attributable only to memorial transmission, but that "the Q text suggests . . . a memorial reconstruction made by actors who had taken part in performances of F or of a stage version based on F."⁶⁸

Duthie considers the Gower and Exeter players to be the traitor-actors responsible in large part for the reconstruction of the play. Furthermore, Duthie believes that there is evidence that Q1 is the printed version of the original manuscript of an abridgement of the memorially reconstructed text, an abridgement carried out by actors trying to produce "a prompt-book for provincial performances of the play."⁶⁹

⁶⁷A large amount of Duthie's findings cannot be easily condensed and presented because of the scattering of anticipations and recollections of lines that indicate the erratic memory of a reporter. Therefore, I present the major proofs compiled by Duthie (Chart 4). Shorter or less important passages cited by Duthie in his Appendix A as proof of anticipations and recollections in Q1 indicating memorial reconstruction have not been included; I refer the reader to Duthie's article for further study. Additionally, I have not included any mention of Appendix B, which presents, to my mind, an unnecessarily sophisticated argument for the "Enter Erpingham" stage direction (Elr).

⁶⁸Duthie, p. 117.

⁶⁹Duthie, p. 124.

Chart 4

Memorial Reconstruction in Q1recollections and
anticipations:

Q, I, ii, 81-87
F, I, ii, 138-146

Q, I, ii, 108-110
F, I, ii, 171-174

Q, I, ii, 165-182
F, I, i, 91-97,
ii, 251-260

Q, II, i, 38ff
F, II, i, 44ff

Q, II, iv, 16-22
F, I, i, 22-27

Q, III, vi, 8-17
F, III, vi, 10-11,
vii, 101,
IV, vii, 22ff

Q, III, vi, 51-57
F, III, vi, 52-56

Q, IV, vi, 25-29
F, III, i, 18-23
IV, vi, 27-31

defective meter:

Q, I, ii, 37-40
F, I, ii, 52-55

Q, II, iv, 1-10
F, II, iv, 1-26

Q, IV, i, 81-87

memorial paraphrase:

Q, II, iii, 3ff
F, II, iii, 7ff

Q, III, ii, 23-24
F, III, ii, 51-53

Q, IV, i, 65-74
F, IV, i, 65-74

phonetic memorization:

Q, V, ii, 52-70
F, V, ii, 179-190

missed cue:

Q, III, vi, 61-63
F, III, vi, 59-61

scenes completely
missing from Q:

I, i
III, ii

prologue and all
choruses

While the memorial reconstruction theory of abridgement put forward by Duthie appears powerful, it has its detractors. R. E. Burkhart suggests that Q1 of Henry V "can be shown to require fewer actors than F and to make appropriate adjustments in its text."⁷⁰ Some aspects of Burkhart's contention that the text was changed as characters were numerically reduced seem quite correct, such as in I.i. and iv; II.ii; III.i. and iii; and IV.i. However, Burkhart's explanations of obvious instances of memorial reconstruction, such as III.v. and V.ii., as well as most scenes in which lines are dramatically reduced without any change in the numbers of characters I find to be weak or obscure. However, Burkhart presents strong evidence for the Lord Chamberlain's Men's possible consideration of a provincial tour in 1600 in the form of a Privy Council order dated June 22, 1600,⁷¹ which limited the number of

⁷⁰Burkhart, p. 76.

⁷¹Burkhart, p. 93. The order reads in part: "Secondlie, forasmuche as these stage plaies, by the multitude of houses and Companie of players, have been too frequent, not serving for recreation but inviting and Callinge the people daily from there trad and worke to mispend there time, It is likewise ordered that the two severall Companies of Plaiers (Lord Admiral's and Lord Chamberlain's) assigned unto the two howses allowed maie play each of them in there severall howse twice a weeke and noe oftener, and especially that they shall refraine to plaie on the Sabboth daie, uppon paine of imprisonment

performances permitted in London. Although Burkhart's theory about the effect of the Council order is a tempting one, I do not think the order was enough reason for the Lord Chamberlain's Company to make a hasty departure from London. I will discuss the order in relation to a possible provincial tour later in the introduction.

Before a fuller understanding of the relationship between the folio and the quarto can be gained, Cairncross' exploration of the possibilities of the use of the quartos in the printing of the folio must be examined. There are enough correspondences between the texts so that serious consideration must be given to the idea. Cairncross argues that:

. . . two editions of the quarto, Q2 and Q3, were used as basis for F, and--though this is independent of the use of Q copy in general, and much more tentative--that such use was due to the printers, and not to Heminge and Condell, or the theatre; that the use of Q2 at irregular intervals occurred at those points where correction of Q3--the main copy or basis--proved to be so heavy or complicated that some technique requiring the independent use of both sides of a quarto leaf--one from each quarto--was desirable; and that transcription, while not used for the whole of the "copy," was used, probably in the form of

and further penaltie, and that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as anie extraordinarie sicknes or infeccion of disease shall appeare to be in and about the Cittie."

attached pieces of paper, to supply the gaps, or "cuts," in the Q text, and perhaps (exceptionally) where a complicated rearrangement of Q material, especially from one Q page to another, made it necessary or convenient.⁷²

Cairncross' evidence of F dependency on the second and third quartos is made up of spellings, speech headings, punctuation, and distinctive readings corresponding exclusively in either quarto with the folio. Regarding the link between Q2 and F, J. H. Walter has noted that, aside from the common reading of "world" instead of the apparently more correct reading in Qs 1 and 3 of "word" in "the word is 'Pitch and pay'" (II.iii.50), the correspondences are "very doubtful."⁷³ While I agree with Walter's conclusions regarding Q2, I am at odds with his belief that the evidence of mislineation in both F and Q3 presents "more significant"⁷⁴ proof of a possible connection between these two texts.

I think the argument for common Q/F mislineation at II.iv. 127-132, IV.i.295-298, and IV.viii.38-41 is tenuous.

⁷²Cairncross, p. 68. Since Cairncross presents a long list of verbal links and stage directions between the quarto and folio, I refer the reader to his article for particular proofs in this area (pp. 69-71).

⁷³Walter, Appendix IV, pp. 168-170.

⁷⁴Walter, p. 172.

Given the variations of and possibilities for compositorial error in the printing house, I believe it is doubtful that compositors would follow a quarto lineation for only fourteen or fifteen lines, and then turn to a manuscript to complete the job. Assuming that it was easier to set from a printed text, that compositors might prefer such an available printed copy instead of a manuscript, and that a manuscript might be needed back at the theatre very quickly, I think that the loss of time and speed in setting the text by the cut-and-paste procedure suggested by Cairncross would offset any possible gain from the use of such a method. All other evidence that Cairncross presents is of equally doubtful value. A comparison of spelling, speech headings, and punctuation in the four texts (three quartos and the folio) reveals the compositional habits of two different print shops, not a copying of one somewhat inferior text in the production of a superior one. Finally, the distinctive readings presented by Cairncross, while "very ingenious" as Walter points out, "can bear alternative interpretation and need careful sifting."⁷⁵

In my view, like those theories supporting the "first draft" concept of how the quartos came into

⁷⁵Walter, p. 173.

existence, Cairncross' suggestion is an attempt to deal with the textual problems found in all four texts without having to depend on the memorial reconstruction-abridgement theory. Yet, as Harold Jenkins has noted, some plays in the First Folio have "some of the characteristics of a reported text."⁷⁶ Jenkins ascribes these characteristics to additions made by actors while the manuscript was in the theatre and was being used in everyday production. The possibility exists, then, that the folio Henry V might have been used in the same way and that some of the textual idiosyncrasies can be explained in a like manner. These include the interchanging of IV.iv. and v., and the unusual position of Actus Quartus, as well as some of the stage direction, mislineation, and spelling problems found by Cairncross.

I believe that the history of the text might follow this order. The folio version of the play is completed around 1599, based upon the prologue and choruses praising the Earl of Essex, who was just embarking on his Irish expedition. This text includes Falstaff in some scenes, but

⁷⁶H. Jenkins, "Playhouse Interpolation in the F Text of Hamlet," Studies in Bibliography, Vol. 13 (1960), pp. 31-47.

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he is hastily removed before the play is presented publicly, presumably because of pressure from the Oldcastle family.⁷⁷ Around this time, the play is stolen, either by the shorthand-memorial reconstruction method put forward by Shapiro, or with the aid of one or two traitor-actors as supposed by Duthie. Perhaps the play was to be presented outside of London by an unauthorized traveling company, and then printed, or possibly it was obtained for the immediate profit to be made through selling a published version on the London streets. Whatever the reason, and however it was obtained, a strong possibility exists that the manuscript might have been examined by the Chamberlain's office for treasonable material before publication, even though the licensing of plays for printing by the Master of Revels did not begin until 1606, when George Buc, as de facto Master, began the practice.

E. M. Albright has pointed out that all subjects that were "unsafe" politically in 1600 have been omitted from the quarto.⁷⁸ This includes the prologue, choruses,

⁷⁷Walter, pp. xxxvi-xl. I have not dealt with the Falstaff link because it is peripheral to this particular study.

⁷⁸E. M. Albright, "Folio Version of Henry V in Relation to Shakespeare's Time," PMLA, Vol. 43 (1928), pp. 722-756.

and epilogue, as well as other material in the folio version. These subjects included the problems of succession and kingship, arguments which might support the Earl of Essex (who was by this time out of favor with the Queen), and any suggestions concerning foreign policy. Since the prologue and choruses of the folio are quite strong in these areas, it is possible that such politically sensitive sections were removed from the quarto text prior to publication. By 1623, most of these subjects were no longer considered dangerous, and so the full play could be printed in the folio.

I think the quarto is in part or wholly a memorially reconstructed text, which, following the pattern of such editions, was shortened in length from the manuscript that later would appear in the folio, and might have been further reduced by the excisions made by the Chamberlain's office probably for political reasons. The copy for the folio text is the manuscript kept by the company, perhaps its prompt copy; a remote possibility is that additions were made over the years by actors, thus giving rise to some characteristics usually associated with memorial reconstruction. Any suggestions of correspondence between the folio text and some of the quartos can, I believe,

either be ascribed to this accretion of memorial-reconstruction characteristics, or to the folio being printed in the same print shop by some of the same compositors with the same habits as was the third quarto.

"Bad Quarto" Theories and Q1

Since I have discussed what I consider to be the probably relationship between the folio and the quarto, that of an inferior or "bad" quarto illicitly obtained from a superior manuscript later printed in the folio, some exploration of the nature of "bad" quartos in relation to Q1 of Henry V is in order. I will also present in greater detail some further explorations of the "traitor-actor," memorial reconstruction, and stenography theories.

H. R. Hoppe has properly noted that "bad" quartos are a "vexing problem";⁷⁹ certainly they have vexed twentieth century scholars. Aside from the obvious textual differences between the "bad" quartos and the first folio, much of the controversy stems from the reference made in Heminge and Condell's preface to the 1623 folio about "stolne and surreptitious copies" that were "cur'd and perfect of their limbes" before publication. A. W.

⁷⁹H. R. Hoppe, "John of Bordeaux: A Bad Quarto that Never Reached Print," Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild, University of Missouri, Studies, Vol. 11, 1946, p. 119.

Pollard and J. D. Wilson were among the first to attempt an investigation of such plays.⁸⁰

Their studies led them to several conclusions on various aspects of the problem. First, the deliberate shortenings of four plays in quarto form indicate that there must have been longer originals, and that these abridgements could only have been made for audiences in the provinces, since the conditions of performance and the smaller number of actors available "compelled drastic excisions." Reasoning that Shakespeare's company did not usually go on tour, Pollard and Wilson argue that the four questionable plays date back very early or were preceded by some other plays on the same subjects. Thus, 1593 is settled on as the probable date for the provincial tour, and all four "bad" quartos are seen as based on abridgements of transcripts from Shakespeare's first rehandling of earlier versions of the plays, the abridgements made subsequent to the plays' return to the company of London.⁸¹

⁸⁰A. W. Pollard and J. D. Wilson, "The 'stolne and surreptitious' Shakespeare Texts," Times Literary Supplement, January 9, 1919, p. 18; January 16, p. 30; March 13, p. 134.

⁸¹Pollard and Wilson, January 9, p. 18 ff.

Regarding the actual obtaining of the texts, Pollard and Wilson discount the stenographic theory, as well as a "traitor-actor who would report his own part well and the parts of those playing with him badly." The stenographic theory is discarded because it can not explain the fluctuating quality in the text, the uneven verse lining, and the variation within the same scene from character to character. The "traitor-actor" theory is questioned because it ignores the large amount of the pirated play that is frequently linked by punctuation, misprints, capital letters, or spelling with parallels in the better text, the identity of a misprint that can only be a misreading of words written by the same hand, and the identity in line arrangement.

Pollard and Wilson's alternative is that these bibliographic links between good and bad texts prove that the "bad" quartos are to some extent derived from provincial playhouse manuscripts, manuscripts which were usually connected to good texts held by the London company. The resultant shortened texts of these provincial manuscripts might need "touching up" by small-part actors, since those actors holding longer parts could not be induced to help

in such an enterprise. Small-part actors might also have surreptitiously procured the play copies. While this procedure explains all phenomena in the "bad" quartos, as Pollard and Wilson themselves note, it does not clarify all the textual complexities of the quartos.⁸²

Applying their theory of the "bad" quartos specifically to Q1 of Henry V, Pollard and Wilson point out that a stenographer would not have omitted the prologue. A traitor-actor not on stage at the time would not know the prologue, however, and in any event, Pollard and Wilson postulate that it and the choruses would be cut for a provincial tour. Concerning line cuts in Act I, they hold that all the cuts made are treated in a manner similar to the prologue and choruses, that is, the abridgements for a provincial touring company. Act II, however, Pollard and Wilson feel is a more complicated matter, and they explain it thus: the pirate could not construct the prologue since he did not know it; the two historical scenes were in the abridged transcript and he tried to augment them by memory; the two humorous scenes are based almost completely on memory since he had little or no text of these scenes from the stolen provincial playhouse transcript to work

⁸²Pollard and Wilson, January 16, p. 30 ff.

from. For the rest of the play, Pollard and Wilson suppose that the traitor-actor performed the role of Gower, and so augmented much of the stolen manuscript from memory.⁸³

It is obvious from this compressed review of Pollard and Wilson's supposition on the development of the "bad" quartos that much of it depends on the "traitor-actor" and memorial reconstruction. Additionally, the impetus for the theory is partially derived from the phrase "stolne and surreptitious copies," first used by Heminge and Condell. There is some dispute concerning the meaning of Heminge and Condell's statement, but the memorial reconstruction theory is in large part the creation of W. W. Greg, who first presented it in his edition of The Merry Wives of Windsor⁸⁴ and expanded upon it in his Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements.⁸⁵

Essentially, Greg introduces the idea that the text for the first quarto of The Merry Wives of Windsor "might have been supplied by one of the actors from what he

⁸³ Pollard and Wilson, March 13, p. 134 ff.

⁸⁴ W. W. Greg, Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor," 1602, Oxford, 1910.

⁸⁵ W. W. Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements, Oxford, 1923.

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remembered of the play."⁸⁶ In Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements, Greg examines the extant "plot" of the Battle of Alcazar and extant "part" of the actor who played Orlando in Orlando Furioso, and "concludes that the former play represents a normal abridgement (p. 5) and the latter a memorial reconstruction by a 'piratical reporter' (pp. 133-134; 349-352)."⁸⁷ As Burkhart points out, however, it is the extent of the corruption in Orlando that causes Greg to reach different conclusions; the differences between these two plays are "a matter of degree rather than of kind."⁸⁸

While other critics have contributed to the memorial reconstruction theory,⁸⁹ only H. R. Hoppe has provided a systematic method by which a play may be examined to see if it was composed by memorial reconstruction.⁹⁰

⁸⁶W. C. Rubinstein, "Shakespearean Bad Quartos" (Unpub. diss.), Yale, 1950, p. 3.

⁸⁷Burkhart, p. 5.

⁸⁸Burkhart, p. 5.

⁸⁹See E. K. Chambers' William Shakespeare, Alfred Hart's Stolne and Surreptitious Copies, Greg again in The Shakespeare First Folio and The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare, and Leo Kirschbaum's Shakespeare and the Stationers.

⁹⁰H. R. Hoppe, The Bad Quarto of "Romeo and Juliet," Ithaca, New York, 1948, pp. 74-190.

Hoppe divides the various "stigmata" of this kind of transmission into two basic groupings, "external" and "internal" evidence. The "external" signs are "those which would be immediately evident to an educated person conversant with Elizabethan dramatic literature if he had copies of the texts before him for inspection," while the "internal" signs are "those which would be manifest to him only after prolonged reading and examination."

In the first classification are such indications as stage directions, obvious mistakes in versification, omitted scenes or lengthy passages, and speeches attributed to wrong characters. Only when parallel texts exist of both good and bad quartos or folios can most of these manifestations be positively noted, although inference is possible even when a parallel text is lacking. Regarding the second classification, it is based primarily on textual evidence which Hoppe further subdivides into shiftings and substitutions. Shiftings include transpositions, anticipations, and recollections from within the play, and borrowings from other plays. Substitutions include such phenomena as repetitions, equivalent expressions (including synonyms), paraphrases, summaries, expansions, misunderstandings, and mishearings.

Professor Hoppe warns that some of these phenomena in both the external and internal categories are difficult to discern at times and that not all are peculiar to "bad" quartos,⁹¹ further complicating the problem. However, Hoppe believes that the discovery of a steady accretion and accumulation of such stigmata in a play must eventually lead to the conclusion that one or more "traitor-actors" have had a hand in the preparation of a memorially reconstructed text.⁹² Of course, it is upon such a discovery that G. I. Duthie bases his argument for the memorial reconstruction of Henry V Q1. Just as important to the concept of "bad" quartos as the memorial reconstruction theory is the phrase of Heminge and Condell, "stolne and surreptitious copies."

As I have shown earlier, much of the impetus for the study of "bad" quartos by Pollard and Wilson and others comes from attempts to understand the full meaning of the statement. Almost all other scholars who have worked with the Pollard-Wilson "bad" quarto theory have agreed with their interpretation that the "bad" quartos are what

⁹¹Hoppe, p. 81.

⁹²Hoppe, p. 76.

Heminge and Condell considered "stolne and surreptitious." Another theory has been proposed by K. B. Danks, who believes that Heminge and Condell were referring only to the Pavier Quartos, and not to any quarto printed earlier.⁹³

Danks bases his argument on two strong points. First, only the Pavier Quartos, of all of the "bad" quartos, were brought before the Stationers' Company and banned. Secondly, that the Lord Chamberlain who prosecuted Pavier, William Earl of Pembroke, in 1619, was still Chamberlain in 1623 when the folio was brought out. Possibly, Danks suggests, since the folio was dedicated to him, the editors thought it politic to make reference to the Pavier case. Finally, although Pollard and Wilson base much of the argument on the fact that the "bad" quartos were never entered in the Stationers' Register prior to publication, and so gave further indication that they were stolen, Danks notes that over one hundred other books of the period were not registered prior to publication. This includes Volpone, which was closely watched by Jonson during its printing and most assuredly was not published surreptitiously. Danks' conclusion is that Heminge and Condell's address

⁹³K. B. Danks, "What Heminges and Condell Really Meant," Notes and Queries (n.s.), vol. 3 (1956), pp. 11-13.

was topical and so specifically referred to the Pavier case, and not back to texts printed in 1600 and earlier.⁹⁴

Yet another approach to what Heminge and Condell meant has been offered by William Rubinstein.⁹⁵ Like Danks, Rubinstein reminds us that modern critics sometimes overestimate the ability of the Jacobean audience to "fully" comprehend the preface:

The contemporaries of Heminge and Condell were accustomed to hearing from their publishers that previous editions were mangled and that the one offered for sale was superior. They probably took the same attitude toward these claims that we take toward our own advertising.⁹⁶

I have not been able to find any response to either Rubinstein's or Danks' hypotheses. Certainly Danks makes a

⁹⁴In another article ("A Notable Copyright Award," Notes and Queries, vol. 201 (1956), p. 283), Danks further notes that Laurence Hayes claimed and was awarded copyright to The Merchant of Venice during the Pavier-Jaggard scandal of 1619, because his father never disposed of the copyright. Danks argues that since Hayes was a child during the time Pollard believes the plays were stolen (1597-1603), he could not know of any piracy except that of Pavier's in 1619. Thus, Heminge and Condell would only be referring to the Pavier Quartos when speaking of "stolne and surreptitious copies," since their audience would not have understood references to piracies in the 1590's and 1600.

⁹⁵W. Rubinstein, "Shakespearean Bad Quartos: A Critical Study," Yale, 1950 (Unpub. diss.).

⁹⁶Rubinstein, p. 73.

strong case against Heminge and Condell's "stolne and surreptitious copies" as referring to plays printed around 1600, and Rubinstein shows, I believe, a good understanding of the uses of prefaces in Jacobean texts for advertising purposes. However, this does not nullify the arguments about how the copies for the "bad" quartos were obtained. Pollard and Wilson only use Heminge and Condell's phrase as a stimulus for their thoughts on the problems inherent in these editions, and not as any proof positive that all Jacobean readers were familiar with events involving the obtaining and printing of plays produced some twenty years before publication. I believe both Danks and Rubinstein may be entirely correct about the preface to the 1623 edition, but it does not affect in any way the general theory of the why and how of bad quartos. What might affect this theory are suggestions first presented by Pollard and Wilson in their original articles, suggestions reviewed and expanded by a number of scholars on the possibilities of bad quartos being used as abridged copy for provincial companies.

Abridged Copy for Provincial Companies

Twentieth century readers usually associate one type of adult acting company with the Elizabethan period, the companies of the London public stage. Best well known is the company that Shakespeare belonged to, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, which was based at the Globe Playhouse. However, two other kinds of companies existed, Court associated companies, and provincial companies.⁹⁷ Of course, the distinctions were not always so fine. Some provincial companies appeared at Court and were eventually made Court companies, as were some London companies, while London troupes occasionally toured the hinterlands in search of a friendly audience, especially when the plague made the capitol uninhabitable. All were under patronage to one nobleman or another, or to Queen Elizabeth.

The provincial companies were not fly-by-night operations, as might be supposed. By Elizabeth's time,

⁹⁷ All material on playing companies is based on Chambers' The Elizabethan Stage, Murray's English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642, and Chambers' William Shakespeare.

all were patented, although attempts were made to circumvent such patents from time to time. Nor were such companies the theatrical exception. Until the establishment of a permanent theatre in London in 1576, the London based companies were at best sporadic in activity,⁹⁸ while some provincial troupes were performing under patronage as far back as 1475.⁹⁹ With the construction of permanent structures, the London public companies began a professional ascendancy, only rarely superseded by the Court or private theatres. Some of the provincial companies tried to move to London and dropped all or most provincial connections. However, the remaining provincial companies, having lost their best actors to the London theatres, tried to survive as best they could.

The material used by the provincial companies was much the same as was utilized by the London organizations until the "university wits" began writing for the public theatre.¹⁰⁰ The usual fare, until the 1580's,¹⁰¹ was the

⁹⁸ Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, Vol. 2, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Murray, Vol. 2, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, Vol. 2, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Ward Williamson, in his article, "Notes on the Decline of Provincial Drama in England, 1530-1642," Educational Theatre Journal, Vol. 13 (1961), pp. 280-288,

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Morality play, laced with a hard shot of broad folk humor. As more plays of a finer quality were produced in London, however, companies outside the capitol attempted to perform plays of a similar nature. Although the slap-stick brand of comedy enjoyed great success, like their London counterparts, the provincial companies found the chronicle history to be the most popular type of production.¹⁰² A glance at fourteen Elizabethan non-Shakespearean plays designated as "bad" quartos, reveals seven histories, four comedies, and three tragedies, indicating the popularity of the history play.¹⁰³

Since the history play was popular throughout England during Elizabeth's time, and given the large number of provincial companies,¹⁰⁴ the question of where and how

states that while religious provincial drama died out in the 1580's due to pressure from the Anglican Church, secular traveling acting companies expanded.

¹⁰² Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, Vol. 2, p. 5.

¹⁰³ D. J. Ashe, "The Non-Shakespearean Bad Quartos as Provincial Acting Versions," Renaissance Papers, 1954, pp. 57-62.

¹⁰⁴ Murray, Vol. 1, p. xi. Murray notes 144 provincial companies of all types (Men's and Children's companies under royal patronage, noblemen and commoners' companies, players' companies, and town companies) for the years 1558-1642. This does not include the provincial tours made by London companies.

plays might have been obtained naturally comes to mind. Certainly, some small number must have been created by provincial companies themselves, especially comedies and interludes,¹⁰⁵ and those morality and folk-comedy plays in existence for a long period of time must have provided some still usable dramatic material. Given the number of dissolutions, regroupings, and reorganizations of so many of the companies, and their generally unsteady nature, it is not surprising that a good deal of the provincial organizations' material came from the more stable, better organized, and better scripted London-based public companies. The difficulty has been to ascertain whether the copy for provincial companies was stolen, and if so, to what extent it was corrupt and the nature of such corruptions.

W. W. Greg, in his study of the abridgements of Orlando Furioso and The Battle of Alcazar, suggests two routes by which provincial companies might have received shortened texts of London-scripted plays.¹⁰⁶ The first

¹⁰⁵As indicated in both Chambers' Elizabethan Stage and in Murray, a number of times various provincial organizations were involved in unlawful presentations of "Enterludes (and) Common Playes."

¹⁰⁶W. W. Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: "Orlando Furioso" and "The Battle of Alcazar," London, 1922.

was the legitimate use of an authorized adaptation taken directly from an authentic prompt book, as was the case with The Battle of Alcazar, while the second was an adaptation based on memorial reconstruction by actors of a manuscript, of which Orlando Furioso is an example. The basic differences that Greg saw between the two adaptations were, as Burkhart notes, "a matter of degree rather than of kind."¹⁰⁷ Greg felt that the extent of corruption found in Orlando indicated how it was obtained, since both plays have speeches shortened or omitted, are compressed, and eliminate characters.

Additionally, Greg noted some of the possibilities concerning such unauthorized provincial texts. First, memorially reconstructed texts like Orlando were adapted and deliberately tailored to the tastes of provincial audiences, just as authorized abridgements were. Another suggestion of Greg's is that the changes made in memorially reconstructed plays developed gradually, as the plays were performed on various provincial stages without any prompt book until the altered version was transcribed. Finally, Greg theorized that the copy used as a basis for the Orlando bad quarto, and other bad quartos, was utilized for

¹⁰⁷ Burkhart, p. 5.

prompt-book use by the same provincial company accountable for the gradual adaptation of the memorially reconstructed play.

Having already noted earlier the textual peculiarities of memorially reconstructed provincial texts, I turn now to other aspects of such copy. As both Ashe and Burkhart point out, in both Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean bad quartos, there is economy in casting and staging, and textual brevity. Regarding casting and staging in non-Shakespearean bad quartos, Ashe states that ten of the fourteen plays "could be acted by from 7 to 9 men, plus 2 or 3 boys; and . . . the staging seldom requires the use of inner or upper stages."¹⁰⁸ Burkhart, in his study of Shakespearean bad quartos, concludes that "the maximum number of actors required in any one scene . . . is generally about thirteen. Three of the six long or 'good' versions, on the other hand, have scenes requiring seventeen to twenty-four."¹⁰⁹ In addition, both types of bad quartos are short. Ashe notes that "eleven of the plays range in length from 1229 lines of print (excluding stage directions)

¹⁰⁸ Ashe, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Burkhart, p. 141.

up to 1656,"¹¹⁰ while Burkhart reports that the six Shakespearean bad quartos he is considering vary in length from 1620 lines to 2232.¹¹¹

A number of abridged versions of Shakespeare's plays have been examined individually by various scholars. Both Madeleine Doran¹¹² and Peter Alexander¹¹³ have studied the First Part of the Contention and the True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and both hold to the notion that these are abridged and reported versions of the folio plays, 2 and 3 Henry VI. However, Charles T. Prouty, writing some thirty years later about the Contention, disagrees, and believes that while the material found in the folio version indicates revision might be a possibility, "Q cannot have been derived from F,"¹¹⁴ because the style of the material found in the folio is unique.

¹¹⁰ Ashe, p. 60.

¹¹¹ Burkhart, pp. 28, 42, 58, 76, 98, and 115.

¹¹² M. Doran, Henry VI, Parts II and III: Their Relation to the Contention and True Tragedy, University of Iowa Humanities Studies, IV, Iowa City, 1928.

¹¹³ P. Alexander, Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III, Cambridge, 1929.

¹¹⁴ C. T. Prouty, The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI, New Haven, 1954, p. 120.

While there is some argument between those scholars who have studied the Contention and True Tragedy whether the quarto is derived from the folio material or vice versa, there is very little disagreement among scholars as to how one Shakespearean bad quarto, Romeo and Juliet, was assembled. Harry R. Hoppe firmly states that his study of the bad quarto of Romeo and Juliet is an attempt "to demonstrate that Q1 of Romeo and Juliet is a memorial reconstruction of a version that Q2 represents in substantially correct form."¹¹⁵ G. W. Williams, in the preface to his edition of Q2, completely accepts the memorial reconstruction theory for Q1.¹¹⁶ However, there is disagreement about the bad quartos of both Hamlet and Merry Wives of Windsor, disagreement specifically centered on the memorial reconstruction theory.

William Bracy, in his The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text, holds that the quarto "presents a version of the play effectively

¹¹⁵Hoppe, p. 57.

¹¹⁶G. W. Williams, ed., The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet, Durham, North Carolina, 1964, p. xi.

abridged and adapted for some special purpose of acting."¹¹⁷
 This, of course, is in clear opposition to Greg's presentation of the memorial reconstruction theory in his edition of The Merry Wives of Windsor. Standing with Greg and against Bracy is William Green, who is a firm advocate of the idea that the quarto is a "memorial reconstruction by and for an unauthorized party."¹¹⁸

A similar schism exists between those scholars who have examined the bad quarto of Hamlet. On the memorial reconstruction side of the dispute is G. I. Duthie, who is rather positive as to the nature of Q1 of Hamlet and who concludes that the text is an example of "memorial reconstruction, made for provincial performance."¹¹⁹ In a recent edition of Q1, however, A. B. Weiner states that in his view, "Q1 Hamlet is . . . consistently and methodically cut."¹²⁰ Denying the inherent idea in the memorial

¹¹⁷W. Bracy, The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text, University of Missouri Studies, XXV, Columbia, Missouri, 1952, p. 141.

¹¹⁸W. Green, Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, Princeton, 1962, p. 85.

¹¹⁹G. I. Duthie, The "Bad" Quarto of Hamlet, Cambridge, 1941, p. 273.

¹²⁰A. B. Weiner, ed., Hamlet: The First Quarto 1603, Great Neck, New York, 1962, p. 48.

reconstruction theory that the abridged quarto was surreptitiously obtained, Weiner holds that the cuts, made for a touring company, were done sometime between 1600 and 1602 "in order to accomodate [sic] a small and economical troupe of actors."¹²¹

Thus, the same controversy that has surrounded Henry V Q1 has embraced the other "bad" quartos; that is, granted that these quartos are abridged versions of longer, more complex, and more complete texts (and this is not always granted), were these texts abridged for a provincial tour that would require fewer actors? A study of the history of the Lord Chamberlain's Men for the years 1599-1602, suggests some possibilities. Since, as I have shown earlier, Q1 of Henry V was based on the copy found in the folio, and the cuts made had to be made sometime in 1600, it is obvious that the 1600-1602 period is the one that must be considered, and not the 1592-1593 span supposed by Pollard and Wilson.

I consider it somewhat ironic that the Earl of Essex (spoken of so grandly in the folio choruses) and the involvement of the Lord Chamberlain's Men with his party through their presentation of Richard II to him,

¹²¹Weiner, p. 58.

should be the cause, as some critics have supposed, of the company's possible provincial tour in this period.¹²²

Chambers lists visits to Oxford during 1599-1600 and 1600-1601, although Murray gives none; it is difficult to see from the proof given that the Lord Chamberlain's Men was necessarily the performing company in the first instance, or one of the three mentioned in the second.¹²³ In addition, Burkhart, as I mentioned earlier, presents a Privy Council order that limited the number of performances allowed the company in London and suggests this as a reason for a provincial tour. I do not think the two possible provincial visits noted by Chambers are responses to this order, since only one town, Oxford, is listed, and it would hardly be worth a well-established company's time to visit one town for so little money. Given this rather doubtful

¹²²E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, Vol. 2, pp. 322-328. But see Chambers' Elizabethan Stage, Vol. 2, pp. 205-211 for a refutation of this thesis.

¹²³1599-1600 "(Oxford). to Baldwyn Hedges to geve the players x^s." Chambers, William Shakespeare, V. 2, p. 323. Chambers lists F. S. Boas' Shakespeare and the Universities (1923), V. 14 as his source for Oxford productions. Of course, since the Essex incident did not occur until February, 1601, it could not have been the cause for this possible provincial tour.

1600-1601 "(Oxford). to three companies of players xxx^s." Chambers, WS, V. 2, p. 327.

evidence of the Lord Chamberlain's Men's possible provincial tours in this period, I find it hard to accept some of the theories concerning legitimate adaptation by a company such as Shakespeare's of one of their own plays for a short run outside London.¹²⁴

Although the period might have been an uneasy one for the company because of their presentation to Essex's party of Richard II prior to his rebellion, all the accounts of confessions of Essex's followers given by Chambers make it apparent that the Lord Chamberlain's Men were forced into performing the play, and did so against their own wishes. I believe these confessions would have been sufficient to clear the company and save them the need for a hastily organized tour. And why make a tour ostensibly set up in order to avert suspicion with a play, even in a cut-down version, that was known for its praises of Essex, the leader of the rebellion? Would it not have been wiser to avoid any suggestion of a relationship in any way with Essex, a suggestion that would be understood certainly by their own patron at the very least, even with a play

¹²⁴ See Burkhart, pp. 17-21. Also, see Weiner's introductory essay for a possible tour in 1603-1604 involving Q1 of Hamlet.

stripped of any hint of contemporary politics? Aside from any textual proof, these probabilities have been missed by those who support the deliberate abridgement theory of Henry V Q1.

The possible provincial tour in 1600 is more difficult to dispose of if the Privy Council order of June 22, 1600, quoted by Burkhart is correlated with the August 4, 1600, notation of Henry V Q1 in the Stationers' Records. The possibility exists that the company took the order as an unfavorable sign that required an immediate provincial tour; since the Essex rebellion had not yet occurred, it is possible they wished to present the play outside of London and so cut it down deliberately, as Burkhart suggests. However, the textual evidence I have discovered and the proof of memorial reconstruction found by Duthie refutes this notion. If the play had been abridged by Shakespeare's own company, then I doubt if the time error made in *D quire* (III, vii-IV, ii) would have appeared. It is only because of a break in the printing procedure, as I have postulated, or a mistake in the original transmission of the text via memorial reconstruction, as Duthie has supposed, or both, that such an error could have happened. Undoubtedly, the Lord Chamberlain's Men would have

taken more care with one of their own valuable manuscripts in making it more suitable for provincial production.

The other possible reason for a provincial tour suggested by the Privy Council order is an outbreak of plague, which would result in the official closing of the theatres and a forced visit to smaller English cities. However, this avenue is closed as well, because no serious outbreak of plague is reported in London for the years 1599-1602, although the disease was present.¹²⁵ J. F. D. Shrewsbury, in his book A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1970), points out that while "London was the principal focus for the outburst of 1603 and suffered grievously for it" (p. 266), no "official attention" was paid to any outbreaks until April, 1602. However, the number of deaths during most of 1602 was small compared to the thousands destroyed in 1603.¹²⁶ Thus, both

¹²⁵ F. P. Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's London (Oxford University Press, 1927), notes that although "the four years from 1597 to 1600 were commonly supposed to have been 'clear' . . . 48 plague-deaths were recorded in 1597, 18 in 1598, 16 in 1599, and 4 in 1600." (p. 85)

¹²⁶ Shrewsbury presents a graph showing the "weekly percentage of mortality rates of bubonic plague in London for the weeks ending 23 December 1602 to 22 December 1603." From the beginning of July, 1603 to the end of October of the same year, the total number of plague-deaths was 32,754.

possible tours listed by Chambers were made in years fairly clear of plague (1599-1600, 1600-1601). Even with the Privy Council order concerning the players' actions during an outbreak of plague, the probabilities for a provincial tour decrease to almost zero, as do the possibilities for a deliberate abridgement of Henry V by the Lord Chamberlain's Men.

Conclusion

I have attempted to outline the pertinent textual aspects of the first quarto of Henry V, as well as provide a short history of the controversy still surrounding bad quartos and how the theories concerning such editions might affect an understanding of this particular text.

Although there are some bad marks against Busby, Millington, and Creede, the men responsible for the publishing and printing of the play, they are of the usual nature recorded against Stationers of this period. Thus, their obtaining of the bad quarto cannot be considered criminal, nor was it seen to be so by either their fellow Stationers or by then-existing English laws. Pavier's challenge was based on his holding a patent on a similar play, and was not an attack on Busby and Millington's methods of obtaining the play.

Two theories, one based on spelling evidence, the other on typographical evidence, can be put forward as probable explanations of how the play was printed. The first theory, based on spelling evidence in agreement with

George Walton Williams' findings concerning Q2, admits only one compositor as being responsible for the text being composed seriatim. The second, based on typographical clues involving anomalous letters, watermarks, running titles, and Charlton Hinman's findings regarding presswork allows for two compositors casting off copy and setting by formes.

Even though Thomas Pavier owned the rights outright to both the first and second quartos, the printing evidence found in Q3 suggests that Jaggard followed Q1 for the Q3 edition, with the second quarto being used little if at all. The evidence is quite strong in pages Elr (line 4) and F3v (line 11), both of which are changed or missing in Q2.

As for the relationship between the quarto and the first folio, and between the quarto and the whole question of bad quartos in general, I have reached the following conclusions. First, that the quarto is based on the same manuscript used for the folio, and that the discrepancies between quarto and folio can be best explained by the memorial reconstruction theory as put forward by Duthie in regard to Henry V. Secondly, that Cairncross' theory that the folio was set from a combined use of Q2, Q3, and the manuscript is incorrect because of the loss of time

resulting from using such a procedure. I suspect that the parallels found in both texts come from the manuscript upon which both are based.

Thirdly, I believe I have shown that the "stolne and surreptitious copies" mentioned in Heminge and Con-dell's preface to the 1623 folio do not refer to any editions except the Pavier Quartos of 1619. The evidence presented by Danks is quite strong in this area, and Rubinstein's arguments regarding modern over-estimations of the Jacobean audience's sophistication in printing matters I find quite persuasive. Finally, while Burk-hart's, Werner's, and Bracy's arguments at first appear convincing, a closer study reveals that their, and similar contentions, that the first quarto is among those plays cut down by the Lord Chamberlain's Men themselves for their own provincial tour, do not bear up. Various inconsistencies in textual evidence, especially the repetitious aspect of the quarto, and the missed time reference in D quire, as well as the lack of any reason such as plague for the Company to go on provincial tour, do not allow me to support this theory.

A final word concerning this quarto. No reader of the text would be foolish enough to claim that it matches

in poetry or dramatic scope the folio version printed in 1623. In defense of Q1, however, I believe that it does have its own rough-and-tumble charms. In certain scenes and passages, it is clearer and more comprehensible than its larger, more ponderous cousin, although as critics since Theobald have pointed out, the folio's errors are due more to compositorial error in Jaggard's print shop than to writer's block in Shakespeare's mind. This first quarto is certainly no masterpiece, but I believe that it provides an important bit of evidence as to how plays were looked upon and handled in Shakespeare's time, that is, roughly. It was not until Jonson showed that an audience existed for plays carefully printed in folio-sized volumes, that quartos of the nature of Henry V Q1 were forced off the market, allowing for various playwrights' full-sized works, Shakespeare's among them, to be printed in folios for the first time. If not for Jonson's boldness, this quarto would, of necessity, be considered Shakespeare's Henry V, instead of being known as the misshapen curiosity it is.

THE TEXT OF THE PLAY

Preface

Since this edition of the first quarto of Henry V is primarily a textual study, I have kept the original spelling and typography as much as possible. Thus, "u" and "i," which are usually converted to "v" and "j" in most modern editions, have been kept in all instances, as have all spacings, added and dropped speech heads, and punctuation. However, long "s" has been changed in all instances to round "s."

Unusual changes in typography and spelling in Q2 and Q3 have been noted. I have chosen to indicate typographical changes more consistently than spelling changes, especially in instances of line justification and changes in line arrangement and speech heads. Furthermore, changes in capitalization and italicization from the first quarto to Q2 and Q3 have been noted, depending on the unusualness of the changes. Movement and additions or deletions of lines within Q2 and Q3 have also been indicated.

Regarding footnotes, where no source is indicated for a given definition, I have used the Oxford English Dictionary. Onions' Shakespeare Glossary has been

utilized where necessary. I have also made extensive use of J. H. Walters' excellent Arden edition of the play, as well as lesser use of the Blackfriars edition (editor, C. R. Forker), the Penguin edition (editor, A. R. Humphreys), and the Yale edition (editor, R. J. Dorius). Consequently, I have given only limited explanations concerning particularly unusual phrases, and have urged the reader to turn to these editors' more lengthy notes.

In certain cases, First Folio spellings are given to show the extensiveness of memorial corruption in Q1. Because of the unavailability of the Hinman Norton edition, I have used the New Shakespeare Society's edition, edited by P. A. Daniels. Folio act and scene divisions are bracketed when different from the divisions I have made for the quarto.

THE
CRONICLE
History of Henry the fift,
With his battell fought at Agin Court in
France. Together with Auntient
Pistoll.

As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.

(Emblem device of Thomas Creede)

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.

Emblem device-"(50 x 40.5 mm.) Framed device of Truth being scourged
by a hand from the clouds. Between her feet the initials T.C. The
motto Viressit vulnere veritas." R. B. McKerrow, Printers and Book-
sellers Devices, p. 117.

house in Carter Lane- "It is not known to whom the house in Carter
Lane belonged." W. W. Greg, Bibliography of the English Printed
Drama, I, 1939-1959 (London), p. 268.

The Chronicle Historie
of Henry the fift: with his battel fought
at Agin Court in France. Together with
Auncient Pistoll.

I.1(I.2)

Enter King Henry, Exeter, 2. Bishops, Clarence, and other
Attendants. 1

Exeter.

Shall I call in Thambassadors my Liege?
King. Not yet my Cousin, til we be resolute
Of some serious matters touching vs and France. 5
Bi. God and his Angels guard your sacred throne,
And make you long become it.
King. Shure we thank you. And good my Lord proceed
Why the Lawe Salicke which they haue in France,
Or should or should not, stop vs in our clayme: 10
And God forbid my wise and learned Lord,
That you should fashion, frame, or wrest the same.
For God doth know how many now in health,
Shall drop their blood in approbation,
Of what your reuerence shall incite vs too. 15
Therefore take heed how you impawne our person,
How you awake the sleeping sword of warre:
We charge you in the name of God take heed.
After this coniuration, speake my Lord:
And we will iudge, note, and beleue in heart, 20
That what you speake, is washt as pure
As sin in baptisme.

A2

Bish.

Headline Henry Q3. 1. all in italics; two Q3; F.I.ii begins here.
3. Th'ambassadors Q2; th'Ambassadors Q3; resolu'd Q3. 6. Bysh. Q3.
9. Salique Q3. catchword Bysh. Q3.

-
9. Salicke] ". . . a collection of folk laws and customs . . . (having) nothing to do with the right of succession" Walter, Arden edition of King Henry V, p. 15. But see the Blackfriars edition (ed. C. R. Forker), 1971, Penguin edition (ed. A. R. Humphreys), 1968, and Yale edition (ed. R. J. Dorius), 1955, all of whom hold that the salique laws was a "specific law forbidding descent of the French crown through the female" (Forker). Shakespeare quotes Holinshead almost verbatim in this passage.

The Chronicle Historie

Then heare me gracious soueraigne, and you peeres,
 Which owe your liues, your faith and seruices
 To this imperiall throne. 25
 There is no bar to stay your highnesse claime to France
 But one, which they produce from Faramount,
 No female shall succeed in salicke land,
 Which salicke land the French vniustly gloze
 To be the realme of France: 30
 And Faramont the founder of this law and female barre:
 Yet their owne writers faithfully affirme
 That the land salicke lyes in Germany,
 Betweene the flouds of Sabeck and of Elme,
 Where Charles the fift hauing subdude the Saxons, 35
 There left behind, and settled certaine French,
 Who holding in disdaine the Germaine women,
 For some dishonest maners of their liues,
 Establisht there this lawe. To wit,
 No female shall succeed in salicke land: 40
 Which salicke land as I said before,
 Is at this time in Germany called Mesene:
 Thus doth it well appeare the salicke lawe
 Was not deuised for the realme of France,
 Nor did the French possesse the salicke land, 45
 Vntill 400. one and twentie yeares
 After the function of king Faramont,
 Godly supposed the founder of this lawe:
Hugh Capet also that vsurpt the crowne,
 To fine his title with some shoue of truth, 50
 When in pure truth it was corrupt and naught:
 Conuaid himselfe as heire to the Lady Inger,
 Daughter to Charles, the foresaid Duke of Lorain,
 So that as cleare as is the sommers Sun,
 King Pippins title and Hugh Capets claime, 55
 King Charles his satisfaction all appeare,
 To hold in right and title of the female:
 So do the Lords of France vntil this day,
 Howbeit they would hold vp this salick lawe

To

23. Bish. Q2-3; & Q3. 28,29. Salicke Q2, Salique Q3. 31. Faramount Q3.
 33, 40, 41, 43, 45, 59. Salicke Q2, Salique Q3. 37. Germane Q3.
 42. call'd Q3. 46. foure hundred Q3; twenty Q3. 47. Faramount Q2-3.
 52. Couai'd Q2, Conuey'd Q3. 53. Charls Q2. 55. Pipins Q3.

29. gloze] gloss, intrepert.

56. satisfaction] fulfillment of a claim.

of Henry the fift.

To bar your highnesse claiming from the female, 60
 And rather choose to hide them in a net,
 Then amply to impace their crooked causes,
 Vsurpt from you and your progenitors. (claime?
K. May we with right & conscience make this
Bi. The sin vpon my head dread soueraigne. 65
 For in the booke of Numbers is it writ,
 When the sonne dies, let the inheritance
 Descend vnto the daughter.
 Noble Lord stand for your owne,
 Vnwinde your bloody flagge, 70
 Go my dread Lord to your great graunsirs graue,
 From whom you clayme:
 And your great Vncle Edward the blacke Prince,
 Who on the French ground playd a Tragedy
 Making defeat on the full power of France, 75
 Whilest his most mighty father on a hill,
 Stood smiling to behold his Lyons whelpe,
 Foraging blood of French Nobilitie.
 O Noble English that could entertaine
 With halfe their Forces the full power of France: 80
 And let an other halfe stand laughing by,
 All out of worke, and cold for action.
King. We must not onely arme vs against the French,
 But lay downe our proportion for the Scot,
 Who will make rode vpon vs with all aduantages. 85
Bi. The Marches gracious soueraigne, shalbe sufficient
 To guardyour England from the pilfering borderers.
King. We do not meane the coursing sneakers onely,
 But feare the mayne entendement of the Scot,
 For you shall read, neuer my great grandfather 90
 Vnmaskt his power for France,
 But that the Scot on his vnfurnisht Kingdome,
 Came pouring like the Tide into a breach,
 That England being empty of defences,
 Hath shooke and trembled at the brute hereof. 95
Bi. She hath bin then more feared then hurt my Lord:

A3

For

62. embrace Q3. 64. and Q3. 66. it is Q3. 78. Foraging the blood Q3.
 83. gainst Q3. 84. against Q2. 92. Scot Q3. 96. Bish. Q3.

62. impace] embrace.

66-68. Numbers. xxvii. 8.

71. great graunsirs] Edward III.

75. defeat] Battle of Cressey, 1346.

89. entendement] hostile purpose.

The Chronicle Historie

For heare her but examplified by her selfe,
 When all her chivalry hath bene in France
 And she a mourning widow of her Nobles,
 She hath her selfe not only well defended, 100
 But taken and impounded as a stray, the king of Scots,
 Whom like a caytiffe she did leade to France,
 Filling your Chronicles as rich with praise
 As is the owse and bottome of the sea
 With sunken wrack and shiplesse treasurie. 105
Lord. There is a saying very old and true,
 If you will France win,
 Then with Scotland first begin:
 For once the Eagle, England being in pray,
 To his unfurnish nest the weazel Scot 110
 Would suck her eggs, playing the mouse in absence of the
 To spoyle and hauock more then she can eat. (cat:
Exe. It followes then, the cat must stay at home,
 Yet that is but a curst necessitie,
 Since we haue trappes to catch the petty theeues: 115
 Whilste that the armed hand doth fight abroad
 The aduised head controlles at home:
 For gouernment though high or lowe, being put into parts,
 Congrueth with a mutuall consent like musicke.
Bi. True: therefore doth heauen diuide the fate of man 120
 in diuers functions.
 Whereto is added as an ayme or but, obedience:
 For so liue the honey Bees, creatures that by awe
 Ordaine an act of order to a peopeld Kingdome:
 They haue a King and officers of sort, 125
 Where some like Magistrates correct at home:
 Others like Marchants venture trade abroad:
 Others like souldiers armed in their stings,
 Make boote vpon the sommers veluet bud:
 Which pillage they with mery march bring home 130
 To the tent royall of their Emperour,
 Who busied in his maiestie, behold
 The singing masons building roofes of gold:

The

101. (as a stray) Q3; Scottes Q3. 109. England Q3. 110. Scot Q3.
 119. in Q3. 132. Tent-royall Q3.

101-102. David II, captured at Nevill's Cross, October 17, 1346, while
 Edward III was in France. However, he was not taken overseas
 (Walter, Humphreys).

104. owse] ooze.

106. Lord.] Ely is given this speech in F, but Holinshed attributes it
 to Westmorland (Walter, Humphreys).

of Henry the fifth.

The ciuell citizens lading vp the honey,
 The sad eyde Iustice with his surly humme, 135
 Deliuering vp to executors pale, the lazy caning Drone.
 This I infer, that 20. actions once a foote,
 May all end in one moment.
 As many Arrowes losed seuerall wayes, flye to one marke:
 As many seuerall wayes meete in one towne: 140
 As many fresh streames run in one selfe sea:
 As many lines close in the dyall center:
 So may a thousand actions once a foote,
 End in one moment, and be all well borne without defect.
 Therefore my Liege to France, 145
 Diuide your happy England into foure,
 Of which take you one quarter into France,
 And you withall, shall make all Gallia shake.
 If we with thrice that power left at home,
 Cannot defend our owne doore from the dogge, 150
 Let vs be beaten, and from henceforth lose
 The name of pollicy and hardinesse.
Ki. Call in the messenger sent frō the Dolphin,
 And by your ayde, the noble sinewes of our land,
France being ours, wee le bring it to our awe, 155
 Or breake it all in peeces:
 Eyther our Chronicles shal with full mouth speak
 Freely of our acts,
 Or else like toonglesse mutes
 Not worshipt with a paper Epitaph: 160
Enter Thambassadors from France.
 Now are we well prepared to know the Dolphins pleasure,
 For we heare your comming is from him.
Ambassa. Pleaseth your Maiestie to giue vs leaue
 Freely to render what we haue in charge: 165
 Or shall I sparingly shew a farre off,
 The Dolphins pleasure and our Embassage?
King. We are no tyrant, but a Christian King,
 To whom our spirit is as subiect,
 As are our wretches fettered in our prisons. 170

There-

Running title fift. Q2-3. 135. sad-ey'd Q3. 137. twenty Q3.
 141. twenty Q3. 153. Kin. Q3; from Q3. 159. tonguelesse Q3.
 160. ... Epitaph? Q2. 161. Th'ambassadors Q2, the Ambassadors Q3.
 164. Ambas. Q3.

 142. dyall] sundial.

The Chronicle Historie

Therefore freely and with vncurbed boldnesse
 Tell vs the Dolphins minde.
Ambas. Then this in fine the Dolphin saith,
 Whereas you clayme certaine Townes in France,
 From your predecessor king Edward the third, 175
 This he returnes.
 He saith, theres nought in France that can be with a nimble
 Galliard wonne: you cannot reuel into Dukedomes there:
 Therefore he sendeth meeter for your study,
 This tunne of treasure: and in lieu of this, 180
 Desires to let the Dukedomes that you craue
 Heare no more from you: This the Dolphin saith.
King. What treasure Vncle?
Exe. Tennis balles my Liege.
King. We are glad the Dolphin is so pleasant with vs, 185
 Your message and his present we accept:
 When we haue matched our rackets to these balles,
 We will by Gods grace play such a set,
 Shall strike his fathers crowne into the hazard.
 Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler, 190
 That all the Courts of France shall be disturbd with chases.
 And we vnderstand him well, how he comes ore vs
 With our wilder dayes, not measuring what vse we made
 of them.
 We neuer valued this poore seate of England. 195
 And therefore gaue our selues to barbarous licence:
 As tis common seene that men are merriest when they are
 from home.
 But tell the Dolphin we will keepe our state,
 Be like a King, mightie and commaund, 200
 When we do rowse vs in throne of France:
 Forthis haue we laid by our Maiestie
 And plodded lide a man for working dayes.
 But we will rise there with so full of glory,
 That we will dazell all the eyes of France,
 I strike the Dolphin blinde to looke on vs, (stones,
 And tell him this, his mock hath turnd his balles to gun
 And

188. play him such Q3. 191. shalbe Q3. 195. valew'd Q3.
 201. in the throne Q3. 202. we haue Q3. 204. there so Q2.
 205. France Q3. 207. line moved to top of Blr in Q3.

189. hazard] In Elizabethan lawn tennis, a hazard was a winning open
 hole in a tennis-court.
 191. chases] In lawn tennis, a point was scored when a ball struck
 the ground twice without being returned.

of Henry the fift.

And his soule shall sit sore charged for the wastfull
 (vengeance
 That shall flye from them. For this his mocke 210
 Shall mocke many a wife out of their deare husbands.
 Mocke mothers from their sonnes, mocke Castles downe,
 I some are yet vngotten and vnborne,
 That shall haue cause to curse the Dolphins scorne.
 But this lyes all within the will of God, to whom we doo 215
 (appeale,
 And in whose name tel you the Dolphin we are cōming on
 To venge vs as we may, and to put forth our hand
 In a rightfull cause: so get you hence, and tell your Prince,
 His Iest will sauour but of shallow wit, 220
 When thousands weepe, more then did laugh at it.
 Conuey them with safe conduct: see them hence.
Exe. This was a merry message.
King. We hope to make the sender blush at it:
 Therefore let our collectiō for the wars be soone prouided: 225
 For God before, weell check the Dolphin at his fathers
 (doore.
 Therefore let euery man now taske his thought,
 That this faire action may on foote be brought.
Exeunt omnes. 230

Enter Nim and Bardolfe. II.1

Bar. Godmorrow Corporall Nim.
Nim. Godmorrow Lieftenant Bardolfe.
Bar. What is antient Pistoll and thee friends yet?
Nim. I cannot tell, things must be as they may: 5
 I dare not fight, but I will winke and hold out mine Iron:
 It is a simple one, but what tho; it will serue to toste cheese,
 And it will endure cold as an other mans sword will,
 And theres the humor of it.
Bar. Yfaith mistresse quickly did thee great wrong, 10
 For thou weart troth plight to her.

B

Nim. I

217. comming Q3. 219. right Q3. 225. collection Q3. 1. F.II.i begins here; all in italic Q2-3. 2,3. Good morrow Q3. 7. Tis Q3; twil Q3. 10. mistresse Quickly Q2, Mistresse Quickly Q3; Ifaith Q3. 11. troath Q2, troth-plight Q3. catchword Nim.

The Chronicle Historie

Nim. I must do as I may, tho patience be a tyred mare,
 Yet sheel plod, and some say kniues haue edges,
 And men may sleepe and haue their throtes about them
 At that time, and there is the humour of it. 15
Bar. Come yfaith, Ile bestow a breakfast to make Pistoll
 And thee friendes. What a plague should we carrie kniues
 To cut our owne throates.
Nim. Yfaith Ile liue as long as I may, thats the certaine of it.
 And when I cannot liue any longer, Ile do as I may, 20
 And theres my rest, and the randeuous of it.
Enter Pistoll and Hostes Quickly, his wife.
Bar. Godmorrow ancient Pistoll.
 Here comes ancient Pistoll, I prithee Nim be quiet.
Nim. How do you my Hoste? 25
Pist. Base slaue, callest thou me hoste?
 Mow by gads lugges I sweare, I scorne the title,
 Nor shall my Nell keepe lodging.
Host. No by my troath not I,
 For we canot bed nor boord half a score honest gētlewomē 30
 That liue honestly by the prick of their needle,
 But it is thought straight we keepe a bawdy-house.
 O Lord heeres Corporall Nims, now shall
 We haue wilful adultery and murther committed:
 Good Corporall Nim shew the valour of a man, 35
 And put vp your sword.
Nim. Push.
Pist. What dost thou push, thou prickeard cur of Iseland?
Nim. Will you shog off? I would haue you solus.
Pist. Solus egregious dog, that solus in thy throte, 40
 And in thy lungs, and which is worse, within
 Thy mesfull mouth, I do retort that solus in thy
 Bowels, and in thy Iaw, perdie: for I can talke,
 And Pistolls flashing firy cock is vp.
Nim. I am not Barbasom, you cannot coniure me: 45
 I have an humour Pistoll to knock you indifferently well,
 And you fall foule with me Pistoll, Ile scoure you with my
 Rapier

12-14. Moved to last three lines of Blr Q2. 15. there's Q3.
 16. ifaith Q3. 19. Ifaith Q3. 21. there's Q3; the Q3. 22. all in
 italics Q2-3. 23. Good Morrow Q3. 25. host Q3. 26. Hoste Q2.
 30. cannot Q2-3; gentlewomen Q2-3; "honest" deleted Q3. 33. Nim Q2-3.
 catchword The Q2; If Q3.

-
21. randeuous] rendezvous.
 37. push] pish (F)--Exclamation of contempt.
 38. prickeard cur of Iseland] pointed-eared, long-haired lap dog.
 39. shog off] move off, go away (Onions, Shakespeare Glossary).
 42. mesfull] nastie (F).
 45. Barbasom] Walter suggests a cross between Barbas, a fiend in
 lion form, and the French knight Barbason who fought King Henry.

of Henry the fift.

Rapier in faire termes. If you will walke off a little,
 Ile prick your guts a litle in good terms,
 And theres the humour of it. 50

Pist. O braggard vile, and damned furious wight,
 The Graue doth gape, and groaning
 Death is neare, therefore exall.

They drawe.

Bar. Heare me, he that strikes the first blow, 55
 Ile kill him, as I am a souldier.

Pist. An oath of mickle might, and fury shall abate.

Nim. Ile cut your throate at one time or an other in faire
 And theres the humor of it. (termes,

Pist. Couple gorge is the word, I thee defie agen: 60
 A damned hound, thinkst thou my spouse to get?

No, to the powdering tub of infamy,
 Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cresides kinde,
 Doll Tear-sheete, she by name, and her espowse
 I haue, and I will hold, the quandom quickly, 65
 For the onely she and Paco, there it is inough.

Enter the Boy.

Boy. Hostes you must come straight to my maister,
 And you Host Pistoll. Good Bardolfe
 Put thy nose betweene the sheetes, and do the office of a 70
 (warming pan.

Host. By my troath heele yeeld the crow a pudding one
 (of these dayes,

Ile go to him, husband youle come?
Bar. Come Pistoll be friends. 75

Nim prithee be friends, and if thou wilt not be
 Enemies with me too.

Ni. I shal haue my eight shillings I woon of you at beating?

Pist. Base is the slaue that payes.

Nim. That now I will haue, and theres the humor of it. 80

Pist. As manhood shall compound. They draw.

Bar. He that strikes the first blow,
 Ile kill him by this sword.

Pist. Sword is an oath, and oathes must haue their course.

B2

Nim.

48-52. Moved to bottom of Blv, Q2. 72. hee'l Q3. 74. you'l Q3.

78. betting Q3. 84. Pi. Q3. catchword And Q2.

54. exall] Draw! (Onions).

60. couple gorge] Corrupt French for "coup lagorge." See E3v, 14-15;
 E4r, 35.

63. lazar kite of Cresides kinde] a leprous whore. See Henryson's
Testament of Cresseid.

66. Paco] Pauca F ("few words").

72. yeeld the crow a pudding] he (the Boy) will become food for crows
 on the gallows.

81. compound] to settle a money-matter by compromise.

84. course] way, run; also, to chase with blows, to thrash.

The Chronicle Historie

Nim. I shall haue my eight shillings I wonne of you at beating? 85

Pist. A noble shalt thou haue, and readie pay,
And liquor likewise will I giue to thee,
And friendship shall combind and brotherhood:
Ile liue by Nim as Nim shall liue by me: 90
Is not this iust? for I shall Sutler be
Vnto the Campe, and profit will occrue.

Nim. I shall haue my noble?

Pist. In cash most truly paid.

Nim. Why theres the humor of it. 95

Enter Hostes

Hostes. As euer you came of men come in,
Sir Iohn poore soule is so troubled
With a burning tashan contigian feuer, tis wonderfull.

Pist. Let vs condoll the knight: for lamkins we will liue. 100

Exeunt omnes.

Enter Exeter and Gloster. II.2

Glost. Before God my Lord, his Grace is too bold to trust
these traytors.

Exe. They shalbe apprehended by and by.

Glost. I but the man that was his bedfellow 5
Whom he hath cloyed and graced with princely fauours
That he should for a forraine purse, to sell
His Soueraignes life to death and trechery.

Exe. O the Lord of Massham.

Enter the King and three Lords. 10

King. Now sirs the windes faire, and we wil aboard;
My Lord of Cambridge, and my Lord of Massham,
And you my gentle Knight, giue me your thoughts,
Do you not thinke the power we beare with vs,
Will make vs conquerors in the field of France? 15

Masha. No doubt my Liege, if each man do his best.

Cam. Neuer

85-88. Moved to bottom of B2r Q2. 86. betting Q3. 89. but Q3.
91. Butler Q2. 4. shall be Q3. 7. forreigne Q3. 11. winde is Q3.
16. Massham. Q3. catchword Masha. Q2, Cam. Q3.

85-86. Missing in F.
87. readie] present, immediate currency; "present pay" F.
99. tashan] tertian; a fever with recurring symptoms every third day.
99. contigian] a corruption of "quotidian," a fever whose symptoms
recur daily; "quotidian Tertian" F.
5. bedfellow] Henry Lord Scroop of Masham.

of Henry the fift.

Cam. Neuer was Monarch better feared and loued then
is your maiestie.

Gray. Euen those that were your fathers enemies
Haue steeped their galles in honey for your sake. 20

King. We therefore haue great cause of thankfulnesse,
And shall forget the office of our hands:
Sooner then reward and merit,
According to their cause and worthinesse.

Masha. So service shall with steeled sinewes shine, 25
And labour shall refresh it selfe with hope
To do your Grace incessant seruice.

King. Vncle of Exeter, enlarge the man
Committed yesterday, that rayled against our person,
We consider it was the heate of wine that set him on, 30
And on his more aduice we pardon him.

Masha. That is mercie, but too much securitie:
Let him bee punisht Soueraigne, least the example of
(him, 35
Breed more of such a kinde.

King. O let vs yet be mercifull.

Cam. So may your highnesse, and punish too.

Gray. You shew great mercie if you giue him life,
After the taste of his correction.

King. Alas your too much care and loue of me 40
Are heauy orisons against the poore wretch,
If litle faults proceeding on distemper should not bee
(winked at,

How should we stretch our eye, when capitall crimes,
Chewed, swallowed and digested, appeare before vs: 45
Well yet enlarge the man, tho Cambridge and the rest
In their deare loues, and tender preservation of our state,
Would haue him punisht.

Now to our French causes.

Who are the late Commissioners? 50

Cam. Me one my Lord, your highnesse bad me aske for
it to day.

B3

Masha. So

17-24. Moved to bottom of B2v, Q2. 23. Line omitted Q3.
41. against Q3. 45. digested Q3. catchword That Q2, King. Q3.

31. on his more aduice] after maturer reflection (Onions).
46. Well] Wee'l F.
51. Me] I F.

The Chronicle Historie

Mash. So did you me my Soueraigne.
Gray. And me my Lord.
King. Then Richard Earle of Cambridge there is yours. 55
 There is yours my Lord of Masham.
 And sir Thomas Gray knight of Northumberland, this same is
 Read them, and know we know your worthinesse. (yours:
Vnckle Exeter I will aboard to night.
 Why how now Gentlemen, why change you colour? 60
 What see you in those papers
 That hath so chased your blood out of apparance?
Cam. I do confesse my fault, and do submit me
 To your highnesse mercie.
Mash. To which we all appeale. 65
King. The mercy which was quit in vs but late,
 By your owne reasons is forestald and done:
 You must not dare for shame to aske for mercy,
 For your owne conscience turne vpon your bosomes,
 As dogs vpon their maisters worrying them. 70
 See you my Princes, and my noble Peeres,
 These English monsters:
 My Lord of Cambridge here,
 You know how apt we were to grace him,
 In all things belonging to his honour: 75
 And this vilde man hath for a fewe light crownes,
 Lightly conspired and sworne vnto the practises of France:
 To kill vs here in Hampton. To the which,
 This knight no lesse in bountie bound to vs
 Then Cambridge is, haah likewise sworne. 80
 But oh what shall I say to thee false man,
 Thou cruell ingratefull and inhumane creature,
 Thou that didst beare the key of all my counsell,
 That knewst the very secrets of my heart,
 That almost mightest a coyned me into gold, 85
 Wouldst thou a practisde on me for thy vse:
 Can it be possible that out of thee
 Should proceed one sparke that might annoy my finger?

Tis

53-54. Moved to bottom of B3r, Q3. 53-61. Moved to bottom of B3r, Q2.
 67. fore-stald Q3. 77. vile Q2. 78. conspir'd Q3; & Q2. 81. hath
 Q2-3. 85. knew'st Q2. 86. mightst Q3; haue Q2-3; coyn'd Q3.
 87. Wouldst Q3; haue Q3. catchword Mash. Q2, As Q3.

66. quit] free, clear (Onions); "quicke" F.
 67. forestald] barred by previous action, intercepted.
 86. Massham was treasurer until 1141 (Walter).

of Henry the fift.

Tis so strange, that tho the truth doth shoue as grose 90
 As black from white, mine eye wil scarcely see it.
 Their faults are open, arrest them to the answer of the lawe,
 And God acquit them of their practises.
Exe. I arrest thee of high treason,
 By the name of Richard, Earle of Cambridge. 95
 I arest thee of high treason,
 By the name of Henry, Lord of Masham.
 I arest thee of high treason,
 By the name of Thomas Gray, knight of Northumberland.
Mash. Our purposes God iustly hath discovered, 100
 And I repent my fault more then my death,
 Which I beseech your maiestie forgiue,
 Altho my body pay the price of it.
King. God quit you in his mercy. Heare your sentence.
 You haue conspired against our royall person, 105
 Ioyned with an enemy proclaimed and fixed.
 And frō his coffers receiued the golden earnest of our death
 Touching our person we seeke no redresse.
 But we our kingdomes safetie must so tender
 Whose ruine you haue sought, 110
 That to our lawes we do deliuer you. (death,
 Get ye therefore hence: poore miserable creatures to your
 The taste whereof, God in his mercy giue you (amisse:
 Patience to endure, and true repentance of all your deeds
 Beare them hence. 115

Exit three Lords.

Now Lords to France. The enterprise whereof,
 Shall be to you as vs, successiuely.
 Since God cut off this dangerous treason lurking in our way.
 Cheerly to sea, the signes of war aduance: 120
 No King of England, if not King of France.

Exit omnes.Enter

90. Moved to bottom of B3v, Q3; shew Q3. 90-99. Moved to bottom of
 B3v, Q2. 103. Although Q3. 105. conspir'd Q3. 106. proclaim'd Q3.
 107. from Q3. 112. you Q3. 121. England Q2-3. catchword How Q2.

97. Henry] F has "Thomas" probably picked up from line 99.

The Chronicle Historie

Enter Nim, Pistoll, Bardolfe, Hostes and a Boy. II.3
Host. I prethy sweete heart, let me bring thee so farre as
 (Stanes.
Pist. No fur, no fur.
Bar. Well sir Iohn is gone. God be with him. 5
Host. I, he is in Arthors bosom, if euer any were:
 He went away as if it were a crysombd childe,
 Betweene twelue and one,
 Iust at turning of the tide:
 His nose was as sharpe as a pen: 10
 For when I saw him fumble with the sheetes,
 And talk of floures, and smile vpō his fingers ends
 I knew there was no way but one.
 How now sir Iohn quoth I?
 And he cryed three times, God, God, God, 15
 Now I to comfort him, bad him not think of God,
 I hope there was no such need.
 Then he bad me put more cloathes at his feete:
 And I felt to them, and they were as cold as any stone:
 And to his knees, and they were as cold as any stone. 20
 And so vpward, and vpward, and all was as cold as any stone.
Nim. They say he cride out on Sack.
Host. I that he did.
Boy. And of women.
Host. No that he did not. 25
Boy. Yes that he did: and he sed they were diuels incarnat.
Host. Indeed carnation was a colour he neuer loued.
Nim. Well he did cry out on women.
Host. Indeed he did in some sort handle women,
 But then he was rumaticke, and talkt of the whore of 30
 (Babylon.
Boy. Hostes do you remember he saw a Flea stand
 Vpon Bardolfes Nose, and sed it was a black soule
 Burning in hell fire?

Bar.

1-13. Moved to bottom of B4r, Q2. 1. Hoster Q3. 2. sweetheart Q2.
 7. chrisombd Q2. 12. flowres Q2, flowers Q3; & Q2; vpon Q3.
 18. cloathes on Q3. 21. & Q3; "any" deleted Q3. 22. cryed Q2.
 26. & Q3; "he" deleted Q3. 31. Babilon Q3. 34. "fire" deleted Q3.
 catchword Enter Q2, Bard. Q3.

3. Stanes] Staines.

12-13. "and a Table of greene fields" omitted in the Quartos.

of Henry the fift.

Bar. Well, God be with him, 35
 That was all the wealth I got in his seruice.
Nim. Shall we shog off?
 The king will be gone from Southampton.
Pist. Cleare vp thy cristalles,
 Looke to my chattels and my moueables. 40
 Trust none: the word is pitch and pay:
 Mens words are wafer cakes,
 And holdfast is the only dog my deare.
 Therefore cophetua be thy counsellor,
 Touch her soft lips and part. 45
Bar. Farewell hostes.
Nim. I cannot kis: and theres the humor of it.
 But adieu.
Pist. Keepe fast thy buggle boe.
Exit omnes. 50
II.4
Enter King of France, Bourbon, Dolphin,
and others.
King. Now you Lords of Orleance,
 Of Bourbon, and of Berry,
 You see the King of England is not slack, 5
 For he is footed on this land alreadie.
Dolphin. My gracious Lord, tis meet we all goe
 And arme vs against the foe: (foorth,
 And view the weak & sickly parts of France:
 But let vs do it with no show of feare, 10
 No with no more, then if we heard
 England were busied with a Moris dance.
 For my good Lord, she is so idely kingd,
 Her scepter so fantastically borne,
 So guided by a shallow humorous youth, 15
 That feare attends her not.
Con. O peace Prince Dolphin, you deceiue your selfe,
C Question .

35-50. Moved to bottom of B4v, Q2. 39. cristalles Q2, cristals Q3.
 41. none the Q2. 51-52. Enter Q2, rest in italics Q2; all in italics
 Q3. 7. gracious Q2-3. 9. and Q2-3. 10. shewe Q2, shew Q3.
 12. troubled Q3. 13. Kingd Q2. 14. phantastically Q2. 17. Dolphin
 Q3. catchword Exe. Q2.

41. pitch and pay] cash only.
 44. cophetua] Corruption of "caveto" (F) beware.
 49. buggle boe] a glass beaded adornment worn around the waist.
 17. Con.] The Constable of France is among the "others," 18. In F,
 the Duke of Brittany replaces Bourbon, 17.

The Chronicle Historie

Question your grace the late Embassador,
 With what regard he heard his Embassage,
 How well supplied with aged Counsellours, 20
 And how his resolution answered him,
 You then would say that Harry was not wilde.
King. Well thinke we Harry strong:
 And strongly arme vs to preuent the foe.
Con. My Lord here is an Embassador 25
 From the King of England.
Kin. Bid him come in.
 You see this chase is hotly followed Lords.
Dol. My gracious father, cut vp this English short,
 Selfeloue my Liege is not so vile a thing, 30
 As self neglecting.

Enter Exeter.

King. From our brother England?
Exe. From him, and thus he greets your Maiestie:
 He wils you in the name of God Almightye, 35
 That you deuest your selfe and lay apart
 That borrowed tytle, which by gift of heauen,
 Of lawe of nature, and of nations, longs
 To him and to his heires, namely the crowne
 And all wide stretched titles that belongs 40
 Vnto the Crowne of France, that you may know
 Tis no sinister, nor no awkward claime,
 Pickt from the wormeholes of old vanisht dayes,
 Nor from the dust of old obliuion rackte,
 He sends you these most memorable lynes, 45
 In euery branch truly demonstrated:
 Willing you ouerlooke this pedigree,
 And when you finde him euenly deriued
 From his most famed and famous ancestors,
Edward the third, he bids you then resigne 50
 Your crowne and kingdome, indirectly held
 From him, the natiue and true challenger.

King.

18-33. Moved to bottom of Clr, Q2. 21. answer'd Q3. 25. Ambassador
 Q3. 30. selfe-loue Q3. 31. selfe-neglecting Q3. 33. brother of
 England Q3. catchword Exe. Q2.

-
18. late] recently returned.
 28. chase] See A4v, 21.
 42. sinister] irregular.
 42. awkward] not straightforward.
 44. rackte] raked, that is, searched for.

of Henry the fift.

King. If not, what followes?

Exe. Bloody cōstraint, for if you hide the crown
Euen in your hearts, there will he rake for it: 55

Therefore in fierce tempest is he comming,
In thunder, and in earthquake, like a Ioue,
That if requiring faile, he will compell it:
And on your heads turnes he the widowes teares,
The Orphanes cries, the dead mens bones, 60
The pining maydens grones.

For husbands, fathers, and distressed louers,
Which shall be swallowed in this controuersie.
This is his claime, his threatning, and my message.
Vnles the Dolphin be in presence here, 65
To whom expresly we bring greeting too.

Dol. For the Dolphin? I stand here for him,
What to heare from England.

Exe. Scorn & defiance, slight regard, contempt,
And any thing that may not misbecome 70
The mightie sender, doth he prise you at:

Thus saith my king. Vnles your fathers highnesse
Sweeten the bitter mocke you sent his Maiestie,
Heele call you to so loud an answere for it,
That caues and wombely vaultes of France 75
Shall chide your trespasse, and return your mock,
In second accent of his ordenance.

Dol. Say that my father render faire reply,
It is against my will:
For I desire nothing so much, 80
As oddes with England.

And for that cause according to his youth
I did present him with those Paris balles.

Exe. Heele make your Paris Louer shake for it,
Were it the mistresse Court of mightie Europe. 85
And be assured, youle finde a difference
As we his subiects haue in wonder found:

C2

Betweene

53-68. Moved to bottom of Clv, Q2. 60. orphants Q3; boens Q2.
64. the claime Q2; & Q3. 65. Dolphin Q3. 67. Dolphin Q3.
68. England Q2. 70. mis-become Q3. 71. prize Q3. 74. Hee'l Q3.
76. & Q3. 84. Hee'l Q3. 86. you'l Q3. catchword Enter Q2, Now Q3.

75. wombely] hollow; Wombie F.

77. second accent] echo.

83. Paris balles] tennis balls. Also, possible play on "Paris
Louer," 84.

84. Louer] Louvre. Also, pun on lover and "mistresse Court," 85.

The Chronicle Historie

Betweene his yonger dayes and these he musters now,
 Now he wayes time euen to the latest graine,
 Which you shall finde in your owne losses 90
 If he stay in France.
King. Well for vs, you shall retorne our answere backe
 To our brother England.

Exit omnes.Enter Nim, Bardolfe, Pistoll, Boy.

III.1(III.2)

Nim. Before God here is hote seruice.Pist. Tis hot indeed, blowes go and come,
 Gods vassals drop and die.Nim. Tis honor, and theres the humor of it. 5Boy. Would I were in London:

Ide giue all my honor for a pot of Ale.

Pist. And I. If wishes would preuaile,
 I would not stay, but thither would I hie.Enter Flewellen and beates them in. 10Flew. Godes plud vp to the breaches

You rascals, will you not vp to the breaches?

Nim. Abate thy ragesweete knight,
 Abate thy rage.Boy. Well I would I were once from them: 15

They would haue me as familiar

With mens pockets, as their gloues, and their
 Handkerchers, they will steale any thing.Bardolfe stole a Lute case, carryed it three mile,
 And sold it for three hapence. 20Nim stole a fier shouell.

I knew by that, they meant to carry coales:

Well, if they will not leaue me,

I meane to leaue them.

Exit Nim, Bardolfe, Pistoll, and the Boy. 25Enter Gower.Gower. Captain Flewellen, you must come strait
 To the Mines, to the Duke of Gloster.

Looke

88-9. Moved to bottom of C2r, Q2. 88. Moved to bottom of C2r, Q3.
 89. weighs Q3. 91. we Q2-3. 93. brother of England Q3. 1. all in
 italics Q2-3; Pistoll and Boy Q3. 2. heeres Q3. 5. there's Q3.
 10. all in italics Q2-3. 19. Lute-case Q3; carried Q2-3.
 20. halfpence Q3. 21. fire-shouell Q3. 25. all in italics Q2-3;
Bar., Pist. Q2; and Boy Q3; & Q2. 26. all in italics Q2-3.
 27. Captaine Q3. catchword The Q2, Flew. Q3.

88. musters] "masters" (F); Onions states that the original meaning in
 French was "to show" from the Latin monstrare.

89. latest] last.

92. King. speech head missing, line flush with left margin in Bodleian
 (Malone) copy only.

1. F III. ii. begins here; F III. i. missing in quarto.

22. meant to carry coales] "(a) do degrading service (b) show cowardice,"
 Walter, p. 62.

of Henry the fift.

Flew. Looke you, tell the Duke it is not so good
 To come to the mines: the concuaeties is otherwise. 30
 You may discusse to the Duke, the enemy is digd
 Himselfe fiue yardes vnder the countermines:
 By Iesus I thinke heele blowe vp all
 If there be no better direction.

Enter the King and his Lords alarum. III.2(III.3)

King. How yet resolves the Gouvernour of the Towne?
 This is the latest parley weele admit:
 Therefore to our best mercie giue your selues,
 Or like to men proud of destruction, defie vs to our worst, 5
 For as I am a souldier, a name that in my thoughts
 Becomes me best, if we begin the battery once againe
 I will not leaue the halfe atchieued Harflew,
 Till in her ashes she be buried,
 The gates of mercie are all shut vp. 10
 What say you, will you yeeld and this auoyd,
 Or guiltie in defence be thus destroyd?

Enter Gouvernour.

Gouer. Our expectation hath this day an end:
 The Dolphin whom of succour we entreated, 15
 Returnes vs word, his powers are not yet ready,
 To raise so great a siege: therefore dread King,
 We yeeld our towne and liues to thy soft mercie:
 Enter our gates, dispose of vs and ours,
 For we no longer are defensiuie now. 20

Enter Katherine, Allice.

III.3(III.4)

Kate. Allice venecia, vous aues catos en,
 Vou parte fort bon Angloys englatara,
 Coman sae palla vou la main en francoy.

C3

Allice. La

29-9. Moved to bottom of C2v, Q2. 29. Flew. Q2-3. 31. dig'd Q2.
 33. Iesus Q2, Ieshu Q3. 11. auoid Q3. 12. destroid Q3.
 15. succout Q3. 1. all in italics Q2-3; Katherine and Alice Q3.
 4. Comen Q2. catchword Kate. Q2, Alice. Q3.

30. concuaeties] mine shafts, caves.

1. F III. iii. begins here. Flewellen-Gower-MacMorris-Jamy debate missing in Q.
2. venecia] venez ici.
4. sae palla] s'appelle.
4. Katherine means to ask "What do you call the hand in English?"

The Chronicle Historie

Alice. La main madam de han. 5
Kate. E da bras.
Alice. De arma madam.
Kate. Le main da han la bras do arma.
Alice. Owe madam.
Kate. E Coman sa pella vow la menton a la coll. 10
Alice. De neck, e de cin, madam.
Kate. E de neck, e de cin, e de code.
Alice. De cudie ma foy Ie oblye, mais Ie remembre,
 Le tude, o de elbo madam.
Kate. Ecowte Ie rehersera, towte cella que Iac apoandre, 15
 De han, de arma, de neck, du cin, e de bilbo.
Alice. De elbo madam.
Kate. O Iesu, Ioa obloye ma foy, ecoute Ie recontera
 De han, de arma, de neck, de cin, e de elbo, e ca bon.
Alice. Ma foy madam, vow parla au se bon Angloys 20
 Asie vous aues ettue en Englatara.
Kate. Par la grace de deu an pettie tanes, Ie parle milleur
 Coman se pella vou le paid e le robe.
Alice. Le foot, e le con.
Kate. Le fot, e le con, ô Iesu! Ie ne vew point par. 25
 Sie plus deuant le che cheualires de franca,
 Pur one million ma foy.
Alice. Madam, de foote, e le con.
Kate. O et ill ausie, ecowte Alice, de han, de arma,
 De neck, de cin, le foote, e de con. 30
Alice. Cet fort bon madam.
Kate. Aloues a diner.

Exit omnes.

Enter King of France Lord Constable, the Dolphin, III.4[III.5]
and Burbon.

King. Tis certaine he is past the Riuer Some.
Con. Mordeu ma via: Shall a few spranes of vs,

The

5-24. Moved to bottom of C3r, Q2. 5. Alice. Q3. 15. rehearsera Q2.
 20. May Q3; Angloy Q3; vou Q3. 25. O Iesu! Q3; vou Q3. 29. ecoute Q3;
Alice Q3. 32. dinner Q2. 1. all in italics Q2-3; Fnter Q2. 2. all in
 italics Q2-3; Bourbon Q3. 3. Some Q3. catchword Enter Q2, Out- Q3.

10. sa pella] s'appelle.

14. tude] cude.

4. Mordeu] Mort du (F).

18. Iea] Je.

4. spranes] Sprayes (F).

20. vow] vous.

22. tanes] temps.

25. vew] veux.

25. "Katherine mistakes these for the salacious 'foutre' and 'con'"
 (Forker).

2. Burbon] not in F nor in Holinshed as a Council member.

of Henry the fift.

The emptying of our fathers luxerie, 5
 Outgrow their grafters.
Bur. Normanes, basterd Normanes, mor du
 And if they passe vnfoughtwithall,
 Ile sell my Dukedome for a foggy farme
 In that short nooke Ile of England. 10
Const. Why whence haue they this metall?
 Is not their clymate raw, foggy and colde.
 On whom as in disdaine, the Sunne lookes pale?
 Can barley broath, a drench for swolne Iades
 Their sodden water decockt such liuely blood? 15
 And shall our quick blood spirited with wine
 Seeme frosty? O for honour of our names,
 Let vs not hang like forzen Iicesickles
 Vpon our houses tops, while they a more frosty clymate
 Sweate drops of youthfull blood. 20
King. Constable dispatch, send Montioy forth,
 To know what willing raunsome he will giue?
 Sonne Dolphin you shall stay in Rone with me.
Dol. Not so I do beseech your Maiestie.
King. Well, I say it shalbe so. 25

Exeunt omnes.

III.5[III.6]

Enter Gower.

Go. How now Captain Flewellen, come you frō the bridge?
Flew. By Iesus thers excellēt seruice cōmitted at y^e bridge.
Gour. Is the Duke of Exeter safe?
Flew. The duke of Exeter is a mā whom I loue, & I honor, 5
 And I worship, with my soule, and my heart, and my life,
 And my lands and my liuings,
 And my vttermost powers.
 The Duke is looke you,
 God be praised and pleased for it, no harme in the worell. 10
 He is maintain the bridge very gallently: there is an Ensigne
 There,

5-26. Moved to bottom of C3v, Q2. 5. Moved to bottom of C3v, Q3.
 9. lesell Q3. 18. Icesickles Q2, Icesickles Q3. 21. Montioy Q2-3.
 23. Rhone Q3. 25. shall be Q3. 1. all in italics Q2-3; and Flewellen
 Q3. 2. from Q3. 3. theres Q2, there's Q3; excellēt Q2, excellent Q3;
 cōmitted Q2, committed Q3; the Q2-3. 5. man Q3. 11. Moved to top of
 first two lines, C4v, Q3. catchword Which Q2, He Q3.

15. decockt] "warm, or perhaps infuse" (Walter, p. 73).

23. Rone] Rouen.

The Chronicle Historie

There, I do not know how you call him, but by Iesus I think
 He is as valient a man as Marke Anthonie, he doth maintain
 the bridge most gallantly: yet he is a man of no reckoning:
 But I did see him do gallant seruice. 15
Gouer. How do you call him.
Flew. His name is ancient Pistoll.
Gouer. I know him not.
Enter Ancient Pistoll.
Flew. Do you not know him, here comes the man. 20
Pist. Captaine, I thee beseech to do me fauour,
 The Duke of Exeter doth loue thee well.
Flew. I, and I praise God I haue merried some loue at
 (his hands.
Pist. Bardolfe a souldier, one of buxsome valour, 25
 Hath by furious fate
 And giddy Fortunes fickle wheele,
 That Godes blinde that stands vpon the rowling restlesse
 (stone.
Flew. By your patience ancient Pistoll, 30
 Fortune, looke you is painted,
 Plind with a mufler before her eyes,
 To signifie to you, that Fortune is plind:
 And she is moreouer painted with a wheele,
 Which is the morall that Fortune is turning, 35
 And inconstant, and variation; and mutabilities:
 And her fate is fixed at a sphericall stone
 Which roules, and roules, and roules:
 Surely the Poet is make an excellēt descriptiō of Fortune.
 Fortune looke you is and excellent morall. 40
Pist. Fortune is Bardolfes foe, and frownes on him,
 For he hath stolne a packs, and hanged must he be:
 A damned death, let gallows gape for dogs,
 Let man go free, and let not death his windpipe stop.

But

12-34. Moved to bottom of C4r, Q2. 12. Ieshu Q3. 13. valiant Q2-3.
 19. all in italics Q2-3. 20. man? Q2. 28. God's Q3. 38. rowles Q2,
 rolles Q3. 39. excellēt Q2, excellent Q3; description Q3. 40. an Q2.
 44. Moved to top of D1r, Q3. catchword Onely Q2, Let Q3.

25. buxsome] a) full chested b) womanly.

27-40. See Walter, pp. 76-77 on Fortune.

42. packs] "Tablet with a projecting handle behind, bearing a representation of the Cruxifixion or other sacred subject, which was kissed by the priest and then by the people at mass" (Onions).

of Henry the fift.

But Exeter hath giuen the doome of death, 45
 For packs of pettie price:
 Therefore go speake, the Duke will heare thy voyce,
 And let not Bardolfes vitall threed be cut,
 With edge of penny cord, and vile approach.
 Speake Captaine for his life, and I will thee requite. 50
Flew. Captain Pistoll, I partly vnderstand your meaning.
Pist. Why then reioyce therefore.
Flew. Certainly Antient Pistol, tis not a thing to reioyce at,
 For if he were my owne brother, I would wish the Duke
 To do his pleasure, and put him to executions: for look you, 55
 Disciplines ought to be kept, they ought to be kept.
Pist. Die and be damned, and figa for thy friendship.
Flew. That is good.
Pist. The figge of Spaine within thy Iawe.
Flew. That is very well. 60
Pist. I say the fig within thy bowels and thy durty maw.
Exit Pistoll.
Fle. Captain Gour, cannot you hear it lighten & thunder?
Gour. Why is this the Ancient you told me of?
 I remember him now, he is a bawd, a cutpurse. 65
Flew. By Iesus heeis vtter as prauie words vpon the bridge
 As you shall desire to see in a sommers day, but its all one,
 What he hath sed to me, looke you, is all one.
Go. Why this is a gull, a foole, a rogue that goes to the wars
 Onely to grace himselfe at his returne to London: 70
 And such fellowes as he,
 Are perfect in great Commaunders names.
 They will learne by rote where seruices were done,
 At such and such a sconce, at such a breach,
 At such a conuoy: who came off brauely, who was shot, 75
 Who disgraced, what termes the enemie stood on.
 And this they con perfectly in phrase of warre,
 Which they trick vp with new tuned oathes, & what a berd
 Of the Generalls cut, and a horid shout of the campe

D

Will

45-69. Moved to bottom of C4v, Q2. 48. thred Q3. 57. a fig Q3.
 61. & thy Q3. 63. Gower Q2-3; and Q3. 64. Gow. Q2, Gower. Q3.
 65. cut-purse Q3. 66. vps Q2. 67. tis Q3. 77. can Q2. 78. tun'd Q3;
 And Q3. 75-79. Moved to top of Dlv, Q3. catchword Or Q2, At Q3.

59. figge of Spaine] expletive, accompanied by an obscene gesture.
 74. sconce] fort, earthwork.

The Chronicle Historie

Will do among the foming bottles and alewasht wits 80
 Is wonderfull to be thought on: but you must learne
 To know such slaunders of this age,
 Or else you may maruellously be mistooke.
Flew. Certain captain Gower, it is not the man, looke you,
 That I did take him to be: but when time shall serue, 85
 I shall tell him a litle of my desires: here comes his Maiestie.
 Enter King, Clarence, Gloster, and others.
King. How now Flewellen, come you from the bridge?
Flew. I and it shall please your Maiestie,
 There is excellent seruice at the bridge. 90
King. What men haue you lost Flewellen?
Flew. And it shall please your Maiestie,
 The partition of the aduersarie hath bene great,
 Very reasonably great: but for our parts, like you now,
 I thinke we haue lost neuer a man, vnlesse it be one 95
 For robbing of a church, one Bardolfe, if your Maiestie
 Know the man, his face is full of whelkes and knubs,
 And pumple, and his breath blowes at his nose
 Like a cole, sometimes red, sometimes plew:
 But god be praised, now his nose is executed, & his fire out. 100
King. We would haue all offenders so cut off,
 And we here giue expresse commaundment,
 That there be nothing taken from the villages but paid for,
 None of the French abused,
 Or abraided with disdainfull language: 105
 For when cruelty and lenitie play for a Kingdome,
 The gentlest gamester is the sooner winner.

Enter French Herauld.

Hera. You know me by my habit.
Ki. Well thē, we know thee, what shuld we know of thee? 110
Hera. My maisters minde.
King. Vnfold it.
Heral. Go thee vnto Harry of England, and tell him,
 Aduantage is a better souldier then rashnesse:

Altho

80-101. Moved to bottom of D1r, Q2. 80. ale-washt Q2. 87. all in
 italics Q2-3. 94. like you now (deleted Q3). 100. And Q3.
 102. here we Q3. 105. vpbraided Q3. 106. & Q2. 108. the Q3.
 110. then Q2-3; should Q2-3. 111. Masters Q3. 113. England Q2-3.
 105-114. Moved to top of D2r, Q3. catchword I must Q2, Enter Q3.

93. partition] perdition (F); perhaps "division."

105. abraided] vpbayed (F).

of Henry the fift.

Altho we did seeme dead, we did but slumber. 115
 Now we speake vpon our kue, and our voyce is imperiall,
 England shall repent her folly: see her rashnesse,
 And admire our sufferance. Which to raunsome,
 His pettinesse would bow vnder:
 For the effusion of our blood, his aray is too weake: 120
 For the disgrace we haue borne, himselfe
 Kneeling at our feete, a weake and worthlesse satisfaction.
 To this, adde defyance. So much from the king my maister.
King. What is thy name? we know thy qualitie.
Herald. Montioy. 125
King. Thou dost thy office faire, returne thee backe,
 And tell thy King, I do not seeke him now:
 But could be well content, without impeach,
 To march on to Callis: for to say the sooth,
 Though tis no wisdom to confesse so much 130
 Vnto an enemie of craft and vantage.
 My souldiers are with sicknesse much infeeblede,
 My Army lessoned, and those fewe I haue,
 Almost no better then so many French:
 Who when they were in heart, I tell thee Herauld, 135
 I thought vpon one paire of English legges,
 Did march three Frenchmens.
 Yet forgiue me God, that I do brag thus:
 This your heire of France hath blowne this vice in me.
 I must repent, go tell thy maister here I am, 140
 My raunsome is this frayle and worthlesse body,
 My Army but a weake and sickly garde.
 Yet God before, we will come on,
 If France and such an other neighbor stood in our way:
 If we may passe, we will: if we be hindered, 145
 We shal your tawny ground with you red blood discolour.
 So Montioy get you gone, there is for your paines:
 The sum of all our answere is but this,
 We would not seeke a battle as we are:

D2

Nor

115-139. Moved to bottom of D1v, Q2. 115. Although Q3. 116. & Q3.
 117. our Q2. 130-131. In parenthesis, Q3. 133. lessened Q2-3.
 138. Yet God forgiue me Q3. 139. aire Q3; This (deleted) Q3.
 144-149. Moved to top of D2v, Q3. 146. groūd Q3. 147. there's Q3.
 148. your Q2. catchword Your Q2, Yet Q3.

 118. Which] As.

128. impeach] hindrance.

139. heire] ayre F.

The Chronicle Historie

Nor as we are, we say we will not shun it. 150
Herauld. I shall deliuer so: thanks to your Maiestie.
Glos. My Liege, I hope they will not come vpon vs now.
King. We are in Gods hand brother, not in theirs:
 To night we will encampe beyond the bridge,
 And on to morrow bid them march away. 155
 Enter Burbon, Constable, Orleance, Gabon. III.6[III.7]
Const. Tut I haue the best armour in the world.
Orleance. You haue an excellent armour,
 But let my horse haue his due.
Burbon. Now you talke of a horse, I haue a steed like the 5
 Palfrey of the sun nothing but pure ayre and fire,
 And hath none of this dull element of earth within him.
Orleance. He is of the colour of the Nutmeg.
Bur. And of the heate, a the Ginger.
 Turne all the sands into eloquent tongues, 10
 And my horse is argument for them all:
 I once writ a Sonnet in the praise of my horse,
 And began thus. Wonder of nature.
Con. I haue heard a Sonnet begin so,
 In the praise of ones Mistresse. 15
Burb. Why then did they immitate that
 Which I writ in praise of my horse,
 For my horse is my mistresse.
Con. Ma foy the other day, me thought
 Your mistresse shooke you shrewdly. 20
Bur. I bearing me. I tell thee Lord Constable,
 My mistresse weares her owne haire.
Con. I could make as good a boast of that,
 If I had had a sow to my mistresse.
Bur. Tut thou wilt make vse of any thing. 25
Con. Yet I do not vse my horse for my mistresse.
Bur. Will it neuer be morning?
 Ile ride too morrow a mile,
 And my way shalbe paued with English faces.

Con. By

150-19. Moved to bottom of D2r, Q2. 150. shall Q2. 152. now? Q2.
 1. all in italics Q2-3; and Q3. 9. of Q3. 12. in praise of Q2.
 13. Wonder of nature Q2. 19. me-thought Q3. 24. If I had a sow Q2-3.
 29. shall be Q3. 21-29. Moved to top of D3r, Q3. catchword Con. Q2,
Bur. Q3.

-
1. Burbon, Gebon] Dauphin, Rambures in F.
 6. Palfrey of the sun] Pegasus, although "Palfrey," a lady's horse, suggests effeminacy.
 8. colour of the Nutmeg] a bay in color, symbolizing the element air.
 9. heate, a the Ginger] a bright sorrel, indicating the element fire.

of Henry the fift.

Con. By my faith so will not I, 30
 For feare I be outfaced of my way.
Bur. Well ile go arme my selfe, hay.
Gebon. The Duke of Burbon longs for morning
Or. I he longs to eate the English.
Con. I thinke heele eate all he killles. 35
Orle. O peace, ill will neuer said well.
Con. Ile cap that prouerbe,
 With there is flattery in friendship.
Or. O sir, I can answere that
 With giue the diuel his due. 40
Con. Haue at the eye of that prouerbe,
 With a Iogge of the diuel.
Or. Well the Duke of Burbon, is simply,
 The most actiue Gentleman of France.
Con. Doing his actiuitie, and heele stil be doing. 45
Or. He neuer did hurt as I heard off.
Con. No I warrant you, nor neuer will.
Or. I hold him to be exceeding valiant.
Con. I was told so by one that knows him better thē you.
Or. Whose that? 50
Con. Why he told me so himself:
 And said he cared not who knew it.
Or. Well who will go with me to hazard,
 For a hundred English prisoners?
Con. You must go to hazard your selfe, 55
 Before you haue them.
Enter a Messenger.
Mess. My Lords, the English lye within a hundred
 Paces of your Tent.
Con. Who hath measured the ground? 60
Mess. The Lord Granpeere.
Con. A valiant man, a. an expert Gentleman.
 Come, come away:
 The Sun is hie, and we weare out the day. Exit omnes.
 D3 Enter

30-54. Moved to bottom of D2v, Q2. 31. out-faced Q3. 35. hee'l Q3.
 36. neuer neuer Q2. 38. theres Q2, there's Q3. 45. & Q2; hee'l Q3.
 49. then Q2-3. 62. & Q2, man, an Q3. 56-64. Moved to top of D3v, Q3.
 63-64. From F IV. ii. 62-63. catchword King. Q2, Before Q3.

42. Iogge] pox (F).
 53. hazard] wager.

The Chronicle Historie

IV.1

Enter the King disguised, to him Pistoll.

Pist. Ke ve la?

King. A friend.

Pist. Discus vnto me, art thou Gentleman?
Or art thou common, base, and popeler? 5

King. No sir, I am a Gentleman of a Company.

Pist. Trailes thou the puissant pike?

King. Euen so sir. What are you?

Pist. As good a gentleman as the Emperour.

King. O then thou art better then the King? 10

Pist. The kings a bago, and a hart of gold.

Pist. A lad of life, an impe of fame:
Of parents good, of fist most valiant:
I kis his durtie shoe: and from my hart strings
I loue the louely bully. What is thy name? 15

King. Harry le Roy.

Pist. Le Roy, a Cornish man:
Art thou of Cornish crew?

Kin. No sir, I am a Wealchman.

Pist. A Wealchman: knowst thou Flewellen? 20

Kin. I sir, he is my kinsman.

Pist. Art thou his friend?

Kin. I sir.

Pist. Figa for thee then: my name is Pistoll.

Kin. It sorts well with your fiercenesse. 25

Pist. Pistoll is my name.

Exit Pistoll.Enter Gower and Flewellen.

Gour. Captaine Flewellen. 30

Flew. In the name of Iesu speake lewer.
It is the greatest folly in the worell, when the auntient
Prerogatiues of the warres be not kept.
I warrant you, if you looke into the warres of the Romanes,
You shall finde no tittle tattle, nor bible bable there:
But

1-25. Moved to bottom of D3r, Q2. 1. Erpingham scene (F IV.i. 1-34)
missing. 1. Enter King Q2; all in italic Q2-3. 4. thou a Q3.
6. Knig. Q2. 10. the King, Q3. 16. all in italic Q3. 17. Le Roy Q3.
27. all in italic Q2-3. 30. lower Q3. 33. Romanes Q3. 26-34. Moved
to top of D4r, Q3. catchword Therefore Q2, Pist. Q3.

5. popeler] popular, common, low.
10. bago] fine fellow (Onions); "Bawcock" F.
11. Pist. speech head removed Q2-3.
14. bully] fine fellow.
30. lewer] fewer (F); See Walter, p. 96.
32. Prerogatiues] superior principles.

of Henry the fift.

But you shall finde the cares, and the feares, 35
 And the ceremonies, to be otherwise.
Gour. Why the enemy is loud: you heard him all night.
Flew. Godes sollud, if the enemy be an Asse & a Foole,
 And a prating cocks-come, is it meet that we be also a foole,
 And a prating cocks-come, in your conscience now? 40
Gour. Ile speake lower.
Flew. I beseech you do, good Captaine Gower.
Exit Gower, and Flewellen.
Kin. Tho it appeare a litle out of fashion,
 Yet theres much care in this. 45
Enter three Souldiers.
 1. Soul. Is not that the morning yonder?
 2. Soul. I we see the beginning,
 God knowes whether we shall see the end or no.
 3. Soul. Well I thinke the king could wish himselfe 50
 Vp to the necke in the middle of the Thames,
 And so I would he were, at all aduentures, and I with him.
Kin. Now masters god morrow, what cheare?
 3. S. I faith small cheer some of vs is like to haue,
 Ere this day ende. 55
Kin. Why fear nothing man, the king is frolike.
 2. S. I he may be, for he hath no such cause as we
Kin. Nay say not so, he is a man as we are.
 The Violet smels to him as to vs:
 Therefore if he see reasons, he feares as we do. 60
 2. Sol. But the king hath a heauy reckoning to make,
If his cause be not good: when all those soules
 Whose bodies shall be slaughtered here,
 Shall ioyn together at the latter day,
 And say I dyed at such a place. Some swearing: 65
 Some their wiues rawly left:
 Some leauing their children poore behind them.

Now

35-59. Moved to bottom of D3v, Q2. 44. there's Q2-3. 53. good Q3.
 55. day to an end Q3. 57. he may, for Q2. 59. vnto Q3.
 61-67. Moved to top of D4v, Q3. catchword Euery Q2, 2. Soul. Q3.

38. Godes sollud] Not in F. I have been unable to find any reference
 to its possible meaning, but I presume it is a euphemistically
 phrased expletive.

The Chronicle Historie

Now if his cause be bad, I think it will be a greeuous matter
 (to him:
King. Why so you may say, if a man send his seruant 70
 As Factor into another Countrey,
 And he by any meanes miscarry,
 You may say the businesse of the maister,
 Was the author of his seruants misfortune.
 Or if a sonne be imployd by his father, 75
 And he fall into any leaud action, you may say the father
 Was the author of his sonnes damnation.
 But the master is not to answere for his seruants,
 The father for his sonne, nor the king for his subiects:
 For they purpose not their deaths, whē they craue their ser- 80
 Some there are that haue the gift of premeditated (uices:
 Murder on them:
 Others the broken seale of Forgery, in beguiling maydens.
 Now if these outstrip the lawe,
 Yet they cannot escape Gods punishment. 85
 War is Gods Beadel. War is Gods vengeance:
 Euery mans seruice is the kings:
 But euery mans soule is his owne.
 Therefore I would haue euery souldier examine himselfe,
 And wash euery moath out of his conscience: 90
 That in so doing, he may be the readier for death:
 Or not dying, why the time was well spent,
 Wherein such preparation was made.
 3. Lord. Yfaith he saies true:
 Euery mans fault on his owne head, 95
 I would not haue the king answere for me.
 Yet I intend to fight lustily for him.
King. Well, I heard the king, he wold not be ransomde.
 2. L. I he said so, to make vs fight:
 But when our throates be cut, he may be ransomde, 100
 And we neuer the wiser.
King. If I liue to see that, Ile neuer trust his word againe.
 2. Lord,

68-94. Moved to bottom of D4r, Q2. 74. mis-fortune Q3. 76. leud Q3.
 80. When Q3, seruices Q3. 84. out-strip Q3. 94. Soul. Q2-3.
 95. fault is on Q3. 98. king wold Q3. 99. Sol. Q2-3. 96-102. Moved
 to top of Elr, Q3. catchword In Q2, I Q3.

81. gift] guilt F.
 84. broken seale of Forgery] broken Seales of Periurie F.
 84. outstrip] outrun, avoid.
 90. moath] mote; Moth F.

of Henry the fift.

2. Sol. Mas youle pay him then, tis a great displeasure
That an elder gun, can do against a cannon,
Or a subiect against a monarke. 105
Youle nere take his word again, your a nasse goe.
King. Your reproofe is somewhat too bitter:
Were it not at this time I could be angry.
2. Sol. Why let it be a quarrell if thou wilt.
King. How shall I know thee? 110
2. Sol. Here is my gloue, which if euer I see in thy hat,
Ile challenge thee, and strike thee.
Kin. Here is likewise another of mine,
And assure thee ile weare it.
2. Sol. Thou dar'st as well be hangd. 115
3. Sol. Be friends you fooles,
We haue French quarrels anow in hand:
We haue no need of English broyles.
Kin. Tis no treason to cut French crownes,
For to morrow the king himselfe will be a clipper. 120

Exit the souldiers.

Enter the King, Gloster, Epingam, and
Attendants.

K. O God of battels steele my souldiers harts,
Take from them now the sence of rekconing, 125
That the apposed multitudes which stand before them,
May not appall their courage.
O not to day, not to day o God,
Thinke on the fault my father made,
In compassing the crowne. 130
I Richards bodie haue interred new,
And on it hath bestowd more contrite teares,
Then from it issued forced drops of blood:
A hundred men haue I in yearly pay,

E

Which

103-129. Moved to bottom of D4v, Q2. 106. You'l Q3; you are an asse
goe Q2. 111. Here's Q3. 113. Kere Q2. 114. And ile assure Q2.
115. hang'd Q2. 117. enow Q3. 122. Enter to the Q3, Glocester Q3,
Epingham Q3. 125. reckoning Q2-3. 126. opposed Q2. 128. O Q3.
132. bestow'd Q3. 129-134. Moved to top of Elv, Q3. catchword No Q2,
Thinke Q3.

104. elder gun] pop-gun made of elderwood.

122-123. Erpingham alone enters in F, speaks two lines, and exits
before Henry begins "O God of battles." The "Upon the King!"
soliloquy is missing in Q.

The Chronicle Historie

Which euery day their withered hands hold vp 135
 To heauen to pardon blood,
 And I haue built two chanceries, more wil I do:
 Tho all that I can do, is all too litle.

Enter Gloster.

Glost. My Lord. 140

King. My brother Glosters voyce.

Glost. My Lord, the Army stayes vpon your presence.

King. Stay Gloster stay, and I will go with thee,

The day my friends, and all things stayes for me.

Enter Clarence, Gloster, Exeter, and Salisburie. IV.2[IV.3]

War. My Lords the French are very strong.

Exe. There is fiue to one, and yet they all are fresh.

War. Of fighting men they haue full fortie thousand.

Sal. The oddes is all too great. Farewell kind Lords: 5

Braue Clarence, and my Lord of Gloster,

My Lord of Warwicke, and to all farewell.

Clar. Farewell kind Lord, fight valiantly to day,

And yet in truth, I do thee wrong,

For thou art made on the rrue sparkes of honour. 10

Enter King.

War. O would we had but ten thousand men

Now at this instant, that doth not worke in England.

King. Whose that, that wishes so, my Cousen Warwick?

Gods will, I would not loose the honour 15

One man would share from me,

Not for my Kingdome.

No faith my Cousen, wish not one man more,

Rather proclaime it presently through our campe,

That he that hath no stomacke to this feast, 20

Let him depart, his pasport shall bee drawne,

And crownes for conuoy put into his purse,

We

135-17. Moved to bottom of Elr, Q2. 138. Though Q3. 141. Glosters Q3.

143. Gloster Q3. 1. all in italics Q2-3; & Q3. 3. There's; are all

Q3. 10. true Q2-3. 11. Enter the King. Q2. 18-22. Moved to top of

E2r, Q3. catchword King. Q2, No Q3.

2. War.] Westmorland in F.

4. full fortie thousand] "full threescore thousand" F.

12. War.] Westmorland F.

15. Gods will] Gods peace F.

of Henry the fift.

We would not die in that mans company,
 That feares his fellowship to die with vs.
 This day is called the day of Cryspin, 25
 He that outliues this day, and sees old age,
 Shall stand a tiptoe when this day is named,
 And rowse him at the name of Cryspin.
 He that outliues this day, and comes safe home,
 Shall yearely on the vygill feast his friends, 30
 And say, to morrow is S. Crispines day:
 Then shall we in their flowing bowles
 Be newly remembred. Harry the King,
Bedford and Exeter, Clarence and Gloster,
Warwick and Yorke. 35
 Familiar in their mouthes as houshold words.
 This story shall the good man tell his sonne,
 And from this day, vnto the generall doome:
 But we in it shall be remembred.
 We fewe, we happie fewe, we bond of brothers, 40
 For he to day that sheads his blood by mine,
 Shalbe my brother: be he nere so base,
 This day shall gentle his condition.
 Then shall he strip his sleeues, and shew his skars,
 And say, these wounds I had on Crispines day: 45
 And Gentlemen in England now a bed,
 Shall thinke themselues accurst,
 And hold their manhood cheape,
 While any speake that fought with vs
 Vpon Saint Crispines day. 50
Glost. My gracious Lord,
 The French is in the field.
Kin. Why all things are ready, if our minds be so.
War. Perish the man whose mind is backward now.
King. Thou dost not wish more help frō England cousen? 55
War. Gods will by Liege, would you and I alone,
 Without more helpe, might fight this battle out.

E2

King. Why

23-52. Moved to bottom of Elv, Q2. 26. out-liues Q3. 29. out-liues Q3.
 42. Shall be Q3. 44. sleeues & Q3. 55. from Q3. 55-57. Moved to top
 of E2v, Q3. catchword Thayle Q2, King. Q3.

40. bond of brothers]band of brothers F.

48-50. "They were not there, when any speakes/ That fought with vs
 vpon S. Crispines day." (Q3)

The Chronicle Historie

Why well said. That doth please me better,
Then to wish me one. You know your charge,
God be with you all. 60

Enter the Herald from the French.

Herald. Once more I come to know of thee king Henry,
What thou wilt giue for raunsome?

Kin. Who hath sent thee now?

Her. The Constable of France. 65

Kin. I prethy beare my former answer backe:

Bid them atchieue me, and then sell my bones.

Good God, why should they mock good fellows

The man that once did sell the Lions skin, (thus?

While the beast liued, was kild with hunting him. 70

A many of our bodies shall no doubt

Finde graues within your realme of France:

Tho buried in your dunghills, we shalbe famed,

For there the Sun shall greete them,

And draw vp their honors reaking vp to heauen, 75

Leauing their earthly parts to choke your clyme:

Tho smel wherof, shall breed a plague in France:

Marke then abundant valour in our English,

That being dead, like to the bullets crasing,

Breakes forth into a second course of mischief, 80

Killing in relaps of mortalitie:

Let me speake proudly,

Ther's not a peece of feather in our campe,

Good argument I hope we shall not flye:

And time hath worne vs into flouendry. 85

But by the mas, our hearts are in the trim,

And my souldiers tel me, yet ere night

Thayle be in fresher robes, or they will plucke

The gay new cloathes or your French souldiers eares,

And turne them out of seruice. If they do this, 90

As if it please God they shall,

Then shall our ransome soone be leuied.

Saue

58-87. Moved to bottom of E2r, Q2. 73. Though Q3; shall be Q2-3.

86. are trim Q2. 88. They'l Q3. 92. rausome be leuied Q2.

88-92. Moved to top of E3r, Q3. catchword Come Q2, They'l Q3.

67. atchieue] overcome, capture.

69-70. sell the Lions skin . . . hunting him] Aesop's fable of the
Hunter and the Countryman (Walter, pp. 114-115 and Humphreys,
p. 207).

74-76. For there the Sun . . . your clyme] Honor, whose element is
fire, will be attracted to the Sun, although the bodies will
remain on earth and pollute the air (Walter, p. 115).

79. crasing] grazing, ricocheting; Humphreys suggests "shattering."

81. relaps] decomposition.

85. flouendry] slovenrie (F).

of Henry the fift.

Saue thou thy labour Herauld:

Come thou no more for ransom, gentle Herauld.

They shall haue nought I sweare, but these my bones: 95

Which if they haue, as I wil leaue am them,

Will yeeld them litle, tell the Constable.

Her. I shall deliuer so.

Exit Herauld.

Yorke. My gracious Lord, vpon my knee I craue, 100

The leading of the vaward.

Kin. Take it braue Yorke. Come souldiers lets away:

And as thou pleasest God, dispose the day.

Exit.

Enter the foure French Lords.

IV.3 [IV.2]

Go. O diabello.

Const. Mor du ma vie.

Or. O what a day is this!

Bur. O Iour dei houte all is gone, all is lost. 5

Con. We are inough yet liuing in the field,

To smother vp the English,

If any order might be thought vpon.

Bur. A plague of order, once more to the field,

And he that will not follow Burbon now, 10

Let him go home, and with his cap in hand,

Like a bace leno hold the chamber doore,

Why least by a slaue no gentler then my dog,

His fairest daughter is contamuracke.

Con. Disorder that hath spoyld vs, right vs now, 15

Come we in heapes, wee le offer vp our liues

Vnto these English, or else die with fame.

Come, come along,

Lets dye with honour, our shame doth last too long.

Exit omnes. 20

Enter

93-17. Moved to bottom of E2v, Q2. 96. vm Q3. 102. let's Q3.

3. Mordu Q2. 6. enow Q3. 9. more to field Q2. 12. base Q2-3.

16. wee'l Q3. 18-20. Moved to top of E3v, Q3. catchword Follow Q2,
Come Q3.

-
1. This scene follows the Pistoll-Frenchman scene (E3v, Q1) in F.
 5. O Iour dei houte] corruption of O jour de honte; F has "O signeur le iour et perdia, toute et perdie."
 12. bace leno] "leno" possibly from "lenonian" from Latin "lenonius," that is, belonging to a bawd; "base Pander" F.
 13. Why least] Whilst (F).
 14. contamuracke] contaminated (F).

The Chronicle HistorieEnter Pistoll, the French man, and the Boy.

IV.3[IV.4]

Pist. Eyld cur, eyld cur.French. O Monsire, ie vous en pree aues petie de moy.Pist. Moy shall not serue. I will haue fortie moys.Boy aske him his name.

5

Boy. Comant ettes vous apelles?French. Monsier Fer.Boy. He saies his name is Master Fer.Pist. Ile Fer him, and ferit him, and forke him:Boy discus the same in French.

10

Boy. Sir I do not know, whats French

For fer, ferit, and fearkt.

Pist. Bid him prepare, for I wil cut his throate.Boy. Feate, vou preat, ill voules coupele votre gage.Pist. Onye ma foy couple la gorge.

15

Vnlesse thou giue to me egregious raunsome, dye.

One poynt of a foxe.

French. Qui dit ill monsiere,

Ill ditye si vou ny vouly pa domy luy.

Boy. La gran ransome, ill vou tueres.

20

French. O Iee vous en pri pettit gentelhome, parle

A cee, gran capataine, pour auez mercie

A moy, ey Iee donerees pour mon ransome

Cinquante ocios, Ie suyes vngentelhome de France.Pist. What sayes he boy?

25

Boy. Marry sir he sayes, he is a Gentleman of a greatHouse, of France: and for his ransome,

He will giue you 500. crownes.

Pist. My fury shall abate,

And I the Crownes will take.

30

And as I suck blood, I will some mercie show.

Follow me cur.

Exit omnes.Enter the King and his Nobles, Pistoll.

IV.4[IV.6]

King. What the French retire?

Yet

1-31. Moved to bottom of E3r, Q2. 3. Monsieur Q3. 5. aske his name Q3.

7. Monsieur Q3. 8. Fer Q3. 12. ferke Q2, fearke Q3. 14. gorge Q3.

17. One point of a Foxe Q2, point; fox Q3. 18. monsieur Q3.

22. Captaine Q3. 1. all in italics Q2-3; King with his Q2, Nobles andQ2-3. 32-2. Moved to top of E4r, Q3. catchword I must Q2, Folow Q3.

2. Eyld cur] Yeeld cur (F); "eyld" is obscure spelling of "yield."

9. ferit him] werry him like a ferret.

9. ferke] firk, whip.

14. Feate, vou preat . . . gage] faites vous prest . . . gorge (F).

15. Onye] Owy (F).

17. One poynt of a foxe] on point of fox (F); fox] short sword.

19-20. Boy speech head should begin at 19. The French should possibly be understood as: "Il dit que si vous ne vouliez pas donner lui la rancon, il vous tuerez."

24. ocios] escus (F).

of Henry the fift.

Yet all is not done, yet keepe the French the field.

Exe. The Duke of Yorke commends him to your Grace.

King. Liues he good Vnckle, twise I sawe him downe,
Twise vp againe:

5

From helmet to the spurre, all bleeding ore.

Exe. In which aray, braue souldier doth he dye,

Larding the plaines, and by his bloody side,

Yoake fellow to his honour dying wounds,

10

The noble Earle of Suffolke also lyes.

Suffolke first dyde, and Yorke all hasted ore,

Comes to him where in blood he lay steept,

And takes him by the beard, kisses the gashes

That bloodily did yane vpon his face,

15

And cryde aloud, tary deare cousin Suffolke:

My soule shall thine keep company in heauen:

Tary deare soule awhile, then flie to rest:

And in this glorious and well foughten field,

We kept together in our chiualdry.

20

Vpon these words I came and cheerd them vp,

He tooke me by the hand, said deare my Lord,

Commend my seruice to my soueraigne.

So did he turne, and ouer Suffolkes necke

He threw his wounded arme, and so espoused to death,

25

With blood he sealed. An argument

Of neuer ending loue. The pretie and sweet maner of it,

Forst those waters from me, which I would haue stopt,

But I not so much of man in me,

But all my mother came into my eyes,

30

And gaue me vp to teares.

Kin. I blame you not: for hearing you,

I must conuert to teares.

Alarum soundes.

What new alarum is this?

35

Bid euery souldier kill his prisoner.

Pist. Couple gorge.

Exit omnes.

Enter

3-32. Moved to bottom of E3v, Q2. 3. als Q3. 10. Yoake-fellow;

honour-dying Q3. 11. Suffolke lyes Q2. 12. all wounded ore Q3.

13. lay all steept Q3. 19. well-foughten Q3. 27. neuer-ending Q3;

pretie & sweet Q2. 28. Forc'd Q3. 29. I had not Q3. 34-37. Moved

to top of E4v, Q3. catchword In Q2, Alarum Q3.

3. the French keeps still the field] Q3.

12. hasted] hagled [hacked] (F). Cf. Hamlet, II. ii. 481 "impasted."

15. yane] yawn.

21. these] "t" not inverted in both Q2 and Q3.

The Chronicle HistorieEnter Flewellen, and Captaine Gower.

IV.5 [IV.7]

Flew. Godes plud kil the boyes and the luyge,
Tis the arrants peece of knauery as can be desired,
In the worell now, in your conscience now.

Gour. This certaine, there is not a Boy left alieue.
And the cowardly rascals that ran from the battell,
Themselues haue done this slaughter:

Beside, they haue carried away and burnt,
All that was in the kings Tent:

Whervpon the king caused euery prisoners
Throat to be cut. O he is a worthy king.

Flew. I he was born at Monmorth.

Captain Gower, what call you the place where
Alexander the big was borne?

Gour. Alexander the great.

Flew. Why I pray, is nat big great?

As if I say, big or great, or magnanimous,
I hope it is all one reconing,

Sau the frase is a litle varation.

Gour. I thinke Alexander the great
Was borne at Macedon.

His father was called Philip of Macedon,
As I take it.

Flew. I thinke it was Macedon indeed where Alexander
Was borne: looke you captaine Gower,

And if you looke into the mappes of the worell well,
You shall finde litle difference betweene

Macedon and Monmorth. Looke you, there is

A Riuer in Macedon, and there is also a Riuer

In Monmorth, the Riuers name at Monmorth,
Is called Wye.

But tis out of my braine, what is the name of the other:

But tis all one, tis so like, as my fingers is to my fingers,
And there is Samons in both.

Looke you captaine Gower, and you marke it,

You

1-29. Moved to bottom of E4r, Q2. 5. there's Q3. 6. fro Q2.

11. Oh Q3. 12. Monmouth Q3. 15. great? Q2. 16. not Q3. 18. tis Q3.

20. Macedon Q2. 33. to fingers Q3. 29-35. Moved top of Flr, Q3.

catchword That Q2, A Q3.

34. Samons] salmon.

of Henry the fift.

You shall finde our King is come after Alexander.
 God knowes, and you know, that Alexander in his
 Bowles, and his alles, and his wrath, and his displeasures,
 And indignations, was kill his friend Clitus.
Gower. I but our King is not like him in that, 40
 For he neuer killd any of his friends.
Flew. Looke you, tis not well done to take the tale out
 Of a mans mouth, ere it is made an end and finished:
 I speake in the comparisons, as Alexander is kill
 His friend Clitus: so our King being in his ripe 45
 Wits and iudgements, is turne away, the fate knite
 With the great belly doublet: I am forget his name.
Gower. Sir Iohn Falstaffe.
Flew. I, I thinke it is Sir Iohn Falstaffe indeed,
 I can tell you, theres good men borne at Monmorth. 50
Enter King and the Lords.
King. I was not angry since I came into France,
 Vntill this houre.
 Take a trumpet Herauld,
 And ride vnto the horsmen on yon hill: 55
 If they will fight with vs bid them come downe,
 Or leaue the field, they do offend our sight:
 Will they do neither, we will come to them,
 And make them skyr away, as fast
 As stones enforst from the old Assirian slings. 60
 Besides, wee le cut the throats of those we haue,
 And not one aliue shall taste our mercy.
Enter the Herauld.
 Gods will what meanes this? knowst thou not
 That we haue fined these bones of ours for ransome? 65
Herauld. I come great king for charitable fauour,
 To sort our Nobles from our common men,
 We may haue leaue to bury all our dead,
 Which in the field lye spoyled and troden on.
Kin. I tell thee truly Herauld, I do not know whether 70

F

The

36-64. Moved to bottom of E4v, Q2. 38. his wrath, his Q3.
 50. there's Q2-3. 51. Enter the King and Lords Q2, Enter the King
and his Lords Q3. 63-70. Moved to top of Flv, Q3. catchword Flew. Q2,
Enter Q3.

38. alles] ales.

37-50. See Walter, p. 124 on Flewellen's comparison of Alexander and
 Henry.

59. skyr] sker (F)] scurry.

60. As stones . . . slings] Book of Judith. ix. 7.

65. fined] wagered.

The Chronicle Historie

The day be ours or no:
 For yet a many of your French do keep the field.
Hera. The day is yours.
Kin. Praised be God therefore.
 What Castle call you that? 75
Hera. We call it Agincourt.
Kin. Then call we this the field of Agincourt.
Fought on the day of Cryspin, Cryspin.
Flew. Your grandfather of famous memorie,
 If your grace be remembred, 80
 Is do good seruice in France.
Kin. Tis true Flewellen.
Flew. Your Maiestie sayes verie true.
 And it please your Maiestie,
 The Wealchmen there was do good seruice, 85
 In a garden where Leekes did grow.
 And I thinke your Maiestie wil take no scorne,
 To weare a Leake in your cap vpon S. Dauies day.
Kin. No Flewellen, for I am wealch as well as you.
Flew. All the water in Wye wil not wash your wealch 90
 Blood out of you, God keep it, and preserue it,
 To his graces will and pleasure.
Kin. Thankes good countryman.
Flew. By Iesus I am your Maiesties countryman:
 I care not who know it, so long as your maiesty is an honest 95
K. God keep me so. Our Herald go with him, (man.
 And bring vs the number of the scattred French.

Exit Heralds.

Call yonder souldier hither.
Flew. You fellow come to the king. 100
Kin. Fellow why doost thou weare that gloue in thy hat?
Soul. And please your maiestie, this a rascals that swagard
 With me the other day: and he hath one of mine,
 Which if euer I see, I haue sworne to strike him.

So

71-99. Moved to bottom of Flr, Q2. 72. yet many Q2. 78. Crispin,
 Crispianus Q3. 87. wil no Q2. 93. Countrey-man Q3. 95. kno Q3.
 102. swag-gard Q3. 103. mine, the Q3. 99-104. Moved to top of
 F2r, Q3. catchword Flew. Q2, Call Q3.

79. grandfather] Edward III, Henry's great-grandfather, since John of
 Gaunt, Henry's grandfather, was six-years-old at the time of the
 battle of Cressy.
 85-88. The leek was worn on St. David's Day (March 1) to commemorate a
 British victory over the Saxons in 540 C. E. Walter states that
 there is no proof other than Flewellen's statement concerning
 service done by Welshmen in a garden of leeks.
 102. swagard] bandied insolently.

of Henry the fift.

So hath he sworne the like to me. 105
K. How think you Flewellen, is it lawfull he keep his oath?
Fl. And it please your maiesty, tis lawful he keep his vow.
 If he be periur'd once, he is as arrant a beggerly knaue,
 As treads vpon too blacke shues.
Kin. His enemy may be a gentleman of worth. 110
Flew. And if he be as good a gentleman as Lucifer
 And Belzebub, and the diuel himselfe,
 Tis meete he keepe his vowe.
Kin. Well sirrha keep your word.
 Vnder what Captain seruest thou? 115
Soul. Vnder Captaine Gower.
Flew. Captaine Gower is a good Captaine:
 And hath good litttrature in the warres.
Kin. Go call him hither.
Soul. I will my Lord. 120

Exit souldier.

Kin. Captain Flewellen, when Alonson and I was
 Downe together, I tooke this gloue off from his helmet,
 Here Flewellen, weare it. If any do challenge it,
 He is a friend of Alonsons, 125
 And an enemy to mee.
Fle. Your maiestie doth me as great a fauour
 As can be desired in the harts of his subiects.
I would see that man now that should challenge this gloue:
 And it please God of his grace. I would but see him, 130
 That is all.
Kin. Flewellen knowst thou Captaine Gower?
Fle. Captaine Gower is my friend.
 And if it like your maiestie, I know him very well.
Kin. Go call him hither. 135
Flew. I will and it shall please your maiestie.
Kin. Follow Flewellen closely at the heeles,
 The gloue he weares, it was the souldiers:

F2 It

105-135. Moved to bottom of Flv, Q2. 105. hath he the like Q3.
 107. lawful to keep Q3. 122. and I Q3. 123. gloue from's Q3.
 124. were Q2; any challenge Q3. 129. wold Q3. 134-138. Moved to
 top of F2v, Q3. catchword King. Q2, And Q3.

The Chronicle Historie

It may be there will be harme betweene them,
 For I do know Flewellen valiant, 140
 And being toucht, as hot as gunpowder:
 And quickly will returne an iniury.
 Go see there be no harme betweene them.

Enter Gower, Flewellen, and the Souldier.

Flew. Captain Gower, in the name of Iesu, 145
 Come to his Maiestie, there is more good toward you,
 Then you can dreame off.

Soul. Do you heare you sir? do you know this gloue?

Flew. I know the the gloue is a gloue.

Soul. Sir I know this, and thus I challenge it. 150

He strikes him.

Flew. Gode plut, and his. Captain Gower stand away:
 Ile giue treason his due presently.

Enter the King, Warwicke, Clarence, and Exeter.

Kin. How now, what is the matter? 155

Flew. And it shall please your Maiestie,

Here is the notablest peece of treason come to light,
 As you shall desire to see in a sommers day.

Here is a rascall, beggerly rascall, is strike the gloue,
 Which your Maiestie tooke out of the helmet of Alonson: 160
 And your Maiestie will beare me witnes, and testimony,
 And Auouchments, that this is the gloue.

Soul. And it please your Maiestie, that was my gloue.

He that I gaue it too in the night,
 Promised me to weare it in his hat: 165
 I promised to strike him if he did.

I met that Gentleman, with my gloue in his hat,
 And I thinke I haue bene as good as my word.

Flew. Your Maiestie heares, vnder your Maiesties
 Manhood, what a beggerly lowsie knaue it is. 170

Kin. Let me see thy gloue. Looke you,

This is the fellow of it.

It was I indeed you promised to strike.

And

139-169. Moved to bottom of F2r, Q2. 141. Gun-powder Q3. 146. towards
 Q3. 148. Flew. Q2; sir, Q3. 149. the gloue Q2-3. 152. Gods Q3.
 155. now? Q3; Whats Q3. 159. rascll Q2. 160. maiesty in person Q3.
 161. witnesses Q3; testimonies Q3. 165. in's Q3. 170. man-hoode Q3.
 161-173. Moved to top of F3r, Q3. catchword French Q2.

153. Gode plut] 'Sblud (F).

of Henry the fift.

And thou thou hast giuen me most bitter words.
 How canst thou make vs amends? 175
Flew. Let his necke answere it,
 If there be any marshals lawe in the worell.
Soul. My liege, all offences come from the heart:
 Neuer came any from mine to offend your Maiestie.
 You appeard to me as a common man: 180
 Witnesse the night, your garments, your lowlinesse,
 And whatsoeuer you received vnder that habit,
 I beseech your Maiestie impute it to your owne fault
 And not mine. For your selfe came not like your selfe:
 Had you bene as you seemed, I had made no offence. 185
 Therefore I beseech your grace to pardon me.
Kin. Vnckle, fill the gloue with crownes,
 And giue it to the souldier. Weare it fellow,
 As an honour in thy cap, till I do challenge it.
 Giue him the crownes. Come Captaine Flewellen, 190
 I must needs haue you friends.
Flew. By Iesus, the fellow hath mettall enough
 In his belly. Harke you souldier, there is a shilling for you,
 And keep your selfe out of brawles & brables, & dissentiōs,
 And looke you, it shall be the better for you. 195
Soul. Ile none of your money sir, not I.
Flew. Why tis a good shilling man.
 Why should you be queamish? Y our shoes are not so good:
 It will serue you to mend your shoes.
Kin. What men ofsort are taken vnckle? 200
Exe. Charles Duke of Orleance, Nephew to the King,
Iohn Duke of Burbon, and Lord Bowchquall,
 Of other Lords and Barrons, Knights and Squiers,
 Full fifteene hundred, besides common men.
 This note doth tell me of ten thousand 205
 French, that in the field lyes slaine.
 Of Nobles bearing banners in the field,

F3

Charles

174-205. Moved to bottom of F2v, Q2. 174. And thou hast Q2-3.
 180. me but as Q3. 184. not to mine Q3. 185. seemed then to me Q3;
 offence, my gracious Lord Q3. 193. silling Q3. 194. & keep Q3;
 prabbles Q3; dissentiōs Q2; and dissensions Q3. 197. silling Q3.
 198. squeamish Q2. 199. serue to Q2. 202. Bouchquall Q2-3.
 203. Squires Q3. 189-207. Moved to top of F3v, Q3. catchword Gow. Q2,
 And Q3.

 198. queamish] pashfull (F).

202. brables] squabbles.

202. Bowchquall] Bouchiquald (F)] Bouciqualt.

The Chronicle Historie

Charles de le Brute, hie Constable of France.
Iagues of Chattillian, Admirall of France.
 The Maister of the crosbows, Iohn Duke Alōson. 210
Lord Ranbieres, hie Maister of France.
 The braue sir Gwigzard, Dolphin. Of Nobelle Charillas,
Gran Prie, and Rosse, Fawconbridge and Foy.
Gerard and Verton. Vandemant and Lestra.
 Here was a royall fellowship of death. 215
 Where is the number of our English dead?
Edward the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Suffolke,
Sir Richard Ketly, Dauy Gam Esquier:
 And of all other, but fiue and twentie.
 O God thy arme was here, 220
 And vnto thee alone, ascribe we praise.
 When without strategem,
 And in euen shock of battle, was euer heard
 So great, and litle losse, on one part and an other.
 Take it God, for it is onely thine. 225
Exe. Tis wonderfull.
King. Come let vs go on procession through the camp:
 Let it be death proclaimed to any man,
 To boast hereof, or take the praise from God,
 Which is his due. 230
Flew. Is it lawful, and it please your Maiestie,
 To tell how many is kild?
King. Yes Flewellen, but with this acknowledgement,
 That God fought for vs.
Flew. Yes in my conscience, he did vs great good. 235
King. Let there be sung, Nououes and te Deum.
 The dead with charitie enterred in clay:
 Weele then to Calice, and to England then,
 Where nere from France, arriude more happier men.
 Exit omnes. 240
 Enter Gower, and Flewellen. V.1
Gower. But why do you weare your Leeke to day?

Saint

208-1. Moved to bottom of F3r, Q2. 208. Constable Q3. 210. Crossebowes
 Q3; Alōnson Q2, Alonson Q3. 211. Rambieres Q3. 215. Heeres Q3; King.
 speech head in Q2-3. 217. Exe. speech head in Q2-3. 218. line deleted
 Q2; Esquire Q3. 219. all the other Q3. 220. King. speech head in Q2-3.
 223. euen in Q3. 224. another? Q3. 225. it O God Q3. 228. proclaim'd
 Q3. 237. enter'd Q3. 239. arriu'd Q3. 222-2. Moved to top of F4r, Q3.
 catchword Flew. Q2, When Q3.

208. de le Brute] Delabrēth (F). 213. Foy] Foycs (F).
 209. Chattillian] Chatillon. 236. Nououes] Non nobis (F).
 211. Ranbieres] Rambures (F).
 212. Gwigzard, Dolphin] Guichard Dolphin (F).
 212. Nobelle Charillas] Not in F, memorial reconstruction of "of lusty
 earls."

of Henry the fift.

Saint Dauies day is past?

Flew. There is occasion Captaine Gower,

Looke you why, and wherefore,

5

The other day looke you, Pistolles

Which you know is a man of no merites

In the worell, is come where I was the other day,

And brings bread and sault, and bids me

Eate my Leeke: twas in a place, looke you,

10

Where I could moue no discentions:

But if I can see him, I shall tell him,

A litle of my desires.

Gow. Here a comes, swelling like a Turkecocke.

Enter Pistoll.

15

Flew. Tis no matter for his swelling, and his turkecocks.

God plesse you Antient Pistoll, you scall,

Beggerly, lowsie knaue, God plesse you.

Pist. Ha, art thou bedlem?

Dost thou thirst base Troyan,

20

To haue me folde vp Parcas fatall web?

Hence, I am qualmish at the smell of Leeke.

Flew. Antient Pistoll. I would desire you because

It doth not agree with your stomacke, and your appetite,

And your disgestions, to eate this Leeke.

25

Pist. Not for Cadwalleder and all his goates.

Flew. There is one goate for you Antient Pistol.

He strikes him.

Pist. Bace Troyan, thou shall dye.

Flew. I, I know I shall dye, meane time, I would

30

Desire you to liue and eate this Leeke.

Gower. Inough Captaine, you haue astonisht him.

Flew. Astonisht him, by Iesu, Ile beate his head

Foure dayes, and foure nights, but Ile

Make him eate some part of my Leeke.

35

Pist. Well must I byte?

Flew. I

3-36. Whole page moved to F3v, Q2. 3. Dauies is Q3. 11. would Q2; dissentions Q3. 14. Heere he comes Q3; Turkey-cocke Q3. 15. all in italics Q2-3. 16. turki-cockes Q3. 24. stomackes Q3; appetites Q3. 26. Cadwallader Q3. 29. Base Q2-3; shalt Q3. 32. him, it is enough Q3. 34. nights too Q3. 15-36. Moved to top of F4v, Q3. catchword Flew. Q2, Enter Q3.

17. scall] scurvy, scab-like.

20. Troyan] Slang expression referring to a person of low character.

21. Parcas fatall web] Reference to the Parcae, the Fates, who wove a web of a person's like and ended by cutting a thread.

26. Cadwalleder] Last Celtic (British) king.

26. goates] Contemptuous remark about the Welsh, a mountain people.

30-31. But in the meane time, I would desire you/ To liue and eate this Leeke (Q3).

The Chronicle Historie

Flew. I out of question or doubt, or ambiguities
 You must byte.
Pist. Good good.
Flew. I Leekes are good, Antient Pistoll. 40
 There is a shilling for you to heale your bloody coxkome.
Pist. Me a shilling.
Flew. If you will not take it,
 I haue an other Leeke for you.
Pist. I take thy shilling in earnest of reconing. 45
Flew. If I owe you any thing, ile pay you in cudgels,
 You shalbe a woodmonger,
 And by cudgels, God bwy you,
 Antient Pistoll, God blesse you,
 And heale your broken pate. 50
 Antient Pistoll, if you see Leekes an other time,
 Mocke at them, that is all: God bwy you.
Exit Flewellen.
Pist. All hell shall stir for this.
 Doth Fortune play the huswye with me now? 55
 Is honour cudgeld from my warlike lines?
 Well France farwell, newes haue I certainly
 That Doll is sicke. One mallydie of France,
 The warres affordeth nought, home will I trug.
 Bawd will I turne, and vse the slyte of hand: 60
 To England will I steale,
 And there Ile steale,
 And patches will I get vnto these skarres,
 And sweare I gat them in the Gallia warres.
Exit Pistoll. 65
Enter at one doore, the King of England and his Lords. And at
the other doore, the King of France, Queene Katherine, the
Duke of Burbon, and others
Harry. Peace to this meeting, wherefore we are met. V.2
 And

42. shilling? Q2. 46. I will Q3. 47. shall be Q3; Wood-monger Q3.
 48. buy Q3. 49. plesse Q3. 55. huswife Q3. 56. loynes Q3.
 58. mallady Q2, malady Q3. 60. slight Q3. 64. got Q2. 1-3. all
 in italics Q3. 40-3. Moved to Glr (whole page) and lines 1-2, Glv,
 Q3. catchword Flewel. (F4v) Q3, Har. (Glr) Q3.

37-38. He makes Ancient Pistoll bit of the Leeke. (Q3).
 41. Looke you now, there is a silling for you/ To heale your bloody
 coxcombe (Q3).
 41,42,45. shilling] groat (F).
 48. And so God be with you (Q3).
 55. huswye] hussy.
 56. lines] limbes (F).

of Henry the fift.

And to our brother France, Faire time of day. 5
 Faire health vnto our louely cousen Katherine.
 And as a branch, and member of this stock:
 We do salute you Duke of Burgondie.
Fran. Brother of England, right ioyous are we to behold
 Your face, so are we Princes English euery one. 10
Duk. With pardon vnto both your mightines.
 Let it not displease you, if I demaund
 What rub or bar hath thus far hindred you,
 To keepe you from the gentle speech of peace?
Har. If Duke of Burgondy, you wold haue peace, 15
 You must buy that peace,
 According as we haue drawne our articles.
Fran. We haue but with a cursenary eye,
 Oreviewd them pleaseth your Grace,
 To let some of your Counsell sit with vs, 20
 We shall returne our peremptory answer.
Har. Go Lords, and sit with them,
 And bring vs answer backe.
 Yet leaue our cousen Katherine here behind.
France. Withall our hearts. 25
Exit King and the Lords. Manet, Hrry, Kathe-
rine, and the Gentlewoman.
Hate. Now Kate, you haue a blunt wooer here
 Left with you.
 If I could win thee at leapfrog, 30
 Or with vawting with my armour on my backe,
 Into my saddle,
 Without brag be it spoken,
 Ide make compare with any.
 But leauing that Kate, 35
 If thou takest me now,
 Thou shalt haue me at the worst:

G

And

5-6. Moved to bottom of F4r, Q2. 18. cursorary Q3. 19. Ore-view'd Q3.
 26. all in italic Q2; Harry Q2. 27. all in italic Q2. 28. Kate. Q2.
 30. Leape-frog Q3. 35-37. Moved to top of G2r, Q3. catchword That Q2,
 But Q3.

13. rub] obstacle; from the game of bowls (see Walter, p. 45).

18. cursenary] cursory (curselarie, F).

26-27. Exit French King and the Lords./ Manet, king Henry, Katherine,
and the Gentlewoman. (Q3).

28ff. The entire following scene is a very confused mixture of lines
 due to faulty memorial reconstruction.

The Chronicle Historie

And in wearing, thou shalt haue me better and better,
 Thou shalt haue a face that is not worth sun-burning.
 But doost thou thinke, that thou and I, 40
 Betweene Saint Denis,
 And Saint George, shall get a boy,
 That shall goe to Constantinople,
 And take the great Turke by the beard, ha Kate?
Kate. Is it possible dat me sall 45
 Loue de enemie de France.
Harry. No Kate, tis vnpossible
 You should loue the enemie of France:
 For Kate, I loue France so well,
 That Ile not leaue a Village, 50
 Ile haue it all mine: then Kate,
 When France is mine,
 And I am yours,
 Then France is yours,
 And you are mine. 55
Kate. I vannot tell what is dat.
Harry. No Kate,
 Why Ile tell it you in French,
 Which will hang vpon my tongue, like a bride
 On her new married Husband. 60
 Let me see, Saint Dennis be my speed.
 Quan France et mon.
Kate. Dat is, when France is yours.
Harry. Et vous ettes amoy.
Kate. And I am to you. 65
Harry. Douck France ettes a vous:
Kate. Den France sall be mine.
Harry. Et Ie suyues a vous.
Kate. And you will be to me.
Har. Wilt beleue me Kate? tis easier for me 70
 To conquer the kingdome, thē to speak so much
 More French.

A

38-42. Moved to bottom of F4v, Q2. 39. sun bur(ning) Q2. 44. beard? Q3;
Kate. Q3. 46. France? Q2. 47. It is Q3. 57. Kate? Q2. 58. tell you
 Q3. 62. & mon Q3. 71. thē Q2, Then Q3. 71-72. Moved to top of G2v,
 Q3. catchword Come Q2, To Q3.

-
39. not worth sun-burning] "so ugly that the sun cannot make it more so"
 (Dover Wilson, as quoted by Walter, p. 148).
 43. Constantinople] The city did not fall to the Turks until 1453, 31
 years after Henry's death.
 66. Douck] Donc (F).

of Henry the fift.

Kate. A your Maiesty has false France inough
To deceiue de best Lady in France.

Harry. No faith Kate not I. But Kate,
In plaine termes, do you loue me?

75

Kate. I cannot tell.

Harry. No, can any of your neighbours tell?
Ile aske them.

Come Kate, I know you loue me.

80

And soone when you are in your closset,

Youle question this Lady of me.

But I pray thee sweete Kate, vse me mercifully,
Because I loue thee cruelly.

That I shall dye Kate, is sure:

85

But for thy loue, by the Lord neuer.

What Wench,

A straight backe will growe crooked.

A round eye will growe hollowe.

A great leg will waxe small,

90

A curld pate proue balde:

But a good heart Kate, is the sun and the moone,

And rather the Sun and not the Moone:

And therefore Kate take me,

Take a souldier: take a souldier,

95

Take a King.

Therefore tell me Kate, wilt thou haue me?

Kate. Dat is as please the King my father.

Harry. Nay it will please him:

Nay it shall please him Kate.

100

And vpon that condition Kate Ile kisse you.

Ka. O mon du Ie ne vouldroy faire quelke chosse

Pour toute le monde,

Ce ne poynt votree fashion en fouor.

Harry. What saies she Lady?

105

Lady. Dat it is not de fasion en France,

For de maides, before da be married to

G3

Ma

73-79. Moved to bottom of Glr, Q2. 75. Kate, prethee tell me Q3.

76. Dost thou Q3. 78. tel, Q3. 101 thee Q3. 105-107. Moved to top
of G3r, Q3. catchword And Q2, Harry Q3.

87-93. This speech precedes lines 40-44, Glv (Q1), but succeeds 45-72,
Glv (Q1), in F.

91-92. The missing lines complete and make sense of the paradoxical
comparison] "for it shines bright, and neuer changes but keepes
his course truly." (F).

104. votree . . . feuer] Probably notre . . . favor is intended. The
line does not occur in F.

The Chronicle Historie

May foy ie oblye, what is to bassie?
Har. To kis, to kis. O that this not the
 Fashion in Frannce, for the maydes to kis 110
 Before they are married.
Lady. Owee see votree grace.
Har. Well, weele breake that custome.
 Therefore Kate patience perforce and yeeld.
 Before God Kate, you haue witchcraft 115
 In your kisses:
 And may perswade with me more,
 Then all the French Councell.
 Your father is returned.
 Enter the King of France, and 120
 the Lordes.
 How now my Lords?
France. Brother of England,
 We haue ored the Articles,
 And haue agreed to all that we in sedule had. 125
Exe. Only he hath not subscribed this,
 Where your maiestie demaunds,
 That the king of France hauing any occasion
 To write for matter of graunt,
 Shall name your highnesse, in this forme: 130
 And with this addition in French.
Nostre treshier filz, Henry Roy D'anglaterre,
E heare de France. And thus in Latin:
Preclarissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Anglie,
Et heres Francie. 135
Fran. Nor this haue we so nicely stood vpon,
 But you faire brother may entreat the same.
Har. Why then let this among the rest,
 Haue his full course: And withall,
 Your daughter Katherine in mariage. 140
 France.

108-116. Moved to bottom of Glv, Q2. 110. France Q2, France Q3.
 120. Kings Q3. 132. d'Angleterre Q3. 134. Anglia Q3. 135. Franciae
 Q3. 139. recourse Q2. 138-140. Moved to top of G3v, Q3. catchword
Harry Q3.

125. sedule] sequele (F).
 129. graunt] grants of lands and titles.

of Henry the fift.

Fran. This and what else,
Your maiestie shall craue.
God that disposeth all, giue you much ioy.
Har. Why then faire Katherine,
Come giue me thy hand:
Our mariage will we present solemnise,
And end our hatred by a bond of loue.
Then will I sweare to Kate, and Kate to mee:
And may our vowes once made, vnbroken bee.

145

FINIS.

DIAMOND TYPE DEVICE.

141-149. Moved to bottom of G2r, Q2. 146. mariage Q3. FINIS Q2-3.
No device at end of Q2; semi-heart shaped device, Q3.

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