

INTRODUCTION

The significance of the quarto text of *Henry V*

The character of the text of *Henry V* printed in the First Folio of 1623 (F) is not seriously in doubt. As the NCS edition and others argue, it was set from an authorial manuscript that had not been through the developmental process of emendation for performance. The version printed in 1600 (Q), however, tells a different story. It contains several features that show radical corrections made to the F text either in the course of preparing the play for performance or during its first run on stage. It cuts the total number of lines by a half, eliminating entire scenes and transposing others, and shortens or cuts all the longer speeches. The speed with which it came to the press only a year after its first staging is a mark both of its proximity to the text performed by the company that owned it and of its authority as an official version. Between 1598 and 1600 ten plays owned by Shakespeare's company came into print, seven of them Shakespeare's own. With the sole exception of the *Henry V* quarto, and Jonson's *Every Man Out of his Humour*, which Jonson gave to the press himself, all of them were at least three years old. In the speed of its delivery to the press, Q *Henry V* is unique even among the so-called 'bad' quartos. What its text can tell us about its origins and its intended function is uniquely valuable for an understanding of what Shakespeare's company did to adapt the play-manuscripts he sold to them for staging.

The nature of playhouse manuscripts

The written word is almost the only form of record that can tell us in detail what happened in the early modern period of English history. The limitations of such records when they are used to identify any of the more nuanced forms of a culture, such as the original performances of Shakespeare's plays, are self-evident. It is a truism that the written word as a means of recording any spoken and visual script leaves a great deal to be desired. Radio and film nowadays can show nuances and inflexions of speech and gesture that writing can only record by pages of painstaking description. It is likely that the performed text, the only kind of publication that Shakespeare sought for his plays, differed widely from the written versions of the plays that have survived. This makes it necessary to look with caution at the surviving printed texts. In 1986 the Oxford edition of the plays announced that its target was not the hunt for texts as they first left the author's hand, unsullied by alterations of the players and their book-keepers (which had been the object of the 'New Bibliographers' of the early part of this century). Instead Oxford's ideal was conceptually the play as performed in its first appearances by the original company of which Shakespeare was

a principal shareholder, and in which he himself regularly acted between 1594 and 1613.¹ When we recognise what a high-speed process it was to produce the plays for original performance, how irregular those original performances were, how liable to change the conditions of playing, and how flexible the text had to be as it was taken from page to stage, we can see that there is little hope of retrieving from the written text much of the original performance, and that a concept of a fixed ‘performance text’ is a misconception.

Still, the quarto text of *Henry V* is probably closer to the version of the play that Shakespeare’s company first put on the stage in 1599 than any form of the play that modern audiences have seen. That it is such an obscure version of Shakespeare’s play is a comment on the priority we have given to Shakespeare on the page since the First Folio appeared in 1623, and a comment on the difficulty of recording a performance text simply with words. It is also true that readers find less value in performance scripts than in texts prepared for reading. The text for performance which a company compose from their author’s manuscript has always been ranked lower than the original composition itself. The fact that Shakespeare himself made no effort to get his play-manuscripts into print, but was only concerned to have them staged, may indicate that he shared the preference of his original audiences. If so, his choice is not the preference of subsequent generations of readers. The quarto text of *Henry V* printed in 1600 is probably the best surviving example of a Shakespeare play-script as it was first performed by the company that bought it – and Shakespeare was a member of that company. So the quarto text deserves attention as the closest we are ever likely to get to the editorial ideal (or will o’the wisp) of the Oxford edition, Shakespeare in performance at the Globe in 1599.

John Webster made a useful distinction between what he called the ‘poem’, his own composition, and the ‘play’, the text actually performed by the play’s owners, the players.² The differences between the ‘poem’ and the ‘play’ in performance are complex, and are made particularly difficult to identify because of the inherently static nature of the one and the inescapably fluid character of the other. Peter Blayney’s view, shared with several hundreds of theatre directors, is that ‘the author’s final draft is essentially only the raw material for performance’.³ Blayney separates the two versions even further from each other than did the New Bibliographers, who kept the author’s draft separate from the theatre copy (which they used to call, anachronistically, the ‘promptbook’). In the lengthy and fluid collaborative process of getting a play from page to stage, no single moment ever existed when a written script, a uniquely authoritative record of the ‘performance text’, could be established.

The playing conditions of Shakespeare’s time made the growth of differences between the original company’s own written playbook and the text the players performed inevitable. The author’s script was designed from the outset to be an idealised, maximal text, and every early performance altered it into more realistic or realisable

¹ Oxford, p. xxxv.

² *The Works of John Webster*, ed. David Gunby, David Carnegie, and Antony Hammond, Cambridge, 1995, 1.35–9.

³ *The First Folio of Shakespeare: The Norton Facsimile*, second edition, New York, 1996, p. xxx.

shapes, often at a quite drastic remove from the ideal.¹ The standard practices of the early companies did require them to possess an ‘ideal’ text of their plays. It was what the players themselves saw as their maximal version of the text, but it was not quite what modern editors seek to retrieve. Modern printed editions of the plays of Shakespeare and his fellow writers present ideal texts unlikely to have been staged in full on any of the original stages. Every early playing company’s ideal was a ‘maximal’ text. It had a highly specific identity, and an absolutely authorising function. It was the players’ manuscript that the Master of the Revels had read and ‘allowed’ for playing, at the end of which his signature was appended. Today we might call it the ‘playscript’, the unique manuscript held by the players as their authorisation for whatever version they might perform. The Folio version of *Henry V* probably approximates to such a ‘maximal’ text. The quarto version represents something much closer to the ‘minimal’ text that was actually performed.

It was inherently unlikely that many of the early playbooks rewritten for performance would survive their use by the playing companies. They were too valuable to the companies to be used for printing. The manuscripts employed to print the plays were usually the less precious copies not needed for company use. Conjectures about the source manuscripts for Shakespeare’s own plays, either in the quartos or in the Folio, range from the manuscript or ‘foul papers’ that the author first delivered to the company, to a version of the company’s own ‘playbook’ (usually miscalled by editors the ‘prompt copy’),² transcribed from the author’s copy and modified for performance. Some, conceivably though implausibly, might have been the authorised performance copy, a ‘maximal’ text. Others are thought to be defective scripts assembled by a group of players who made up their text by writing out the lines they remembered from the original performances. Within that wide range, varying from the author’s own hand telling what he hoped would be enacted to copies made after a run of performances by some of the players out of their memories, either as an alternative record of the performed text or as a more fanciful text for the reader, lie a whole series of likely transcriptions, any or all of which might have modified the original authorial intention.

The maximal text, however, was not the one that the players normally or even ever performed. Jonson, Webster and others took care to see that it was their maximal texts which appeared in print, usually joined to a complaint that the players had not used them. Richard Brome complained of the difference between the curtailed text that was performed and his ‘allowed’ playscript on the titlepage of his *Antipodes*, printed in 1640. He justified printing his text by claiming that ‘*You shal find in this Booke more then was presented upon the Stage, and left out of the Presentation, for superfluous length (as some of the Players pretended) I thogt good al should be inserted according to the allowed*

¹ A more extended version of this argument is in Gurr, ‘Maximal and Minimal Texts: Shakespeare versus the Globe’, *S.Sur* 52 (2000), 68–87.

² The early companies did use a ‘prompter’, but his job was not to give the players their lines when they forgot them. The nineteenth-century version of the term that we know is an anachronism in the Elizabethan theatre. See William B. Long, ‘Perspective on Provenance: The Context of Varying Speech-heads’, in *Shakespeare’s Speech-Headings*, ed. George Walton Williams, Newark, NJ, 1997, p. 24.

Original'. Authors' texts and players' texts differed above all in length, much as Q1 *Henry V* differs from its Folio version.

The history of *Henry V*'s quarto text

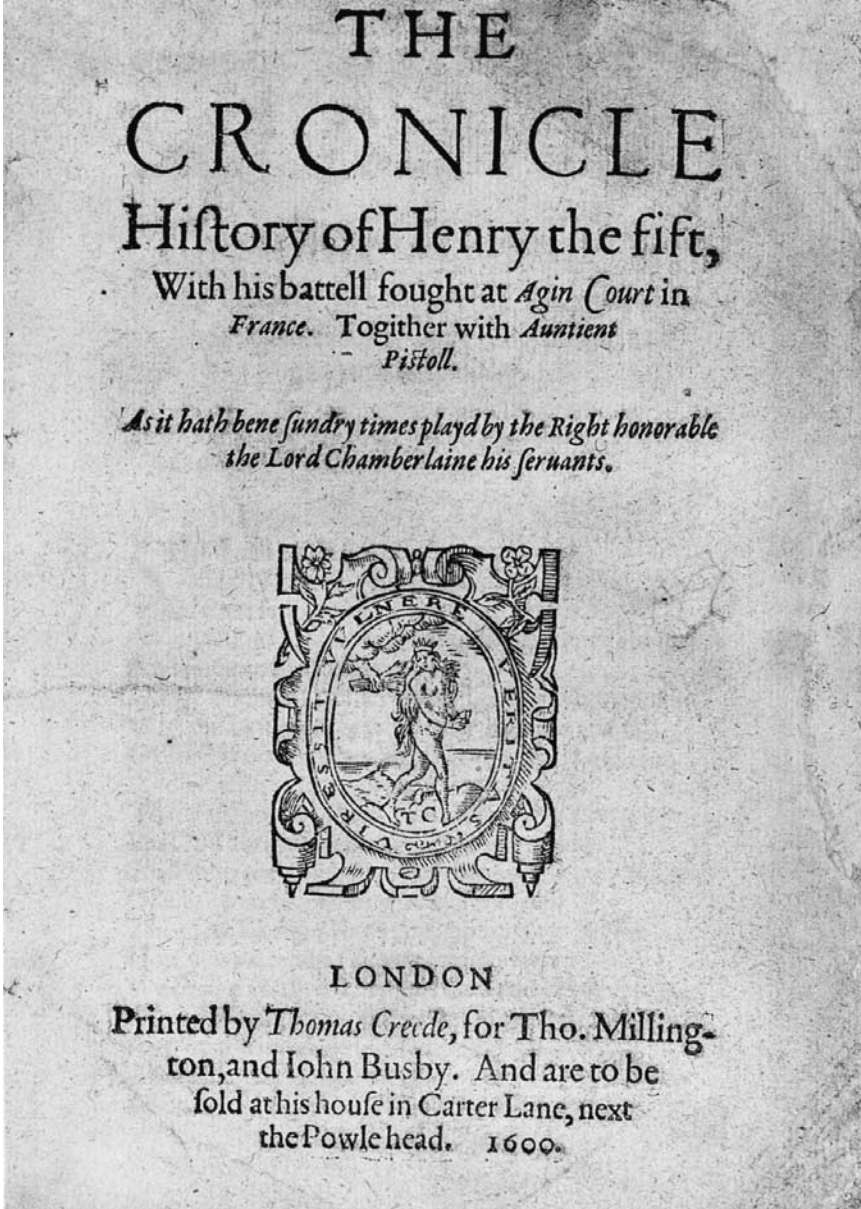
The thought that the quarto version of *Henry V* was a reasonably good acting text has been around for some time, although no acting company has ever put it into practice. In 1970 Ivor Brown, in *Shakespeare and the Actors*, said that the idea is 'held by some' that the quarto is 'an acting version' of the play used by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, to deliver a shorter version than the Folio.¹ This was a less than scholarly view, reflecting more of Brown's own theatre experience than any close study of the two texts.

The idea that Shakespeare revised his texts, which has hung particularly strongly on the early versions of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, also attached itself in the early days of the New Bibliography to the first quartos of *Henry V*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In 1919 John Dover Wilson, in association with Alfred Pollard, broached the idea that these quartos were the product of the hard times for Strange's Men in 1593. A lengthy correspondence in the *Times Literary Supplement* ran from January till August, mainly over the very concept that Shakespeare might have revised his own work. Wilson eventually renounced this early concept, and in his New Shakespeare edition of *Henry V* in 1947 he took the traditional line that the Q text was a 'bad' or pirated version.

The history of ideas about the relationship between Q1 and F is complex, though it does show an intermittent evolution towards the idea that Q may have some authority, if not as an authorial text then as a performance text. The Folio, however, is the text that from the 1660s onwards always formed the basis for stage productions. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries *Henry V* was the play most studied in schools, especially for its Choruses and Henry's two great speeches, Harfleur and the band of brothers. Only one of these highlights is in the quarto text. The early players of Shakespeare had not acquired the massive reverence for the master's text and its great setpieces that we have inherited, and that critical judgements have repeatedly confirmed.

Recent changes in views about the *Henry V* quarto started by questioning the general assumption that it was a 'bad' text corrupted by theatrical input and imperfect forms of transmission, one of the species that Heminges and Condell in their preface to the first Folio called 'Stolne and surreptitious copies'. The quartos identified as the targets for this dismissive assumption were thought to have contaminated the purity of Shakespeare's poetry with theatrical mud. Moreover, through almost all of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was assumed that Q was a 'memorial' reconstruction, made by a few actors from their memory of what they had performed, so even as a theatre script it had to be second-hand. This led to the view that it had been made up for use by a small company touring the provinces, so that again even as a performed text it was seen as second-quality theatre. The evidence of the text itself upholds none of these views.

¹ Ivor Brown, *Shakespeare and the Actors*, London: Bodley Head, 1970, p. 62.



The title page of the first quarto, 1600

The quarto printings

The printing of the different versions of *Henry V* began in 1600, within a year of its composition and first staging. It was evidently a popular text, as its publishing history shows. The title of the quarto printed in 1600 advertised that its attractions included ‘Auntient Pistoll’, possibly making a tacit acknowledgement that it did not contain Sir John Falstaff, as promised by the epilogue that appeared with the first quarto of *2 Henry IV*, also printed in 1600. The first quarto of *2 Henry IV* was entered in the Stationers’ Register on 23 August, a week after a mysterious ‘staying’ order about a group of four Shakespeare plays. But by then the first quarto of *Henry V* had appeared or was about to appear.

The much-discussed ‘staying entry’ in the Stationers’ Register of 4 August 1600, held back the registration for printing of four Chamberlain’s Men’s plays, *As You Like It*, *Henry V*, *Every Man in his Humour* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. Its circumstances have been dealt with in the NCS edition (pp. 216–20), where it is concluded that it was more likely to be a reference to *2 Henry IV* than *Henry V*. The first time the Stationers’ Register took note of the text for the quarto *Henry V* was ten days later, on 14 August, when Thomas Pavier registered it as one of several titles he had acquired the right to issue. The name registered is the same as that on the first quarto’s titlepage. It recorded Pavier’s acquisition of the name so that he could get Thomas Creede, who had already issued the first quarto on the authority of his 1594 entry in the Register for *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, to print a second quarto, which he did in 1602. The fact that Pavier bought the copy and paid to register his right to print it indicates that the first quarto was already on sale and doing well.

The quarto of *Henry V* was not entered for printing in the Stationers’ Register in 1600, because Thomas Creede had already entered his copy for *The Famous Victories* back in 1594. He printed that text in 1598, and his successor issued it again in 1617. He issued his Chamberlain’s Men’s quarto, Q1, some time before August 1600, on behalf of Thomas Millington and John Busby, who marketed it. They were all respectable men in their occupations. Creede had printed *The Contention*, a version of *2 Henry VI*, for Millington in 1594, and other play-texts since then, including the second quarto of *Richard III* for Andrew Wise in 1598 and in 1599 the ‘corrected’ second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. Millington also re-issued in 1600 the second quarto of *The True Tragedy*, the shorter version of *3 Henry VI*. Creede went on to print the second quarto of *Henry V* for the new owner, Thomas Pavier, in 1602. Such an early reprint was a good reflection of its popularity among buyers, matching *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, *Richard III* and *1 Henry IV* and its Falstaff through those years. In 1619 Pavier issued a third quarto misleadingly dated 1608, the last before the very different Folio version came out in 1623.¹

¹ Its two quartos of 1600 and 1602, and the reprint of 1619, rank it next to *Romeo and Juliet*, the two *Richards*, *1 Henry IV*, and *Titus Andronicus* as the most in demand of Shakespeare’s early plays. See Mark Bland, ‘The London Book-Trade in 1600’, in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. D. S. Kastan, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 450–63, p. 461. The marginal significance of playbooks in general as material for the press is emphasised by Peter W. M. Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of the Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, pp. 383–422.

Five copies of Q1 and one fragment have survived. The complete copies are at the British Library, the Bodleian, Wren, Huntington, and Yale Libraries, and the Folger Shakespeare Library has the first seven leaves of another copy (A1–B3v). Three copies of Q2 survive, at the Wren, Huntington and Folger Libraries, and several of the Pavier Q3, including one each at the Huntington, Folger, New York Public and University of Illinois Libraries. I have examined the British Library and Wren Library copies of Q1, and facsimiles of the Bodleian and Huntington Library copies, together with the Folger fragment of Q1 and its copies of Q2 and Q3. None of the quartos show any corrections made while the work was in press.

The nature of the copy used to set Q1 is the largest of the many questions about the text, but the printing of the quarto itself was relatively straightforward. Only one compositor set the text, and he did so rather casually, or intermittently, setting by formes, with a break of some kind between setting sigs. E and F, and F and G.¹ The copy for the text was evidently far from easy for the compositor. He set every line in his text as verse, capitalising the first letter, and never justifying to the right margin as prose. In doing this he must have followed the lineation of his manuscript copy, where the copyist, receiving dictation, set down each line as he received it. Taking the text down from dictation is evident throughout scene 1, in the frequency of short lines, the number of mishearings, and (compared with the F text) lines divided in half and lines that run on with extra phrases.

The second quarto (Q2) added a few compositorial adjustments to the Q1 text, and introduced several new errors. Q1's 'lide' at 1.197 was corrected to 'like', 'Nims' at 2.25 became 'Nim', and Q1's 'the the' at 17.4 was also corrected; Q1's 'so full of' at 1.199 was miscorrected to 'with so full of'. A line of text at 14.13 was italicised as a stage direction; Q1's 'Barbasom' became 'Earbasom', conceivably because the copy of Q1 used in setting Q2 had a broken capital B; less sensibly 'Sutler' at 2.67 became 'Butler', a rather comic misunderstanding; and errors of eyeskip and dittography appear at 11.84 and 17.23. A monosyllable was inserted at 19.80, two omitted at 10.8 and 12.88, and 'my rest' became 'the rest' at 2.16. The most purposeful change was at 12.82, where Q1's 'are in the' became 'within are'. Curiously, the phonetic spelling of Llewellyn's 'Ieshu', employed with some deliberateness by the Q3 compositor, also turns up in Q2 at 11.24, replacing Q1's normative 'Iesu'.

The third quarto (Q3), printed in 1619 with the date '1608' on its titlepage, was the ninth of ten so-called 'Pavier quartos', all printed at about the same time by the same bookseller with similarly false early dates. Pavier, as holder of the right to print quite a few of the play-texts, was soon to be involved in the printing of the first Folio. His Compositor 'B' set a large section of the Folio, and B's habits in type-setting that text are well known from what he did when setting from surviving printed copy. It was he who set the whole of *Henry V* Q3.²

The copy for Q3 was clearly Q1. Its compositor ignored several instances of Q2's

¹ Thomas L. Berger has done a careful analysis of the printing, described in 'The Printing of *Henry V*, Q1', *The Library*, 6th series, 1 (1979), 114–25.

² See Peter W. M. Blayney, "'Compositor B' and the Pavier Quartos: Problems of Identification and their Implications', *The Library* 27 (1972), 179–206.

alterations, and in seven cases followed Q1 rather than Q2 where there was good reason to copy Q2.¹ On occasions the Q3 compositor's habits were intrusive on the copy of Q1 he used, as they were in the Folio. In general, he followed Q1 carefully, picking up only the more obvious corrections, and sometimes adding or deleting monosyllables to improve the metre or the grammar. He copied Q1's practice of setting every line as verse, except for the beginning of the first Eastcheap scene. When starting to set the inner forme of scene 2, at the head of sig. B1V, he set Bardolph's first three-line speech on that page (lines 13–14) as prose, with lower-case initial letters and justifying the line at the right margin. He started to do the same for the next speech by Nim, but changed his mind after the first line and began setting it as verse. On the outer forme, at the beginning of the scene, on B1, he set it all as verse. His only other uses of lower-case letters to start a line were (mistakenly) for the two short speeches of Gower and Llewellyn at 9.12 and 13. Altogether, the Q3 compositor made enough changes to raise a tricky question for editors of the Folio *Henry V*: whether his changes in Q3 might have affected the Folio version.

More important for this edition is whether his alterations to Q1 came from his consultation of a superior text, or whether he was doing his usual job, evidenced in the sections of the Folio he set, of 'improving' the text as he went along. Most of the changes in Q3 are routine: altering verb ellipses ('here's' for 'here is'), using connectives or prefixes to expand a line, often to improve the metre, putting brackets round parenthetical phrases,² improving Q1's French (at 19.66), transposing words, altering a royal 'I' to 'we' (an intensification of Q1's pattern), correcting bad grammar such as 'was' for F's 'were' after a plural pronoun at 16.96, and on two occasions adding touches of text.³ He also made at least twenty small errors of omission, wrong fount, or other slips,⁴ even sometimes cutting a word to make his line fit, as at 4.13; and at 5.9 he replaced Q1's 'busied' with 'troubled', for no obvious reason. None of these changes required any special access to a better text. He also tidied up the Crispin/Crispianus names sensibly. But one very precise alteration and a few less tangible ones need special consideration. The prime case is Q3's alteration of Q1's 'scene' at 9.56 to 'sconce'. The latter is a much less common term for a defensive earthwork than the one used by Gower in Q1, which might have resulted from a misreading of the manuscript. But F has the same word as Q3. Did the Q3 compositor have privileged access to the manuscript he was later to use to set F, or was it an inspired guess? That seems unlikely. Interference between Q3 and F has no direct bearing on Q1, but it does call in question whether the F text is entirely independent

¹ 11.24: Iesu (Q2 Ieshu); 11.77 a nasse (Q2 an asse); 13.8 to the field (Q2 to field); 16.53 yet a many (Q2 yet many); 16.66 take no scorne (Q2 not scorne); 19.80 subscribed this (Q2 subscribed to this); 19.93 full course (Q2 full recourse).

² Unmarked parenthetical phrases go into brackets at 1.39, 8.3 and 18, and 9.95; the metre is polished at 1.116, 184 and 213; Q1's short lines are often adjusted, and the text trimmed, as at 2.23–4; Dame Quickly is changed from an adverb to a proper name; Nim's name (2.25) is corrected, as it is in Q2; a wrong tense is changed at 16.96; and Q3 corrects obvious misprints like Q1's 'lide' at 1.197, as does Q2.

³ At 12.45 he added a phrase to Henry's speech, and at 18.24.1 he inserted a stage direction.

⁴ For instance at 9.20 'God's' for Q1's 'godes', meaning goddess; 'out' for 'and' at 2.66; 'winde is' for 'windes' 3.8; a line omitted at 3.19; and 'incarnste' at 4.19.

of Q1, or whether Q1's relation to Q3 was continued by Q3 into F, so it needs some consideration here.

In three cases besides the instance of 9.56 Q3 and F agree against Q1. At 4.25 Q3 shortens Q1's 'hell fire' to 'hell', as in F; at 16.59, instead of Q1's 'Cryspin, Cryspin', Q3 has F's 'Crispin, Crispianus'. And at 12.45 Q3 has an intriguing insertion, the phrase 'They were not there'. It is remarkably close to F's 'they were not here', but could be no more than a coincidental augmentation, not unlike the stage direction added to Q3 specifying that Pistol eats Llewellyn's leek at 18.24. The phrase does strengthen the grammar, and might have been added independently. Of the other two cases, the coincidence of setting 'Hell' instead of 'hell fire' is easy to swallow on the same terms. Only 'sconce' for 'scene' and the resolution of the 'Crispin' problem in the same way as F pose real challenges to editors who are determined to keep the F manuscript unsullied by Q3. Even the 'Cryspin' coincidence might be explained as the independent choice of a reasonably studied compositor who was concerned to preserve a good metrical pattern. On balance, the one real coincidence, 'sconce', seems insufficient to make a case for any independent authority in the Q3 reviser. The clearest and most characteristic feature of Q3 at its best is at 15.28, where Q1, copied by Q2, omits 'had', an essential verb. Q1 has 'but I not so much'. Q3's correction, which is also in F, was a simple change to make better sense of the line. For this and other changes such inventiveness is to be applauded. The problems the Q3 compositor creates are only crucial if one is looking for the Shakespearean original rather than the record of what was spoken in the play as it was first staged.

The copy for and printing of Q1

The case made in this edition is that the manuscript behind the quarto text was based ultimately on the authorial manuscript sold to Shakespeare's playing company (the Lord Chamberlain's Servants), in 1599 and later printed as the F text, but was a copy which had been radically revised by the company for performance at the Globe. It was put together for performance in London and elsewhere in late 1599 or early 1600 by several members of the company. It was undoubtedly an authoritative players' text. At least two, possibly more, of the company's players who had speaking parts shared the work. Most of the manuscript was recorded by dictation, chiefly from the rough playscript, helped in places by the players' memories of their parts. On occasions there may also have been some resort to an authorial manuscript, either the one later used to set the Folio text, or one close to it, possibly a 'maximal' copy of the author's papers.

Somewhere close behind the manuscript copied for the press in 1600 and printed as Q1 was a carefully planned adaptation, designed to make a viable two-hour script for acting. It makes all the theatrical adjustments needed for a play running at a higher speed and more concisely than the original text as the Folio version gives it, economising on characters, sharpening their exchanges and shortening the longest speeches. Besides abbreviating the author's text by almost a half, it strengthens the heroic aspects, cuts out the references to the king killing Falstaff, and makes consistent alterations to names and other features. The manuscript that was taken down by

dictation for the press from this adapted playhouse copy was designed to be read rather than performed, but it was also designed to represent the play as it had been seen at the Globe in 1599 and early 1600.

The changes made for the staged version had a radical effect on what John Arden once called 'a secret play inside the official play'.¹ The number of spoken lines in the text was shortened by a half, from the Folio text's 3,253 lines (Kathleen Irace's count)² to 1,629. Prologue, Epilogue and all the Choruses disappeared, and nearly 50 per cent of Henry's speeches, mostly by cutting sections from the lengthier ones, along with three whole scenes. The image of Henry as hero, so emphasised by the Chorus despite the discrepancies between what he says and the staged events he describes, was consistently strengthened. The scaling ladders, an awkward problem for the staging, and for the interpretation of the assault on Harfleur, were cut, as was Henry's 'Once more unto the breach' exhortation. The number of roles was cut, and the doubling of parts made easier. Most of the non-speaking characters were eliminated, and some of the smaller speaking parts were merged into others. Q1 cuts out altogether the Bishop of Ely, Westmorland, Bedford, Sir Thomas Erpingham, Jamy and Macmorris, Queen Isabel, Grandpre, Brittany, Rambures and the English Herald as speaking parts. The decision to cut the Dauphin from Agincourt, which Shakespeare appears to have reached in the course of writing his F text, was upheld by transferring all of his later speeches to Bourbon. The result was a more economical play that could easily be staged by a cast of fifteen or fewer. Tighter in construction and far less laden with long speeches, it would have run for no more than two hours. It cut some of F's imperfections, such as the army departure from Dover rather than Southampton, and it tidied up a number of other staging difficulties.

The most notable changes were made to Act 3, and the siege of Harfleur. The story of that preliminary battle is not merely truncated but transformed. The initial attack on the breach, with its scaling ladders and Henry's celebrated exhortation, disappears, as does the scene with the four captains. What is left is simply Henry's confrontation with the Governor on the walls, preceded by Llewellyn's skirmish with the Eastcheap cowards. This removes the tacit point of the scaling ladders in the F text, which is that the soldiers who climb them onto the stage balcony must be killed and the attack on the breach fail, since the next scene shows the Governor on the same balcony still holding the town. The failure of Henry's 'breach' speech in conquering the town is a tacit feature of the F text, although the Chorus's persuasiveness has been sufficient to let several centuries of readers miss the point.

Compiled during the play's first year of performance at the Globe, the copy that formed the basis for the quarto text is almost certainly the ideal that was announced for the Oxford Shakespeare but not presented there – that is to say, the play as first staged in Shakespeare's presence, not the older ideal, the text as Shakespeare delivered it to

¹ The discrepant views of the play have also been called the 'rabbit and duck' concept, a *gestalt* reading which admits the observer's predisposition. See James N. Loehlin, *Shakespeare in Performance: 'Henry V'*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; and Norman Rabkin, 'Rabbits, Ducks, and *Henry V*', *SQ* 28 (1977), 279–96.

² Kathleen Irace, 'Reconstruction and Adaptation in Q *Henry V*', *Studies in Bibliography* 44 (1991), 228–53, p. 233. This calculation is based on the number of lines spoken, and excluding all stage directions.