PRINCE HAL'S SOLILOQUY: The Legacy of King Richard in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy

by

Linda Carol Yorath
B.A., University of Victoria, 1987

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

ACCEPTED

[redacted]IES

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of English

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

[redacted]

Dr. Mel. D. Faber, Supervisor (Department of English)

[redacted]

Dr. E.I. Berry, Departmental Member (Department of English)

[redacted]

Dr. Alan Hughes, Outside Member (Department of Theatre)

[redacted]

Dr. John Money, External Examiner (Department of History)

[redacted]

University of Victoria

Supervisor: Dr. Mel D. Faber

ABSTRACT

In addressing the problem of thematic continuity in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy (Richard II to Henry V), this thesis examines the solar imagery that links Prince Hal with his ill-fated predecessor King Richard, and explores the far-reaching ramifications of such a connection. Hal's "imitation" of the sun, announced in his first soliloquy, is viewed more specifically as his identification with King Richard, whose personal badge or emblem "the sunburst"--in heraldic terms, "a sun emerging from behind clouds"--undoubtedly inspired the playwright's intricate development of this imagery in the previous play. Just as Richard's "sun" had been eclipsed by the "clouds" of Bolingbroke's treason, so does Hal mask his sun-like identity with the "base contagious clouds" that represent his tavern companions. His later "throwing off" this pretence will likewise signify the rejection of Bolingbroke's illegitimate reign and Hal's emergence as the new sun-king: Richard's true heir.

A close look at the solar imagery of Richard II reveals that much of the playwright's imaginative treatment of later events is pre-figured in this first play of the tetralogy. For example, it becomes apparent that, whereas Richard's reign is dominated figuratively by the sun and its correlative images, Bolingbroke's "misruled" kingdom is

"sunless," "stormy," the dominant image being water instead of the sun's fire. Moreover, in light of Richard's characterization of Bolingbroke as "the thief who reveled in the night," Falstaff emerges in Henry IV as the ideal double for a treasonous king.

It becomes apparent that, during his prolonged truancy from princely duty, covered roughly by the two parts of Henry IV, Hal's purpose is to purge the stain of treason from his own accession to the throne. He accomplishes this vicariously through his interaction with Hotspur and Falstaff, both of whom function as dramatic "doubles" or alter-egos of the Prince and Bolingbroke respectively. This symbolic process unfolds in two stages. Whereas killing Hotspur banishes his own treasonous tendencies, Hal's rejection of Falstaff marks a final expunging of Bolingbroke's crime.

Henry V can be seen as the fulfilment of Hal's earlier promise to emerge a renewed sun-king. His style of kingship is marked by a return to solar images, divine sanction, and chivalric values, all of which were abandoned during Bolingbroke's reign. Also functioning to dissociate him from the previous reign are his identification with the illustrious ancestors he shares with Richard, as well as his choice of a French campaign over Bolingbroke's dying wish for a Crusade to the Holy Land. Henry's revelation on the eve of Agincourt that he has honorably reburied King Richard

serves as the culmination to his longstanding symbolic identification with the wronged king. It is this positive bond between the two monarchs that lends not only consistency of character to the Prince who becomes Henry V, but thematic unity to the entire tetralogy.

Examiners: [redacted]

Dr. Mel. D. Faber, Supervisor (Department of English)

[redacted]

Dr. E. I. Berry, Departmental Member (Department of English)

[redacted]

Dr. Alan Hughes, Outside Member (Department of Theatre)

[redacted]

Dr. John Money, External Examiner (Department of History)

[redacted]

CONTENTS

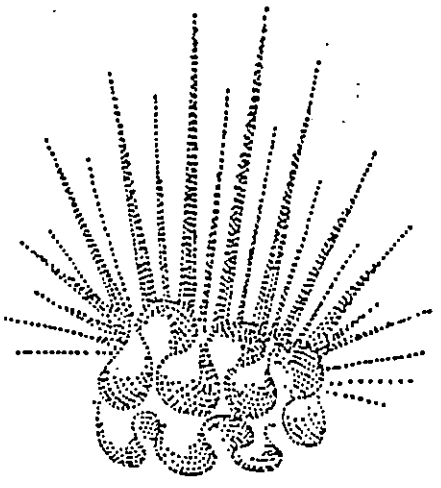
ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all the members of my Committee for their help in preparing this thesis, but in particular Professor Faber, whose encouragement was instrumental in first turning me toward the study of English Literature, eventually to seek a graduate degree.

L.C.Y.

To Chris



Introduction

Although the four Shakespearean history plays known commonly as the Second Tetralogy are sequential in both order of composition and historical subject matter, there is little consensus as to their dramatic unity. Critics have suggested a range of difficulties, all the way from inconsistencies in individual characters to the wide divergence in structure, style, even genre, among the plays.[1] Perhaps the greatest obstacle to any satisfactory synthesis, however, has been an apparent lack of thematic continuity, particularly between Richard II and the rest of the tetralogy. As a possible solution to the problem, this thesis examines the distinctive solar imagery that links Prince Hal with his ill-fated predecessor King Richard, and

explores the far-reaching ramifications of such a connection. What follows here, by way of introduction, is a closer look at the critical problem to be addressed.

In Richard II, an anointed king is dethroned and murdered, providing the cornerstone for E. M. W. Tillyard's ambitious theory of an eight-play epic of Providential recrimination, which ends with Richard III's death and the emergence of Tudor monarchy. The necessity of treating Henry V as some kind of anomaly within this grand design--"a splendid interlude" during which "the ancestral curse was for the moment suspended" (311)--is not surprising, especially in light of the general reluctance among critics to pursue Bishop Carlisle's grave prophecy (R2 IV.i.136-49) much beyond the show-stopping entrance of Falstaff and Prince Hal in the second scene of Henry IV, Part 1. Indeed, within the four-play span of the second tetralogy, critical attention has concentrated on the more upbeat side of Shakespeare's "history": namely, the story of Hal's transformation from madcap prince to ideal ruler. Predominantly political in its focus, this approach concentrates on the process behind Hal's dramatic change and what constitutes Shakespeare's ideal of kingship, the dour theme of a tainted succession giving way to variations on "the education of a prince."

Within this somewhat restrictive context, the unfortunate tendency is to sacrifice intricacies of

character and situation to the over-all theme. For example, a popular way to regard the two parts of Henry IV is as little more than complementary lessons in chivalry and civil justice respectively.[2] In the first instance, Hal emerges as some kind of golden mean between Hotspur's overweening sense of honor and its antithesis in Falstaff, whereas, in the second, he faces a choice between the Lord Chief Justice and his lawless companions. Also commonly accepted is J. Dover Wilson's view of Falstaff as an offshoot of the traditional Morality play Vice. As such he tempts, but must ultimately be rejected by, a virtuous prince. It would seem that, because Shakespeare ends this tetralogy with the glorious reign of Henry V, the perplexing diversity of its individual plays must accordingly be seen to culminate in that ideal. This supposition is particularly evident in the various efforts of critics to make Richard II an integral part of the tetralogy. Standing out as perhaps the most significant casualties in such an analysis are the characters Richard and Bolingbroke, who, stripped of their specific roles as "usurped king" and "traitorous successor," become mere representative figures, embodiments of opposing styles of kingship in the unfolding drama of Prince Hal's political development. Typically, Henry V is viewed as a more or less ideal synthesis, somewhere between his two predecessors, whether they stand for the private versus the public aspects of kingship (e.g., Traversi, Ribner,

Phialas), traditional doctrine versus a more Machiavellian pragmatism (e.g., Manheim, Bromley, Boklund), or other such oppositions. Even broader in its scope is the kind of synthesis by which Prince Hal, in order to become the ideal of Henry V, assimilates diverse elements of character from throughout the tetralogy as if they were languages (e.g., Calderwood, Porter, Webber, Sicherman), roles (Coursen) or even masks (Mallett). Translated into Marxist terms, such a synthesis combines " . . . the resolute authority of a strong monarch, the conciliatory diplomacy of a feudal king, the Machiavellian subtlety of a successful prince, and the martial heroism of a noble warrior," a "consummation of rigid historical determinism" that, for Holderness, describes Henry V (78). Of course, there are those who, like Rossiter or Rabkin, abandon the possibility of synthesis in favour of a more ambivalent "ideal" king.

Clearly, any thematic melding of the tetralogy continues to be problematic. The following statement by Irving Ribner not only epitomizes the inherent contradictions in most political attempts at a solution, but also, by its concern with the neglected theme of Tudor succession, provides an opening for the somewhat reactionary approach to be developed in this thesis:

> In his Lancastrian tetralogy Shakespeare treated the span of history from Richard II to Henry V within the general scheme of Hall's "Tudor Myth,"

> but he toned down the sin of Richard's deposition, and as his dominant theme he emphasized instead the emergence of England's greatest king. As a loyal Elizabethan he was perhaps obliged to glorify the Lancastrian kings from whom Elizabeth derived her title to the throne. (191)

I suggest here that, "as a loyal Elizabethan," the playwright felt obliged, not just to glorify the Lancastrians, but to vindicate them as well.

Significantly, the tetralogy's historical framework is such that, at the outset, an anointed king is deposed and murdered by none other than the father of the king whose reign is glorified in the final play. An important consideration in assessing what goes on in the interim is the very nature of the works in question. Despite their labelling as history plays, they are also, as James Winny rightly points out, "like the rest of Shakespeare's work . . . essentially imaginative in character" (10). Does the playwright in fact "tone down" Bolingbroke's sin in deference to a mere reworking of the story, so familiar to Elizabethans, of their "Wild Prince Hal" throwing off his profligacy to become a responsible king;[3] or, does he set his imaginative genius the much greater challenge of removing the indelible stain of a father's treason from Elizabeth's greatest forebear? Read with careful attention to poetic and dramatic detail, this group of four plays

gives every indication that legitimacy of succession is of prime concern to the playwright throughout, and furthermore, that he makes it the personal and very private concern of his central character Prince Hal.

The key to this thematic approach is Hal's first soliloquy, which, because of its contentious place in the criticism, as well as its centrality to this thesis, I quote here in full:

> I know you all, and will awhile uphold
> The unyoked humor of your idleness.
> Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
> To smother up his beauty from the world,
> That, when he please again to be himself,
> Being wanted, he may be more wond'red at
> By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
> Of vapors that did seem to strangle him.
> If all the year were playing holidays,
> To sport would be as tedious as to work;
> But when they seldom come, they wished-for come,
> And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents.
> So when this loose behavior I throw off
> And pay the debt I never promised,
> By how much better than my word I am,
> By so much shall I falsify men's hopes;
> And, like bright metal on a sullen ground,

> My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,
> Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
> Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
> I'll so offend to make offense a skill,
> Redeeming time when men think least I will. (1H4 I.ii.192-214)[4]

For those critics in the majority, who assume Hal has yet to undergo some genuine process of change on his way to becoming king, this statement smacks of arrogance and hypocrisy. Not surprisingly, many follow Wilson's lead in reducing its import to a mere stage convention: the playwright's assurance to an Elizabethan audience that the hero will reform according to expectation. On the other hand, a small minority (e.g., Aoki, Dean, Kris, Ornstein, Sen Gupta and Winny) believes, as I do, that the soliloquy is spoken sincerely by a Prince who has no need of true reformation.

What both sides in the debate have failed to recognise, however, is the full significance of Hal's solar imagery. Interestingly, the soliloquy follows closely upon our first introduction to Prince Hal and Falstaff, the point at which, thematically, the tetralogy appears to turn away from Richard's deposition toward the emergence of Henry V. The Prince's timely identification with a universal symbol of kingship would seem to affirm this shift in focus. My contention, however, is that Hal, with his careful evocation

of a sun hidden by clouds, a sun to be "more wond'red at by breaking through" these clouds, "imitates" not the sun itself, but more importantly what it represents within the tetralogy: that is, the legitimate majesty of King Richard, whose personal badge--"the sun appearing from behind clouds, known to heraldry as the sunburst" (Galbraith 238)--appears to have inspired the intricate development of this imagery in Richard II. By permitting "the base contagious clouds," which clearly represent Falstaff and his companions, "to smother up his beauty from the world," the Prince imitates Richard's eclipse by Bolingbroke; similarly, his throwing off these "clouds" would signify rejection of Henry IV's treasonous reign, and his own emergence as Richard's true heir. Far from being uni-directional in its focus, Hal's speech not only anticipates his own legitimate accession to the throne, but looks back at the source of that legitimacy. Given this interpretation, the soliloquy becomes not so much a crux as an important link in the tetralogy's dramatic unity.

Few critics have made any kind of connection between Shakespeare's King Richard and Prince Hal. Of particular interest therefore, because it ignores the figurative evidence, is Ernst Kris's suggestion, based solely on source material available to the playwright, that Shakespeare's text implies an almost paternal relationship between the royal cousins. It is with reference to "the tears [Henry V]

shed on Richard's coffin, a detail not recorded by Holinshed, and yet obviously suggested by other passages of the Chronicle," that he speculates:

> It may well be considered a hint--the only one we find in the trilogy--that there ever existed a personal relationship between Richard II and the son of his banished cousin Henry of Lancaster--Henry of Monmouth. During the last months of his rule King Richard II sailed for Ireland to quell a local rebellion, and he took Henry of Monmouth with him. The young Prince seems to have attracted the King's attention. The Prince was knighted by King Richard, Holinshed records, "for some valiant act that he did or some other favourable respect." Shakespeare was undoubtedly familiar with this account and very probably familiar with reports of the Prince's reaction to the news of his father's rebellion. Young Henry of Monmouth is said to have replied to a question of Richard's that he could not be held responsible for his father's deed. (397)

Despite the admittedly tenuous nature of Kris's evidence, I too find it difficult to ignore the possible significance to Shakespeare of Holinshed's account of the knighting, particularly when it stands out as virtually the only mention of young Hal, prior to the deposition, in what

is widely acknowledged to be the primary source for the history plays. The playwright's knowledge of such a relationship between Richard and the future Prince of Wales might well have inspired the more symbolic connection that I believe lends unity to the entire second tetralogy.

In the following chapter, Hal's identification with images of sun and cloud is traced to its source in Richard II where the fuller exploitation of this imagery, in turn, can be seen to anticipate, even to prefigure, Shakespeare's innovative dramatization of subsequent events. A second chapter treats the two parts of Henry IV as that period of time during which Hal must wait out his father's illegitimate reign in the company of perhaps a more honest "King of Misrule." Within this temporal context, the Prince's objective of "redeeming time" is seen to come about through a symbolic process involving both Falstaff and Hotspur, by which Hal dissociates himself from Bolingbroke's crime, thus purging the stain of treason from his own accession to the throne. A final chapter views Henry V's reign as the fulfilment of Hal's earlier promise that he indeed would emerge a renewed "sun-king," that is the true heir of wronged King Richard. Given this reading, Shakespeare's second tetralogy takes on a continuity and significance which I feel befits a playwright of his stature, who undoubtedly walked a thin line between artistic integrity and political expediency.

Richard II: The Sun-King Eclipsed

Solar imagery is used in association with royal sovereignty throughout Shakespeare's history plays, yet nowhere is it more frequent, forceful, fully developed or persistently exploited than in Richard II. These descriptive terms are borrowed from commentators such as Wilson (Richard II, xii), Caroline Spurgeon (235), Tillyard (248), Ernst Kantorowicz (King's 32), and Paul Reyher, whose collective observations would seem to support Moody Prior's simple statement: "The sun is Richard's symbol" (170). A plausible and widely accepted explanation for the playwright's emphasis of this figurative relationship is that he knew of its heraldic significance. As stated by an authority on Shakespeare's use of such images:

> If [the sun] occurred only casually in the play, we might regard it as no more than a happy chance that in using this symbol of majesty Shakespeare picked on one of the King's badges. But in fact Shakespeare employs the sun image in Richard II with such frequency and dramatic effect as to suggest that he knew full well that the sun was the special emblem of this King, and that he was using it with conscious regard to its heraldic aptness. (Scott-Giles 65)

A prominent adornment on the effigy of King Richard in Westminster Abbey, this emblem, specifically "the sun emerging from a cloud" (Fairholt 123), would have been readily accessible to the playwright. Shakespeare's frequent use of heraldry as a source of poetic images, particularly in his first tetralogy, is well documented by both Reyher and Scott-Giles, further supporting the view that, distinct from such imagery elsewhere in the history plays, the solar images in Richard II are uniquely Richard's.

What has been overlooked, however, by even those critics who acknowledge the heraldic connection, is the extent to which Shakespeare's text exploits the whole symbolic configuration of Richard's emblem. Not just a sun, but, more precisely, a sun in the process of either emerging or being eclipsed with respect to obscuring cloud, would seem the ideally flexible and dynamic figure with which to represent Richard's ever-changing position in relation to the threat of Bolingbroke. That the playwright indeed availed himself of the complete image is apparent throughout the play, but particularly in the scene before Flint Castle, where Bolingbroke himself describes the beleaguered king:

> See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,
> As doth the blushing discontented sun
> From out the fiery portal of the East,
> When he perceives the envious clouds are bent

To dim his glory, and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the Occident.
(III.iii.61-6)

My purpose in distinguishing this particular figurative pattern as a direct derivation of Richard's emblem as a whole, and therefore not just an elaborate variation on the solar imagery of earlier history plays, is to establish the significance of Prince Hal's remarkably similar usage of sun and cloud images. In his soliloquy, Hal "imitates" what, in effect, the Richard of the above passage, "the blushing discontented sun," would become when he subsequently relinquished his kingship to Bolingbroke: that is, " . . . . the sun / Who doth permit the base contagious clouds / To smother up his beauty from the world." With only minor poetic adjustment, the figurative language is virtually the same: "envious clouds" are replaced by "base contagious clouds,"[5] which, in turn, "smother up" rather than "dim" the sun's "beauty" instead of its "glory." Surely the image that Hal evokes is too specifically the heraldic sun of King Richard to be regarded merely as a universal symbol of kingship.

The figurative connection above, which, by linking two principal characters, would also help to bridge a crucial gap in the tetralogy, has not gone entirely without critical notice. Tillyard uses it to help substantiate his own claim that the plays of the second tetralogy were conceived as a

unit, but only within the constraints of his over-all thesis regarding Shakespeare's adherence to Elizabethan cosmic lore. Not only does he look upon Richard's personalized solar imagery as merely part of "the great commonplace of the king on earth duplicating the sun in heaven" (248), but he holds the very unusual view that the "envious clouds" represent Richard's "evil advisers" rather than the more obvious threat of Bolingbroke (234). Moreover, Tillyard sees the passages in question as the playwright's way of deliberately contrasting rather than linking Richard and Prince Hal, "Richard being the prince in appearance rather than in reality, Hal being the prince in reality whose appearance at first obscures the truth" (234).

Perhaps even more significant than Hal's identification with a sun obscured by "base contagious clouds," by which he clearly means his lawless companions, is the subsequent promise that, at some future time, he will surprise everyone by " . . . . breaking through the foul and ugly mists / Of vapors that did seem to strangle him." Upon arrival on the coast of Wales, King Richard, faced with the knowledge of Bolingbroke's treason, had made a similar prediction to his cousin Aumerle:

> Discomfortable cousin, know'st thou not
> That when the searching eye of heaven is hid
> Behind the globe and lights the lower world,
> Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen

> In murders and in outrage boldly here:
> But when from under this terrestrial ball
> He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines
> And darts his light through every guilty hole,
> Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,
> The cloak of night being plucked from off their backs,
> Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?
> So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,
> Who all this while hath reveled in the night
> Whilst we were wand'ring with the Antipodes,
> Shall see us rising in our throne, the east,
> His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
> Not able to endure the sight of day,
> But self-affrighted tremble at his sin. (R2 III.ii.36-53)

Whereas Bolingbroke's later description of Richard at Flint Castle conjures a mere tableau of the rising sun threatened by "envious clouds," here Richard imagines the sun's entire sweep around the globe, thus rendering its eclipse and re-emergence on a much grander scale. Kantorowicz, as one of those critics who recognizes the emblematic derivation of Richard's solar imagery (King's 32), also sees in this particular passage the influence of a long tradition of royal symbolism that he has traced as far back as the Roman imperial Oriens Augusti. These coins

depict the rising sun as the young god of the Orient Oriens, "trampling on captives or demons of the dark" (Oriens 171), which, in the above passage, are replaced by the "thieves and robbers" whom Richard's returning sun must frighten away. Kantorowicz's interest, however, does not extend beyond Richard II to the "thieves and robbers," in the form of "foul and ugly mists," that Hal's sun must likewise dispel. Whereas according to the scene at Flint Castle Bolingbroke and Falstaff are only loosely tied by the images of obscuring cloud, the above passage links them more explicitly. It is undeniably the thief Falstaff to whom Hal refers in his soliloquy, just as Richard, once having narrowed his focus to only one "thief," clearly identifies him as "this traitor, Bolingbroke." The close figurative alignment of these two characters suggests to me that Shakespeare's somewhat unorthodox introduction of a completely fictitious character in the second play of the tetralogy can be explained, to a large degree, by its pre-figurement in King Richard's unflattering vision of Bolingbroke. In other words, Falstaff functions as an outward expression of the thief and traitor Hal too perceives his father to be. Also appearing to anticipate the creation of Henry IV's intemperate double is a speech by Richard's queen which characterizes Bolingbroke as "an alehouse," in sharp contrast to the "most beauteous inn" that represents her deposed husband (R2 V.i.13-5). Although

many critics see Henry IV as a character quite different from the Bolingbroke of Richard II, I suggest that, at least in the perception of two central figures--King Richard and Prince Hal--his identity as a thief and a traitor remains constant. In the following chapter, the vicarious development of Hal's relationship with his father through Falstaff will be examined more closely.

An impressive feature of the imagery arising from Richard's emblem is the intricate variety of its manifestations. Samuel Kliger, though not attuned to the heraldic influence, and therefore differing somewhat from my viewpoint, nevertheless makes the similar observation that "the sun imagery in Richard II naturally finds correlative expression in other imagery" (196). An example would be Richard's speech on the coast of Wales, which, by introducing a mythological dimension, and with it, the sun-dependent realms of night and day, greatly enlarges the scope of the strictly emblematic images. Building on this kind of figurative diversity, the playwright has Richard portray himself at first as a Phoebus-like god of the Orient, but later as "glist'ring Phaethon" when he must come "down" to the base court of Flint Castle, at which time the King's line, "For night owls shriek where mounting larks should sing," reminds us of the nocturnal conditions that would accompany such a demise (III.iii.177-82).

At this juncture, it seems appropriate to point out

the relative "sunlessness" of Henry IV's reign. Granted, King Richard believed that, with his own downfall, the kingdom would pass "from Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day" (R2 III.ii.218), and he made several references to Bolingbroke inheriting his sun-like identity (IV.i). This was not to be the case, however, for such imagery in Henry IV belongs almost exclusively to the Prince. Not only does Hal identify personally with the sun, as witnessed in his soliloquy, but, along with his comrades at Shrewsbury, he appears "gorgeous as the sun at midsummer" (1H4 IV.i.101). In sharp contrast, even King Henry's own use of figurative language places him, if anything, on the "cloudy" side of Richard's emblem. For example, although he obviously sees himself as the kind of ruler who, contrary to his predecessor, does attract the "extraordinary gaze, / Such as is bent on sunlike majesty / When it shines seldom in admiring eyes," the remainder of his denigration of Richard belies any such image. Describing the unflattering looks that Richard would receive from his subjects as "such aspect / As cloudy men use to their adversaries" (1H4 III.ii.79-83), Henry inadvertently recalls his own "cloudy" stance at Flint Castle, that is, as the "envious clouds" that threatened Richard's "blushing discontented sun." This subtle identification with the antithesis of "sun-like majesty" is repeated on Henry's death-bed, when he invites Hal to "Stay but a little, for my cloud of dignity / Is held

from falling with so weak a wind / That it will quickly drop. My day is dim" (2H4 IV.v.98-100).

Richard's characterization of Bolingbroke, as a thief who "revel[s] in the night," prefigures, not just the "sunless" reign of Henry IV, but also the more tangible night world over which Falstaff holds sway. As if to set the nocturnal scene from the outset, Falstaff's very first words are, "Now, Hal, what time of day is it, lad?" to which the Prince counters, " . . . What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day? . . . . I see no reason why thou shouldst be so superfluous to demand the time of the day." Falstaff then enlarges on their "sunless," and therefore timeless, circumstances from a mythological point of view: "Indeed you come near me now, Hal; for we that take purses go by the moon and the seven stars, and not by Phoebus . . . . " He asks jokingly that, when Hal is king, they be called "Diana's foresters, gentlemen of the shade, minions of the moon," and, with particular irony, "men of good government, being governed, as the sea is, by our noble and chaste mistress the moon, under whose countenance we steal" (1H4 I.ii.1-30). Clearly, Falstaff holds out the serious hope that his Prince will indeed adopt and legitimize this unruly kingdom. However, as if cryptically anticipating the true intentions Hal is about to express in his soliloquy, Falstaff requests that as "squires of the night's body" they not be regarded as "thieves of the day's beauty" (I.ii.24-

5). Obviously an allusion to the sun, this latter epithet encapsulates how Hal, by his own private admission, regards the fat knight and his cohorts, that is, as "base contagious clouds" that "smother up [the sun's] beauty from the world." This entire introduction of Falstaff's milieu, with its figurative echoes of Richard II--the mythological allusions, the images of sun and cloud, day and night--surely imitates the night world of thieves and robbers that King Richard had inadvertently predicted for his nemesis Bolingbroke.

Weather provides yet another figurative context to enlarge and facilitate Richard's solar imagery, the obvious inter-relationship of atmospheric conditions and the sun being readily translatable into a figurative dependence between the welfare of England and Richard's royal status. Perhaps the clearest example is Salisbury's expression of foreboding at the close of Act II: "Ah Richard! . . . / Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west, / Witnessing storms to come, woe and unrest." The similar comment by York, "Alack, the heavy day / When such a sacred king should hide his head" (III.iii.8-9), relies on an Elizabethan understanding of the word "heavy," which commonly meant "cloudy" as well as "gloomy" or "sad." Both statements link the emblematic image of Richard's disappearing sun with a deterioration in weather conditions. Such a figurative connection is clearly the implication of his own dismal forecast, in which he portrays himself as the actual source of wind and

precipitation: "Aumerle, thou weep'st, my tender-hearted cousin: / We'll make foul weather with despised tears; / Our sighs and they shall lodge the summer corn, / And make a dearth in this revolting land" (III.iii.159-62).

Richard's words prove more prophetic than even he perhaps intends, Henry IV's reign being not only "sunless," but plagued with "foul weather" as well. For example, weather plays a crucial role in the failure of his Welsh campaign, as Glendower reports:

> Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
> Against my power; thrice from the banks of Wye
> And sandy-bottomed Severn have I sent him
> Booteless home and weather-beaten back.

And, as if to underline the humiliating circumstances of such a defeat, Hotspur quips, "Home without boots, and in foul weather too? / How scapes he agues, in the devil's name?" (1H4 III.i.63-8). Shakespeare's usual avoidance of such environmental detail surely enhances the figurative significance of whatever information of this sort he provides. Another case in point is the short opening scene of Act II, so often left out of performance for its lack of dramatic importance. Set at night in the innyard of an establishment that is flea-ridden and "turned upside down since Robin Ostler died," where the peas and beans are "dank" and the chamberlain a "muddy knave," the scene functions as a microcosm of Henry IV's dark, rain-soaked and

mis-ruled kingdom. Significantly, it is in the midst of this forlorn setting that Gadshill jokes about the privileged thief Falstaff and his accomplices, who "prey on [the commonwealth], for they ride up and down on her and make her their boots." Here the same pun on "boots" and "booty" that Hotspur later exploits in connection with Bolingbroke's "foul weather" problems is taken up by the chamberlain with reference to Falstaff: "What, the commonwealth their boots? Will she hold out water in foul way?" Over and above the obvious allusion to Bolingbroke in Gadshill's colorful rendering of an abused "commonwealth," it is surely the combined impression of widespread and persistent foul weather that bespeaks an entire kingdom suffering the ill effects of treasonous rule.

As perpetrator of King Richard's downfall (the "storm cloud" that eclipsed the sun), Bolingbroke seems unable to shake off his figurative role, and remains as Scroop so aptly described him: "Like an unseasonable stormy day / Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores / As if the world were all dissolved to tears . . . " (R2 III.ii.106-8). Whereas Richard's reign seemed fired by the sun, Henry IV rules over a country that is dark and stormy, and defined primarily by its rivers--the Wye, the Severn, and the Trent. For example, in addition to the three encounters between Glendower and Bolingbroke "on the banks of Wye and sandy-bottomed Severn," Hotspur delivers an eloquent account of

hand-to-hand combat between Glendower and Mortimer, also "on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank," in which the river takes on a living role:

> Three times they breathed, and three times did they drink,
> Upon agreement, of swift Severn's flood;
> Who then affrighted with their bloody looks
> Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds
> And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank,
> Bloodstained with these valiant combatants. (1H4 I.iii.97-106)

Of course, all three rivers are intricately involved in the plan to divide Bolingbroke's kingdom among the rebels Hotspur, Glendower, and Mortimer (1H4 III.i.71-117). Within this "watery" realm, "adventure" is appropriately characterized by Worcester as "o'erwalk[ing] a current roaring loud / On the unsteadfast footing of a spear." Likewise "honor," in Hotspur's vivid imagination, becomes "drowned honor," to be redeemed by "div[ing] into the bottom of the deep, / Where fathom line could never touch the ground" (1H4 I.iii.190-203).

Water, and not the sun's fire, turns out to be the dominant element in Henry IV's reign, despite whatever intentions to the contrary Bolingbroke might earlier have entertained. For this reason, his cryptic message of conciliation, spoken before Flint Castle, rings with double

irony:

> Methinks King Richard and myself should meet
> With no less terror than the elements
> Of fire and water, when their thund'ring shock
> At meeting tears the cloudy cheeks of heaven.
> Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water;
> The rage be his, whilst on the earth I rain
> My waters--on the earth, and not on him. (R2 III.iii.53-9)

By evoking Richard's "fire" in the form of lightning instead of the sun, Bolingbroke is allowed to pun on his own element water as "rain," thus implying that, while Richard rages impotently, he, Bolingbroke, "reigns" in the practical sense (n55). Of course, by aspiring to "reign," Bolingbroke presumably negates his pretence of a watery image in favor of Richard's fiery sun of kingship. In other words, his initial designation of elements is merely for ironic effect. Oddly enough, however, his clever pun accurately pre-figures what, for him, turns out to be indeed a reign of rain! Even at his death-bed, the atmosphere of weeping is given its cloudy connotation "heaviness," inviting the figurative comment from Prince Hal: "How now! Rain within doors, and none abroad! / How doth the king?" (2H4 IV.v.8-10).

Despite the broad range of sun-related imagery that can be tied to Richard's personal emblem, both within and beyond the limits of Richard II, critics have appeared

reluctant to acknowledge or even to explore its possible significance. This is not to say that the imagery itself has not attracted attention. In addition to a wealth of commentary to be found in works of a more general nature, Reyher, S.K. Heninger, and Kliger deal exclusively with the sun imagery of Richard II, whereas Keiji Aoki's study, without mentioning Richard or his emblem, looks closely at Hal's "sun-cloud theme" in Henry IV and Henry V.

This latter tendency to disregard the distinct similarity between Richard's and Prince Hal's solar imagery has persisted virtually throughout the criticism. Notable exceptions, in addition to Tillyard's brief observations mentioned earlier, are the relatively recent studies by Jeffrey Stern and Robert N. Watson. Interestingly, Stern's approach, even though a "reconsideration" of Kris's much earlier psychoanalytic treatment of Prince Hal, does not use the figurative link in support of a father-son type of relationship, proposing instead that Hal and Richard, as well as sharing the "sun-king" identity, are both "sons" to an infanticidal Bolingbroke. In this light, it is not his own parricidal tendencies that cause Hal to remove himself from court, but the murderous threat posed by his father the King.

Watson, from the quite different perspective of his study "Horsemanship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy," treats the "solar" connection mythologically, viewing

Richard and Hal as "versions of the royal Phoebus" (291). With reference to the Prince's intentions, as stated in the first nine lines of his soliloquy, Watson asserts: "This clearly resembles the strategy that Richard hoped to employ against Bolingbroke, returning as Phoebus to scare away the clouds, the unruly forces that threatened to dim his glory" (291). Of particular interest here, with respect to this thesis, is Watson's recognition of a parallel, based on the images of sun and cloud, between the Prince's intentions toward Falstaff and those of Richard toward Bolingbroke. However, being interested primarily in the equestrian aspect of the Phoebus figure, Watson shifts his emphasis away from the similarity of the two situations toward a consideration, in terms of horsemanship, of the obvious contrast between Hal's and Richard's respective abilities to carry out their intentions:

> But Hal characteristically makes Richard's folly his own policy. Where Richard fails, falling into the role of the overly willful and incompetent son Phaethon at his deposition, Hal successfully feigns such unruliness and royal incompetence, then reasserts his filial loyalty and his skill as a ruler decisively at his accession. (291)

Having stopped short of any direct analogy between the roles of Falstaff and Bolingbroke, Watson sees Hal's ascendence over his unruly companions simply as the "subjugation of the

pampered jades of Eastcheap." Despite its promise of a departure from the usual thematic approach to the tetralogy, Watson's figurative treatment remains focused on the making of England's greatest king, giving us yet another version of Henry V as the ideal synthesis of his two predecessors: "Hal's rule will combine Richard's claim to the throne, based on inheritance and signified by solar imagery, with Henry's claim to the throne, based on superior discipline and skill, and signified by actual equestrian mastery" (290).

Once having acknowledged the figurative link between Prince Hal and Richard, Watson, like Tillyard, uses it largely to contrast the two characters, rather than as a bond between them. This reluctance to heed the implication that Hal in some way emulates the dead king is not surprising. Even Kris, who supports such a possibility, going so far as to suggest a personal relationship between them, admits that King Richard "was hardly fit to serve as model of a great king" (399). Kris nevertheless, without even availing himself of the figurative connections, sees in Prince Hal a set of ideals that transcends the immediate influence of such "paternal figures" as Falstaff and the King:

> What [Hal] opposes to them is different and of an exalted nature: his ideals of kingship, royal duty, and chivalry. These ideals are with him

> when he first appears on the stage; they grow in and with him throughout the tragedy, and they dominate throughout the five acts of King Henry V. (399)

He speculates that "these ideals . . . . may have been modeled on an idealization of Richard II, the murdered King, whom Prince Hal as a boy had accompanied to Ireland and whose favor he had won." Although the plays contain no clear evidence of this latter relationship, Kris's suggestion that Hal identifies with an idealized version of the former king not only helps with the problem of Richard's glaring shortcomings, but is remarkably consistent with the pattern of imagery linking these two characters.[6]

Kris is not alone in detecting an aspect of Shakespeare's Richard that transcends the personal failure as a king. For example, Derek Traversi recognizes as part of the playwright's method in Richard II an effort to reconcile "the seemingly contradictory material on which the play is based"--namely, the obvious contradiction in an Elizabethan dramatist's obligation to exalt the royal office of a man who is politically incapable and morally flawed--in such a way "that the portrayal of [Richard's] fall may leave the monarchic principle itself substantially untouched" (20). Likewise, M. M. Reese speaks of "an idea of royalty," which, through Richard's poetic imagination, "is exalted to a peak where the unworthiness of a particular king cannot

damage it" (235). Another critical response to the "contradictory material" of Richard II is the proposal by Kantorowicz that Shakespeare's portrayal of Richard accurately reflects the Tudor notion of kingship known in legal terminology as "the King's Two Bodies" (King's 24-5). According to this theory, the King is a duality of both the "Body natural" and the "Body politic," united in a single Body (12). However, because it is believed that the King "never dies," this united Body, at the time of death or "demise," as it is called, is said to undergo

> a Separation of the two Bodies, and . . . the Body politic is transferred and conveyed over from the Body natural now dead, or now removed from the Dignity royal, to another Body natural. So that it signifies a Removal of the Body politic of the King of this Realm from one Body natural to another. (13)

According to Kantorowicz, King Richard can be seen to anticipate this fictional process when he strips himself of the symbolic trappings of kingship, thus bringing about his own "Separation of the two Bodies." His final act of breaking the mirror marks not only the end of any royal duality, but, finally, "the demise of Richard, and the rise of a new body natural" in Bolingbroke, who, by implication, becomes recipient of the "body politic" as well (40). Through his analogy of "the King's Two Bodies," Kantorowicz

offers perhaps the clearest conceptualization of Shakespeare's dichotomous portrayal of Richard, and, although his conclusions differ from mine, they work well within the limits of Richard II. Certainly it is Richard's belief, expressed in terms of solar imagery, that in relinquishing the tangible symbols of kingship to Bolingbroke he also passes on his royal identity. My contention, however, is that, just as the "sun of majesty" eludes the Bolingbroke of Henry IV, so does that intangible stamp of legitimacy suggested in the terms "monarchic principle," "idea of royalty," and "the body politic." Indeed, this aspect of kingship remains strangely disembodied during the reign of Henry IV, unless, of course, it can be seen to inhere in that other survivor of Richard II, namely the image of Richard's sun. Of course, the self-appointed custodian of both symbol and ideal, according to his famous soliloquy, is none other than Prince Hal.

Kris, even without benefit of figurative clues, detects in the latter three plays of the tetralogy an influence or presence, which he believes can be explained only in terms of Hal's idealization of the murdered king. Similarly, such a "presence" is characterized by Sternlicht in somewhat more specific terms as a "political martyr-myth," within which the memory of Richard II "assumes several shapes":

> To the conspirators, he is a combination of

> Christ-like martyr and avenging angel; to King Henry IV, he is the spectre of a never-to-be-forgotten crime that haunts the king until death; to Prince Hal, later Henry V, Richard is the ever-constant image of the true and ordained king, the last of the sanctified medieval rulers. (26)

The intensity with which Sternlicht feels Richard's presence in the text of these plays is reflected in the comment:

> . . . Shakespeare gave Richard's spirit, and the shifting recollection of him by those who survived him, much to do in 1 & 2 Henry IV and Henry V. I do not believe it is too extreme to state that Richard is a living character in the Lancastrian plays. (38)

It would seem that, quite apart from figurative indications, the transcendent element of Richard's kingship identified by Traversi, Reese, and Kantorowicz remains operative beyond Richard II, emerging not in the murdered king's treasonous successor, but as the lofty ideals that guide the Prince of Wales.

At this point, it is perhaps necessary to distinguish between Hal's direct idealization of Richard's kingship, as described above, and the widespread critical practice--undoubtedly inspired by Una Ellis-Fermor--of regarding Richard's legitimacy as part of a composite ideal of kingship upon which Henry V's greatness rests. Although the

end result, in both cases, is that Henry V, despite his father's treason, rules with a legitimacy equal to Richard's, there is a significant difference in the critical perception of Hal's involvement in achieving that state. Whereas in the first instance the Prince's identification with King Richard implies a rejection of his father's influence, in the second, his assimilation of Richard's legitimacy, along with various other qualities, including those acquired from his father, is treated more as a political formula for Henry V's greatness that has little to do with the Prince's direct involvement. This latter approach, because it downplays any personal concern Hal might have over his father's treason, is popular among the large number of critics who regard his rise to greatness as the central theme of Shakespeare's tetralogy. On the other hand, a critical stance like that of Kris or Sternlicht, while emphasizing the darker theme of a tainted succession, touches on the one thing that, to my mind, has the potential to eliminate such thematic disparity: namely, a positive and direct link between Henry V, around whom the one theme is built, and King Richard, whose deposition gives rise to the other. What I find remarkable, however, is that, conversely to Tillyard and Watson, who recognize the "solar" connection between Prince Hal and Richard, but not the idealized relationship, Kris and Sternlicht acknowledge the latter without benefit of its obvious figurative parallel.

For my part, whether Shakespeare created Richard II with the rest of the tetralogy in mind, or sought to achieve some form of continuity when later conceiving Henry IV,[7] there seems little doubt that Hal's soliloquy derives its meaning, in large measure, from the pattern of solar imagery emanating from King Richard. Moreover, I see this figurative connection as the clearest expression of his idealization of the murdered king, a relationship merely suggested in other aspects of the text. Drawing on the images of sun and cloud so fully exploited in the previous play, Hal informs the audience that his withdrawal from court, far from meeting their expectations of youthful profligacy, has been a profoundly symbolic gesture: that by removing himself to the obscurity of Falstaff's world, he imitates the eclipse of Richard's legitimate majesty by Bolingbroke. Significantly, our awareness of Hal's absence from court can be traced back to a speech by Bolingbroke in Richard II that marks the usurper's first appearance as King:

> Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son?
> 'Tis full three month since I did see him last.
> If any plague hang over us, 'tis he.
> I would to God, my lords, he might be found:
> Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there,
> For there, they say, he daily doth frequent
> With unrestrained loose companions,

> Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,
> And beat our watch and rob our passengers;
> While he, young wanton and effeminate boy,
> Takes on the point of honor to support
> So dissolute a crew. (R2 V.iii.1-12)

Lending further significance to this news of the King's "unthrifty son" is its place midway in the unfolding of a treasonous plot involving Aumerle, another "thriftless son" still loyal to Richard (V.iii.68). Although the implication is that Hal too harbors treasonous feelings toward the King, his particular dilemma--that of being both son and heir to a usurper--obviously cannot be satisfactorily remedied by direct action. Instead, by identifying with the plight of Richard, Hal resolves to make his own emergence as king, symbolically, both a rejection of Bolingbroke's treasonous reign and a resurrection of the eclipsed "sun of majesty." His involvement with both Falstaff and Hotspur can be seen as the outward expression of this process.

Henry IV: A Sunless Reign

Shakespeare's second tetralogy, though written some time later than his first group of history plays, is regarded by a majority of critics as part of the playwright's "early," and therefore less mature work. Only a year, however, separates completion of Henry V and the first performance of The Tragical History of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, even the title of which tends to blur the somewhat arbitrary boundary usually applied to his treatment of history and tragedy. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that " . . . both Hal and Hamlet are haunted by the murder of a king . . . " (Dorius 5), a parallel made even more striking by Kris's added suggestion of a bond between Prince Hal and Richard: "Hamlet stands between a murdered father and a murderous uncle. Prince Hal's father murdered [Hal's] second cousin--and predecessor--to whom the Prince had an attachment" (402). Even the obvious dissimilarity in the situations surrounding these two princes, namely that Hal is "prodded by no ghost" (Dorius 5), seems to me offset by the Prince's well placed soliloquy. His private evocation of Richard's sun has the effect of conjuring a vision of the King's untimely "eclipse," thus fulfilling a dramatic function very similar to that of Hamlet's ghost. Surely the playwright who was shortly to delve into the complexities of

Hamlet's interior world would have approached Prince Hal's improbable leap from madcap to model ruler with a similar degree of depth and sophistication. Moreover, having in mind the well-known plot of the Danish legend while researching the history plays could well have made him receptive to the slightest hint, such as is found in Holinshed, of a father-son relationship between Hal and King Richard. Even more to the point, however, is the likelihood that Shakespeare consulted Thomas Walsingham's Historia anglicana,[8] a documented source for Holinshed,[9] in which a contemporary account of Henry V's reburial of King Richard is quite explicit about such a relationship:

> In [1413] was the body of Richard formerly King of England taken up, which was formerly buried against the church of the Dominicans at Langley, and was brought to London and royally buried at Westminster, and not without great expense to the King who now confessed that he owed to him the same veneration as to his own father. (Wormald 197-8)

Walsingham, with his precise reference to an almost filial attachment, seems an even more likely source than Holinshed for the "contrite tears" shed over the body of King Richard by Shakespeare's Henry V (H5 IV.i.296).

That there was, historically, a close bond between the two monarchs is further suggested by the existence of a

1 The *Wilton Diptych*
Panels: 21 × 14½ inches each

National Gallery,
London

painting of unknown origin, the Wilton Diptych, which now resides in the National Gallery. This unusual portrayal of a young King Richard being welcomed by the Virgin Mary and Christchild into what appears to be his heavenly kingdom was long believed to have been executed either at some time during his reign or shortly following his death. More recently, however, art historians have favored the theory that it was commissioned by a newly crowned Henry V on the occasion of Richard's reburial.[10]

We assume that the second tetralogy was written for an audience well versed in the popular lore surrounding the rise of Elizabeth's greatest forebear. Nevertheless, the playwright would have been politically wise to search out ways of tempering public enthusiasm--recently fuelled by the popular appeal of an anonymous play, The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth--for a purely Lancastrian hero. According to V. H. Galbraith, a "posthumous cult" that had surrounded the memory of Richard II since his death was still very much alive in Elizabethan court circles, perpetuated by the Queen herself. Galbraith points out that "Richard's badge appears for the last time in England upon the second Great Seal of Elizabeth (c. 1568), a particularly fine one showing the Queen on horseback with the sun's rays descending upon her head from behind clouds." He goes on to assert:

> . . . Elizabeth's ministers were alive to the analogy between her reign and that of Richard, and

> according to a famous story she herself said to William Lambarde in 1601, "I am Richard II, know ye not that?" To the Tudors Richard's fate was not the mere antiquarianism it has since become, but a still live issue; and Elizabeth, no doubt, and Shakespeare, saw their Richard II through the haze of this posthumous cult as well as through the works of Lancastrian historians. "Thus have ye heard," writes Holinshed, "what writers do report touching the state of the time and doings of the king. But if I may boldly say what I think: he was a prince the most unthankfully used of his subjects of any one of whom ye shall lightly read." It was not fresh evidence, or even the old evidence, that was now changing Richard into "the bountiful and loving sovereign" of Holinshed, but a reviving sentimentalism, the beginnings of which may well go back to the general pity which Richard's untimely death excited. (239)

If Galbraith has correctly assessed the pro-Ricardian mood in Elizabethan London, it seems to me that Shakespeare's audience, unlike its modern counterpart, would have been very much attuned to the heraldic message contained in Prince Hal's soliloquy.[11] By having the Prince identify with Richard's sun, that is, take up the cause of the

usurped legitimate king rather than the usurper, Shakespeare appealed not only to those who would have their Lancastrian hero left intact, but to a queen who herself identified with Richard.

Of course Prince Hal is not, like his Danish counterpart, son and heir to the wronged king. However, if primogeniture was of any concern in casting him as Richard's inheritor, the playwright seems intent on offsetting this difficulty.[12] A recurring theme of Henry IV[13] is the King's profound disappointment in his son, at times manifested in a somewhat oblique questioning of Hal's lineage. Indeed, the play's first mention of "young Harry" is in connection with the King's wish to trade sons with Northumberland:

> O that it could be proved
> That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged
> In cradle clothes our children where they lay,
> And called mine Percy, his Plantagenet!
> Then would I have his Harry, and he mine.
> (I.i.85-9)

King Henry's reluctance to admit that a prodigal such as Hal could be his own flesh and blood erupts again in the reconciliation scene. Beginning his attack with an expression of wonderment at Hal's tastes or "affections, which do hold a wing / Quite from the flight of all [his] ancestors" (III.ii.29-31), he progresses to a direct

parallel between Hal and King Richard. Interestingly, the King's likening of his son to "the skipping king" implies more than a mere comparison. As Norman Sanders notes, "Both Henry and Shakespeare place Hal 'in that very line'--that is as heir to Richard; while the king is transformed into an earlier Hotspur" (30):

> For all the world
> As thou art to this hour was Richard then
> When I from France set foot at Ravenspurgh,
> And even as I was then is Percy now. (III.ii.93-6)

Sanders points out as well that, in the comic foreshadowing of the above scene, Falstaff as King Henry jests about Hal's legitimacy:

> That thou art my son I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion, but chiefly a villainous trick of thine eye and a foolish hanging of thy nether lip that doth warrant me. If then thou be son to me, here lies the point: why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at? Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries? A question not to be asked. Shall the son of England prove a thief and take purses? A question to be asked. (II.iv.407-16)

Although there is nothing in Falstaff's speech to link Prince Hal directly with Richard, I suggest that the play on

words between the phrases "sun of heaven" and "son of England" inadvertently recalls the figurative connection made earlier by Hal in his soliloquy. Whereas Falstaff's rhetorical questions pretend to contrast a king whose truancy would be unthinkable with a son who openly flouts the law, the clearer message is that Prince Hal is both "son" and "sun," a revelation of particular significance in light of his identification with Richard's legitimate "sun."

By openly articulating the wish to dissociate himself from his prodigal heir, King Henry reciprocates Hal's own wish tacitly expressed in his absence from court. Furthermore, the King's explicit parallel between Prince Hal and Richard functions dramatically to reflect his son's private assumption of a new identity. Hal, on the other hand, cannot be at all explicit about his treasonous intentions; accordingly, there is little in Henry IV, beyond the cryptic disclosure in his soliloquy, that alludes directly to the play's underlying issue.

An air of mystery surrounds the character of Prince Hal, beginning with the emblematic implication that, just as the sun allows itself to be hidden, or masked, by "base contagious clouds," so does Hal mask his true identity as Richard's heir with the "loose behavior" he will later "throw off." Indeed the notion of masks and disguises recurs in connection with the Prince throughout Henry IV (for example, the "vizards" and "immasking" of the Gadshill

robbery, his disguise as a drawer in Part II, and, more figuratively, the "bloody mask" he promises to wear at Shrewsbury), perhaps all to remind us that not even Falstaff knows his "true Prince's" real identity.

Shakespeare gives us a portrayal of the young Prince of Wales that is remarkably faithful to popular history and legend. Even the gloriously fleshed-out tavern world accords with reports of "wanton pastime and riotous misorder" (Hall 46). Where history becomes a work of imagination, however, is in the novel structure of Henry IV, that is, in the obvious juxtaposing of comic scenes with serious historical events at court and on the battlefield. Debate over the dramatic purpose of this design ranges from the somewhat cursory opinion that it functions merely as "comic relief" (Campbell 295) to other more structurally oriented criticism, that regards Henry IV's comic elements as a satiric commentary on the strictly historical material. For example, C. L. Barber sees Falstaff's world, within the larger context of Carnival rituals, as a "Saturnalian release" from the proper rule of law. He stipulates, however, that "misrule" is presented merely along with "rule," rather than "misrule" parodying Henry IV's "misrule" (192). Merrix too is careful to avoid any suggestion of parody when bringing out the satirical element in the Henry plays: "By using a comic dimension mimetically similar to his historical dimension Shakespeare offers parallel

interpretations of moral behavior and complicates the simplistic contemporary judgments of the king."[14] In a similar way, Traversi, while drawing a parallel between Falstaff's world and the disorder of the realm, avoids any direct comparison of Falstaff and the King (10). Winny, on the other hand, having no such reservations, takes this whole approach a step farther. He sees Falstaff, not just as "the disrespectful satirist," but as a "grotesque counterpart," a "farcical parody" of Bolingbroke.

> [Falstaff] justifies his place in the play not merely by providing comic relief from serious political affairs, but by duplicating in his own shameless behaviour the moral weaknesses of the impostor who claims to personify the king. (105)

Other critics who at least touch on this parodic aspect of the play's structure include A. O. Nutall, James L. Calderwood and Michael McCanles, who describe Falstaff, respectively, as "a parody-father" (115), "a burlesque, low-life metaphor for Henry IV" (44), and "a parody of order and respectability" (98).

Of special note here is Winny's over-all interpretation of Henry IV which, in certain respects, but particularly in its treatment of both Falstaff and Hotspur, takes much the same direction as does this thesis. However, despite the belief that Hal "deserves to be recognised as a true prince and Richard's rightful successor" (138), Winny

does not pursue a connection--figurative or otherwise--between the two characters, seeing little to tie even Henry IV with the previous play:

> . . . although this second instalment of the tetralogy begins more or less where Richard II leaves off, the two plays do not fit together at all snugly. Seen from a general historical point of view Henry IV may be regarded as a sequel, but as an imaginative work it is independent of Richard II, drawing its impulse from concepts which owe little to the earlier play. (86)[15]

What Winny does see in Henry IV, even without making the imagistic connections with Richard II, constitutes in large part the structural pattern that, to my mind, underlies Shakespeare's imaginative solution to a princely dilemma.

If we are to heed the private agenda set out in Hal's opening soliloquy, Henry IV is concerned as much with the Prince's interior state of mind as with the drama of external events. Accordingly, it can be postulated that the playwright, while adhering to history and legend, uses a framework of real and semi-imaginary events to externalize Hal's personal struggle.[16] Perhaps the clearest manifestation of this underlying purpose is the tension implicit in the opposing but oddly symmetrical elements of court and tavern, serious and comic scenes.

In keeping with the subject matter of Henry IV, the

playwright displays considerable concern for the historical correctness of his cast of characters, with two notable exceptions. As if to achieve some sort of dramatic balance between Hal's chosen tavern milieu and the world of court that he leaves behind, Shakespeare has not only created a substitute father-king for Hal in the aging thief Falstaff, but has made Hotspur a whole generation younger than his historical namesake in order to fill the vacancy left at court by Hal's absence.[17] The need for such a doubling of characters becomes clearer as the two parts of Henry IV unfold.

Hal's ultimate objective, to emerge from "the foul and ugly mists of vapors that did seem to strangle him" as the unstained "sun king," requires that there be no blot whatsoever on his eventual accession to the throne. Accordingly, Hal must find the means to purge himself of not only his father King Henry's treason, but also his own treasonous opposition to the guilty king. Of course, if Hal were to carry out the penalty for treason in each case, he in turn would be guilty of regicide and suicide respectively. Although both possibilities are unhistorical, and therefore seem inconceivable, I suggest that they form part of the playwright's imaginative solution to the mystery of Hal's transformation. The Prince does in fact execute his treasonous self, but vicariously, when he kills his rebellious alter-ego at Shrewsbury. Likewise, the rejection

of Falstaff at the end of Part II, although not an actual execution, stands for Hal's outright denial of his father's treasonous reign, and is surely meant to be the cause, at least indirectly, of the old soldier's death later in Henry V.

Shakespeare structures his portrayal of the young Prince such that Hal's sojourn in the tavern world, first mentioned in Richard II, begins close to the time of his father's coronation and ends with his own. Moreover, it can be seen that the symbolic process involving Hotspur and Falstaff unfolds during this period in stages roughly coincidental with the two parts of Henry IV. And, simply because Hal's involvement with Hotspur reaches its conclusion in Part I, whereas the relationship with Falstaff spans both parts, I have chosen to deal with them in that order.

I Hotspur:

To call Hotspur "Hal's double" is not a new idea. Neither is it original to suggest that Hal deals with his own parricidal tendencies when he kills Hotspur. Perhaps the strongest proponents of these ideas have been the psychoanalytic commentators, who, beginning with Franz Alexander and including Kris, M. D. Faber, and Stern, have noted the symbolic role played by Hotspur. Simply stated by Kris, " . . . Hotspur's rebellion represents also Prince

Hal's unconscious parricidal impulses. Hotspur is the Prince's double" (395). In somewhat more detail, Alexander explains that "when [Prince Henry] kills Hotspur on the battlefield, he overcomes symbolically his own destructive tendency. In killing Hotspur, the archenemy of his father, he overcomes his own aggressions against his parent" (599). Where I differ from this critical treatment of the Prince is in its basic assumption that Shakespeare, as elsewhere in his work, is "capturing the universal in the particular" (Faber, Oedipal 426), that Hal's behavior merely typifies the oedipal pattern evident in father-son relationships generally. Surely it is the particularity of Prince Hal's situation--his opposition to both a father and a king--that, in accordance with the historical context of this play, is reflected in the playwright's symbolic "doubling" of characters. Certainly Winny is in agreement with this latter approach. He makes surprisingly little, however, of the rivals' common opposition to Bolingbroke (141-2), preferring, it would seem, to see Hal's victory over his "plausible double" at Shrewsbury more as the killing of "an image of the prince whom Bolingbroke wishes his son to be," as well as the elimination of "the pretender in whom Bolingbroke's vices are renewed" (144-5). Although Hotspur is perhaps all of these things to Hal, I feel he is most importantly a representation of the Prince's own treasonous inclinations.

Clearly an indication that the playwright intends his audience to see a part of Hal's identity in Hotspur is, as Sanders points out, King Henry's verbal expression of the "desire . . . to have Hotspur for a son instead of Hal" (29), a line of thought made even more explicit in the reconciliation scene when the King admits seeing himself mirrored in the young rebel (III.ii.93-6). Apart from the meeting at Shrewsbury, the two rivals cross paths only one other time to our knowledge, an occasion reported to King Henry by Percy himself in Richard II (V.iii.13-9). However, if the recurring evidence of their mutual pre-occupation--Hotspur with "the madcap Prince of Wales," Hal with "Hotspur of the North"--is any indication, what they know of each other, largely by reputation, draws them irresistibly together as mutual antagonists.[18]

Perhaps also designed to shed light on the Prince's attitude toward Hotspur is the comic scene involving the drawer Francis, which ends, somewhat incongruously it might seem, with Hal's disparaging allusion to his rival (II.iv.1-113). In response to the critical stance that Francis' difficulty in choosing between two masters represents Hal's situation with respect to Falstaff and King Henry,[19] I suggest a closer look at the Prince's remarks that open this scene. Having "sounded the very base string of humility" by being "sworn brother to a leash of drawers," he surely mocks the precise manner in which his father claims to have won

the affection of Richard's subjects. Francis, playing the role of any one of these "subjects," be he a simple drawer, a Hotspur perhaps, or even the Prince himself, is torn between a sworn sense of duty and loyalty ("O Lord, sir, I'll be sworn upon all the books in England I could find in my heart--") and Hal's cynical dare to " . . . be so valiant as to play the coward with [his] indenture and show it a fair pair of heels and run from it." Of course, to Hal's way of thinking, this latter course describes what Hotspur has done in switching allegiance from Richard to Bolingbroke, hence the Prince's disclaimer in which he seems both himself and mock-Bolingbroke: "I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the North: he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast . . . " (emphasis added). To my mind, this scene points to the source of Hal's obvious contempt for Hotspur, namely the young knight's unchivalrous breach of loyalty to King Richard.

Further enhancing the dramatic pairing of Hal with his arch-rival are not only the playwright's contrivance to make them of the same name and age, but also various instances in the text where the choice of language subtly reflects this shared identity. For example, it is hard to imagine that Hotspur has anyone else but the Prince in mind when he speaks of wearing redeemed honor "without corrival," or ridding himself of "this two-faced fellowship" (I.iii.205-6). Likewise, when Hal addresses their situation at

Shrewsbury, he does so in terms of "a double reign" and "two stars [that] keep not their motion in one sphere" (V.iv.63-4). This verbal tendency toward an actual twinning of the two antagonists reaches its apogee in Hotspur's vivid anticipation of their meeting: "Harry to Harry shall, hot horse to horse, / Meet, and ne'er part till one drop down a corse" (IV.i.121-2).

Though one of the more colorful characters of the history plays, Hotspur has not fared well in the criticism. Even those who regard him favorably, acknowledging the obvious appeal of this idealistic young rebel, seem compelled to downgrade his chivalric qualities in deference to the Prince's more balanced superiority. Nevertheless, based largely on Hal's clearly demonstrable ambivalence with regard to his rival, this thesis takes a more positive view of young Henry Percy.

As if from the beginning of his second tetralogy Shakespeare had in mind a "doubling" of the Prince's character, his considerably younger version of the historical Hotspur, like Hal, is first introduced in Richard II.[20] Also apparent at this early stage is the emergence of three sons--Aumerle, Henry Percy, and Prince Hal--who share one thing in common: namely, that each of them, in the course of the tetralogy, will stand apart from his own father in loyalty to deposed King Richard.[21] Of the three situations, Aumerle's overtly treasonous act serves as a

kind of paradigm for the others, not only lending significance to Hal's timely absence from court, as suggested above (34), but also sharpening our focus on the young man who, with so little excuse, would shortly renew his allegiance to "that sweet lovely rose" (1H4 I.iii.173).

Notably, the younger Percy does not share his father's opportunistic eagerness to pander to an ascendant Bolingbroke. For example, their first meeting at Gloucestershire is marred by the unmistakable flippancy in Percy's reply to his father's admonition:

> Northumberland
>
> Have you forgot the Duke of Hereford, boy?
>
> Percy
>
> No, my good lord, for that is not forgot
> Which ne'er I did remember. To my knowledge
> I never in my life did look on him.
>
> Northumberland
>
> Then learn to know him now--this is the duke.
> (R2 II.iii.36-40)

Even having committed himself to Bolingbroke, Percy, unlike his father, retains a noticeable respect for the threatened King. This generational disparity is clearly brought out in the exchange between Percy and Bolingbroke at Flint Castle that immediately follows Northumberland's irreverent dropping of the King's title (R2 III.iii.5-9).

> Bolingbroke

. . . What, will not this castle yield?

Percy

The castle royally is manned, my lord,
Against thy entrance.

Bolingbroke Royally!
Why, it contains no king?

Percy Yes, my good lord,
It doth contain a king: King Richardlies
Within the limits of yon lime and stone . . .
(III.iii.20-5)

This emphasis on the King's title, which is of such crucial importance in Richard II,[22] takes on somewhat the same significance in an early scene of the following play, when again father and son refer to the dead king, in close juxtaposition, as "Richard" and "King Richard" respectively (I.iii.144 & 153). At the same time, Hotspur pointedly withholds the title of "King" from Henry, resurrecting instead the name Bolingbroke, to which he adds such disparaging epithets as "ingrate," "thorn," "canker" and "vile politician" (I.iii.135 & 174 & 239).

My belief is that the issue of prisoners, which opens the above scene, serves merely as a release for the genuine hostility young Percy has harbored since Gloucestershire, "where [he] first bowed [his] knee / Unto this king of smiles, this Bolingbroke--" (1H4 I.iii.243-4). Conceivably, he nurtures a dream, not unlike that of the Prince, of

restoring the crown's lost honor and legitimacy in the name of Richard. Such a possibility would explain, firstly his intense interest in the disclosure that his brother-in-law Mortimer, the prisoner whose ransom King Henry has just refused, is in fact Richard's designated heir, and secondly, his sudden flight of fancy at Worcester's bare mention of a plot involving "matter deep and dangerous" (I.iii.188). Even before his uncle can elaborate, Hotspur is lost to the "imagination of some great exploit," "a world of figures . . . / But not the form of what he should attend" (I.iii.197 & 207-8). Notably, the specific images of which he speaks belong to the watery night-world that is associated with Bolingbroke's treasonous reign. For example, when Worcester compares the inherent danger of his proposal to " . . . o'erwalk[ing] a current roaring loud / On the unsteadfast footing of a spear," Hotspur imagines: "If he fall in, good night, or sink, or swim!" (I.iii.190-2). Likewise, his objective of rescuing "honor" is rendered in a combination of nocturnal and watery images:

> By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap
> To pluck bright honor from the palefaced moon,
> Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
> Where fathom line could never touch the ground,
> And pluck up drowned honor by the locks . . .
> (I.iii.199-203)

Significantly, this "dive into the bottom of the deep"

appears to form part of the recurring dream to which Lady Percy is witness:

> Thy spirit within thee hath been so at war,
> And thus hath so bestirred thee in thy sleep,
> That beads of sweat have stood upon thy brow
> Like bubbles in a late-disturbed stream,
> And in thy face strange motions have appeared,
> Such as we see when men restrain their breath
> On some great sudden hest. (II.iii.57-62)

Hotspur, it would seem, is obsessed with far more than the pursuit of personal honor. According to his "world of figures," like Hal, he dreams of somehow recovering the lost honor of a whole realm. That he need not worry about his own is clearly the message of his widow's later endorsement. In imagery reminiscent of the noble intentions expressed by the Prince himself, Lady Percy recalls how her husband's honor " . . . stuck on him as the sun / In the gray vault of heaven . . . " (2H4 II.iii.18-9).

What I am suggesting is that Hotspur joins the conspiracy, not for the self-seeking political reasons that drive his father and uncle,[23] nor simply for personal aggrandizement, but out of the same loyalty to King Richard that has already motivated Aumerle to turn traitor, and Prince Hal to abandon Bolingbroke's court. It is perhaps this kind of idealism that sets Hotspur apart from the other conspirators at Shrewsbury, his cowardly father in

particular,[24] and makes him the ideal dramatic double for Hal.

The private interview between King Henry and his son, prior to Shrewsbury, is generally accepted as the turning point at which Hal admits the error of his ways and joins his father, seizing the opportunity to destroy his rival in defence of the realm. What I feel is open to question in this interpretation is the genuineness of their reconciliation. In the first place, it is difficult to believe that any prodigal would be moved by the tirade of insults levelled at Hal by his father, which culminates in an accusation of outright treason:[25]

> Why, Harry, do I tell thee of my foes,
> Which art my nearest and dearest enemy?
> Thou that art like enough, through vassal fear,
> Base inclination, and the start of spleen,
> To fight against me under Percy's pay,
> To dog his heels and curtsy at his frowns,
> To show how much thou art degenerate.
> (III.ii.122-8)

And secondly, considering Hal's return to Eastcheap following the victory at Shrewsbury, it seems that little changes in their relationship. When summoned to his father's death-bed, he is again met by the King's distrust and the need for yet another "reconciliation."

Undoubtedly the meeting in Part I marks a dramatic

turning point, but not, I suggest, in Hal's feelings toward his father, a relationship that remains more or less constant throughout Henry IV. Instead, it is the Prince's attitude toward his arch-rival that changes. Now if this scene were indeed a reconciliation, news of the rebellion would surely lower rather than raise Hal's esteem for the treasonous Hotspur. However, having been the object of Hal's disdain for as long as he gathered honors in Bolingbroke's name, young Percy, with the King's confirmation of the uprising (III.ii.118-21), suddenly becomes for Hal "this . . . child of honor and renown, / This gallant Hotspur, this all-praised knight" (III.ii.139-40). Although it might be construed from the context of his speech that Hal, in this instance, speaks ironically, his praise is markedly consistent with subsequent references to Hotspur in somewhat less equivocal circumstances. For example, as part of his proposal that they meet in "single fight" (V.i.83-100), Hal says of Hotspur:

> I do not think a braver gentleman,
> More active-valiant or more valiant-young,
> More daring or more bold, is now alive
> To grace this latter age with noble deeds. (89-92)

And, as if the intention here is to underline Hal's sincerity, his challenge is relayed to the rebel leader by Vernon, one of the play's more reliable voices, whose answer

to Hotspur's query "How showed his tasking? Seemed it in contempt?" is:

> No, by my soul. I never in my life
> Did hear a challenge urged more modestly,
> Unless a brother should a brother dare
> To gentle exercise and proof of arms.
> He gave you all the duties of a man;
> Trimmed up your praises with a princely tongue;
> Spoke your deservings like a chronicle;
> Making you ever better than his praise
> By still dispraising praise valued with you . . .
> (V.ii.50-9)

Even more difficult to misconstrue is Hal's "so dear . . . show of zeal" over Hotspur's body at Shrewsbury,[26] when, believing himself alone, he addresses his fallen opponent as "brave Percy" and "great heart," eulogizing " . . . This earth that bears thee dead / Bears not alive so stout a gentleman" (V.iv.85-93).

Clearly, if Hal's conduct is to remain consistent with his earlier commitment to the memory of King Richard, his "reconciliation" speech must be read with double meaning (III.ii.129-59). For instance Bolingbroke assumes that the Prince refers merely to his own "degeneracy" (III.ii.128) when promising to "redeem all this on Percy's head," whereas in truth Hal probably alludes to the soliloquy's broader sense of "redeeming time," that is, the redeeming of time

lost to an illegitimate reign. In taking chivalrous action against the crown's usurper, Hotspur does what the Prince cannot, thus setting in motion the whole symbolic process by which Hal will dissociate himself from, rather than reconcile with, the treasonous king. As Hal explains cryptically to his father, "Percy is but my factor, good my lord, / To engross up glorious deeds on my behalf." The ambivalence of Hal's situation arises from his positive identification with Hotspur's cause, in combination with the deadly necessity of preventing further treason.

The "shame" of which Hal promises to purge himself is not his profligacy, but the shame of treason that he shares with his father. Significantly, Hal's description of this cleansing process brings into play the imagery of masks, which, in addition to reminding us of his hidden "sun-king" identity, provides a key to the symbolic importance of Hotspur's death.[27] Hal's promise to Bolingbroke " . . . I will wear a garment all of blood, / And stain my favors in a bloody mask" (III.ii.135-6) virtually prophesies the tender words he will speak over his dead opponent at Shrewsbury: "But let my favors hide thy mangled face" (V.iv.94). Surely we are to see that Hotspur's "mangled face" is the "bloody mask" that, when "washed away," would "scour [Hal's] shame with it" (III.ii.137). When the Prince kills Hotspur, he for a brief moment takes on the identity of his treasonous "double," as he would a mask, even finishing Percy's dying

sentence:

Hotspur

No, Percy, thou art dust,

And food for-- [Dies]

Prince

For worms, brave Percy. (V.iv.83-5)

This merging of identities is felt also in the lines, "And, even in thy behalf, I'll thank myself / For doing these fair rites of tenderness" (V.iv.95-6). That Hal is symbolically purged of his "shame" by the subsequent shedding of this vicarious identification with treasonous action is reflected in the carefully worded farewell to his valiant alter-ego: "Adieu, and take thy praise with thee to heaven. / Thy ignominy sleep with thee in the grave, / But not rememb'red in thy epitaph" (V.iv.97-9).

In sharp contrast to Hal's later public rejection of the King's "double" Falstaff, this leave-taking is private and extremely respectful, a measure perhaps of just how much the Prince shares Hotspur's motives. That purging his own treason is, nevertheless, a necessary step toward legitimately inheriting Richard's sun seems borne out in the various images that lead up to Hal's climactic encounter. For instance, just prior to the battle we are given a brief glimpse of him "gorgeous as the sun at midsummer," once again, through the discerning eye of the rebel Vernon (IV.i.101). Of course, if Hal is to avoid any further taint

of treason, this figurative identity must not emerge to public view until after the King's death. Accordingly, the stripping away of the "bloody mask," which, by implication, would reveal him in his chosen role as Richard's heir, is carried out as a solitary ritual.[28] Foreshadowing the significance of these events, however, is the exchange of portents between the Prince and his father that opens Act V:

King

How bloodily the sun begins to peer
Above yon bulky hill! The day looks pale
At his distemp'rature.

Prince The southern wind
Doth play the trumpet to his purposes
And by his hollow whistling in the leaves
Foretells a tempest and a blust'ring day.

King

Then with the losers let it sympathize,
For nothing can seem foul to those that win.
(1-9)

Despite his imminent military victory, it is surely King Henry's prospects that remain "foul" and, as the Prince projects, stormy. The true "winner" of the day will be King Richard, whose spectral image, the sun rising "bloodily" over the battlefield, anticipates Hal's emergence from his "bloody mask" as the murdered king's legitimate heir.

Outwardly, the Prince and his father are reconciled

and together defeat the rebels at Shrewsbury. Only through the playwright's creation of a suitable "double" for Hal, coupled with the tetralogy's consistent pattern of solar imagery, are we made aware of an important private victory. Moreover, Hal's return to the obscurity of the tavern world following Shrewsbury, until later summoned to the King's deathbed, would seem to confirm that, even though purged of his own treasonous impulses, he must continue to wait out his father's illegitimate reign. Accordingly, Falstaff can be seen to embody that reign, the duration of which is so accurately reflected in Hal's relationship with the old thief.

II Falstaff:

Midway in Richard II, Bolingbroke is characterized by King Richard as a "thief" who "revel[s] in the night." And, although the incarnation of this epithet does not make his first appearance till early in Henry IV, Falstaff's presence can surely be felt in the timely allusion by a newly crowned Bolingbroke to his truant son's " . . . unrestrained loose companions, / Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes, / And beat our watch and rob our passengers" (R2 V.iii.7-9). In other words, Shakespeare's imaginative rendering of history contrives to have Hal's association with thieves and robbers the like of Falstaff not only end, as it does abruptly in the rejection scene, but also begin in precise

parallel with Henry IV's treasonous rule. Moreover, the Prince's interaction with Falstaff becomes at every turn an expression of contempt for Bolingbroke's position.

It is difficult to be objective about a character who, unlike Hotspur, has fared almost too well in the criticism. Perhaps, as Bradley theorizes, it was Shakespeare himself who in the Falstaff scenes "overshot his mark. He created so extraordinary a being and fixed him so firmly on his intellectual throne, that when he sought to dethrone him he could not" (83-4). Interestingly, the "dethroning" or rejection of Falstaff does not pose as much of a problem for commentators like Winny, Faber, and myself, who, given our various perspectives, see him functioning as Bolingbroke's double. In this light, he becomes "a far less 'jolly,' a far less life-oriented figure" than most critics see him (Faber, Falstaff 197). Moreover, although the comic tavern scenes give an outward appearance of good fun, there is on Hal's side of the clever repartee an edge of hostility entirely consistent with the private resolve to cast off his idle companions. Undoubtedly the cause of Falstaff's barely concealed anxiety, this dark threat comes briefly to light in the play extempore, when Hal utters his shockingly brutal "I do, I will" in reply to the old man's comic plea that he not be banished (II.iv.485). The fearful intensity of this mock sentence is perhaps the clearest indication that Hal's enmity is directed, not just at Falstaff, but at the

treasonous King he represents and has just parodied. Indeed, as Faber demonstrates, there is evidence throughout Henry IV that what Hal expresses toward King Henry through Falstaff is tantamount to a death-threat.[29]

Apart from the overt revelation of the play extempore, Prince Hal's contempt for his fat friend remains veiled in comedy, as witnessed in two elaborate schemes--the Gad's Hill robbery in Part I and the masquerade as drawers in Part II--both of which are devised, in collaboration with Poins, to entrap Falstaff in situations that are humorous largely at his expense. The first of these, arising as it does from the play's initial exchange between the Prince and Falstaff, can be seen also as a comic representation of the whole serious purpose behind Hal's facade. Winny too views at least the first part of the robbery as "a comically scaled-down version of Bolingbroke's original crime" (109). "Doubling" as the treasonous usurper is Falstaff, who leads his band of thieves in taking what rightfully belongs to the King, that is " . . . money of the King's . . . going to the King's exchequer" (II.ii.53-4).[30] And, although Winny notes that there is no actual "crown" for Falstaff to steal--only "royal gold"--surely the form of the booty would be in accordance with Poins' earlier promise to "stuff [their] purses full of crowns" (I.ii.132). With regard to the second phase of the robbery, to which Winny feels the Percy rebellion is roughly analogous (111), I suggest a closer

look at Prince Hal's part in the comic scenario. Wearing a real mask or "vizard" in addition to his habitual mask of profligacy provides Hal with the anonymity necessary to act out, solely for the benefit of the audience, his chosen role as restorer of Richard's usurped crown. Beneath the masks, Hal can be seen not only to retrieve what "pseudo-Bolingbroke" has stolen, but later to return this mock "crown" to its rightful place, as witnessed in his report to a disgruntled Falstaff that "the money is paid back again" (III.iii.186).

Another aspect of the Gad's Hill episode that serves to dramatize Hal's treasonous attitude toward his father is the literal as well as figurative "unhorsing" of Falstaff. Watson demonstrates that equestrian mastery is used throughout the tetralogy as a figure for political power. With this in mind, I suggest that Hal's desire to "unhorse" Bolingbroke can be traced as far back as a boast the Prince is reported to have made shortly after the coronation: namely that if he were to attend the "triumphs" at Oxford, he would, wearing as a favour the glove of some common harlot from Eastcheap, "unhorse the lustiest challenger" (R2 V.iii.14-9). That his bravado constitutes a veiled threat to none other than the newly crowned king seems undeniable, given this play's extensive use of equestrian images, which culminates in not only Richard's horse Barbary being mastered by a triumphant usurper, but the deposed king

himself being "Spurred, galled, and tired by jauncing Bolingbroke" (R2 V.v.94). Of course, in Henry IV, Bolingbroke is replaced by Falstaff as the immediate object of Hal's contempt. Consequently, it is the "double" who is "unhorsed" at Gad's Hill, and remains so for the duration of Part I, according to the Prince's stated intention to "procure [the] fat rogue a charge of foot" in his father's army (II.iv.550). That these actions are further evidence of murderous intent, as Faber contends, seems borne out when the Prince adds: "I know his death will be a march of twelve score."

The lack of a horse seems still to be a problem as Part II gets underway, at which time we learn that Falstaff's efforts to establish himself as a gentleman at Prince Hal's expense include sending Bardolph "into Springfield" to buy him a horse (I.ii.50-1). Of course the final "unhorsing" comes with Hal's devastating rejection of Falstaff at the end of Part II, for which the audience is at least figuratively prepared by the old knight's eerily Bolingbroke-like cry upon hearing of the King's death: "Let us take any man's horses; the laws of England are at my commandment" (V.iii.140-1). His father dead, it would seem Hal is at last free to "unhorse" the symbolic embodiment of Bolingbroke's misrule.

Probably the most distinguishing and oft-noted feature of Part II is its pre-occupation with the images of disease

and decay. For example, from the King, whose own body is increasingly afflicted with the apoplexy that will prove fatal, we hear of " . . . the body of our kingdom / How foul it is, what rank diseases grow" (III.i.38-9). Likewise, the Archbishop of York, speaking for the rebel forces, confesses: " . . . we are all diseased, / And with our surfeiting and wanton hours / Have brought ourselves into a burning fever, / And we must bleed for it" (IV.i.54-7). Talk of "physicians" and "medicine" abounds. On the comic side, Justices Shallow and Silence function as "the very embodiments of powerless old age" (Traversi 136), the country's "able-bodied" being portrayed by a pathetic band of recruits, with the farcical names Moldy, Shadow, Wart, Feeble, and Bullcalf. What seems implicit in this sweeping picture of "the state of England . . . given over to anarchy and corruption" Traversi articulates in the statement: "The consequences of the crisis in authority initiated by Bolingbroke's murder of Richard cover the entire realm and threaten its vital unity with extinction" (108). In the midst of these degenerate circumstances is Falstaff, who, with his own comic concerns about poor health--the "water" sample and whether "gout" or "the pox" infect his great toe (I.ii)--his age, and the spectre of dying, surely parodies, not just King Henry's decline, but the corruption and decay of an entire kingdom.

Prince Hal, on the other hand, does not participate or

interfere in the general malaise around him, but stays aloof, allowing the illegitimate reign of his father to run its course. Accordingly, his interaction with Falstaff in Part II is minimal, consisting of just one encounter prior to the rejection. That Hal's role following Shrewsbury becomes one of self-imposed waiting in the "vile company" (II.ii.47) of his tavern acquaintances is subtly borne out in the dying King's attempt to explain his son's over-eagerness for the crown: "I stay too long by thee, I weary thee" (IV.v.93). His words clearly echo the state of mind articulated by the Prince himself in his very first utterance of Part II: "Before God, I am exceeding weary" (II.ii.1). I suggest here that, by the time Hal is summoned to Henry's deathbed, he is indeed "weary" of waiting, and impatient as well, a characteristic manifested not only in his premature assumption of Henry's death, but in other instances of similar circumstances scattered throughout Henry IV, that involve the "double" Falstaff.[31]

An early indication of Hal's "impatience" to see an end to "misrule" is surely his unexpected reaction when Peto discovers a drunken Falstaff "fast asleep behind the arras": "Hark how hard he fetches breath. Search his pockets" (1H4 II.iv.533-6). Occurring as it does amidst other hints of murderous intent toward the old thief--Hal's involvement at Gad's Hill, the play extempore's startling conclusion, his promise of "a charge of foot"--this outburst serves to

parallel the Prince's equally morbid interest in the "breath" of a dying King Henry later in Part II:

> By his gates of breath
> There lies a downy feather which stirs not.
> Did he suspire, that light and weightless down
> Perforce must move. My gracious lord, my father!
> This sleep is sound indeed. (IV.v.30-4)

Accentuating even further the analogy between these two situations is the King's reaction to Hal's mistake: "Is he so hasty that he doth suppose / My sleep my death?" (60-1).

On the battlefield at Shrewsbury, Prince Hal's "impatience" is again manifested in his utter willingness to accept Falstaff's feigned death. His "so dear . . . show of zeal" over Hotspur's body just ended, an abrupt change of sentiment is clearly evident when he addresses his supposed friend with an irreverent pun on the word "dear":

> Death hath not struck so fat a deer today,
> Though many dearer, in this bloody fray.
> Emboweled will I see thee by-and-by;
> Till then in blood by noble Percy lie. (V.iv.105-8)

Even the earlier lines of this speech "O, I should have a heavy miss of thee / If I were much in love with vanity" seem an admission that any show of grief or loss on Hal's part would be as suspect as his profligacy (V.iv.103-4). Of course, where the King himself is concerned, Hal must appear

outwardly to be desirous only of his health and long life, to the degree that, at Shrewsbury, the Prince is seen actually to prevent Henry's unnatural death at the hands of treasonous rebels.

Hal's last encounter with Falstaff before the rejection is also not without its morbid overtones. In the midst of a scene that is for the most part humorous and lighthearted, the entrance of the Prince and Poins, disguised as drawers, seems timed to coincide with Doll Tearsheet's striking of a darker chord in Falstaff:

> Doll
>
> . . . when wilt thou leave fighting o' days and foining o' nights, and begin to patch up thine old body for heaven?
>
> Enter Prince and Poins [disguised].
>
> Falstaff
>
> Peace, good Doll! Do not speak like a death's-head. Do not bid me remember mine end. (II.iv.235-9)

Prince Hal again doubly "masked" to all but the audience, the dramatic effect of this scene is surely, as Faber suggests, that "Hal and Poins . . . appear disguised and silent behind the old man's chair like 'Death's-heads,' like veritable figures of doom" (Falstaff 216). With King Henry

in failing health, the Prince alone is able to anticipate that Falstaff's days of royal favour are likewise numbered. His "end," or at least the beginning of it, will be marked by the rejection that awaits him.

In his soliloquy, Hal speaks of "redeeming time," which, as I suggest above (58), refers to not just his own time, but time lost by a whole kingdom under treasonous rule. Of course, part of the symbolic process of "redeeming" this time is Hal's choice to wait it out in the appropriately "sunless," and therefore timeless, night-world of the tavern. Accordingly, in Part II the Prince's "weariness" and "impatience" with the waiting are marked also by an increasing pre-occupation with time wasted. For example, in the midst of jesting with Bardolph and Poins about Falstaff, Hal interjects: "Well, thus we play the fools with the time, and the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us" (II.ii.141-3). Later, when their evening in the tavern is interrupted by more serious matters, his concern is much the same: "By heaven, Poins, I feel me much to blame, / So idly to profane the precious time" (II.iv.368-9). Painfully aware of his own and England's squandered time, Hal must nevertheless play out his assumed role as the wild prodigal.[32]

That Hal's "wildness" ends abruptly with the King's death is evident not only in the statement "My father is gone wild into his grave, / For in his tomb lie my

affections" (V.ii.123-4),[33] but also in the Archbishop of Canterbury's later observation: "The breath no sooner left his father's body / But that his wildness, mortified in him, / Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment . . . " (H5 I.i.25-7). And, as if to confirm the symbolic significance of such a sudden transformation, namely that it marks the end of his association with both real and substitute fathers, Hal adopts as a new "father to [his] youth" the Lord Chief Justice, whom he later addresses directly as "father" (2H4 V.ii.118 & 140). For Hal, it would seem, this new "parent" embodies the ideals that have guided him all along, ideals that, like Richard's sun, have been clouded by a treasonous reign. To this impartial and incorruptible representative of law and justice, the new king promises: "My voice shall sound as you do prompt mine ear, / And I will stoop and humble my intents / To your well-practiced wise directions" (119-21). No longer pretending to be one of "the moon's men," whose fortune "doth ebb and flow like the sea, being governed as the sea is by the moon" (1H4 I.ii.31-4), Hal appropriately recalls the tidal aspect of this nocturnal image to explain his changed position:[34]

> The tide of blood in me
> Hath proudly flowed in vanity till now.
> Now doth it turn and ebb back to the sea,
> Where it shall mingle with the state of floods
> And flow henceforth in formal majesty. (2H4

V.ii.129-33)

In this important scene, Hal officially expunges that time consciously wasted in Falstaff's night-world, and with it the memory and experience of Bolingbroke's entire reign. By re-establishing in a figurative sense the "daytime" of legitimate rule, as Richard's rightful heir, he "redeems time" according to his earlier promise.

So completely does Hal leave behind the nocturnal world of the tavern that, when he encounters Falstaff after the coronation, his first words are: "I know thee not, old man." Then, as if to confirm that their relationship has no place in the legitimate progression of time, he relegates it, appropriately, to the night-time realm of dreams: "I have long dreamt of such a kind of man, / So surfeit-swelled, so old, and so profane, / But, being awaked, I do despise my dream" (V.v.47-51). Clearly, the banishment of this nocturnal "dream" is the formality that establishes Hal symbolically as the new sun-king, by not only purging him of his father's crime, but also fulfilling King Richard's belief that a king's sun-like powers could banish the "thief . . . who . . . reveled in the night." Significantly, Falstaff's unwillingness to accept the "day-time" reality of his banishment is manifested in the vain hope that the King will send for him soon "at night" (V.v.92).

That Hal looks on Falstaff's banishment as he would an execution is clearly the message of his rejection speech--

the ominous instruction "Fall to thy prayers," un-humorous talk of "the grave," and the sentence itself: "I banish thee, on pain of death." Moreover, the threat is clear to all but Falstaff, it would seem, as witnessed in Shallow's reply to the old man's contention that what they have just heard is merely a pretence or "color": "A color that I fear you will die in, Sir John" (87-9). Even later in Henry V, the common understanding seems to be that the King is personally responsible for the old knight's demise. For example, shortly before the announcement of his death by Pistol (II.iii.5), we hear from the Hostess that "The king has killed his heart" (II.i.89). The same condemnation becomes implicit when the Welshman Fluellen, meaning to praise the King, a fellow countryman, by comparing him to Alexander the Great, must explain:

> I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it: as Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his ales and his cups, so also Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great-belly doublet--he was full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks; I have forgot his name. (IV.vii.43-9)

What even Fluellen fails to realize is that Prince Hal only appeared to regard the "fat knight" as his friend.

Hal executes Falstaff as surely as he does Hotspur,

and in so doing, completes the symbolic process by which his accession to the throne is purged of both his own and his father's treason. "Breaking through the foul and ugly mists / Of vapors that did seem to strangle him," he emerges indeed "a true inheritor" (2H4 IV.v.168), not of Bolingbroke, but of the sun-king Richard.

Henry V: The New Sun-King

Apparent from the beginning of Henry V is a complete contrast in mood between the new king's court and that of his predecessor. Whereas Bolingbroke had been the "cloudy," care-weary ruler ("So shaken as we are, so wan with care"), his son radiates the kind of self-assured optimism that, on the eve of Agincourt, will be characterized as "A largess universal, like the sun . . . A little touch of Harry in the night" (IV.Chorus.43-47). Only glimpsed in Henry IV, this sun-like identity that ties him to Richard can at last emerge and be declared openly. For example, in order to convey to the French ambassadors the extent of his transformation, and hence the seriousness of his bid for their country's throne, King Henry recalls the dawn-like promise and "work"/"holiday" analogy of his first soliloquy as Prince:

> But tell the dauphin I will keep my state,
> Be like a king, and show my sail of greatness,
> When I do rouse me in my throne of France.
> For that I have laid by my majesty,
> And plodded like a man for working days;
> But I will rise there with so full a glory
> That I will dazzle all the eyes of France,
> Yea, strike the dauphin blind to look on us.

(I.ii.273-80)

Having consciously squandered time in the company of "the moon's men" for the duration of his father's reign, this King "now . . . weighs time even to the utmost grain" (II.iv.137-8), and models himself on the constancy of the sun: " . . . a good heart . . . is the sun and the moon, or rather, the sun, and not the moon, for it shines bright and never changes, but keeps his course truly" (V.ii.164-7).

As one would expect of the newly emerged "sun-king," Shakespeare's Henry V ushers in a style of kingship markedly reminiscent of the more traditional, medieval values of Richard's court. Prior, for instance, having first noted the "almost completely secular" world of the Henry IV plays (73), observes the "striking difference in tone":

> We move from a world controlled by the natural history of politics and the struggle for power to one in which it is acknowledged that the will and justice of God govern the doings of kings and magistrates and the comings and goings of armies. (75)

Ribner likewise comments on Shakespeare's particular emphasis of "the religious nature of his ideal king and his own awareness that in his victories he is performing the will of God" (185). Although neither commentator pursues the dramatic implications of such a portrayal, the return to rule by divine sanction surely reminds us of King Richard,

who takes this royal prerogative to its extreme in the belief:

> For every man that Bolingbroke hath pressed
> To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown,
> God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
> A glorious angel; then, if angels fight,
> Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right. (R2 III.i.58-62)

Henry IV, by contrast, is at no time associated with such powers. Instead, it is the Prince who is seen vaulting onto his horse "As if an angel dropped down from the clouds / To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus" (1H4 IV.i.107-8), and who, as King, speaks of what rightly belongs to him "by gift of heaven" (H5 II.iv.79). Indeed the victory at Agincourt is credited to divine power by the King himself, first in the exclamation: "Praised be God, and not our strength for it!" (IV.vii.86), and later in the simple acknowledgement " . . . God fought for us" (IV.viii.119). Such an attitude is surely more reminiscent of King Richard's belief in an army of heavenly mercenaries, than anything connected with Bolingbroke's earth-bound reign.

Though unquestionably constrained by the historical evidence surrounding Henry V's ascension to the throne, there seems little doubt that Shakespeare capitalizes on the new King's choice of a French campaign over his father's dying wish that he undertake a crusade to the Holy Land.

Whether or not a case of manipulation by the clergy, as the first scene suggests, the whole issue of lineal right in Henry's designs on the French throne serves nicely to distance him from his Lancastrian father, by focusing on the illustrious ancestry he shares with Richard.[35] For example, the Archbishop of Canterbury, incites him to

> Look back into your mighty ancestors;
> Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb,
> From whom you claim; invoke his warlike spirit,
> And your great-uncle's, Edward the Black Prince
> Who on the French ground played a tragedy,
> Making defeat on the full power of France . . . .
> (I.ii.95-107)

From Ely he hears "You are their heir; You sit upon their throne; / The blood and courage that renowned them / Runs in your veins . . ." (117-9), and from Exeter, " . . . all expect that you should rouse yourself, / As did the former lions of your blood" (123-4). Even the French king, remembering the Battle of Crecy, admits: " . . . he is bred out of that bloody strain / That haunted us in our familiar paths" (II.iv.51-2). The dramatic effect of this genealogical exercise is to by-pass the offending Lancastrian strain in Henry's lineage, as witnessed in the particular emphasis of Exeter's covering message as he hands Henry's "pedigree" to the French king:

> He sends you this most memorable line,

> In every branch truly demonstrative;
> Willing you overlook this pedigree;
> And when you find him evenly derived
> From his most famed of famous ancestors,
> Edward the Third, he bids you then resign
> Your crown and kingdom, indirectly held
> From him, the native and true challenger.
> (II.iv.88-95)

Considered in relation to the rest of the tetralogy, this conclusion to the whole political debate that precedes the French campaign functions as a kind of public affirmation of King Henry's private and very personal dissociation of his own reign from that of his father. Moreover, if the name of Richard, whose direct heir Henry considers himself to be, is noticeably absent from the lengthy deliberations, his solar imagery is not. For example, to Canterbury, the argument against the "Salique Law" is "as clear as is the summer's sun" (I.ii.86), while Ely uses the dawn-like figure "in the very May-morn of his youth" to describe the new king (120). And, as if to leave no doubt that Henry V derives his legitimacy through the sun-king Richard, the playwright has their common ancestor Edward III portrayed at the Battle of Crecy " . . . on mountain standing, / Up in the air, crowned with the golden sun" (II.iv.57-8).

Many critics have found it difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile Shakespeare's Henry V with the

"madcap" Prince of Falstaff's tavern world. Of course, my contention is that the "true Prince" must be sought behind his mask of profligacy, in the serious-minded young man of the soliloquy,[36] who not only embraces his fallen rival's chivalric deeds in devotion to a common ideal, but commits the brutal, even murderous act at the close of Henry IV, out of contempt for treason and villainy. Significantly, both the rash idealism and the cold sense of justice re-surface in the particular style of kingship adopted by Henry V in the later play.

In Henry V, it soon becomes apparent that the rejection of Falstaff had merely set the tone for King Henry's consistently harsh attitude toward lawlessness of any kind. However, the deadly finality with which he puts down the crime of treason takes on added significance, especially in light of the dramatic circumstances surrounding this action. Having originated in France, the conspiracy is intercepted just as Henry's forces are preparing to set sail in that direction from the coastal town of Southampton, a setting reminiscent of Bolingbroke's fateful arrival from France at Ravenspurgh. As if to underline the parallel between his father and the present conspirators, King Henry's accusation and sentencing emphasize the double crime "Treason and murder ever kept together, / As two yoke-devils sworn to either's purpose" (II.ii.105-6). Furthermore, the timing of this particular

event coincides almost precisely with the death of Bolingbroke's double Falstaff, as witnessed in its placement in relation to adjacent scenes. Preceded by various forebodings of the old knight's imminent death, which clearly implicate his former royal companion, the nocturnal scene at Southampton is followed immediately by news that Falstaff had died the previous night, appropriately " . . . ev'n just between twelve and one, ev'n at the turning o' th' tide" (iii.12-3). This, to an audience of maritimers, would be the time at which the conspirators were led away to be executed, simply because "the turning o' th' tide" would also provide the ideal sailing conditions awaited by the English ship, the departure of which is confirmed by Nym's "Shall we shog? The king will be gone from Southampton" (iii.45-6). Given the dramatic linkage of these otherwise unrelated events, King Henry's execution of the conspirators would seem to signify completion of a more important symbolic "execution," namely that of Falstaff. Such an action, coinciding as it does with the royal departure for France instead of the Holy Land, effectively clears the way for Henry's private and uncharacteristically emotional disclosure later at Agincourt of what by then is a <u>fait accompli</u>: namely his very public and ceremonious reinstatement of King Richard.

Though capable of showing considerable clemency toward an offender with no real criminal intent, such as the man

who had "railed against [his] person" (II.ii.41) or the soldier Williams, Henry seems unwilling to make exceptions in cases of genuine lawlessness. Whether treason, murder, or some lesser crime, he administers his justice swiftly and without mercy, as exemplified already in his dispatching of the conspirators, in the cold-blooded killing of prisoners at Agincourt in retaliation for a French atrocity, or in the execution of his former companion Bardolph for "robbing a church" (III.vi.101). The King's obvious belief in the necessity of such severity is perhaps explained in his grisly warning to the people of Harfleur, which reflects on the potential horrors that would be unleashed in the absence of strong controls. Once again recalling the imagery of his first soliloquy, he entreats the citizenry to surrender

> Whiles yet my soldiers are in my command,
> Whiles yet the cool and temperate wind of grace
> O'erblows the filthy and contagious clouds
> Of heady murder, spoil, and villainy.
> (III.iii.29-32)

Even though the "base contagious clouds" of his father's misrule are behind him, this new "sun-king" obviously feels that firm and uncompromising government is required to keep his own subjects in check.

Just as the King's harsh adherence to a strict code of law and justice cannot help but remind us of an earlier commitment to the Lord Chief Justice, so does his particular

brand of chivalry bear an uncanny resemblance to that of his daring opponent at Shrewsbury. In spite of Hotspur's absence from the second half of the tetralogy, Hal's identification with the headstrong and chivalrous young knight seems not to end with his death on the battlefield. For example, it is difficult to read or hear the line "The fewer men, the greater share of honor" (H5 IV.iii.22), spoken by Henry V prior to the battle of Agincourt, without recalling Hotspur's reaction to a similar imbalance of forces at Shrewsbury: "It lends a luster and more great opinion, / A larger dare to our great enterprise" (1H4 IV.i.76-7). The likeness is even more pronounced when King Henry goes on to proclaim: "But if it be a sin to covet honor, / I am the most offending soul alive" (28-9). Many critics have noted this emergence of Hotspur in Henry V, invariably identifying it as a negative, if not anomalous, aspect of the King's character.[37] Quite to the contrary, I look upon it as that other side of his kingship, besides the renewal of law and justice, for which we are fully prepared in Henry IV.

Hotspur, it would seem, does more than provide a treasonous identity for Hal to kill at Shrewsbury; he functions as our model of the Prince behind the mask, that is as an idealistic young knight who serves the memory of King Richard. Once the mask is removed, this youthful side of Henry's nature is freely manifested alongside the more

austere aspects modeled on his adopted "father" the Lord Chief Justice. Perhaps it is this somewhat unexpected combination of character traits that contributes to the "ambivalence" so often noted by critics. Significantly, the Hotspur-like identity is dominant when the King woos his own "Kate" in the final scene of both the play and the tetralogy. Even Manheim, as part of his Machiavellian portrait of Henry V, notes: " . . . Henry borrows the sound of his old adversary in wooing Kate. He becomes for the nonce the bluff soldier, the Hotspur of old . . . " (181). Tillyard, on the other hand, commenting on the extreme distance between "the lubberly wooer" of this scene and "the 'king of courtesy' of the earlier play," cites Johnson's dismay: "'I know not why Shakespeare now gives the king nearly such a character as he made him formerly ridicule in Percy'" (311). Taking exception, once again, to the persistently negative attitude of critics toward Hotspur's role in the tetralogy, I suggest that Shakespeare's portrayal of King Henry in the "wooing" scene is a conscious effort to recapture some of Hotspur's winning brashness and idealism, thus leaving the audience with a sense of these former rivals' shared dreams and loyalties.

In my view, nothing remains of the "wild prodigal" in Shakespeare's "mirror of all Christian kings" (H5 II.Chorus.6). Nor is there anything in this ruler's handling of power to remind us of Henry IV's treasonous

reign. All this has been expunged to make way for the newly emerged sun-king, whose greatness, it would seem, stems from an improbable fusion of characteristics modelled on Hotspur and the Lord Chief Justice!

By tracing Hal's enduring commitment to King Richard, in the imagery, dramatic structure, and symbolic action of Shakespeare's second tetralogy, this thesis has endeavoured to demonstrate that the playwright gives us not only a consistent character in the Prince who becomes Henry V, but a remarkably coherent rendering of the crucial span of history covered by the four plays. Indeed, many of the critical problems arising from the kind of approach that concentrates thematically on either Richard's deposition or the emergence of Henry V seem not to exist if a positive link between these two monarchs is accepted. Moreover, if the playwright sought to please Elizabeth, who herself feared Richard's fate, what better way than with an imaginative interpretation of history that effectively excises the treasonous canker Bolingbroke from England's royal succession?

1. Crane gives a useful summary of critical attempts either to unify or to separate the individual plays of the tetralogy. Predictably, her conclusions are somewhat equivocal.

2. Interestingly, it was Tillyard who originally proposed such a scheme for the Henry IV plays, taking a far less expansive view, it would seem, when dealing with individual works, as opposed to the whole eight-play epic design.

3. Bowling gives a good account of the history and legend behind this popular story.

4. All citations are from The Complete Signet Classic Shakespeare (Harcourt: New York, 1972).

5. The difference between "envious clouds" and "base contagious clouds" can be appreciated when applied to Bolingbroke and Falstaff respectively.

6. It is on this point particularly, Hal's idealization of Richard, that Stern differs from Kris's position and my own, stating: "I believe that what Hal makes of Richard is less significantly historical than psychological and less significantly an idealization of the crown than an identification with the murdered king himself . . . " (493). He maintains that Hal identifies with Richard's "oedipal crime," that is the banishment of Bolingbroke.

7. In his argument in favor of the tetralogy's unity, Porter makes the following statements: "It may well be that in writing R2 Shakespeare did not foresee the remainder of the tetralogy," but " . . . whether or not Shakespeare had H5 in his mind as he wrote R2, he certainly had R2 much in his mind as he wrote H5" (2).

8. As one piece of evidence that Shakespeare consulted this work directly, Kelly notes that "Walsingham alone among the chroniclers suggests homosexual offenses in Richard (in his Historia anglicana account of 1386)." In a footnote, he adds: "This charge is not repeated except possibly in Richard II (3.1.11-15) where Bolingbroke says to Bushy and Green: 'You have in manner with your sinful hours / Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him, / Broke the possession of a royal bed'" (11).

9. The only reason given by Holinshed for the reburial is that Henry V "abhorr[ed] obscure burial" (vol. III, 62)

10. Galbraith (237-8), Panofsky (118), and Wormald (197-8), who share this opinion, base their conclusions largely on Walsingham's account of the reburial.

11. Having lost much of its practical purpose in Shakespeare's day, heraldry nevertheless took on an even greater importance as a mark of gentility. "Not content with holding that only a gentleman could possess arms, [the heralds] asserted that only a person possessing arms could rank as a gentleman" (Scott-Giles 22).

12. Burckhardt tells us that, in the sixteenth century, "the law governing the transfer of sovereign power--primogeniture--had all the prestige and sanctions of divine prescription; it was a 'natural' law like other natural laws instituted by God for the ordering of events" (165).

13. In using this title, I treat the two parts of Henry IV as a single play.

14. Quoted from the dissertation abstract.

15. I find this stand surprising in light of Winny's earlier statement, which must refer only to individual plays: "Shakespeare's imaginative activity consists of connecting and relating together, not of singling out. We begin to understand his plays only when we have traced out the design which integrates so many scattered images and events: elements which take their meaning from their poetic environment, and lose it when isolated" (11).

16. Berry observes that, in the second tetralogy, historical process is "curiously tangential to the major preoccupations of the plays. Instead of being at the center of attention, as in the Henry VI plays, a sense of history hovers on the fringes of events, evoked in passing allusions but subordinated to other interests . . . . History becomes to a very great extent biography--a study of Henry V as prince and king" (108-9). Commenting on Henry's prayer on the eve of Agincourt, he notes that "psychology, not history, dominates the scene," that "history . . . has become internalized, psychologically defined . . . " (110-1).

17. Both Harold Jenkins (51) and Maynard Mack (638) point out that Daniel (Bk. IV, 34) makes a similar adjustment in Hotspur's age.

18. Bevington makes the interesting observation that "Hal's offer to combat Hotspur single-handedly and the King's decline of this offer are not in the chronicles, and indeed Shakespeare has played up the rivalry between Hal and Hotspur, along with Hal's role in the Battle of Shrewsbury" (14).

19. Shuchter's interpretation of this scene has met with wide acceptance in the criticism.

20. Rabkin makes a similar point in favor of the tetralogy's unity: "I can think of no other explanation for the fact that already in Richard II Hotspur--a character completely unnecessary to that play--has been made practically a generation younger than his model. The implication of the change is that in 1595 Shakespeare already intended a play about Prince Hal" (36).

21. With reference to the relationship between Henry IV and Prince Hal, Matthews too makes note of this pattern: "But when we remember what Shakespeare sometimes makes of the relationship between parent and child there seems little enough warmth in this one" (218).

22. The widely acknowledged importance of names and titles in this play is treated in some detail by Calderwood, Porter, and Winny.

23. According to Prior, Hotspur is the only member of the rebellion who espouses idealistic motives (68).

24. In "Oedipal Patterns in Henry IV," Faber provides an interesting treatment of this distance between father and son.

25. Concerning the efficacy of their reconciliation, Ornstein remarks: "What an extraordinary version this scene is of the prodigal's return. There is no tender emotion, no warm embraces, no tears--or at least none that are wholly above suspicion" (142-4).

26. Until 1606, the word "dear" could mean "heartfelt" (OED).

27. Winny too recognizes the complex irony of this speech, particularly with regard to the cleansing function of the "bloody mask" (144-5). However, his failure to connect this image specifically with Hotspur's "mangled face," coupled with his insistence that Hal kills a rival to be scorned rather than respected, are reflections of Winny's surprisingly negative view of Hotspur.

28. The Prince is not made aware of Falstaff's "dead" or "live" presence until after the ritual is complete.

29. Although in full agreement with this aspect of Faber's argument, I must distance myself from any psychanalytic pursuit of the Oedipus in Hal's relationship with Falstaff, which of necessity sees the latter's role far more as a substitute father than as parody of a treasonous king.

30. In light of Falstaff's role here of mock king, his rejoinder to Bardolph's mention of the money's destination, "You lie, ye rogue! 'Tis going to the king's tavern," recalls

an earlier allusion to Bolingbroke as the "alehouse" king (R2 V, i, 15).

31. Faber too employs all of the following examples--the "arras" scene, Falstaff's feigned death, the crown scene, and the "death's head" masquerade--in his treatment of Hal's oedipal relationship with both his father and the surrogate-father Falstaff.

32. This pretence, as well as the reason for it, is not unlike the mask of insanity assumed by Hamlet.

33. Sanders too sees in Hal's choice of words that "Justice is thus dissociated from the reign of Henry IV and the wildness of Hal's youth and his father's illegal reign are firmly linked . . ." (32).

34. This figurative connection was suggested by Dr. E. Berry.

35. Blanpied, who recognizes powerful parricidal urges in Hal throughout Henry IV, notes that, in the effort to inspire his nobles by invoking their heroic fathers, "[Henry V] would not name his own in this connection, of course, but rather his more appropriate ancestors, Edward III and the Black Prince" (221).

36. Sprague makes the interesting comment that Richard Burton's "Prince Hal" was "most nearly the future King Henry V--but he was never merry" (60).

37. Bradbrook (76), Holderness (77), Kelly (243), Manheim (176), Phialas (163, n. 21), Rabkin (45), and Reese (311, n. 2), all comment on this connection.

Literature Cited

Alexander, Franz. "A Note on Falstaff." Psychoanalytic Quarterly 2 (1933): 592-606.

Aoki, Keiji. Shakespeare's Henry IV and Henry V: Hal's Heroic Character and the Sun-Cloud Theme. Kyoto: Author, 1973.

Barber, C. L. Shakespeare's Festive Comedy. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1959.

Berry, Edward I. "The Later Histories: From History to Character." Patterns of Decay: Shakespeare's Early Histories. Charlottesville: UP of VA, 1975. 104-25.

Bevington, David, ed. "Introduction." Henry IV, Part I. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987. 1-122.

Blanpied, John W. Time and the Artist in Shakespeare's English Histories. Newark: U of DE, 1983.

Bodkin, Thomas. The Wilton Diptych in the National Gallery. The Gallery Books, No. 16. London: Humphries, n. d.

Boklund, G. "Henry V--A Hero For All Time?" University of Denver Quarterly 10 (1975): 83-92.

Bowling, William G. "The Wild Prince Hal in Legend and Literature." Washington University Studies, Humanist Series 13 (1925-6): 305-34.

Bradbrook, Muriel C. Muriel Bradbrook on Shakespeare. Sussex: Harvester, 1984.

Bradley, A. C. "The Rejection of Falstaff." Discussions of Shakespeare's Histories: Richard II to Henry V. Ed., R. J. Dorius. Boston: Heath, 1964.

Bromley, J. C. The Shakespearian Kings: A Study in Political Drama. Boulder CO: Assoc. UP, 1971. 61-83.

Burckhardt, Sigurd. "'Swoll'n With Some Other Grief': Shakespeare's Prince Hal Tilogy." Shakespearean Meanings. Princeton: Princeton UP 1968. 144-205.

Calderwood, James L. Metadrama in Shakespeare's Henriad: Richard II to Henry V. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1979.

Campbell, Lily B. Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of

Elizabethan Policy. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1958.

Coursen, H. R., Jr. "Henry V and the Nature of Kingship." Discourse 13 (1970): 279-305.

Crane, Mary Thomas. "The Shakespearean Tetralogy." Shakespeare Quarterly 36 (1985): 282-99.

Dean, Leonard F. "Richard II to Henry V: A Closer View." Studies in Honor of DeWitt T. Starnes. Austin: U of TX, 1967. 37-52.

Dorius, R. J. "Introduction." Twentieth Century Interpretations of Henry IV, Part One. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1970. 1-17.

Ellis-Fermor, Una. The Frontiers of Drama. New York: Oxford UP, 1946.

Faber, M. D. "Falstaff Behind the Arras." American Imago 27 (1970): 197-225.

---. "Oedipal Patterns in Henry IV." Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 36 (1967): 426-34.

Fairholt, F. W. Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. I. Detroit: Singing Tree, 1968.

Galbraith, Vivian Hunter. "A New Life of Richard II." Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History. London: Hambledon, 1982. Ch. XIII.

Hall, Edward. Hall's Chronicle. London, 1809.

Heninger, S. K., Jr. "The Sun-King Analogy in Richard II." Shakespeare Quarterly 11 (1960): 319-27.

Holderness, Graham. Shakespeare's History. New York: St. Martin's; Dublin: Gill, 1985.

Holinshed, Raphael. Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland. London, 1807.

Jenkins, Harold. "The Structural Problem in Shakespeare's Henry IV." Discussions of Shakespeare's Histories: Richard II to Henry V. Ed., R. J. Dorius. Boston: Heath, 1964. 41-55.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology. Princeton: Princeton UP,

1957. 24-41.

---. "Oriens Augusti--Lever ou Roi." Dumbarton Oaks Papers XVII (1963): 119-77.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1970.

Kliger, Samuel. "The Sun Imagery in Richard II." Studies in Philology 45 (1948): 196-202.

Kris, Ernst. "Prince Hal's Conflict." Psychoanalytic Quarterly 17 (1948): 487-506.

McCanles, Michael. "The Dialectic of Right and Power in Henry IV, Part 1." William Shakespeare's Henry IV, Part 1. Ed., Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea, 1987. 97-100.

Mallett, P. "Shakespeare's Trickster Kings: Richard III and Henry V." The Fool and the Trickster: Studies in Honor of Enid Welsford. Ed., P. V. Williams. Cambridge: Brewer, 1979. 64-82.

Manheim, Michael. The Weak King Dilemma in the Shakespearean History Play. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1973.

Matthews, Honor. "The Usurped Throne and the Ambiguous Hero." Shakespeare: Henry V, A Casebook. Ed., Michael Quinn. London: Macmillan, 1969. 202-27.

Merrix, Robert P. "Structural Satire in Shakespeare's Henry Plays." DA 27 (1966) 1789 A-90A (Cincinnati).

Ornstein, Robert. A Kingdom for a Stage. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1972.

Panofsky, Erwin. Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character, vol. I. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1958.

Phialas, Peter G. "Shakespeare's Henry V and the Second Tetralogy." Studies in Philology 62 (1965): 155-75.

Porter, Joseph A. The Drama of Speech Acts: Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1979.

Prior, Moody E. The Drama of Power: Studies in Shakespeare's History Plays. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1973.

Rabkin, Norman. "Either / Or: Responding to Henry V."

Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981. 33-62.

Reese, M. M. The Cease of Majesty: A Study of Shakespeare's History Plays. London: Arnold 1961.

Reyher, Paul. "Le Symbole de Soleil dans La Tragedie de Richard II." Revue de L'Enseignment des Langues Vivantes June (1923): 254-60.

Ribner, Irving. The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957.

Sanders, Norman. "The True Prince and the False thief: Prince Hal and the Shift of Identity." Shakespeare Survey 30 (1977): 29-34.

Scott-Giles, C. W. Shakespeare's Heraldry. New York: Dutton, 1950.

Sen Gupta, S. C. Shakespeare's Historical Plays. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1964.

Shuchter, J. D. "Prince Hal and Francis: The Imitation of an Action." Shakespeare Studies 3 (1967): 129-37.

Sicherman, C. M. "'King Hal': The Integrity of Shakespeare's Portrait." Texas Studies in Literature and Language 21 (1979): 503-21.

Sprague, A. C. Shakespeare's Histories: Plays for the Stage. London: Society for Theatre Reseach, 1966.

Spurgeon, Caroline F. E. Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968.

Stern, Jeffrey. "The Sins of the Fathers: 'Prince Hal's Conflict' Reconsidered." Psychoanalytic Studies of Biography. Ed., George Moraitis & George H. Pollock. Madison: Intl. Universities P, 1987. 487-501.

Sternlicht, Sanford. "The Making of a Political Martyr-Myth: Shakespeare's Use of the Memory of Richard II in 1 & 2 Henry IV and Henry V." Ball State University Forum 12 (1971): 26-38.

Tillyard, E. M. W. Shakespeare's History Plays. London: Chatto, 1959.

Traversi, Derek. Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1957.

Watson, Robert N. "Horsemanship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy." English Literary Renaissance 13 (1983): 274-300.

Webber, Joan. "The Renewal of the King's Symbolic Role: From Richard II to Henry V." Texas Studies in Literature and Language 4 (1962-3): 503-8.

Wilson, J. Dover. The Fortunes of Falstaff. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1961.

---. "Introduction." King Richard II. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1939. vii-lxxvi.

Winny, James. The Player King: A Theme of Shakespeare's Histories. London: Chatto, 1968.

Wormald, Francis. "The Wilton Diptych." The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 17 (1954): 191-203.

VITA

Surname: YORATH Given Names: LINDA CAROL

Place of Birth: EDMONTON, ALTA Date of Birth: 22-12-40

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1978 to 1991
University of British Columbia	1977
University of Calgary	1974 to 1976
University of Alberta	1959 to 1964

Degrees Awarded:

B.A.	University of Victoria	1987
Diploma in Physiotherapy	University of Alberta	1964

Honours and Awards:

Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis:

PRINCE HAL'S SOLILOQUY: The Legacy of King Richard in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy

Author [redacted]

LINDA C. YORATH
(Name in Block Letters)

April 26, 1991
(Date)