A Transformational Analysis of Leadership in Shakespeare's *Henry V*

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Abstract  This thesis applies features of modern leadership theories in an analysis of Shakespeare's *Henry V* to determine the extent to which Henry, as portrayed by Shakespeare, can be considered a model leader from a transformational perspective. Transformational leadership theories view leadership as an interaction between a leader and his/her followers which leads to transformation of the followers' attitudes and aspirations into line with those of the leader. Such theories have a strong moral and ethical component and view leadership not simply as a phenomenon that results from special personal characteristics possessed by the leader, but as a process between the leader and those who are led. This thesis reviews some of the most important transformational leadership theories proposed in recent years, identifying common features and grouping them together to form a reduced set of essentially transformational leadership characteristics which can be applied in the analysis of Shakespeare's text. Taking each element of the grouping in turn, the play is analysed through selected example scenes/occurrences to determine the extent to which Henry's behaviour as leader corresponds with that expected from a truly transformational leader. Two readings of each selected scene are provided, one which positively seeks to identify Henry's transformational leadership behaviours and an alternative "gestalt", which points out departures from the transformational model, as well as ethical and moral shortcomings in Henry's aspirations and behaviour. As a result of this analysis it is clear that a reading of the text which seeks to identify Henry's transformational qualities clearly reveals such behaviours. However, elements which question Henry's credentials as a truly transformational leader are equally easy to identify. Thus, in line with other recent scholarly work, this leads to the conclusion that there is a fundamental dichotomy in Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry: while he exhibits many transformational leadership properties, there is a troubling darker side to Henry's character which casts doubt on the moral and ethical basis of his leadership style.

Keywords  Shakespeare, Henry V, transformational leadership, dichotomy
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1. Introduction

There is currently a great deal of interest in the development of leadership theories that can provide a quantitative understanding of the qualities that define a successful leader and, as a result, many of the leadership theorists turn not only to historical figures to study the subject, but also to artistic representations of successful leaders. Shakespeare's play *Henry V* is one of the most popular of these. A number of publications appeared in recent years claiming that Shakespeare's characters and situations could be used to help modern managers to gain insights into and acquire necessary leadership skills, and avoid possible dangers (see, for example, *Shakespeare in Charge: The Bard's Guide to Leading and Succeeding on the Business Stage* by N. Augustine and P. Adelman (1999), *Shakespeare on Management* by Paul Corrigan (2000) and *Inspirational Leadership* by Richard Olivier (2007)). But it seems that a number of these authors have chosen to overlook the critical history of the play which places emphasis on dichotomy and the underlying choice for the audience to see either an outstanding Christian monarch or a cynical Machiavellian prince.

The definition of Henry as "an amiable monster", first coined by the prominent English essayist William Hazlitt (1817), is well known and often referred to by later Shakespearean scholars. Since Hazlitt's time numerous interpretations of the play have been proposed. Some critics look for the ironies in play. In his essay, published in 1951, Goddard took the view that *Henry V* was designed by Shakespeare to convey two opposite meanings, a straightforward view of Henry as a great Christian king, directed at the less sophisticated members of his audience, the other, more subversive and ironic view of Henry as a hypocrite and cold-blooded brutal conqueror, for the more thoughtful (Goddard 1951).

According to Stephen Greenblatt's new historical reading (2004, first published 1985), *Henry V* "registers every nuance of royal hypocrisy, ruthlessness and bad faith, but it does so in the context of a sense of a celebration, a collective panegyric to "This star of England", the
charismatic leader who purges the commonwealth of its incorrigibles and forges the martial national State" (2004: 453). Thus, for Greenblatt, instead of providing two alternative, mutually exclusive views of Henry, the play presents both Henry's worthy aspects and his faults together as part of the same character, the authoritarian and ruthless sides of Henry's character having little adverse effect on the impression that the play is a celebration of a charismatic national hero.

Others emphasise fundamental ambiguities in the play. In his widely-cited essay "Rabbits, Ducks, and Henry V" (1977), Norman Rabkin applies Gestalt theory in his reading of the play, arguing that the two possible views of Henry as either a great warrior king or a scheming, self-interested manipulator are mutually-exclusive. Rabkin follows Goddard's suggestion that Shakespeare provided two opposing views of Henry to appeal to different elements of his audience, but according to Rabkin, Shakespeare's presentation of Henry divides the audience more according to their initial preconceptions and expectations rather than their level of sophistication.

Sara Munson Deats, another more recent critic to focus on the contradictions in Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry, takes the view that these are a consequence of a cultural tendency in early modern works, which emphasised and exploited contrariety to create highly ambiguous works of drama. In this way, according to Deats (2004: 84), Shakespeare was able to avoid the censorship laws of 1590s, which would not have permitted the open statement of subversive views. Deats also argues a link between this dramatic practice and the fascination in early modern society with dual aspect paintings "that shift configurations with a shift in position" (2004: 84). Following a similar line of historical interpretation, in his book The Tudor Play of Mind (1978), Joel Altman took the view that ambiguity in plays of this time is the result of a widespread practice in Tudor schools, in which students learned the art of rhetoric by arguing opposing sides of a question. In a later article, which specifically concerns
Henry V, Altman postulates that the "unusual" structure of the play, is the reflection of the "liberties and restraints" of Elizabethan times, which were so "mutually entangled" that Shakespeare was not able to pull them apart, but was forced to "play out their possibilities on the stage" (Altman 1991: 32). In this way, Altman's view suggests that the structure of Shakespeare's Henry V is an unavoidable consequence of the times in which the play was written.

A somewhat different, perhaps more traditional view is presented by James Loehlin in his book "Shakespeare in Performance: Henry V", which suggests that more complex interpretations of Henry V are a modern phenomenon resulting from theatrical innovations and new political insights. Analysing different productions of the play, Loehlin distinguishes between an "official" heroic version of the play, glorifying "an ideal king, a divinely sanctioned victory, and a courageous and unified nation" and a "secret" version with scenes of betrayal, loss, cruelty and where friends and enemies alike are sacrificed to the bloody demands of conquest (2000: 2). Loehlin's conclusion is that "modern performance has discovered or created a wealth of hidden secrets in Henry V, and rendered what was perhaps Shakespeare's most straightforward and tradition-bound play one of his most theatrically provocative" (2000: 1). Indeed, one could argue that it is not at all surprising that the previously "hidden", or at least unrecognised, complexity of Shakespeare's Henry V should have come to light in the twentieth century. With the development of means of instantaneous mass communication and the traumatic world conflicts of 1914-18 and 1939-45, the consciousness of the world's population has been dramatically transformed. There is now a much greater awareness and understanding of world events and the ethical consequences of our leaders' actions.

Even though the text of Henry V provides ample examples that could be used to "teach" an ideal model of leadership, in view of the widely commented dichotomy in Shakespeare's
text, such an approach might actually be quite dangerous: it fails to recognise the complexity of Shakespeare's play, as well as the complexity of leadership theory itself. It would be more valuable and rewarding to use the play as a tool in the study of leadership theory itself, as an allegory for providing valuable insights into our modern attitudes towards leadership, conflict and politics. And, of course, conversely, it is possible to use modern leadership theory as a tool for accessing the core of the play. Taking this approach, the theory of "Transformational Leadership" would seem to be a promising tool, as it is one of the most developed among modern leadership theories and deals, in particular, with the question of ethics in leadership, which links well with the ethical ambiguities modern producers and audiences perceive in the play.

Nicolas Warner (2007) made a very interesting attempt to apply a number of leadership theories, concentrating especially on the leader-follower relationship, while analysing Branagh's film and (in passing) Olivier's film adaptation of Henry V, but I have not encountered any similarly serious interdisciplinary scholarship on leadership as depicted in the play that concentrate on the text alone. This is what I hope to achieve with this Pro Gradu work: an analysis of Henry's leadership as it appears in Shakespeare's words, without the intermediate interpretation of a stage or film production, critically applying a transformational approach, but at the same time remaining aware of the shortcomings of this technique and the possibility for interpreting Shakespeare's text from different perspectives. It is my intention to assess whether Henry V, as portrayed by Shakespeare, can be considered a true transformational leader, fulfilling all the criteria of modern transformational leadership theory, or whether, as alleged by Claire McEachern, the only transformation we see in the play is a "transformation of Henry from a personable prince to an unfeeling embodiment of state power" (1994: 46).
Before continuing, it is worth remembering that the character of Henry V, as portrayed in Shakespeare's play is essentially a fictional character. Although created by Shakespeare with reference to historical sources, the main being Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Grady 2005), it should not be forgotten that the play was written some 200 years after Henry's death. Thus, even if Shakespeare's intention had been to present an accurate historical documentary, it would have been very difficult for him to do so, removed in time as he was from the actual events portrayed and living in a time when documentary evidence of actual historical events was hard to come by and most often inaccurate, embellished or far from impartial. It is therefore almost certain that Shakespeare's aim was not to provide a historically faithful account, but to use the real historical events purely as the source of an interesting plot for his play, and as a backdrop to his own dramatic analysis of leadership qualities.

The question also arises, what was Shakespeare's view of Henry? Or, indeed, does Shakespeare intend a particular reading of Henry's character? From a traditional perspective, and a straightforward interpretation of the play, it might be claimed that Shakespeare's intention was to portray a perfect leader, accomplished in politics, popular with his subjects, successful in battle and in love. However, taking the modern, more complex view, we can perhaps appreciate that Shakespeare has cleverly constructed an intricate text that can be interpreted in different ways, for example according to the particular personal characteristics, biases and points of view of each member of his audience. As suggested by Malcom Pittock, it is possible that "Shakespeare the man intended to write a simple patriotic play, celebrating a warrior hero, but Shakespeare the universal artist could not allow him to do so" (2008: 177). Alternatively, as already discussed, Shakespeare's intention, from the outset, may have been to present a highly critical view of Henry, but he was prevented from doing so openly because of censorship and the unacceptability of such a subversive meaning in Elizabethan society.
Another view is that the structure of Shakespeare's play is the result of prevailing fashions and popularity of highly ambiguous art forms. Whatever his motivation, it is almost certainly true that, as noted by Rabkin (1977: 285), upon leaving the theatre, Shakespeare's Elizabethan audience may well have been divided concerning the portrayal of Henry they had just witnessed. Some would have had a positive perception, others a negative view, while others, Rabkin suggests the "best" of Shakespeare's audience, "knew terrifyingly that they did not know what to think" (1977: 285).

Of course, Shakespeare knew nothing of modern leadership theories, but in *Henry V*, it seems that he has constructed a theatrical device in which the audience is presented with an insight into various aspects of a leader's role and challenges and is left to form a conclusion for themselves, based on the material presented. While no particular outcome may be intended, it is my belief that an analysis of the text using modern transformational leadership theories as a framework will provide a greater understanding of the complexities of Shakespeare's dramatic construction and an insight into the way in which modern leadership theory can be critically viewed.
2. Modern Leadership Theories

2.1 Definition of Leadership

People’s interest in leadership phenomena is centuries old and can be traced back to the philosophers of the Confucian school of thought, the Ancient Egyptians and the Greeks, for example Plato, who all attempted to define the nature of leadership and study it in practice. But the middle of the 20th century can be probably considered the beginning of what one could describe as modern "leadership theory". Its development accelerated with the appearance of large corporations, ready to invest millions in order to improve the capacities of their workforce. As a result, a large number of different theoretical approaches, both descriptive and prescriptive, have appeared over the last century.

The leadership theories studied in this chapter reflect both the development of modern views on leadership and, at the same time, are those which seem most relevant to the present work: i.e. those which seem most appropriate for analysis of the character of Henry V, as presented in Shakespeare's play.

With the appearance of different approaches in leadership research, many different definitions of leadership evolved. There are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept (Stodgill 1974: 259). While many emphasise the aspects of a leader's personality and abilities as playing a crucial role in establishing him/her as an effective leader, it is interesting to note that, according to the vast majority of modern leadership theories, transformational leadership in particular, a good leader is not only effective but also ethical. According to Ciulla (2004: 3), somewhere in almost any book devoted to the subject, one could find references on how integrity and strong ethical values are crucial to leadership.

Furthermore, considering the different definitions of good leadership in chronological order, it is possible to notice a certain trend developing. Earlier theories (the "great man"
theories) tend to view successful leadership as arising from nothing else but a combination of God-given competencies or special (usually innate) traits, which an individual possesses and which help him/her to influence others in order to accomplish certain tasks. As Simon Western (2008: 26) points out, this view is not only culturally coherent, representing a westernized view of the society as an aggregation of individuals, but also fits the heroic narratives seen in history, stories and films. According to Western (2008: 26), the individual leader appears to be the commonest representation of leadership, mainly due to the fact that such personalisation helps simplify a complex phenomenon.

Later theories, on the other hand, tend more towards viewing leadership as an interactive mechanism - "an influence process towards achieving shared purposes" (Rost 1991: 53), involving both leaders and their followers. Leadership has even been considered an "art for mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations" (Kouzes & Posner 1995: 30). In recent years, leadership has become the focus of attention in management literature and Shakespeare himself has become a source of inspiration for modern managers. Michel Egan (2000: 316), for example, sees Shakespearean kings as a representation of three types of modern executives: leader, manager and boss.

Having considered a number of the modern theories of leadership, it is my view that the most relevant for this work is the "transformational theory", a theoretical leadership concept that is generally associated with the name of James MacGregor Burns. His book Leadership, a massive volume, published in 1978, changed the nature of leadership studies. Burns viewed leadership as a transforming change for both the leader and the follower. He provides the following definition of leadership as:

"the reciprocal process of mobilizing by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers (Burns 1978: 425)."
This definition provides us with key elements to look for when analysing the text of Shakespeare's play to determine Henry's style of leadership: reciprocal process, mobilizing resources, competition and conflict, mutual goals or purposes.

2.2 Transactional versus Transformational Leadership

Although Burns' theory is generally referred to as transformational leadership, Burns actually distinguishes two types of leadership: transactional and transformational. Transactional leadership has, as its basis, the assumption that people are motivated by rewards and penalties (Kuhnert and Lewis 1987: 649) and that inter-personal relations can be characterised as more or less rational exchanges, with the leaders exercising power over their followers.

In transactional leadership, the relationship between the leader and follower is a sort of bargaining process, for example, votes in exchange for a promise not to impose any new taxes (in a political context), or promotion in exchange for loyalty (in the context of business). Effective transactional leadership revolves around the formulation and maintenance of the contract and therefore, according to Bass (1974: 339), effective transactional leaders are capable of (1) clarifying what performance is expected from a perfect follower, (2) explaining how to meet such expectations, (3) spelling out the criteria of the evaluation of their performance, (4) providing feedback on whether the objective has been met, and (5) allocating rewards that are contingent to their meeting the objectives.

In contrast to transactional leadership, transformational leadership is the process whereby a person (the leader) engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower (Northouse 2004: 176). While transactional leadership motivates followers by appealing to their self-interests, transformational leadership motivates subordinates through a shared vision and responsibility.
Transformational leaders are viewed to engender trust, admiration, loyalty and respect amongst their followers (Barbuto, 2005: 28).

As Kuhnert and Lewis (1987: 653) point out, "transformational leaders motivate followers to accept and accomplish difficult goals that followers normally would not have pursued". Unlike transactional leadership, transformational leadership is made possible when leaders' end values (such as integrity, honour and justice) are adopted by the followers, thereby producing changes in the attitudes, beliefs and goals of the followers.

2.3 Transformational Leadership and Charisma

The enigmatic quality of "charisma" has received a great deal of attention from leadership researchers and is often associated with transformational leadership theory. But what exactly is charisma? Perhaps the most well-known definition for the term was provided by Max Weber (1978: 241) as a certain personality characteristic that gives a person the appearance of having superhuman or exceptional powers and qualities. According to Weber (1978: 241), this personality trait appears in only very few people, is of divine origin, and results in the person being treated as a leader. House (1977: 189) described charismatic leaders as those "who by force of their personal abilities are capable of having a profound and extraordinary effect on followers" and are able to cause followers to accomplish outstanding feats.

In their study of two charismatic leaders, Trice and Beyer (1986, 118-119) summarized Weber's theory as including five elements: "(1) an extraordinarily gifted person, (2) a social crisis or situation of desperation, (3) a set of ideas providing a radical solution to the crisis, (4) a set of followers who are attracted to the exceptional person and come to believe that he or she is directly linked to transcendent powers, and (5) the validation of that person's extraordinary gifts and transcendence by repeated successes." In their view, the presence to
some degree of all of these elements and, furthermore, interaction between them was necessary in order for charisma to occur.

For quite some time, the concept of charisma was surrounded by confusion and ambiguity. Keeley (2004: 161-162) points out that there must be serious concerns relating to what happens in situations where this remarkable personal quality goes out of control and turns to evil. The emergence of transformational leadership theory helped bring about an understanding that charisma does not function in a vacuum, i.e. it is not the only element of a person's character that defines him or her as a leader, and now charisma is included as a component in transformational leadership theory. There even exist tests by which a person's charisma can be reliably measured (Avolio et al. 1991: 571).

Following Weber's conception of charismatic authority, Bayer (1999: 308) points out that sociologists tend to see charisma as an unusual form of normative social structure that emerges in times of crisis, when people look to charismatic individuals who are "perceived as possessing extraordinary gifts of spirit and mind" to lead them through the crisis with "radical reorganizations" (Scott 1981: 33). Also, to sociologists, charisma has a normative basis in the belief systems of followers, which legitimates its power.

Furthermore, charisma is no longer viewed as simply a personality trait or a predetermined quality of an individual person, but rather as a social relationship between the leader, follower and environment. Therefore, one of the latest definitions of charisma is as a part of a highly emotional and socially charged process by which a leader embodies what members within the community have in their minds and hearts, and in return these people legitimise this leader with special characteristics (Drath and Palus 1994: 5). Thus, newer concepts of charisma focus on the behaviours and traits of charismatic leaders, including inspiration through a compelling vision, self-sacrifice, being responsive to follower's needs and being emotionally expressive with their followers (Conger and Kanungo 1998: 191).
2.4 Bass's Model of Transformational Leadership

Bernard Bass is considered the chief advocate of transformational leadership. He identifies five components of transformational leadership: idealized influence (charisma), inspirational motivation (inspiring others through vision), intellectual stimulation (rethinking ideas and challenging pre-conceived assumptions), individualized consideration (treating others as individuals rather than members of a group) and idealised attributes (building trust, respect and faith) (Bass and Avolio, 1994: 3). According to this model, transformational leaders inspire followers through charisma, meet their emotional needs through individual consideration and stimulate them intellectually by stirring their awareness of problems.

Elaborating on Burns's theory, Bass (1985: 183-184) argued that transactional and transformational leadership are not two opposite extremes of the same approach, but are in fact two separate concepts. Bass finds "the two approaches to be independent and complementary" (Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe 2001: 2). Therefore, according to Bass (1985: 183), the best leaders are actually both transformational and transactional.

Bass also described three dimensions of transactional leadership. The first, namely the contingent reward, is the degree to which the leader sets up constructive transactions or exchanges with followers by clarifying expectations and establishing the rewards when the followers meet these expectations. The other two dimensions of Bass's transactional leadership model are two types of so-called management-by-exception. Management-by-exception occurs when the leader intervenes to make a correction when something goes wrong (Bass 1985: 183) and can be active or passive. Active leaders monitor follower behaviour and take corrective actions before the followers' behaviour creates serious difficulties (Northouse 2004: 179). Passive leaders, on the other hand, do not take any action unless the behaviour of the followers has already created problems. The main difference
between the two is that in the active form the leader looks for deviations, whereas in the passive form, the leader waits for problems to emerge (Hater and Bass 1988: 695).

To summarise the main points of Bass's model, while transactional leaders predetermine what followers should do to realise the aim and motivate them through an exchange process, transformational leaders motivate and stimulate their followers to surpass their own self-interests and direct themselves to a higher level of motivation linked to the interests of the team, organisation or larger community as a whole.

2.5 Other Transformational Perspectives

Two other main lines of thought should also be mentioned within the framework of transformational leadership: the research of Bennis & Nanus (1985), and that of Kouzes & Posner (2002).

As a result of their research, Bennis & Nanus (1985) identified four common strategies used by leaders in transforming organisations. The first of Bennis & Nanus's strategies concerns the leader having a clear vision of the future state of his/her organisation. This should be attractive, realistic and believable (Bennis & Nanus, 1985: 89). Furthermore, the vision is usually simple, understandable, beneficial and energy creating. Secondly, transforming leaders usually appear to be social architects for their organisations. In many circumstances transforming leaders mobilize people to accept a new group identity or new group philosophy for their organisations. Thirdly, there is the ability of such a leader to create trust, usually by making their own positions clear and standing by them. Trust appears to be a crucial component of leadership. Without trust, it may be difficult to communicate a vision to subordinates. In situations where the future is uncertain and risky, trust is especially important. The higher the level of trust, the easier subordinates accept decisions made by leaders (Tyler and Degoey 1996: 342). Finally, the fourth strategy identified by Bennis &
Nanus concerns the importance of positive self-regard. A successful transformational leader knows his strengths and weaknesses, emphasizing his strengths rather than dwelling on his weaknesses. Benus & Nanus (2003: 25) also found that positive self-regard in leaders had a reciprocal impact on followers.

Based on interviews with 1,300 middle and senior level managers in different organisations, Kouzes & Posner (2002) developed a model containing five fundamental practices, enabling leaders to achieve extraordinary results: (1) modelling the way, (2) inspiring a shared vision, (3) challenging the process, (4) enabling others to act and (5) encouraging the heart. In the next few paragraphs a brief description is provided for each of these practices.

To model the way, leaders need to set a personal example for others by their own behaviour, clearly express their values and philosophy, and follow through on their promises and commitments.

Meaning and purpose are at the heart of leadership vision. Kouzes & Posner highlight that "one of the most important practices of leadership is giving life and work a sense of meaning and purpose by offering an exciting vision" (Kouzes & Posner 2002: 112). Consequently, leadership itself can be considered as the process of making meaning and sense, a process of "creating names, interpretations and commitments… [of]…what actually exists, and of that, what is important" (Drath and Palus 1994: 9). Strategic visioning is therefore a key aspect of transformational leadership.

Challenging the process (Kouzes & Posner 2002: 17) requires a leader to have an ability to step into the unknown: to innovate, to grow and improve, and to take risks in order to make things better. Outstanding leaders are effective at working with people and enable others to act by making each person powerful, strengthen others by sharing their power. Their aim is to
create an atmosphere of trust and human dignity. They also encourage the heart by rewarding others for their accomplishments.

To summarise, according to Kouzes & Posner, the transformational leader articulates a vision that is relevant to the needs and values of the followers in a clear and appealing manner, explains how to attain this vision, acts confidently and optimistically, expresses confidence in the followers, emphasizes values with metaphors, symbolic actions and rituals, leads by example, and empowers followers to achieve the vision by his actions (Yukl 1994: 366).

2.6 Criticisms of the Transformational Approach and Ethical Considerations

There is little doubt the main achievement of the transformational approach to leadership is a realisation that leadership as a process emerging between followers and leaders. Although this concept is now widely accepted, it is still not fully researched and there are still a large number of uncertainties. For example, if transformational leadership is largely about moving people towards a new vision, then a question arises as to how one may determine that a new vision is, in fact, a better one. Another aspect of transformational leadership that is still not fully understood is, for example, the way in which transformational leaders affect followers psychologically. The way in which followers may challenge leaders and how leaders respond to their followers' reactions are also areas of transformational leadership theory where greater understanding is still required.

Burns considers understanding phenomena such as charisma and follower worship as one of the central problems in studies of leadership today (Bailey & Axelrod 2001: 116). According to other researchers, the charismatic nature of transformational leadership presents significant risks for organisations because it can be used for destructive purposes as well as for good (O’Connor, Mumford et al. 1995: 532).
Indeed, it can be considered that transformational leadership's fundamental premise that leadership is a process of influencing others to reach a certain goal is also its greatest difficulty, leading to an inevitable entanglement with questions of ethics and moral responsibilities. As Bass and Steidlmeier state in their article "Ethics, Character and Authentic Transformational Leadership", leaders walk a fine line of moral probity and may be manipulative (1998: 4). Some authors (e.g. Bailey 1988) take the position that in order to succeed, all leaders must be manipulative: "[N]o leader can survive...without deceiving others... Leadership and malefaction go hand in hand" (Bailey 1988: ix). Thus, many consider that there is nothing inherently good in leadership itself. A leader can be very skilled, effective and highly influential, but at the same time highly unethical, deliberately making decisions to achieve personal benefit and acting in his/her own interest rather than that of the followers.

On the other hand, followers tend to hold leaders responsible for their actions and also for matters over which they have no control, leading to a situation in which a fundamentally good or ethical leader may lose the trust and confidence of his/her followers for no real fault of his/her own. The opposite may also be true. Some leaders may be neither ethical nor effective, but are considered both effective and ethical for the simple reason of being lucky. Leaders have moral good fortune when events outside their control conspire to make them appear better leaders than they are in reality (Williams 1981: 118). Conversely, unlucky leaders may be moral and skilled but have their carefully planned enterprises destroyed by matters of fate.

As a result of these ethical considerations, many theorists of transformational leadership now distinguish between authentic transformational leadership and what is termed "pseudo-transformational" leadership. One only has to look to ancient or indeed more recent history, to find examples of charismatic leaders who, using their coercive powers, lead their followers to
an evil end. According to Bass and Steidlmeier (1998: 13), authentic transformational leaders appreciate that decisions are likely to have costs as well as benefits to themselves and their followers and that the benefits must outweigh the costs, whereas pseudo-transformational leaders are looking for benefits for themselves at the expense of others. According to Bass (1998B: 24) pseudo-transformational leaders tend to be authoritarian in attitude, self-aggrandizing and exploitive of their followers. They use manipulation, threats and promises to induce compliance.

Bass and Riggio (2006: 14) point out that a leaders' behaviour may be scrutinised to determine whether the transformational leadership qualities they exhibit indicate an authentic or a pseudo-transformational approach. For example, "the transformational components of idealized influence and inspirational motivation can be used authentically to create follower commitment and motivation to a noble cause that benefits all, or it can be used to manipulate followers and produce an unhealthy dependence on the leader" (Bass and Riggio 2006: 14).

Pseudo-transformational leaders often deliberately mislead, deceive and prevaricate. "The intellectual stimulation of pseudo-transformational leaders manifests a logic containing false assumptions to slay the dragons of uncertainty" (Bass and Steidlmeier 1998: 5). Pseudo-transformational leaders may therefore create the impression that they are doing the right thing, while they are, in fact, manipulating the situation with a "twist that achieves the desired responses" from their followers (Bass 1989: 45). Unlike true transformational leaders, pseudo-transformational leaders are concerned with maintaining and enhancing their personal power. They often rationalise and justify their deceptions by pretending to be truly transformational and use "impression management" to give their actions a positive "spin" thereby deflecting the criticism of their followers.

Some critics (see e.g. Williams, Whyte, & Green, 1965; Hofstede, 1980: 258) also point out that one should not ignore such issues as culture-dependant differences, social class, and
level of education: many potential followers in some cultures and social classes may expect their leaders to be authoritarian. J.M. Beyer gives a good example (1999: 320) of Lee Kuan Yew, the autocratic, charismatic leader who transformed Singapore from a poor, backward, politically unstable area after World War II into a socially progressive, wealthy, modern metropolis. In Beyer's opinion (1999: 322) Lee Kuan Yew may be considered a model example of what "a brilliant imperious" leader can achieve. Some, on the other hand, see Lee's government as arrogant, over-centralized, and interfering in people's personal lives.

In the view of some researchers, the problems associated with transformational leadership models run even deeper than this. A number of critics have pointed to moral flaws even within the framework of the "authentic" transformational leadership model itself: transformational leaders influence the values of their followers in such a way that they adopt the leader's values as their own. The leader may thus subtly violate general democratic principles and distort his/her followers' view of the world, leading to blind, unquestioning allegiance. In this way even a true transformational leader may also manipulate followers along a "primrose path", an idealised and artificial course engineered by the leader, on which they actually lose more than they think they gain (White and Wooten 1986, as quoted by Bass and Steidlmeier, 1998: 4).

Considering the ethical issues of leadership, Bass's opinion is most probably correct: most leaders are neither completely saintly nor completely sinful. They are neither completely selfless, nor are they completely selfish (Bass 1998A: 171). Thus, as a result, it is often very difficult to make a clear distinction between leadership for the good and bad (e.g. pseudo-transformational) leadership.
2.7 Combination of Theoretical Approaches to Develop an Analytical Method

Considering the theoretical formulations of Bass & Avolio, Bennis & Nanus and Kouzes & Posner from a high-level perspective, it is possible to identify certain key elements in each model that contribute to an effective transformational leadership style. For example, the work of Bass & Avolio (1994) identifies the following traits / behaviours as characteristic of a successful transformational leader:

1. idealized influence (which is closely related to a leader's charisma);
2. inspirational motivation (inspiring others through vision);
3. intellectual stimulation (rethinking ideas and challenging pre-conceived assumptions);
4. individualized consideration (treating others as individuals rather than members of a group);
5. idealised attributes (building trust, respect and faith);

Bennis & Nanus (1985: 26-27), on the other hand, identify the following four key characteristic elements that are the mark of a transformational leader:

1. having a clear vision of the future state that is attractive, realistic, believable, simple, understandable and energy-creating;
2. mobilising people to accept a new group identity or philosophy;
3. creating trust by making the leader's position clear; and
4. encouraging positive self-regard in one's followers by exhibiting positive self-regard for oneself.

Kouzes & Posner (2002), on the other hand, adopt a 5-element model comprising the following features:

1. modelling the way (setting a personal example for others);
2. inspiring a shared vision (show how dreams can be realised);
3. challenging the process (stepping into the unknown to make things better);
4. enabling others to act (building trust and encouraging teamwork); and
5. encouraging the heart (acknowledging accomplishments).
At first sight, the key elements of the three theories presented above may seem rather diverse but, when considered in greater detail, it is clear that these three separate theoretical formulations in fact have a large amount in common. Indeed, it can be argued that the various theories should share many common features since they are all trying to find an answer to the same problem, namely to identify the characteristics define a good transformational leader. In general, of course, a 100% correlation is difficult to find between the various behavioural elements of the different theories, but at least a certain level of correspondence can be identified between particular elements of the theories, enabling them to be combined into a broader framework. More specifically, it is my view that, due to their fundamental similarity, the following behavioural characteristics from the three different theories can be combined.

A. Behaviours related to PERSONAL CHARISMA and ACTING AS ROLE MODEL: encompassing "idealised influence" (Bass & Avolio), "encouraging positive self-regard in one's followers by exhibiting positive self-regard for oneself" (Bennis & Nanus) and "modelling the way" (Kouzes & Posner). This combination can be justified since Bass & Avolio regard idealised influence as "living one's ideals", which encompasses the following leadership behaviours (Bass & Avolio 1994):

- talking about one's most important values and benefits;
- specifying the importance of having a strong sense of purpose;
- considering the moral and ethical consequences of decisions;
- championing exciting new possibilities; and
- talking about the importance of trusting each other.

Furthermore, Bennis & Nanus (1986) consider that a transformational leader creatively exploits the strengths of his own character and abilities while de-emphasising his weaknesses through leadership techniques such as:

- noticeably exhibiting positive self-regard;
- being aware of their own competence; and
fusing a sense of self with the work at hand.

In addition, Kouzes & Posner (1995) consider that modelling the way requires leaders to:

- set a personal example for others by their own behaviour;
- be clear about their own values and philosophy;
- find their own voice and express it to others; and
- follow through on their promises and commitments;

All of these characteristics are those we would conventionally associate with a charismatic personality, someone with a strong sense of right and wrong, who acts purposefully and by personal example.

B. Behaviours related to BUILDING TRUST: encompassing "idealised attributes" (Bass & Avolio), "creating trust" (Bennis & Nanus) and "enabling others to act" (partly) (Kouzes & Posner). Although referred to in rather different terms in the three theoretical formulations, there is a strong correspondence between these elements of the respective theories. For example, Bass & Avolio (1994) consider the following leadership behaviours critical to the development of respect, trust and faith within a group of followers:

- acting in ways that build others' respect;
- displaying a sense of power and competence;
- making personal sacrifices for others' benefit;
- reassuring others that obstacles will be overcome; and
- instilling pride in others for being associated with the leader.

Bennis & Nanus (1986) consider that good transformational leaders exhibit the following behaviours to create trust:

- making their own positions clearly known and standing by them;
- being predictable and reliable even in uncertain situations; and
- articulating a direction and implementing it.

Furthermore, according to Kouzes & Posner (2002), building trust is an important part of enabling others to act. In their view, good transformational leaders build trust by:

- giving power instead of hoarding it;
- treating others with dignity and respect; and
- promoting collaboration and teamwork.

C. **Behaviours related to creating a VISION**: encompassing "inspirational motivation" (Bass & Avolio), "having a clear vision of the future" (Bennis & Nanus) and "inspiring a shared vision" (Kouzes & Posner). This combination / relational connection is perhaps the strongest between the three theories and is clearly justified when we consider the various criteria that the three groups of theorists consider essential in these categories. For example, Bass & Avolio (1994) consider the following behaviours to be part of inspirational motivation:

- talking optimistically about the future;
- talking enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished;
- articulating a compelling vision of the future;
- expressing confidence that the goals will be achieved;
- providing an exciting image of what is essential to consider; and
- taking a stand on controversial issues.

These elements seem to match rather closely with Bennis & Nanus's (1985: 89) definition of what is meant by having a clear vision of the future. Namely, the future vision should be:

- attractive, realistic and believable;
- simple, understandable, beneficial and energy-creating; and
- touch the experiences of the followers;

Kouzes & Posner's criteria for inspiring a shared vision also correspond to a large extent with the definitions provided by the other two theoretical formulations. In particular, Kouzes & Posner (2002) consider that effective leaders create compelling visions that can guide people's behaviour by:

- visualising positive outcomes in the future and communicating them to others;
- listening to others' dreams and showing how their dreams can be realised; and
- inspiring others to transcend the status quo.
D. Behaviours related to MOTIVATING OTHERS: encompassing "intellectual stimulation" (Bass & Avolio), as well as "challenging the process" (Kouzes & Posner). Bass & Avolio associate the following leadership behaviours with intellectual stimulation:

- stimulating followers to challenge their own beliefs and values;
- re-examining critical assumptions to question whether they are appropriate;
- seeking different perspectives when solving problems; and
- encouraging non-traditional thinking to deal with traditional problems.

Kouzes & Posner similarly consider that their quality of challenging the process includes the following leadership behaviours:

- being willing to change the status quo and step into the unknown;
- being willing to innovate, grow and improve;
- experimenting and being willing to try new things; and
- being willing to take risks in order to make things better.

E. Behaviours related to RECOGNISING THE INDIVIDUAL: "individualised consideration" (Bass & Avolio), as well as elements associated with "enabling others to act" and "encouraging the heart" (Kouzes & Posner). According to Bass & Avolio, transformational leaders pay attention to the needs of their followers by recognising them not only as a member of a group, but also as individuals with specific unique needs. The leadership behaviours associated with individualised consideration include:

- considering individuals as having different needs, abilities and aspirations from others;
- helping others to develop their strengths;
- listening attentively to others' concerns; and
- promoting self-development.

Kouzes & Posner's behavioural characteristics of "enabling others to act" and "encouraging the heart" also include elements that clearly recognise the individual follower rather than focusing solely on the group as a whole, such as:

- listening closely to diverse points of view;
allowing others to make choices;
- celebrating values and victories; and
- rewarding others for their accomplishments.

As presented in the preceding paragraphs, by considering the transformational leadership models developed by Bass & Avolio, Bennis & Nanus and Kouzes & Posner in detail, it has indeed been possible to identify elements of the individual theories that are sufficiently similar to one another to allow them to be grouped together in broader behavioural categories. While it would be over-ambitious and incorrect to describe this as development of a new transformational leadership model, the proposed grouping comprising only 5 categories does provide a mechanism by which the elements of the three models can be brought together. By reducing the total number of aspects to be considered when evaluating Shakespeare's text, the task of analysing the portrayal of Henry V as a leader is reduced to a more manageable level, to the point at which it should be possible to arrive at some conclusions within the scope of this thesis.
3. **Shakespeare's Representation of Henry V's Leadership Qualities**

3.1 **A Gestaltist View of Shakespeare's Text**

Some critics, such as M. M. Reese (1968), J. D. Wilson (1979), and P. Jensen (1996), described *Henry V* as one of Shakespeare's most straightforward plays, a play lacking the subtlety of character that is commonly found in his other works. This is probably because, when viewed at a superficial level, Henry appears to be an ideal leader. On the surface, Henry, as portrayed by Shakespeare, provides a clear representation of an inspirational transformational leader who brings his troops together to win a glorious victory against overwhelming odds. This straightforward reading undoubtedly gave grounds for the production of the famous film by Lawrence Olivier (1944). Such a view has also inspired a number of management gurus, including Olivier's own son, Richard Olivier (2007), to use Shakespeare's play as a rich source for the analysis of effective leadership techniques and for teaching leadership skills to modern managers.

However, as discussed in the introduction to this work, a number of other critics (including for example, Hazlitt (1817), Goddard (1951), Altman (1978, 1991), Loehlin (2000) and Deats (2004)) maintain that Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry is, in fact, much more complex than it would seem at first sight and provide various explanations as to why this might be so. As previously commented, one of the critics who very persuasively demonstrated the ambiguity behind the seemingly straightforward simplicity of *Henry V* is Norman Rabkin. Rabkin (1977) argues that *Henry V* can be viewed as an experiment in which Shakespeare presents a new dramatic structure, a structure rather like the drawing at the top of this page, which resembles both a rabbit and a duck but which, in reality, is neither of those creatures.

The drawing of the "rabbit-duck" is a product of "Gestalt psychology", a theory of the mind and brain developed by Max Wertheimer, Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Köhler in the early years of the twentieth century. Gestalt theory proposes that the human brain applies a
holistic approach to problem solving, performing many operations in parallel and using analogues to solve everyday problems. Gestalt psychology emphasises the self-organizing tendencies of the brain and refers, in particular, to the shape-forming capability of our senses, particularly with respect to the visual recognition of figures and whole forms instead of just a collection of simple lines and curves. Indeed, the word "Gestalt" that gives its name to the theory is German for "shape" or "figure."

Describing the enigmatic "rabbit-duck", Gombrich commented that one "can see the picture as either a rabbit or a duck" (1960: 5); however, the more closely one watches, the more certain it becomes that it is not possible to experience alternative readings at the same time. Following this gestaltist view, and applying it to Shakespeare's Henry V, Rabkin (1977: 285) argues that the ultimate force of the play lies precisely in the fact that it does not give us a single gestalt on Henry, but points simultaneously into two opposite directions. Rabkin (1977: 288) suggests that if one takes the view that Henry V as a continuation of Henry IV Part I, concentrates on Henry's achievements and victories, powerful and admirable rhetoric, human self-reflection and emotions, Henry emerges, inevitably, as an ideal monarch. On the other hand, if one concentrates more on the events of Henry IV Part II, observes Henry's numerous manipulative strategies, his doubtful ambitions, as well as his cruelty, both promised and performed, Henry emerges as a much darker figure, an "opportunist, who has traded his humanity for his success" (Rabkin 1977: 285).

This fundamental ambiguity, which lies at the heart of the play, according to Rabkin (1977: 295) allows Shakespeare to reveal reality as "intransigently multivalent", a reality in which even though we are convinced of basic truths, we suddenly realise that "rabbits are always turning into ducks before our eyes, bushes into bears".

In the following sections of my thesis, I will explore Rabkin's Gestaltist view of Henry V by presenting alternative positive and negative readings of Henry's leadership style that may
be obtained by analysing selected examples from the text of the play. The positive reading will be constructed according to the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed in section 2.7.

Taking each of the 5 behaviours in turn, I will comment on how Shakespeare's text can be interpreted to support the view that Henry is a true transformational leader. Then, inspired by Rabkin's Gestaltist approach, I will point out possible alternative readings of the text which may reveal a darker side to Henry's leadership style and may question the ethical basis of his intentions. Finally, I will consider the extent to which Shakespeare's representation of Henry V shows him to be a transformational leader according to the analysis performed and comment on possible weaknesses in the concept of transformational leadership that may have influenced the results obtained.

3.2 Examples of Henry's Personal Charisma and Role Modelling

(Leadership Behaviour Category A)

Many examples of Henry's charismatic behaviour can be found throughout the play and, on many occasions, like so many other leaders in history, Shakespeare's Henry appears to rely very heavily on the innate charismatic qualities of his personality. His powerful rhetoric is present in almost every utterance he makes and, on numerous occasions he sets a personal example for his followers, whether as a warrior, leading the charge at Harfleur, as a Christian king, attributing his achievements to God, or as a man, courting Katherine. It is obvious that Henry stands out as an extraordinary personality, therefore appearing as charismatic in the eyes of his followers, but as I will demonstrate with the following analysis, it is also possible to view Henry as walking a thin line between using his charisma for his followers' benefit and achieving his own personal objectives without regard for others.
A Transformational View of Henry's Charismatic Behaviour

From the very first scene of the play, Henry's charismatic qualities are evident. In Act I Scene i, Shakespeare allows us to eavesdrop on a conversation between two senior clergymen, the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as they discuss a proposed bill that would impose a heavy tax on the Church. The Archbishop reflects on the miraculous transformation that came over Henry upon the death of his father, King Henry IV:

Canterbury: The courses of his youth promis'd it not.
The breath no sooner left his Fathers body,
But that his wildness, mortified in him,
Seem'd to die too: yea, at that very moment,
Consideration like an angel came,
And whipp'd th' offending Adam out of him,
Leaving his body as a paradise,
T' involop and contain celestial spirits.
Never was such a sudden scholar made;
Never came reformation in a flood,
With such a heady currance scouring faults;
Nor never Hydra-headed wilfulness
So soon did loose his seat, and all at once,
As in this King.
(Henry V, 1. 1. 24-37)

Canterbury wonders how it is possible that Henry could have developed a number of charismatic qualities (especially his ability to strike admiration into those who hear him talk), since he never appeared to study and his youth was spent idly in shallow pursuits and with base company. To this, the Bishop of Ely offers his explanation, comparing Henry's sudden and surprising development to the ripening of strawberries, the best of which can be found amongst fruit of lesser quality.

In this conversation between the two clergymen, Shakespeare focuses on Henry's self-transformation and the way in which, in a very short period of time, he has established himself as a leader-king. Henry is presented as a man who is completely at ease with matters of state, someone who can reduce the most complex issues of policy to an understandable form. He is thus portrayed as an intelligent, serious statesman with a firm grasp of the
important matters of his time. He is also presented as someone who speaks with confidence, passion and eloquence, with an ability to strike awe and admiration into those who hear him speak. The sudden and remarkable nature of his transformation marks Henry out as a man of extraordinary personal qualities. According to the descriptions in chapter 2 above, these are clearly the attributes of a charismatic leader belonging to category A of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours.

Shakespeare returns to the subject of Henry's transformation in Act II Scene i, reminding us how he abandoned his former companions, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, Mistress Quickly and Sir John Falstaff. Interpreting this scene at a symbolic level, in which each of Henry's former companions personifies one or more vices (Pistol is aggressive, but ultimately cowardly, Bardolph is a self-confessed thief and Sir John Falstaff is a drunken womaniser), Henry's abandonment of his former friends can be viewed as a positive decision to turn his back on these vices. Thus, by renouncing his former companions, Henry asserts his own sense of personal responsibility and makes a personal statement clarifying his values and philosophy, taking a decision to set an example to others through his own behaviour. These are also behaviours of a charismatic leader that belong to category A of the 5-element behavioural grouping developed in section 2.7.

Henry also clearly exercises his charisma and strong sense of purpose in Act I Scene ii, where he discusses his rights to the throne of France with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely and his closest advisors. He seems acutely aware of the moral and ethical consequences of a decision to go to war and wants to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, reminding the Archbishop of Canterbury of his religious responsibility to tell the facts relating to the Salique law fully and truthfully. Henry also considers related issues which may affect his decision, such as the need to maintain the defence of England, which may come under attack from the Scots while he and his forces are away. Consideration of the moral and ethical
consequences is another key aspect of a charismatic leadership style according to category A of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours.

Finally, having made his decision to continue with his claim and to invade France, Henry once again expresses his position clearly and indicates his resolution to achieve the stated goals. He further personalises the course of action, by linking his own fate to the outcome of the war:

**King Henry:** Either our history shall with full mouth
Speak freely of our acts, or else our grave,
Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,
Not worshipp'd with a waxen epitaph.

*(Henry V*, 1. 2. 230-233).

This is another behaviour linked with charismatic leadership styles ("fusing a sense of self with the work at hand") and therefore falls into category A of the 5-element behavioural grouping.

In the "tun of treasure" episode, also in Act I Scene ii, Henry continues to exhibit behaviours characteristic of a charismatic transformational leader, establishing himself as a leader with a clear mission. The French ambassadors are naturally cautious, delivering the insulting present of tennis balls from the Dauphin, but Henry assures them that he is a "Christian king" *(Henry V*, 1. 2. 241) and that they can speak directly without fear. Indeed, this statement, together with Henry's numerous other references to God throughout the scene, may be viewed as direct statements of Henry's values and philosophy (a Category A, charismatic form of behaviour). It is also interesting to note how Henry apparently keeps his composure in the face of the Dauphin's insult, even admitting his past deficiencies *(Henry V*, 1. 2. 266-272). Through his brilliant rhetorical reversal of the Dauphin's joke, Henry skilfully "finds his own voice and expresses it to others", leaving the French ambassadors with no doubt about his intention. The whole episode demonstrates Henry clearly establishing himself as a powerful and competent statesman, someone who is aware of his competences and
exhibits positive self-regard. He furthermore follows through on his promise not to execute his rage on the ambassadors by guaranteeing them safe passage at the end of the scene. All of these are charismatic behaviours belonging to category A of the 5-element behavioural grouping.

The charismatic aspects of Henry's character as leader are particularly evident in situations of crisis (c.f. the discussion in Section 2.3 of this work), where, on more than one occasion, Henry skilfully realises the need for intervention and masterfully turns the situation around from one of potential failure or even disaster into one of success and victory. The famous address before the gates of Harfleur (Act III Scene i) and the St. Crispin's day speech (Act IV Scene iii) are particular examples. The address before the gates of Harfleur very strongly emphasises Henry's charismatic personality traits and can be considered as an example of Henry "finding his voice and expressing it to others". With rousing rhetoric he seeks to instil a new sense of purpose in his demoralised troops. His words are confident and clearly demonstrate an awareness of and confidence in his own abilities. These are behaviours typical of a charismatic transformational leader falling into category A of the 5-element grouping developed in this work.

Similarly, in the St. Crispian's Day address of Act IV Scene iii, Henry swiftly reacts to the overheard conversation between his noblemen, anxious about the outcome of the battle. Henry, through his charismatic use of rhetoric manages to turn the mood of his officers and soldiers around. Henry's powerful, inspiring words contain a clear expression of his values and philosophy. He champions the exiting new possibilities that await his followers when the battle is fought and won: a privileged position of everyone who took part, lifelong glory and honour.
Aspects Questioning the Transformational View of Henry's Charismatic Behaviour.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's surprise in Act I Scene i at Henry's sudden transformation from a wild, carefree youth who wasted his time in idle pursuits, into a statesman capable of debating the most complex of issues, raises a very real question about how this could occur. In reality, it is very unlikely that someone who completely misspent their formative years could suddenly give up their former habits and adapt almost instantly to a demanding role as a statesman and leader. Either Henry is a true genius, or his early days may not have been so idly spent. Remembering Henry's famous lines from Act I Scene ii of Henry IV Part I, there is at least a suggestion that Henry's apparent time-wasting and irresponsible living was a deliberate deception in order to enhance his own reputation on acceding to the throne, thereby surrounding himself with precisely the sense of wonder expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury:

Prince Hal: 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 to be again himself,  
Being wanted he may be more wonder'd at  
By braking through the foul and ugly mist  
Of vapours 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 behaviour I throw off  
And pay the debt I never promis'd,  
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.  
(Henry IV, Part I, 1. 2. 167 - 189)
The discussion between the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely in Act I Scene i may also cast doubt on the legitimacy of Henry's claim to the French throne. As the scheming Canterbury reveals, he has offered the King financial support from the Church, anticipating that a war with France will not only distract Henry's attention from the bill that threatens the Church's property, but will also make Henry consider the Church more favourably. Thus, Henry may not be acting according to his own will but there is a possibility that he is being manipulated by the Church, either consciously or unknowingly. Although there is no indication that Henry has accepted the offer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church, personified by its head, the Archbishop of Canterbury, may be testing Henry to determine whether he is open to manipulation and bribery. If this were to be the case, Henry's ethical position as a transformational leader would be severely undermined and the whole basis of his campaign in France would be corrupt.

An alternative and perhaps more plausible view is precisely the opposite: rather than being a weak leader who is open to political manipulation and bribery, Henry is himself a schemer and manipulator, who has already made up his mind to take the throne of France, no matter whether his claim is justified or not. In this scenario, it is Henry who takes advantage of the Church's difficult position to extract funds for a war against France, at the same time gaining the necessary Divine approval for an unjust conquest. No particular indication is provided in Shakespeare's text concerning the correct or intended interpretation of these facts, but by choosing to open the play with a rather low-key scene that focuses on the secretive, behind-the-scenes political intrigue, Shakespeare immediately plants a suggestion that we should perhaps not take Henry's claim to the French throne at face value and that the King's motives may not be as pure as Henry would like to portray.

Turning to Henry's audience with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Ely in Act I Scene ii, Henry's warning to the Archbishop that he should tell the facts relating to the
Salique law fully and truthfully can be viewed as an attempt to transfer responsibility for the forthcoming war to the Archbishop, so that Henry can absolve himself of blame if things go wrong, or his claim to the French throne prove to be unfounded. Furthermore, by swearing that he will trust the Archbishop's advice unquestioningly, Henry may reveal a certain degree of naivety and leaves himself open to the Archbishop's manipulation. Indeed, as Henry is already aware that the Church may have a vested interest in distracting his attention from other matters, Henry's trust in Archbishop's analysis of the provisions of the Salique Law does not seem credible. It is therefore interesting that Henry accepts the Archbishop's lengthy and complex explanation of his right to the French throne based on the Salique law without question. Even the Archbishop ironically describes the line of accession to be "as clear as is the summer's sun" (*Henry V*, 1. 2. 86), implying, of course, that it is not. Henry's unquestioning acceptance of the Archbishop's explanation would therefore seem to confirm the view that Henry simply wants the Church to "rubber stamp" his claim and thereby give him Divine authority to proceed, without too much further investigation. Again, this would seem to suggest that Henry's mind is already made up and he is simply going through the formalities of making a decision so that he may appear to have taken the proper course. There is also a sense in which Henry is too easily won over by the flattering arguments of his noblemen, which appeal to Henry's sense of pride in his ancestors and the notion that he too should undertake glorious exploits. Thus Henry's numerous references to God and Divine endorsement for his cause is probably rather hollow and hypocritical, especially given the possibility that Henry is simply taking advantage of the Church's difficult position to further his own cause.

In the "ton of treasure" episode of *Act I Scene ii*, Henry's leadership characteristics may, once again, be viewed from a less positive perspective. Henry claims that it is the Dauphin’s mockery that has provoked him to invade France (*Henry V*, 1. 2. 281-282).
However, from events earlier in the scene, it is evident that Henry's mind was already set on war before he even received the French ambassadors, and maybe even before he spoke with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely. Thus, for the second time in the same scene, Henry seeks to transfer the responsibility for the death and destruction that will be caused by the impending war onto someone else, this time the Dauphin. Henry's attempts to evade responsibility for his actions directly contradict several key charismatic behaviours identified in the 5-element behavioural model, such as considering the moral and ethical consequences of decisions, setting a personal example for others and being clear about one's values and thus undermine the ethical basis for his claim to the French throne.

Another troubling aspect is that Henry suggests the war for France will be one of vengeance (Henry V, 1. 2. 283), retribution for the Dauphin's mockery. This may suggest that although Henry has appeared to retain control of his emotions, under the surface he is in fact very angry and unable to control his rage. As a result, he may reply to the Dauphin's insult in an inappropriate or disproportionate manner with corresponding consequences. Of course, Henry's talk of vengeance and the dreadful consequences that will now result may be an intimidating tactic to ensure the ambassadors return to France with a message that emphasises the seriousness of Henry's intentions and the consequences of resisting. However, it can certainly also be viewed as a part of Henry's attempt to avoid responsibility for initiating conflict with France and may also reveal a lack of confidence and concern that his claim to the French throne is not as solidly founded as it might be: Henry may be more comfortable if he can persuade himself that the invasion of France was a response to an insult from the Dauphin rather than an unjustified attack on a sovereign country.

Furthermore, while Henry's resolute determination to capture France may be viewed as an advantage, ensuring that the conquest will be conducted as quickly and efficiently as possible, such single-minded concentration may be, in fact, unwise and counter-productive.
Complete obsession with his claim to France may, for example, cloud Henry's decision-making in other matters of state, leading to mistakes, oversights and omissions. As suggested earlier in the scene, it is more than likely the Scots will take advantage of Henry's absence while fighting a campaign in France to mount an invasion of England. Thus, an emotional reaction to the Dauphin's insult and stubborn concentration on nothing else but the conquest of France may lead to severe consequences for Henry as the ruler of England, as well as the vast majority of his subjects who will remain at home in England while Henry and his forces are away fighting in France.

The alternative interpretation of Henry's actions with regard to his former friends, as presented in Act II Scene i could not be more starkly opposed to the transformational view of his behaviour. By rejecting Pistol, Bardolph, Nym and especially Sir John Falstaff, Henry has abandoned the companions with whom he spent his formative years and who played a role in forming his character. Henry's claim in Act I Scene ii (Henry V, 1. 2. 276-279) that it is precisely the time he spent amongst ordinary people that has made him such a glorious leader, must now brought into question, or at least viewed in a different light.

At best it can be said that Henry has simply used his former companions to gain experience of ordinary life that would otherwise have been unavailable to him and, having used them to his advantage, has discarded them without so much as a second thought. Indeed, Henry's abandonment of his companions was predicted by the Duke of Warwick in Act IV Scene iv of Henry IV Part II:

**Warwick:** The prince but studies his companions
Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,
'Tis needful that the most immodest word
Be look'd upon and learn'd; which once attain'd,
Your highness knows, comes to no further use
But to be known and hated. So, like gross terms,
The prince will in the perfectness of time
Cast off his followers; and their memory
Shall as a pattern or a measure live,
By which his grace must mete the lives of others,
Far from marking Henry out as a charismatic man of the people, this reveals in Henry a total lack of respect and consideration for his ordinary subjects and shows him to have no appreciation of their worth other than as a source of "study" and idle entertainment. Henry's rejection of Falstaff, who is, after all, a knight of the realm not an ordinary commoner, is total and heartless: "The King has killed his heart" (Mistress Quickly, Henry V, 2. 1. 83). Indeed, the continued affection and respect his former friends retain for Henry and, in particular the way Falstaff has taken Henry's rejection to heart, is in marked contrast to the total lack of feelings Henry shows for them and may illustrate a greater capacity for love and mutual respect amongst common people than the nobility.

Nym's comment that the king "passes some humours and careers" (Henry V, 2. 1. 121) (the king is subject to caprices and rapid turns) is also troubling, coming, as it does, from someone who will have experienced Henry's behaviour in less guarded moments. It suggests that, far from being a statesman capable of making measured judgements and decisions, as Henry would now like to present himself, Henry is still, deep-down, an impetuous boy, guided more by moods and whims than considered thought.

3.3 Examples of Henry's Trust-Building Behaviours

(Leadership Behaviour Category B)

A key task for any leader, particularly one engaged in a military conquest, is to secure the loyalty and obedience of his/her followers. According to transformational leadership theories, transformational leaders secure the loyalty of their followers by aligning the goals and values of their followers with their own objectives and values. Although described in rather different terms in the three main transformational models considered in this work (those due to Bass & Avolio, Bennis & Nanus and Kouzes & Posner), all three models identify the building of
followers' trust in the leader as critical in achieving this necessary alignment of purpose. Building trust involves components such as acting in ways that build others' respect and, similarly, treating others with respect, displaying a sense of power and competence, making personal sacrifices and delegating power instead of concentrating it with the leader, thereby enabling others to act.

As described in this section, taken at face value, Shakespeare's text provides many examples of situations in which Henry exhibits trust-building leadership behaviours, such as those identified in transformational leadership models. There are, for example, many occasions on which Henry displays a sense of power and competence and many situations in which Henry makes his own position very clearly known and resolutely stands by that position, thereby acting predictably even in uncertain situations. At other times he assures others that obstacles will be overcome and in still further situations, he makes personal sacrifices in the wider interest of his followers. It is also clear that Henry delegates responsibilities to his followers (for example his noblemen, who are entrusted with tasks related to preparations for the conquest of France), expecting them to follow through on these tasks loyally, with the same sense of commitment that Henry himself exhibits.

The number of instances in which Shakespeare portrays behaviours which modern theories would describe as trust-building, shows how Shakespeare realised the importance of these behaviours many years before they were formalised in any leadership model. However, as I hope to demonstrate through the examples presented below, taking a less straightforward interpretation of the text, Shakespeare also introduces elements that question the motives behind many of Henry's apparently trust-building behaviours, leaving the attentive reader/viewer with unanswered questions concerning Henry's true leadership style.
A Transformational View of Henry's Trust-Building Behaviour

Henry's self-transformation from a mischief-maker to a competent statesman, described by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Act I Scene i, can be seen not only as a manifestation of Henry's charisma (as discussed in section 3.2) but also to represent a way in which Henry gains others' respect and builds their confidence and trust in him as a leader.

Similarly, in his audience with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely in Act I Scene ii, Henry exhibits many trust-building behaviours. By investigating whether his claim to the throne of France is just through taking of expert evidence and advice, expressing an awareness of the seriousness of the decision to go to war and cautioning his advisors concerning their own responsibilities, Henry acts in a way that displays a sense of power and competence which, in turn, will tend to build others' respect by demonstrating a careful and considered approach to decision-making. Furthermore, in warning the Archbishop of his responsibility to correctly relate the position with respect to the Salique law, Henry clearly articulates his own position claiming that he will not accept any embellishment or misrepresentation of the facts. Having made his decision to continue with his claim in view of the evidence presented, Henry once again expresses his position clearly and indicates his resolution to achieve the stated goals. All of these behaviours fall into the trust-building category of the 5-element grouping of transformational leaderships behaviours developed in Section 2.7.

When dealing with the French ambassadors later in Act I Scene ii, Henry continues to act in ways that are likely to build others' respect and trust. He treats the ambassadors with the dignity and respect their position demands, allowing them to be heard uninterrupted despite the offensive content of their message and guaranteeing them safe passage back to France.

Finally, once resolved to invade France and take the throne by force, Henry is single-minded and determined that he and everyone involved should take all measures required to
ensure a rapid and successful outcome, thereby "articulating a direction and implementing it". Again this is clearly a behaviour that falls into category B of the 5-element behavioural grouping.

From a transformational perspective, Shakespeare's reminder in Act II Scene i of how Henry turned his back on the wild and carefree life he led as a youth and how he abandoned his former friends, may be viewed in terms of the harsh realism of being monarch. Henry can be seen to have had no other alternative but to sever all ties with his former companions, whether or not he actually wanted to do so. While heir to the throne, and lacking the responsibilities of monarch, Henry had a far greater degree of freedom to behave in an unrestricted manner, as indeed many other, more contemporary members of the British Royal Family have done (for example, Edward VII while Prince of Wales, and the current Prince Harry). However, on assuming the responsibilities of kingship, there would have been no other choice but for Henry to change his behaviour and to let go of "inappropriate" friendships and associations. Indeed, a refusal to do so would no doubt have left Henry in a position where the political establishment would, most likely, not have allowed him to take power. Again, the harsh self-sacrifice required of a monarch is not without parallel in more recent British history, for example the forced abdication of Edward VIII in view of his desire to marry a divorcee, Mrs. Simpson.

Thus, Henry's change of behaviour and abandonment of his former friends can be viewed as having been forced upon him. His actions may then be considered as those of someone making personal sacrifices for others' benefit, the others on whose behalf Henry must make the sacrifice being the wider population of England. This is a trust-building behaviour belonging to category B of the 5-element behavioural grouping developed in section 2.7. While Henry's renunciation of his former friends may have caused such great distress as to lead to Falstaff's death, viewed from a wider perspective, this dramatic turn
around in Henry's behaviour will have greatly enhanced the trust of the general population. Instead of a wild youth, Henry appears as a serious, competent and powerful statesman, for whom the best interest of his country takes precedence over all other matters. Thus, personal sacrifice from Henry's side and the consequences for a few of his subjects (his former friends) are outweighed by the broader benefits to the country and its population as a whole. Nym's comment that "the king is a good king" is evidence that even among his rejected friends, Henry is still highly regarded (*Henry V*, 2. 1. 120) and perhaps points to a realisation amongst them that Henry's rejection was simply an inevitable consequence of the difference between their social classes.

Turning to the "traitor's scene" of *Act II Scene ii*, Henry again exhibits a number of behaviours that are clearly aligned with the trust-building category of transformational leadership behaviour. Henry's decision to release the man, who criticised the king while drunk, can be viewed as a particular example. By pardoning the man for a comparatively minor offence, Henry establishes a sense that crimes will be dealt with according to their severity. Again, he exhibits a sense of power and competence, realising that there is nothing to be gained by punishing the man for such a small crime when that crime does nothing to threaten Henry's position as a monarch. This would no doubt enhance the perception of Henry as a just and merciful monarch.

However, as witnessed immediately afterwards, when important matters of state are at stake, such as a plot to overthrow the king, Henry acts quickly and decisively to stabilise the country and to secure the position of the crown, putting a stop to any challenge before it can develop into a real threat. As the men involved, especially Scroop, are also friends of the king, this is another situation in which Henry must make personal sacrifices for the benefit of others, again the country as a whole. As Henry says, he will weep for Scroop (*Henry V*, 2. 2. 140), but he will not put personal interest ahead of state security to save him or the others. To
save Scroop would weaken Henry's position as king and ultimately the stability of the country and therefore it cannot be allowed. Therefore, the traitor's scene clearly shows how Henry builds respect as a transformational leader: by making personal sacrifices for other's benefit and by making his own position clearly known and standing by it.

Henry's disbelief and surprise at the traitor's betrayal may also be an indication that Henry also builds trust and transforms followers by trusting those around him. He seeks to promote collaboration and teamwork, with his advisors being trusted to fulfil the tasks assigned to them. This, again, is a behaviour that belongs to category B of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours.

In Act III Scene vi, Shakespeare again puts Henry in a position where he must choose between an old friend and acting in a manner that upholds his wider moral duty to his followers. Falstaff's death in Act II Scene i and the confrontation with the traitors in Act II Scene ii have already demonstrated the personal sacrifices a king must make because of his position. Now, once more, Henry is forced to sacrifice a former friend, this time Bardolph, in order to maintain standards of discipline amongst his troops and to prevent any abuse of the conquered French and their property. Again, it can be argued that in fact Henry has no choice in the decision to execute Bardolph, since Henry's position as king would effectively prohibit any intervention on Bardolph's behalf. Henry's behaviour in this scene can again be interpreted as a realisation that, in his position as king, he has responsibilities and duties that are much wider than his own personal interest. In a monarchy, the king is the only source of law and stability for his nation. Thus, Henry realises that he has a higher duty to the law than he does to his personal friendship with Bardolph. Regardless of his feelings, he cannot act in any way that may suggest partiality. By making an example of Bardolph and issuing instructions that all other abuses of the French and their property should be handled in a
similar manner, Henry maintains the moral high-ground, at the same time making his own values and philosophies clear to those under his command:

**King Henry:** We would have all such offenders so cut off: and we give express charge that in our marches through the country there be nothing compelled from the villages: nothing taken but paid for: none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful language; for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner.

*(Henry V, 3. 6. 104-110)*

Assured in the rightfulness of his claim to the French throne, Henry presents himself as an unstoppable moral force, rather than just a leader of a conquering army.

Henry's refusal to be ransomed, following on from Bardolph's execution in Act III Scene vi, can also be viewed as an example of Henry's trust-building leadership behaviour. In response to King Charles's demand for Henry's surrender and payment for the damages already experienced by the French, Henry presents the French messenger, Montjoy, with a realistic but confident response. It is clear that Henry realises the advantage is now with the French, the English troops being drained and demoralised after the long siege at Harfleur. However, Henry also appreciates the need to maintain the spirits of his men and that any sign of personal weakness or doubt at this point could lead to a collapse in morale and a humiliating defeat for the English forces. Henry uses his understanding of his men's psychology to boost their morale by appealing to their sense of nationalism, praising their value compared to the French troops and sarcastically referring to the boastful, vane nature of the French noblemen. Henry thus gives the impression of being less worried about the situation than he really is, while skilfully dismissing the French demands, inspiring his men to continue their efforts despite their exhausted condition.

As many times before, throughout his exchange with Montjoy, Henry's personal charisma again shows through. Additionally, by refusing to be ransomed, he continues to make his own position clear, standing firm in the face of the French demands and further
building the respect of his followers, by acting predictably even in an uncertain situation. There is also a very real sense in which Henry's refusal to be ransomed and his praise of the English forces in comparison with the French instills a sense of pride in his followers for being associated with him as leader. His statement that "Yet, God before, tell him we will come on, / Though France himself and such another neighbour / Stand in our way /... .../ if we be hinder'd, / We shall your tawny ground with your red blood / Discolour" (Henry V, 3. 6. 153-159) can be considered as reassuring his followers that the significant obstacles the English now face will be overcome. Furthermore, by envisaging a situation in which the English force will bid the French "march away" (Henry V, 3. 6. 169), Henry expresses confidence that their goals will be achieved. These are all behaviours very closely related to building trust between leader and followers that fall into category B of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership characteristics.

Aspects Questioning the Transformational View of Henry's Trust-Building Behaviour

Taking a more cynical view of Henry's behaviour in the "traitor's scene" of Act II Scene ii, his entrapment of the traitors can be considered to reveal a more cunning, calculating and even cruel side to Henry's character. As observed by Karl Wentersdorf, there is a sense in which Henry plays a "game of cat and mouse" with the men he is about to have executed (Wentersdorf 1976: 268). Instead of allowing them to be dealt with by Exeter, Bedford and Westmoreland, quietly and out of sight, Henry chooses to confront the traitors personally, luring them into a clever trap in which they condemn themselves by their own words. While this may result from a genuine desire to learn the motives that caused his closest friends to betray him, it is also likely that Henry wants to use their public confrontation as a warning to other noblemen that the consequences of challenging Henry as king are certain and severe.
Even the mercy shown to the drunken man may be questioned, since we cannot determine what would have happened to him if his situation had not been so convenient for Henry's purposes.

Furthermore, as noted by Wentersdorf (1976: 268), Henry's lengthy denunciation of the traitors' treachery must be viewed as essentially hypocritical since Henry's own position as monarch is the result of similar actions by his own father. Henry's claims that he is not seeking personal revenge also appear somewhat doubtful given the elaborate and personal way he has entrapped the three men. Furthermore, Wentersdorf (1976: 281) also suggests that the true reason for the conspirator's betrayal of Henry is not for money, for the sake of "a few light crowns" (Henry V, 2. 2. 89), as Henry claims, but rather support for the Mortimer family, the rightful heirs to the English throne. Wentersdorf concludes that in the traitor's scene there is actually a "conspiracy of silence", in which Henry avoids the true reason for the "traitor's" actions, namely to restore the rightful monarchy, a conspiracy in which the three accused men are also forced to take part in order to protect their families (1976: 285).

Like the abandonment of his former common friends, Henry's condemnation of his former noble friends is equally complete and final, with no room for mercy. In his essay "When Blood is Their Argument: Class, Character, and Historymaking in Shakespeare's and Branagh's Henry V", Lane (1994) notes a parallel between Henry's damaging condemnation of Scroop, the "bedfellow" (Henry V, 4. 2. 8) who seemed so "Constant in spirit" (Henry V, 4. 2. 133), and Henry's own disloyalty towards Falstaff. Henry's disbelief, shock and pain at Scroop's betrayal mirror Falstaff's distress. Just as Henry accuses Scroop, so Henry himself stands accused by his former common friends of betraying Falstaff: "The King has kill'd his heart" (Henry V, 2. 1. 83) and "hath run bad humours on the knight" (Henry V, 2. 1. 116). As observed by Goddard (1951: 230-231), Henry is guilty of every crime he accuses Scroop of. Wentersdorf (1976: 268) also notes Henry's hypocrisy in condemning the traitors for
ingratitude, pointing out Henry's own ingratitude towards Falstaff who had been Henry's constant mentor, advisor and companion.

There is also a sense in which Henry's decision to confront the traitors in person exhibits a degree of irresponsibility and unnecessary risk-taking. The conversation between the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Westmoreland at the beginning of the scene reveals their concern at Henry's decision not to act at once and to confront the traitors in this way, suggesting that they fear the king is putting his own life in danger by doing so. While not exactly reckless, Henry's decision to act in this way does introduce an element of risk that a more cautious leader might avoid.

Considering Henry's decision in Act III Scene vi to allow Bardolph's execution to go ahead, Henry again can be seen to abandon a long-standing friendship, seemingly without hesitation or second thought. Despite the difficulty (or even impossibility) of maintaining a friendship with a commoner now that he is the king, Henry at least has the power of mercy at his disposal. While he was prepared to exercise this power to free the drunken man in Act II Scene ii, when it suited his purpose, Henry is not willing to do the same for his former friend Bardolph. Instead he treats Bardolph impersonally, as if he were a complete stranger and ruthlessly allows the execution to continue. Once more, this may indicate that while Henry was prepared to keep company with ordinary people during his youth, this was simply "study" or amusement for him and came with none of the feelings of compassion and loyalty that accompany friendships between equals. Again, there is an element in which Bardolph's execution is simply an example to others, the warning that: "We would have all such offenders so cut off" emphasising that, far from leading by building trust between himself and his followers, Henry is an authoritarian ruler who will not tolerate disobedience or disconsent. As in the traitors' scene, the consequences for stepping out of line are harsh, inescapable and immediate.
In considering Bardolph's execution, Spencer (1996), notes the parallels drawn in the play between Henry and Alexander the Great, the most notable of which is Fluellen's comparison of Henry and Alexander in Act IV Scene vii. Referring to the ethical basis of Henry's campaign in France, Spencer (1996: 160-161) refers to an anecdote involving Alexander and the pirate Dionides which has been used over the centuries, by other notable scholars (Augustine, John of Salisbury, Chaucer, Erasmus and others) to debate the morality of war and conquest. According to the story, when questioned by Alexander concerning his activities, Dionides argues that there is essentially no difference between a pirate and a royal conqueror, apart from the size of the forces the two have available to them. In the face of such argumentation, Alexander releases the pirate. Using this anecdote as evidence, Spencer states that Henry would have had no alternative but to condemn Bardolph (the pirate), for to pardon him would be to admit the link between the pirate (Bardolph) and royal conqueror (in this case Henry) as argued by Dionides. This, in turn, would have brought the morality of Henry's war against France and the ethical basis of his claim to the French throne into question, something which Henry could not have been allowed to happen.

Furthermore, Henry's instructions to treat the French with respect, the whole reason for making an example of Bardolph, may simply be self-interested practicality. Henry realises that, by treating the French well, his forces are likely to meet less resistance during their conquest of the country and his future reign over France will be more easily accepted. Thus, far from being an unstoppable moral force, Henry is simply acting in a pragmatic manner to ensure the best outcome for himself and morality is actually of secondary importance.

Taking a less positive view of Henry's refusal to be ransomed in Act III Scene vi, far from being a noble expression of Henry's resolve to stand by his rightful claim to the French throne, Henry can be viewed as a leader who, through his stubborn and single-minded pursuit of the French crown has brought his army to the verge of disaster. The French out-number the
English forces to such an extent that defeat for the English is almost inevitable, and yet Henry refuses to settle the dispute by accepting the French terms, thereby condemning his followers to almost certain death. King Charles points this out forcefully in his message, stating that Henry has betrayed his followers and that they condemn him for it (Henry V, 3. 6. 130-132), a direct challenge to the notion that Henry leads by building trust. It is also interesting to notice that Henry makes no direct reply to this accusation. While Henry has the opportunity to rescue the situation for his followers he refuses to do so, simply appealing to their baser nationalism in order to boost morale. Henry's reliance on God to protect his endeavour from disaster shows that he has been boxed into a corner, his ideas exhausted and that he has no other option but to throw himself upon the mercy of a higher power.

3.4 Behaviours Related to Creating a Vision and Motivating Others

(Leadership Behaviour Categories C & D)

As will be demonstrated in the following discussion, Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry shows him to be a leader with considerable ability, both as a visionary and a motivator of men, the motivational and visionary aspects of his leadership behaviours being closely intertwined in the text. For this reason, these two aspects of Henry's leadership style will be considered and analysed together in the following paragraphs.

Having newly acceded to the English throne, Henry is in a position where he needs to establish himself as a strong ruler, worthy of his title, in order to successfully take over control of the country after the death of his father, Henry IV. His misspent youth, his reputation as a waster and the doubtful way in which his father became king, all mean that Henry faces a number of challenges in establishing his authority as king. Henry's claim to the French throne would therefore seem an ideal opportunity, not only for Henry to extend his influence abroad, but also to establish his reputation at home, by demonstrating himself to be
a powerful leader in war (a technique that has been used by numerous leaders throughout history).

Henry uses the exact techniques a transformational leader should use to establish himself as a leader: he articulates a vision, communicates it to his followers and motivates them to realise the vision. On the surface, Henry's vision could be seen as truly transformational, to unify the nation by fighting a common enemy, followed by unification of France and England under a single ruler. To achieve his vision, Henry requires the support of his noblemen, as well as the ordinary men in his army and appreciates that, in order to assure they will give their best efforts, he must encourage and convince them to adopt his goal as their own. Henry therefore creates an uplifting vision of the future for his followers, one that appeals to their values, hopes, interests and dreams. Throughout the play, with brilliant use of rhetoric, Henry creates inspiring visions of victory for his followers and threatening visions of death and destruction for his enemies, thereby keeping his goals on track, persuading his enemies that resistance is futile and motivating his followers to make greater efforts to achieve victory on his behalf.

As Henry's conquest of France runs into difficulties, the protracted siege at Harfleur, which drains his men's energy and saps their morale, the wet and cold of the French winter, which further exhausts and debilitates his army, and the overwhelming superiority in number of the French forces, Henry's skill as a motivator becomes vital to avoid disaster. At the most crucial moments, before the gates of Harfleur and in the St. Crispian's Day address on the morning of the battle of Agincourt, when the success of his whole enterprise is in question, Henry acts decisively to grasp the imagination of his followers, restore their morale and motivate them to further efforts in spite of all the odds by appealing to "higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns 1978: 20), such as patriotic feelings, personal honour and faith, loyalty to their king, their ancestors and their comrades. The following paragraphs
analyse the ways in which Shakespeare's Henry acts to create a vision for his followers and to motivate them, particularly in times of crisis and consider the extent to which Henry's motives in inspiring his followers are ethical (and can therefore be considered truly transformational) or whether he uses his considerable visionary and motivating ability simply to further his own personal goals.

A Transformational View of Henry's Visioning and Motivational Behaviours

From the very first scenes of the play, Shakespeare's Henry exhibits considerable expertise in visualising future outcomes and communicating them to others. In Act I Scene ii, having heard the Archbishop of Canterbury's explanation of the Salique law, and being convinced of his entitlement to the throne of France, Henry expresses steadfast resolution to pursue his claim:

King Henry: Now are we well resolved, and by God's help
And yours, the noble sinews of our power,
France being ours, we'll bend it to our awe
Or break it all to pieces: or there we'll sit,
Ruling in large and ample empery
O'er France and all her almost kingly dukedoms,
Or lay these bones in an unworthy urn,
Tombless, with no remembrance over them;
Either our history shall with full mouth
Speak freely of our acts, or else our grave
Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,
Not worshipped with a waxon epitaph.

(Henry V, 1. 2. 222-233)

Henry's vision concerning the conquest of France is black-and-white, simple and understandable (matching the transformational leadership definition of vision offered by Bennis & Nanus, discussed in section 2.5). Either he will successfully take over the country and rule there "in large and ample empery" (Henry V, 1. 2. 226), or destroy it in the attempt. Should he be successful, history will retell his exploits with glory, but should he fail, the failure will be total and personal, Henry using the metaphor of his own death and burial in an
"unworthy urn" (Henry V, I. 2. 228) to express the shame of such an outcome. It is clear that failure is neither the desired nor the expected outcome.

Henry seems to have an innate ability to create visions for his followers that inspire them to follow his every command and to do so at precisely the times when motivation is needed the most. Two particular examples stand out in this respect and will be considered in detail in the paragraphs which follow, the first of these being Henry's address before the gates of Harfleur in Act III Scene i, the second being the St. Crispian's day address in Act IV Scene iii, on the day of the battle of Agincourt. These two motivational speeches have become perhaps the most famous in the entire play and are typically considered to provide the strongest representations of Henry's ability as a leader of men. More than that, they have become an integral part of British culture and history.

As explained in Section 3.2, when considering the charismatic elements of Henry's behaviour, the famous address at Harfleur in Act III Scene i comes at a critical time for the English forces, a point in time where, due to exhaustion and demoralisation, the success of their whole enterprise in France has been brought into question. As well as giving his address a strong charismatic flavour and leading by example, Henry also seeks to motivate his troops by presenting them with an idealised vision of themselves as warriors, reminding them of their heritage and the way they represent their country. Furthermore, by addressing his troops so forcefully at such a crucial moment in the siege, Henry personally seizes the initiative and acts decisively to turn around the potentially disastrous situation for the English forces. This can be considered as an example of Henry "being willing to take risks in order to make things better" (an motivational behaviour, according to category D of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed in section 2.7), in which Henry transforms his concerns about the threats the situation poses into a positive expression of the need for action. With rousing rhetoric he seeks to instil a new sense of purpose in his men. Throughout
the address, Henry exhibits no sign of the concerns he has regarding the outcome of the siege. His words are confident and clearly demonstrate an awareness of, and confidence in, his own and his followers' abilities. By expressing his confidence in the fighting ability his troops he effectively empowers them to act and motivates them to even greater efforts on his behalf. This is also an aspect of motivational leadership according to the 5-element grouping.

Henry praises mild-mannered behaviour in peace time, saying that being slow to anger is ordinarily a virtue, but in times of war it is necessary to put aside one's better nature and to take resolute action; if it is necessary to fight as a last resort, then it is better to do so with all possible force (Henry V, 3. 1. 3-17). Henry's language is full of aggressive natural and animal imagery, which he uses to call his men to arms and to rouse them into a state of ferocity. In this way Henry can be viewed as motivating his followers by stimulating them to challenge their beliefs and values (a category D behaviour), to realise that sometimes "modest stillness and humility" must give way to more aggressive behaviour.

It also interesting to note how Henry start his address by appealing to his troops as "dear friends" (Henry V, 3. 1. 1), and later refers to them as "noblest English" (Henry V, 3. 1. 17), stating that there is none of them "so mean and base, / That hath not noble lustre" in their eyes (Henry V, 3. 1. 29-30). Thus, Henry's address is not, in fact, an order back into battle, but a request, in which Henry regards all his troops as noblemen regardless of their background or class. Henry thus treats each man under his command with respect and dignity, recognising the contribution that each one of them makes to the overall success of his cause. In this way, Henry challenges the status quo, which would dictate that the common men of his army would simply have to follow the monarch's command without question and employs non-traditional thinking to deal with a traditional problem, namely how to motivate his men to continue fighting after such a long and hard-fought siege. All of these are behaviours
associated with motivating others, belonging to category D of the 5-element grouping of leadership behaviours developed in Section 2.7 of this work.

In the address before the gates of Harfleur, Henry appeals to his troops' sense of nationalistic pride and raises them to the level of noblemen, even to the same social level as the King himself. In doing so, Henry presents his men with an elevated vision of their position, with the aim of inspiring them to act in an elevated manner, putting aside their own personal fears to unite behind Henry and fight nobly for his cause. The message Henry conveys is brilliantly simple, phrased in terms his followers can easily understand regardless of their social background and is undoubtedly intended to renew the energy of his troops. As discussed in section 2.7 of this work, these are behavioural elements related to creating a vision (category C):

**King Henry:**

> On, on, you noblest English!
> Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof,
> Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
> Have in these parts from morn till even fought,
> And sheathed their swords for lack of argument.
> Dishonour not your mothers; now attest
> That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.
> Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
> And teach them how to war. And you, good yeoman,
> Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
> The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
> That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;

*(Henry V, 3. 1. 17-28)*

In the final cry: "God for Harry, England and St. George!", Henry cleverly links divine authority for his cause, the patriotic feelings of his troops towards their nation and their patron-saint with his own personal identity. By referring to himself with his familiar name "Harry", Henry appeals to his reputation and popularity amongst ordinary people, emphasising the link between his cause as monarch and that of his subjects and thus motivates his followers by "affirming the common values he shares with them" (a category D behaviour).
Thus, although the address before the gates of Harfleur comprises only 34 lines of text, it provides a complex and comprehensive insight into Henry's ability as a charismatic leader, a visionary and a motivator. It is a brilliant demonstration of Shakespeare's insight into, and understanding of, leadership phenomena hundreds of years before the development of formalised leadership theories. For that reason alone it fully deserves its position as one of the most famous passages of the play and indeed the whole of English literature.

Perhaps even more striking than the Harfleur address in terms of the vision it creates and the motivation effect it produces in Henry's followers is the St. Crispian's Day speech in Act IV Scene iii. The scene opens with Henry's commanders discussing the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the French forces. The Earl of Westmoreland estimates the French army to number around 60,000. The Duke of Exeter comments that this is five times the size of the English army, in addition to which, the French forces, unlike the English, are all fresh. Despite the "fearful odds" against them, the English noblemen are quietly resolved to do their duty and to fight bravely, and appear resigned to what may be almost certain death at the hands of the French. Henry enters and, having overheard Westmoreland's words while approaching the group, asks who it was who wished for reinforcements. Henry brushes aside Westmoreland's wish for greater forces, challenging Westmoreland's belief that the English army's lack of numbers is a weakness, seeking instead to represent the English force's lack of strength as an advantage: if they are to die, there is nothing they can now do about it, but if they are to be victorious then the fewer the forces, the greater the share of glory for each man involved:

**King Henry:**
If we are mark'd to die, we are enow
To do our country loss; and if to live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honour.
God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more.
By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,
Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost;
It yearns me not if men my garments wear;
Such outward things dwell not in my desires:
But if it be a sin to covet honour,
I am the most offending soul alive.
No, faith, my coz, wish not a man from England:
God's peace! I would not lose so great an honour
As one man more, methinks, would share from me
For the best hope I have. O! do not wish one more:
\textit{(Henry V, 4. 3. 22-33).}

Quite the reverse of wishing for the larger number of troops, Henry proclaims that he does not want to fight in the company of any man who is afraid to die with the King. Therefore, any man who does not wish to fight may leave; he will be given safe passage and money for his journey. In contrast, Henry continues, any man who survives the battle will be able to hold his head high on all future anniversaries of St. Crispian's Day and will be able to show the scars he sustained with pride:

\textbf{King Henry:} This day is call'd the feast of Crispian:
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when the day is nam'd,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
He that shall live this day, and see old age,
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
And say 'To-morrow is Saint Crispian':
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars.
And say 'These wounds I had on Crispin's day.'
\textit{(Henry V, 4. 3. 40-48).}

Furthermore, in old age, even if he forgets everything else, a survivor of that day's battle will still remember the accomplishments he achieved on St. Crispian's Day, together with the noblemen who took part; he will tell his descendants, with the result that Henry and his noblemen shall never be forgotten:

\textbf{King Henry:} Old men forget: yet all shall be forgot,
But he'll remember, with advantages,
What feats he did that day. Then shall our names,
Familiar in his mouth as household words,
Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.
This story shall the good man teach his son;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
In some of the most famous lines of the entire play, Henry tells his assembled troops that everyone involved in the conquest of France are members of a "happy band of brothers". Henry will consider any man that fights with him on that day to be his brother, no matter how common he may be. They are all privileged to be part of this struggle, such that men back home in England will regret that they too were not part of this noble battle and consider themselves lesser men because they were not there:

King Henry: We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; For he to-day that sheds his blood with me Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile, This day shall gentle his condition: And gentlemen in England now a-bed Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here, And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day. (Henry V, 4. 3. 60-67).

The vision of the future Henry creates in the St. Crispian's Day address is compelling, simple and understandable: for him fighting the battle is not a question of winning or losing, but a fight for honour and justice. And, as for those who take part in the battle, they will be remembered for ever as heroes. Those who survive will be able to tell the story of their involvement for years to come and will be respected and honoured for the part they played. Taking part in the battle of Agincourt will bring to life a new reality, and a new sense of community: a "band of brothers" will be born in which each member of the brotherhood, no matter what his background, will be a nobleman, brother to the king.

Not only is the vision created by Henry in the St. Crispian's Day address inspiring, it is immediately effective in terms of restoring his followers' morale and their motivation to fight for Henry's cause. When asked if he still wishes for more help from England, Westmoreland replies: "God's will! my liege, would you and I alone, / Without more help, could fight this
royal battle!" (*Henry V*, 4. 3. 75). Thus, the transformation is complete. Noblemen who just minutes earlier were resigned to an almost certain death at the hands of a far superior force, have gained renewed energy and optimism, and are eager to fight alongside Henry no matter what the odds, to achieve a glorious victory.

In the St. Crispian's Day speech Henry thus re-examines critical assumptions, for example whether it is necessary for an army to be superior in numbers for it to achieve a victory, and stimulates his followers to challenge their own beliefs in this respect. Furthermore, by proclaiming that participation in the forthcoming battle will elevate all of his followers, no matter what their background, to the same level as the king, Henry further shows a willingness to challenge the status quo with respect to traditional views of social position and class relationship, extending the egalitarian motif already apparent in the address at Harfleur. Re-examining critical assumptions, stimulating followers to challenge their own beliefs and values and challenging the status quo are all behaviours related to motivating others (category D) in the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed earlier in this work. The vision of the future Henry creates for his followers in the St. Crispian's Day address is one of comradeship, shared glory and respect for their achievements in years to come. It is optimistic, expressing confidence that the goal of winning the battle will be achieved despite considerable odds against the English forces, thereby placing emphasis on the possible positive outcome of the current situation rather than the (more obvious) negative aspects. Talking optimistically about the future, expressing confidence that goals will be achieved, as well as visualising positive outcomes and communicating them to others are all elements of leadership behaviour identified in the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours as being associated with creating a vision.
There is also a very real sense in which the St. Crispian's Day speech is another example of how Henry is "willing to take a risk in order to make things better". As explained in the theoretical part of this work, this is a transformational leadership behaviour highlighted by Kouzes & Posner as part of their leadership behaviour "challenging the process", which, in turn, falls into the motivational category of the 5-element grouping of leadership behaviours developed in this work. In fact, it could be argued that Henry is facing a situation where he has no alternative but to take a chance. There is no doubt that the French force facing the English at Agincourt is far superior in numbers and is well rested, while the English are battle-weary. Furthermore, there is no way of avoiding a battle on that day, therefore ruling out any possibilities for the English troops to rest or for reinforcements to arrive. Thus, the St. Crispian's Day address may actually represent a realisation on Henry's part that wishful thoughts about reinforcements from England are futile. Thus, Henry shows himself to be a realistic and pragmatic leader who appreciates that he has at his disposal only the forces that are present and that they will have to fight even though they may be unprepared and in less than ideal condition. What will make the difference between certain defeat and a possible victory is the attitude of his commanders. If they are defeatist, or allow themselves to lose focus by wishing for additional forces that can never come, defeat will be inevitable. However, if they are motivated by the justness of Henry's cause, thoughts of personal glory and being immortalised in the memories of future generations should they be victorious, they are more likely to fight courageously and may at least stand a chance of victory. Furthermore, in both the address before the gates of Harfleur and in the St. Cripian's Day address, Henry puts his own doubts about the chances for success to the back of his mind and confidently seizes the initiative. He realises that signs of doubt or hesitation from him would only demoralise his commanders and the troops under their command, increasing the likelihood of defeat.
Elements of Shakespeare's Text that Question Henry's Visioning and Motivational Behaviours

A face-value reading of Shakespeare's text undoubtedly supports the view that Henry has a remarkable ability to create compelling visions of the future and that he is able to communicate them eloquently through skilful use of language and imagery, as a result motivating his followers to greater efforts and achievements. However, taking a less straightforward approach to the text, even the most famous embodiments of Henry's motivational and visionary rhetoric are not above question.

Considering the address before the gates of Harfleur in Act III Scene i in particular, far from being based on transformational leadership principles, Henry's appeal to his troops can be viewed as little more than a "rabble-rousing" exercise that feeds on the nationalistic instincts of his men and which is simply intended to generate such a frenzy that they will do whatever it takes in the final assault to capture the town. By urging his men not to dishonour their mothers and fathers (Henry V, 3. 1. 22-23) and by challenging his yeomen to prove that they are worthy of their breeding (Henry V, 3. 1. 25-27), Henry is simply appealing to his followers' baser instincts, their pride and their desire not to disgrace themselves. There is nothing noble in Henry's exploitation of the patriotic theme, it is nothing more than a two-part process of psychological manipulation: he first praises all things English (Henry V, 3. 1. 17-21) and then compels his soldiers to prove that they are worthy of the name "Englishmen" (Henry V, 3. 1. 22-28).

It is also interesting to note that although Henry starts his address by extolling the peace-time virtues of "modest stillness and humility" (Henry V, 3. 1. 3-4), the imagery Henry employs in the address is simply a glorification of animal aggression and warlike behaviour. In earlier passages, such as Henry's warning to the Archbishop of Canterbury in Act I Scene ii and his message to Charles, King of France, delivered by the Duke of Exeter in Act II Scene
iv, Henry goes to great lengths to portray himself as a basically peaceful king who has been forced into a position where there is no other option but to go to war. However, this position may simply be hypocritical since, in reality, it is Henry who is the aggressor. The rhetoric Henry uses in the address before the gates of Harfleur certainly does not seem to reflect the "stillness and humility" he claims to value so much.

Turning now to the St. Crispian's Day address of Act IV Scene iii, rather than being a visionary and motivational speech based on transformational leadership principles, Henry's address to his troops on the morning of the Battle of Agincourt can be viewed as nothing more than an appeal to self-interested glory-seeking rather than a representation of any higher ideal or morality. Henry's concept of a "band of brothers" simply seeks to motivate his commanders and troops by appealing to their personal pride, and man's baser desire to elevate his own importance so that he may appear better than his peers. There is no evidence that such a new brotherhood will in reality be created once the battle has been fought or that traditional attitudes concerning the social separation between the noble and common classes will be in any way affected. The view of society Henry creates through his vision of success at Agincourt would seem to be no more than the result of a fanciful imagination that ignores any form of social reality, a vision intended to motivate his troops for the immediate task at hand, but which can never be realised. As observed by Lane (1994: 32), Henry himself very quickly abandons the notion of the "band of brothers" after the battle: when recounting the numbers of dead, the class division that is put aside in the St. Crispian's Day address, returns as if it had never been questioned. The noblemen and gentry who died are each named individually, while the casualties amongst Henry's common troops are simply dismissed as "None else of name" (Henry V, 4. 8. 100). Thus, Henry's egalitarianism can be viewed simply as a measure brought into play at times of urgent need to serve Henry's self-interest rather than an underlying principle that links the king with his subjects.
As noted in connection with the positive evaluation of Henry's leadership skills, there is no doubt that Shakespeare's Henry has a subtle understanding of human psychology and knows how to use this knowledge to cleverly manipulate his followers for his own ends such that they do not even realise that it is happening, the total reversal of Westmoreland's being an obvious demonstration of the effectiveness of Henry's rhetoric. This is further demonstrated by Henry's offer that any man who does not have stomach for the forthcoming battle may leave (Henry V, 4. 3. 34-39). By challenging anyone to leave who does not want to fight, Henry virtually ensures that no-one will in fact leave, since no-one would want to appear a coward in front of his comrades. Like Henry's vision of the band of brothers, the offer of safe passage to anyone who does not want to fight is not a genuine offer, but an example of Henry's manipulative genius.

When considering Henry's abilities as a visionary and motivator more generally in the context of transformational leadership principles, it should not be forgotten that transformational leadership theories emphasise a leader's ability to create visions of positive outcomes that rely on shared values and champion exciting new possibilities. While the famous addresses at Harfleur in Act III Scene i and the inspirational St. Crispian's Day speech in Act IV Scene iii undoubtedly fall into this category, there are many other occasions where Henry's visioning has a much darker aspect. The question then arises as to why so many of Henry's most striking visions are actually threats of dire consequences for his opponents, the French, rather than direct expressions of positive outcomes for his followers. Of course, predictions of negative consequences for one's opponents can also be viewed as positive visions for one's supporters; however, there is no doubt that Henry's use of brutal imagery, his threats to relinquish control over his troops and his numerous promises of death and destruction if his will is opposed are difficult to reconcile with a view of Henry as a true transformational leader.
A typical example of Henry's "negative" visioning can be found as early as Act I Scene ii. When responding to the Dauphin's gift of tennis balls, there is no doubt that Henry brilliantly reverses the Dauphin's insult, but he does so by creating a bleak and menacing vision of death and destruction that will result from the Dauphin's ill-advised joke. Using the tennis balls as a metaphor for cannon balls that will be fired in the conflict arising from the Dauphin's mockery, Henry's vision of the consequences for France is dark and chilling: there are many who will lose their lives, many who will be left behind to suffer and many who will have cause to curse the Dauphin for his lack of respect, even those who have not yet been conceived or born:

**King Henry:** And tell the pleasant prince this mock of his
Hath turn'd his balls to gun-stones, and his soul
Shall stand sore-charged for the wasteful vengeance
That shall fly with them: for many a thousand widows
Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands;
Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down;
And some are yet ungotten and unborn
That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.

*(Henry V, 1. 2. 281-288)*

Another example can be found in the message Henry conveys to King Charles in Act II Scene iv. Once again the vision Henry paints is one of death and destruction, full of dark images of unrestrainable natural forces. Furthermore, Henry again tries to shift the responsibility for the loss of life that will result from his conquest of France onto someone else, this time King Charles himself. In response to Charles's enquiry about what will follow if he does not relinquish the throne, the Duke of Exeter assures the King of Henry's determination to take the crown by force and warns of the loss of life and devastation that will result:

**Exeter:** Bloody constraint; for if you hide the crown
Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it.
Therefore in fierce tempest is he coming,
In thunder and in earthquake like a Jove:
That, if requiring fail, he will compel.

*(Henry V, 1. 2. 281-288)*
And bids you, in the bowels of the Lord,
Deliver up the crown and to take mercy
On the poor souls for whom this hungry war
Opens his vasty jaws; and on your head
Turning the widows' tears, the orphans' cries,
The dead men's blood, the pining maidens' groans,
For husbands, fathers, and betrothed lovers,
That shall be swallowed in this controversy.

(Henry V, 2. 4. 97-109)

By imploring Charles to "Deliver up the crown and to take mercy / On the poor souls for whom this hungry war / Opens his vasty jaws" (Henry V, 2. 4. 103-105), Henry skilfully transfers the consequences of the conflict onto Charles and absolves himself of any responsibility. If Charles refuses to co-operate, it is he who will be responsible for unleashing the monster of war not Henry. Henry's suggestion that Charles should "take mercy" on his countrymen is cleverly worded, as the act of taking mercy is only possible for someone who has power over others. Thus Henry sweetens the unappetizing prospect of surrender in an appeal to Charles’s kingly need to control. Once again, Henry’s use of words and his understanding of psychology is masterly, but still cannot disguise his continual efforts to avoid accepting responsibility.

Indeed, considering the practical situation in more detail, it is highly unlikely that a well established monarch such as King Charles would immediately surrender his throne to a grossly outnumbered force, fighting on foreign soil and led by a so-far unproven king. Therefore, by offering Charles the chance to surrender in a situation where he almost certainly would not, Henry effectively ensures that an armed conflict will follow, with the resulting transfer of responsibility to Charles. Whether this is the true thinking behind Henry's offer of a peaceful solution, or whether Henry is simply arrogant, none of the interpretations fits well with the view that Henry is a true transformational leader.

Act III Scene iii, in which Henry addresses the people of Harfleur, provides another example in which Henry creates a disturbingly negative vision of the future for his opponents,
a graphically explicit vision of death, atrocity and destruction that will befall the townspeople if they continue to resist. Indeed the vision Henry creates in this scene and the threat of indiscriminate slaughter and abuse to be unleashed on the townspeople should they continue to oppose Henry's will, may be crucial in determining the true nature of Henry's character and leadership style. In order to rationalise Henry's threats of destruction and carnage from a transformational point of view, it would be necessary to view them as a deceit, a bluff to obtain surrender of the town without any further bloodshed. In this way Henry's dark vision of destruction and his apparent willingness to relinquish control over his men, allowing them to relapse into a state of barbarism, could potentially be translated into an honourable and ethical attempt to bring the siege to an end without further loss of life.

For us as audience, Henry's alleged fear of losing control of his men may seem purely rhetorical. In Act III Scene i, Henry demonstrates a significant personal ability to influence the mood of his men and to inspire them to greater efforts. Just as Henry can whip his men into a nationalistic frenzy, inspiring them to overlook their fears and follow Henry back into battle, would it not be possible for Henry to intervene should his troops' discipline start to break down, preventing his men from over-running the town and committing atrocities such as those Henry threatens in his address to the townspeople? Henry's use of threatening terms may thus represent an astute psychological understanding of the situation and a clever ploy to intimidate the citizens of Harfleur, which exploits the fear and stress they are under. As the French do not know Henry's true character and have no doubt heard of him only through the wild stories of his youth, they have no means of judging whether his threats are genuine or not. They are therefore more likely to take his words at face value and surrender, thereby saving further loss of life on both sides. However, this view of Henry's behaviour does not fit squarely with transformational leadership qualities; rather it would seem to correspond much better with a view of Henry as a cunning manipulator.
Furthermore, taking the (face-value) interpretation that Henry's words in Act III Scene iii are not merely rhetorical, but a true reflection of what will happen should the people of Harfleur continue to resist, we see a leader who has failed to reach his objectives and has become frustrated by his lack of success. He is now prepared to do whatever it takes to advance his objective to capture the throne of France. In fact Henry may have simply lost his temper at the stubborn resistance put up by the people of Harfleur and has reached a point where he is prepared to abandon even the moral principles he is supposed to uphold and respect as king. By threatening to release control of his men, allowing them to return to their primitive instincts and commit what today would be considered war crimes, Henry exhibits a shocking lack of responsibility and cold-hearted indifference to the suffering, death and destruction that will follow (on both sides). It would seem that Henry is prepared to be cruel and ruthless to get what he wants, even if, deep down, he may know that doubts may exist concerning the legitimacy of his claim to the French throne.

By expressing indifference at the consequences for the townspeople, since it is they themselves who have brought these terrible consequences upon themselves (Henry V, 3. 3. 19), Henry yet again seeks to transfer responsibility for the dreadful events to come, this time onto the people of Harfleur themselves. This aspect of Henry's character has now revealed itself four times, once when receiving advice from the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the Salique Law (Act I Scene ii), a second time in response to the Dauphin's insulting gift of tennis balls (Act I Scene ii), a third time when offering King Charles the possibility to abdicate (Act II Scene iv) and now at Harfleur. This reluctance to accept responsibility for his actions must therefore be viewed as a recurring character trait and a serious flaw in his leadership style from a transformational perspective.

In determining whether Henry's threats to relinquish control over his troops and his stated indifference concerning the atrocities that will be unleashed on the townspeople are
genuine, Henry's final statement when instructing the Duke of Exeter to enter the town after the capitulation of Harfleur: "Use mercy to them all for us, dear uncle" (Henry V, 3. 3. 54), may be significant. Taken at face value, this would suggest that Henry's threats of death and destruction were merely a bluff, intended to intimidate the elders of Harfleur into capitulation. However, given that the reason for the town's eventual surrender is not a direct consequence of Henry's ultimatum, but rather the result of the Dauphin's army being unable to come to the town's assistance (Henry V, 3. 3. 44-50), Shakespeare does not give his audience a chance to witness what would have happened if the town had chosen not to surrender. Thus, Henry's instruction to treat the townspeople with mercy after their capitulation does not necessarily provide any indication that the same mercy would have been shown if the town had continued to resist. We can only speculate concerning the outcome given a different set of circumstances: Act III Scene iii reveals Henry's ability to threaten brutal action in the face of opposition, but it leaves unanswered the question of whether there was genuine intent to follow through with such actions.

3.5 Behaviours Related to Recognising the Individual

(Leadership Behaviour Category E)

As explained in the introductory sections of this work, modern leadership theories have, over a period of time, come to recognise that the phenomenon of leadership does not arise solely from characteristics of a leader in isolation, but rather that leadership is a process which also requires the involvement of, and interaction with, those who are led. While the involvement of followers in the overall leadership process may not be obvious in all aspects of transformational leadership theories, one area in which interaction with followers can clearly be seen is in connection with leadership behaviours related to recognising the individual.

Many leadership theorists agree that effective leadership is not possible if leaders do not
recognise the individual needs of their followers. Only by knowing his/her followers' concerns and needs, allowing them to make their own choices and by recognising the individual contribution each follower makes to the overall achievement of the leader's objectives, can a leader affect their behaviour and beliefs thereby transforming passive followers into active supporters. In *Henry V*, Shakespeare presents his audience with numerous opportunities to observe Henry's interactions with his followers, noblemen and ordinary soldiers alike. Throughout the play there are examples of situations in which Henry tailors his approach to his followers depending on the needs of the particular situation. There are also very specific instances in which Henry's applies his apparently innate ability to adapt his approach in interactions with specific individuals or groups. Each of these personalised interactions result in a desired effect for Henry, for example, an improvement in morale, a reinforcement of loyalty or the resolution of questions concerning the righteousness of Henry's quest for the French throne. The following paragraphs will investigate, in particular, the extent to which these personalised interactions can be viewed as part of a truly transformational leadership process or whether they simply reveal a self-interested aspect to Henry's leadership style in which Henry uses his obvious understanding of human psychology to persuade his men to follow his cause and to extract the best possible performance from them.

**A Transformational View of Henry's Behaviour Relating to Recognising the Individual**

The atmospheric *Chorus* at the opening of *Act IV*, which describes the scene in the opposing English and French camps on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, provides us with a particular insight into the way in which Henry recognises the individual. The Chorus describes how Henry goes out among his soldiers during the night, visiting all of them, to raise morale. With
an appearance of quiet confidence and cheerfulness, he modestly greets them all as brothers, friends, and countrymen, giving no sign in his outward appearance of the great challenge he and his men will face the next day. By concealing his personal fears about what may be to come and putting on a humble but modestly confident appearance, as he tours the English camp on the night before the battle of Agincourt, Henry greatly enhances the morale of his men, dispelling their fears with a "little touch of Harry in the night" (Henry V, 4.1. 28-47). Henry realises that this small personal interaction may improve the confidence and performance of his troops in battle, as well as enhancing his reputation amongst his followers and their loyalty to him as king. As the Chorus tells us, during his tour of the English camp, Henry treats all men alike, irrespective of their social status, again emphasising his egalitarian approach to relationships with his followers, first revealed in the address before the gates of Harfleur in Act III Scene i and later followed up in the St. Crispian's Day address of Act IV Scene iii.

Following on, as it does, from the final scene of Act III (Act III Scene vii), in which Shakespeare parodies the bickering, superficial French noblemen as they prepare for the battle, the Chorus emphasises Henry's superior leadership skills all the more. Indeed, at no time does Shakespeare present the common French soldier, neither do the French noblemen express any consideration for their own troops or even acknowledge that they exist. In contrast, Henry recognises that the contribution made by each one of his men is potentially important to achieving a successful outcome and takes steps both to recognise the efforts of his men and to provide them with individually tailored encouragement, whether this is just a greeting, a short conversation or personal enquiry. Again, it is clear that Henry has a sound understanding of his men's psychology and how to use it to positive effect.

**Act IV Scene i**, which follows the Chorus, takes the form of a series of separate encounters between Henry and the men under his command, some of them noble, some of
them commoners, some well known to the audience from previous scenes, others unknown apart from their one-time encounter with the king during his night-time morale-boosting tour of the English camp. Some of Henry's encounters are with individuals, others with small groups but, taking a transformational view, all provide an insight into Henry's attitudes towards his troops, as well as his ability to tailor his interaction with his subjects at all levels, so as to meet their individual need for consideration and encouragement at a particularly difficult time. The very same encounters also reveal the way in which Henry is viewed by his subjects.

The scene begins abruptly, in the middle of a first encounter, a conversation between Henry and his brother the Duke of Gloucester. Although Shakespeare does not allow us to hear the whole conversation, it is clear that the King's brother must have expressed concerns about the prospects for the English in the following day's battle. In response, Henry urges that the greater the danger, the greater one's courage should be and, as his other brother, the Duke of Bedford enters, Henry exclaims almost impatiently that there is no situation so bad that something positive cannot be gained from it, if only one looks for it. According to Henry, even the noise coming from the French camp can be viewed as an advantage since it will cause the English troops to wake early (Henry V, 4. 1. 1-12). Henry thus seeks to inspire confidence in his brothers by encouraging them to look for positive aspects in even the most difficult situations and challenging them to fulfil their part with courage and honour. From a transformational perspective it can be said that Henry chooses this form of encouragement precisely because he knows that it will correspond with the goals and aspirations of his brothers, their sense of honour and loyalty to the king, as well as their desire for personal achievement and glory.

At this point, an elderly knight, Sir Thomas Erpingham enters. In his greeting and considerate comments that maybe "A good soft pillow" would be better for "that good white
head" rather than the cold hard ground of France (Henry V, 4. 1. 14-15), Henry shows respect and affection for this senior nobleman. Erpingham reciprocates with respect, loyalty and affection for the king, replying that he prefers to sleep on the ground as now he may say that he lies like a king (Henry V, 4. 1. 16-17). It is immediately obvious that Henry's interaction with the elderly Sir Thomas Erpingham is different from that with his young brothers. While Henry seeks to rouse his brothers to action, the approach he takes with Erpingham is one of respect and consideration that takes into account Erpingham's seniority and experience.

Henry borrows Erpingham's cloak and starts his tour of the English camp, all the remaining encounters presented in the scene occurring with Henry (rather thinly) disguised by wearing the cloak. From a transformational perspective, Henry's decision to go amongst his men in disguise can be considered a mechanism to ensure that he will hear the truth from his followers rather than an expression of what they might consider the king would want and expect to hear from them. As expressed in the soliloquy towards the end of Act IV Scene i (to be analysed in greater detail later in this work), Henry is obviously aware that in his position as king he often hears "poison'd flattery" (Henry V, 4. 1. 243) in place of the truth. At this crucial time for the fortunes of Henry's campaign it is essential for Henry to obtain a correct picture of his men's morale and condition rather than an exaggerated or inaccurate view generated by his followers' desire not to put on a "brave face" when approached by the king. In this way, it can be argued that Henry exhibits a genuine intention to listen to the honest and possibly diverse opinions of his men and to take them into account. This is clearly a leadership behaviour belonging to category E of the 5-element behavioural grouping developed in this work related to consideration of the individual.

Henry's next encounter, the first in which he is disguised, is with Pistol. This meeting has a totally different tone compared with the earlier "pep-talk" delivered to his brothers and the gentle, respectful encouragement for Erpingham. In contrast, Henry's interaction with
Pistol is a rather light-hearted, comical interlude, which serves to break the tension of the immediately preceding scenes, in which the perilous situation of the English forces was emphasised. Henry's quick-witted banter with Pistol can again be viewed as an example of Henry's ability to adapt his style of communication on a one-to-one basis. Henry knows Pistol's fiery temper and mock bravery and thus tailors his approach to evoke a response in Pistol that will ensure his loyalty and enhance his performance in the forthcoming battle. The effectiveness of Henry's approach is immediately evident as Pistol needs no more than a mention of the king's name to enter into a vocal expression of his admiration and support for Henry:

   Pistol: The king's a bawcock, and a heart of gold,
          A lad of life, an imp of fame,
          Of parents good, of fist most valiant.
          I kiss his dirty shoe, and from heartstring
          I love the lovely bully.
          (Henry V, 4. 1. 44-48).

After Henry's encounter with Pistol, there follows a short intervening incident involving Gower and Fluellen, in which Henry actually takes no part, but simply observes. The two men enter and Gower greets Fluellen in a loud voice. Fluellen tells Gower to keep his voice down - Just because the French can be heard in the English camp, Fluellen says, does not mean that the English should follow their example by chattering foolishly. Gower agrees to speak more quietly and both men exit (Henry V, 4. 1. 64-83). Watching this exchange between two of his senior commanders, Henry silently admires Fluellen's care and bravery. Although this incident does not actually involve Henry, it nevertheless provides a telling insight into the way in which Henry values and recognises the competence of the commanders in his army. He clearly appreciates the care Fluellen takes to persuade Gower of the need for silence. Henry's respect for his commanders, the delegation of responsibility to them and the trust he shows in their abilities is a further aspect of recognising the individual according to category.
E of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed in this work.

There then follows perhaps the most significant encounter of the entire scene, in which Henry discusses the responsibility of the king and the righteousness of his cause in France with three ordinary soldiers under his command, John Bates, Alexander Court and Michael Williams. As the men enter, they are discussing the approaching dawn and the fact that they have no great desire for the beginning of the day, the end of which they may never see. Pretending to be serving under the command of Sir Thomas Erpingham Henry enters the discussion about the responsibilities of the king if his cause is not just. John Bates's opinion is that no matter what outward courage the king may show, he is sure that Henry would rather be anywhere but there at this time. Henry replies that in his view, the king would not wish to be anywhere else (Henry V, 4. 1. 110-116). In that case, Bates wryly replies, the king should be there on his own so that he could be ransomed and save many ordinary men's lives. Henry says that for his part there is no place he would be happier to die than by the king's side, knowing that his cause is just and honourable (Henry V, 4. 1. 117-124).

Williams, who seems to be less convinced by Henry's exploits than the others, comments that this is more than they know for sure. Bates replies that this is more than they should seek to know: if the king's cause is wrong, the fact that they are ordinary people, bound to obey the king, means they cannot be held responsible (Henry V, 4. 1. 125-129). Williams comments that in this case, the king will bear a heavy responsibility for the loss of life in the forthcoming battle and the continued suffering that will result from it. He asks how men can "die well" if they die fighting. This is a clear reference to the widely held Christian belief that in order to gain entry to heaven it is necessary to confess one's sins and resolve all outstanding issues before death. In Williams' opinion, dying in battle will deprive ordinary men of this opportunity and, by implication, will condemn them to an eternity in hell. For this,
the king will be responsible, and will himself have to account for at his own judgement day, if
his cause is not just:

**Williams:** But if the cause be not good, the king
himself hath a heavy reckoning to make, when all those
legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle,
shall join together at the latter day, and cry all, "We
died at such a place," some swearing, some crying for
a surgeon, some upon their wives left poor behind
them, some upon the debts they owe, some upon their
children rawly left." I am afeard there are few die well
that die in a battle; for how can they charitably dispose
of anything, when blood is their argument? Now, if
these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for
the king that led them to it; who to disobey were
against all proportion of subjection.

*Henry V*, 4. 1. 130-142.

In response, using the metaphor of a son sent on business by his father, Henry puts forward a
counter argument, stating that in his view, if men die with issues outstanding and are therefore
condemned to hell, they bear the responsibility themselves. The responsibility does not lie
with the person who sent them on the mission that ultimately led them to their death, since
that person did not deliberately send them to die:

**King Henry:** So, if a son that is by his father sent
about merchandise do sinfully miscarry upon the sea,
the imputation of his wickedness, by your rule, should
be imposed upon his father that sent him: or if a ser-
vant, under his master's command transporting a sum
of money, be assailed by robbers and die in many irre-
conciled iniquities, you may call the business of the
master the author of the servant's damnation. But
this is not so. The king is not bound to answer the par-
ticular endings of his soldiers, the father of his son, nor
the master of his servant, for they purpose not their
death, when they purpose their services.


Henry adds that no matter how righteous a King's cause may be, if it comes to war there is no
way that he can assemble an army in which all men are totally innocent and without sin.
Indeed, some of the men fighting for the king will be murderers, adulterers or will have been
guilty of crimes in previous wars. If such men, who have so far escaped justice, die in battle,
their deaths should, in fact, be viewed as God's punishment for their former sins. Certainly, the king who sent them to battle cannot be held responsible for their damnation any more than he can be held responsible for their original crimes. While every subject must do his duty when commanded by the king, the responsibility for every subject's soul is his own. Therefore, Henry advises that every man who is about to take part in the battle should make sure that all unsettled matters are confessed, just like a man who dies at home in bed would do, so as to ensure that he is properly prepared to die (Henry V, 4. 1. 154-180).

Both Williams and Bates seem persuaded by Henry's arguments. Williams agrees that the king cannot be held responsible for men dying with unresolved issues and Bates comments that he does not expect the king to answer for him, but nevertheless he is willing to fight bravely on the king's behalf (Henry V, 4. 1. 181-184). In this way Henry's arguments appear to have been effective in changing the opinions of these three ordinary soldiers. By listening to their individual opinions and presenting a logically structured counter-argument in response, Henry has transformed the position of his men from one in which they clearly had doubts concerning the motives of the king and the righteousness of his cause in France, to a position in which they re-affirm their own responsibility for their individual actions, release the king from his responsibility for their possible fate in the forthcoming battle and resolve to fight bravely on the king's behalf.

It is clear that the approach Henry takes in his encounter with the ordinary soldiers is different from the approach he takes in the other situations presented in the scene. Here, in the face of dissent from ordinary members of his army, the very people he must perhaps rely on the most to make sacrifices on his behalf the next day, Henry realises that what is needed is not simple morale-boosting encouragement, neither is it compassion and consideration or light-hearted banter, but rather serious discussion, argumentation and persuasion that takes into detailed account the individual concerns and perceptions of his common subjects. Again,
this is a way in which, from a transformational perspective, Henry can be considered to recognise the individual, illustrating behaviours that belong to category E of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed in section 2.7 of this work.

Elements of Shakespeare's Text that Question Henry's Behaviour Relating to Recognising the Individual

Considering the events of Act IV Scene i in further detail, there are again several aspects that bring Henry's leadership style into question. Although previously argued that Henry's decision to tour the English camp in disguise was a mechanism to ensure the truthfulness of the views expressed to him by his ordinary followers, the fact that such a simple disguise is so effective (not a single person recognises Henry while wearing Erpingham's cloak) may actually indicate the real distance between the monarch and his subjects. Henry's need for disguise may also reveal that ultimately Henry lacks confidence. By meeting and talking with his ordinary followers in disguise Henry is hoping to receive confirmation that what he is doing is right and justification for the course of action he is taking. As discussed above, the response he receives is mixed and in many ways and, far from providing the support Henry is looking for, emphasises a fundamental lack of confidence in him as king and a mistrust of his motives.

Remembering that Henry shows a highly developed understanding of his men's psychology, there may be a sense in which Henry's disguise enables him to plant suggestions and to manipulate the perceptions of his troops in a way he would not be able to achieve without a disguise. More specifically, considering the encounter with Bates, Court and Williams, there is a sense in which comments coming from another member of Henry's forces rather than directly from the king will have a more persuasive effect than if the same arguments were made by the king himself. If Bates, Court and Williams are convinced that another ordinary member of Henry's army believes Henry's cause to be just and expresses
views that the king cannot ultimately be held responsible for their individual fates, it is more likely that they will be won over by the arguments presented.

Although the encounter with Henry's former companion, Pistol, appears on the face of it to be entirely positive for the king, Shakespeare's audience, being familiar with Pistol's character, his reputation as a thief and someone who is overly aggressive while at the same time being a coward, would cast doubt on the values of Pistol's character reference for Henry. The endorsement of a fool, who enters into a fight at the slightest provocation, is not necessarily worth very much in practice and does nothing to support the legitimacy of Henry's claim or help justify the actions he has taken by invading France.

Returning to consideration of the episode involving Bates, Court and Williams, there are many elements of this encounter that are troubling for Henry as king and for his cause in France. It is interesting to notice that the first time Shakespeare gives Henry's ordinary subjects a voice (apart from those who knew him before he was king), the views expressed are far from supportive, but instead question Henry's motives in France, the sincerity of his words and the very relationship he has with his subjects. If the three ordinary soldiers Shakespeare portrays are typical of the rest of Henry's troops (and there is no reason to suspect that they are not) the level of popular support for Henry's claim is questionable.

While Henry is undoubtedly correct to emphasise the role of personal responsibility and the fact that he cannot be held responsible for the individual actions of each of his subjects, he actually misses, or deliberately avoids, the real issue: the king's responsibility for lives lost in the pursuit of a claim that may be unjust. Evidently, if Henry had not taken the decision to go to war, the lives of many men who had died already and who would die in the Battle of Agincourt would never have been put in danger. Although Henry appears, on the surface, to win the men round quite successfully with clever arguments that do not really address the point, this is yet another example of Henry's continued attempts to avoid any responsibility
for the consequences of his actions, something he is hypocritically telling his subjects that they should do. As pointed out by Lane (1994: 29), Henry's response to Williams is fundamentally insincere, "comparing the innately murderous enterprise of war with accidental death while travelling". Furthermore, according to Lane, Henry's following discussion of the pre-existing sinful condition of his soldiers is simply intended to deflect attention from "the moral cloud which hangs over warfare itself" (Lane 1994: 29).

While the men's opinions are altered, at least to some extent, by Henry's arguments concerning personal responsibility, even at the end of the encounter doubts remain about the king's word. In response to Henry's comment that he heard the king say he would not be ransomed, Williams replies that this was just a ploy to make them fight willingly: if they are all killed, the king could very well be ransomed anyway and they will be none the wiser (Henry V, 4. 1. 185-189). Henry replies that if he lives to see it, he will never trust the king's word again, to which Williams comments that this is a foolish statement, since the opinion of a poor ordinary person is irrelevant to the actions of a monarch (Henry V, 4. 1. 190-197). In reply, Henry says he thinks Williams disapproves too strongly and states that in other circumstances he would be angry. Williams and Henry agree that this will be a quarrel between them to be settled at another time, if they live (Henry V, 4. 1. 198-215).

Henry's reply to Williams that he would be angry in other circumstances suggests that although Henry's approach seems to be unusually egalitarian for his time, there are certain limits to his tolerance of dissent. It is clear that Henry is angered by the challenge to his integrity, coming as it does from a commoner. It is only Henry's disguise which prevents him from showing his anger more openly and we can only speculate concerning what might have happened should such a direct challenge have been made in other circumstances.
4. Discussion and Conclusions

Section 3 of this thesis analysed Henry's leadership behaviour within the framework of the 5-element grouping of transformational leadership behaviours developed in section 2.7. The analysis clearly demonstrated that if the reader or, for example, the theatrical or film producer approaches Shakespeare's text with a willingness to recognise behaviours which modern theorists would associate with a transformational style of leadership, no shortage of good examples can be identified. There is no doubt that Henry is charismatic: he very often leads by example and his rhetoric is brilliant, striking awe into those who hear him speak (category A). He builds trust by acting in ways that build others' respect, displays confidence in his own abilities, makes his own positions clearly known and stands by them and, when required, he does not hesitate to make personal sacrifices for the good of the country and his subjects (category B). He has a natural ability as a visionary and, at the most crucial times, he intervenes personally and decisively to motivate his followers, turning situations of potential disaster into inspiring victories (categories C & D). He furthermore shows a clear understanding that in order to get the best from his men he must take into account their own specific needs, treating them as individuals rather than simply members of a subordinate group (category E).

It would therefore seem that Henry "ticks all the boxes" when one asks whether he is a truly transformational leader. However, to draw such a conclusion would be to ignore all the facts. As demonstrated by my analysis, just as a positive approach to Henry's leadership style tends to bring out his transformational characteristics, many, if not all, of Henry's actions have a less positive interpretation, if one only has a mind to look for it. And in most cases, Shakespeare does not conceal Henry's less than ideal characteristics from the audience under a more straightforward interpretation of the text, but rather Henry's darker side is just as obvious as his transformational behaviour. In the "ton of treasure" episode of Act I Scene ii,
for example, Henry acts as a statesman, exhibiting trust-building behaviours by allowing the French Ambassadors to speak freely and guaranteeing their safe passage home. At the same time he charismatically adapts the Dauphin's tennis ball metaphor to his own advantage and states his resolute determination to follow through on his claim to the French throne. However, the very same words that mark him out as a charismatic leader with a resolute purpose also threaten acts of violence and destruction and seek to transfer the responsibility for these consequences from Henry, who is in fact the aggressor, onto the target of his aggression. Similarly, in Act III, Henry exhibits behaviours that sharply contradict each other in terms of his status as a transformational leader. He first paints his troops an idealised vision of themselves as glorious warriors following in the noble footsteps of their British ancestors (Act III Scene i) and then threatens the townspeople of Harfleur with carnage and destruction at the hands of an uncontrollable murderous rabble, showing personal indifference to the consequences and again attempting to shift the responsibility for the situation onto the victims of his threatened actions.

In my view, because of the numerous questions raised over Henry's motives and ethics during the course of the play, he cannot be considered a truly transformational leader, despite the many behaviours he exhibits that are consistent with that interpretation. In particular, there are two key areas in which Shakespeare's Henry fails to meet the requirements of a truly transformational leader, i). articulating a vision that is relevant to his followers and ii). taking responsibility for the moral and ethical consequences of his actions.

Although the analysis presented in the previous sections of this thesis has clearly demonstrated Henry's considerable ability to create visions for his followers through eloquent use of imagery, Henry tends to do this in an ad-hoc manner, as and when needed, in moments of crisis, to inspire his followers to greater efforts. However effective this visionary ability is in terms of successfully resolving challenging situations, Henry's conquest of France, as a
whole, seems to lack an all-encompassing vision that is of relevance to his followers. According to the various transformational theories discussed earlier in this work, such a vision is a key element of transformational leadership. If a leader fails to articulate a vision that is relevant to the needs and values of his followers in a clear and appealing manner and further fails to explain how the overall vision can be attained, there can, in fact, be no transformation in the attitudes and aspirations of the followers. Rather than adopting the vision as their own and aligning their values with those of the leader, resulting in greater commitment to the leader's cause, the followers may simply accept the leader's commands because they have no alternative. Ultimately, this may lead to a loss of support for the leader, collapse in morale and failure to reach the leader's objectives. Considering the attitudes expressed by the three ordinary soldiers in Act IV Scene i, Bates, Court & Williams, there is a very real sense that these three men, although prepared to follow Henry into battle, are not prepared to do so unquestioningly. They are not convinced of the justification for Henry's conquest and do not fully trust his word. They are simply there because they are conscripted soldiers who have no choice in the matter. As Williams points out when considering the effect an ordinary soldier's opinion may have on the actions of a monarch: "you may as well go about to turn the sun to ice with fanning his face with a peacock's feather" (Henry V, 4. 1. 194-196). These are not the words of a man whose personal goals are aligned with those of his leader. As pointed out by Ayers in his essay "Fellows of Infinite Tongue: Henry V and the King's English" (1994), "Henry clearly fails to persuade Williams, Bates and Court of either of the two major points he defends, namely that the king and the soldiers are engaged on the same kind of enterprise, and that the king does not bear the weight of moral responsibility for the justice of the cause in which his soldiers fight and die" (1994: 260).

Thus, in many ways, Henry is alone in his desire to be the ruler of France. Although supported and encouraged by his noblemen and followed into battle by the ordinary soldiers
of his army, at no time does Henry articulate a vision that would align the goals and aspirations of his followers with his own desire to capture the throne of France. At no time does he explain the benefits a united France and England would have for his followers. Instead he focuses more on re-establishing his personal hereditary right to the throne, making his claim more of a personal obsession than a brighter vision of the future for his followers.

The fact that so many of Henry's visions are disturbing visions of destruction and death rather than positive expressions of future outcomes, also casts doubt on his credentials as a truly transformational leader. As explained in Section 3.4, in the detailed discussion of Henry's visionary and motivating behaviours, Henry's threats of murder and violation in the parley with the townspeople of Harfleur in Act III Scene iii are balanced by his comments to Exeter after the capitulation of the town to "Use mercy to them all for us, dear uncle" (Henry V, 3. 3. 54). As discussed, this could be interpreted in such a way that Henry's threats of brutality and his indifference to the suffering of the townspeople were merely rhetorical. At least in this scene, Shakespeare leaves open the question of whether Henry would be prepared to follow through on his threats. However, events taking place at the end of Act IV Scene vi and the beginning of Act IV Scene vii demonstrate that Henry is indeed prepared to order and to carry out brutal acts without a moment's hesitation.

The scenes in question take place towards the end of the Battle of Agincourt, at a time when the English forces have gained the upper hand, but the battle is not over, as some of the French continue to fight, although in disarray. As Act IV Scene vi begins, Henry enters with a number of his followers including his uncle, the Duke of Exeter, as well as a number of French prisoners. Exeter informs Henry that both the Duke of York and his cousin, the Earl of Suffolk, have been killed and brings regards from the Duke of York, whose dying wish it was to be remembered to his king. At this point, quite suddenly, an alarm of trumpets sounds. Henry interprets this to mean that the French are regrouping and, without hesitation, orders
each English soldier to kill his French prisoners (*Henry V*, 4. 6. 35-38). The order is given in
the two last lines of the scene as an immediate and automatic response to the trumpet alarm
and without any evidence that Henry's assumption concerning regrouping of the French forces
is indeed correct.

At the beginning of *Act IV Scene vii*, which follows on directly from *Act IV Scene vi*,
Fluellen and Gower discover that a group of French soldiers, probably deserters fleeing from
the battlefield, have entered the English camp, killed the servants ("boys") who were left there
during the battle, looted the stores and ransacked the king's tent (*Henry V*, 4. 7. 1-8). Both
Fluellen and Gower are appalled at the killing of the boys, Fluellen stating that such an act is
expressly forbidden in the codes of military conduct (*Henry V*, 4. 7. 1-4) and condemns it as
an outrage.

Interestingly, Gower considers the king's order to kill the French prisoners to be a
response to this atrocity, and commends the king for his gallantry (*Henry V*, 4. 7. 8-10).
However, at this point Shakespeare's text gives no indication that Henry is aware of what has
happened. Indeed, as previously discussed, in the immediately preceding scene, Henry's
decision to kill the prisoners appears to be a response to the assumed
reinforcement/regrouping of the French. In any case, Fluellen agrees with Gower that Henry
is a gallant king and enters into a lengthy comparison of Henry and Alexander the Great,
pointing out both the parallels in the locations where they were born and the events in their
lives (*Henry V*, 4. 7. 11-47). Fluellen, referring to Falstaff, even notes that both Alexander and
Henry had killed their best friend (*Henry V*, 4. 7. 31-36). Although Fluellen's comparison of
the King with Alexander the Great is intended to be flattering, its timing and delivery do not
convey the desired message, perhaps a deliberate suggestion by Shakespeare that such a
comparison is not appropriate and that Henry's greatness as a leader is in fact questionable.
At this point Henry enters, accompanied by a number of soldiers and heralds, as well as the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Exeter and a number of prisoners, including the Duke of Bourbon. Henry expresses his anger at the killing of the boys, saying that this is the first time he has been angry since he came to France (Henry V, 4. 7. 52-53) and re-iterates his command to kill all the prisoners currently held, stating that no mercy will be given to anyone captured from that point onwards (Henry V, 4. 7. 60-62). Thus, unlike Act III Scene iii, in which atrocities, acts such as rape and cold-blooded murder, which today are considered war crimes, are merely threatened but not followed through, in Act IV Scene vi and Act IV Scene vii, one crime of war, the killing of the boys by the French, is matched by another, the killing of the French prisoners by the English, under Henry's direct orders. In his article "Impious War: Religion and the Ideology of Warfare in Henry V", John Mebane (2007) links the killing of the prisoners with Henry's anger and suggests that "the unsettling comparisons between Henry and Alexander, with emphasis on the conqueror's capacity for destructive rage, is sufficient to stimulate questions concerning the entire classical heroic tradition and its glorification of conquest" (2007: 261). However, as noted in this work, Henry's instruction to kill the prisoners actually comes before Henry discovers the killing of the boys. This would suggest a more cold-blooded reaction from Henry, not one provoked by anger at an atrocity committed by the enemy, but a "practical" (but brutal) measure in response to the regrouping of the French to ensure that the prisoners could not pose a threat to the outnumbered English (also a possible viewpoint noted by Mebane). No matter what triggers the killing of the prisoners, the abrupt and immediate manner in which the order is given demonstrates that Henry is indeed capable of committing the acts he threatened in Act III Scene iii without hesitation or reflection on the moral implications of his actions. These are clearly not the acts of a true transformational leader. Thus, Shakespeare's juxtaposition of two unsavoury aspects of warfare, the killing of the servants and ransacking of the English camp
on the one hand and Henry's order to kill the French prisoners on the other, cannot be accidental: while Henry expresses his anger at an atrocity committed by the enemy, in reality he has no qualms about taking similar action himself.

It is also interesting to note that neither the 1945 film by Sir Lawrence Olivier nor the more recent film by Kenneth Branagh (1989) include the killing of the French prisoners. As Olivier's film was produced largely as a morale-boosting propaganda film in the final days of the Second World War, and was released at a time when Allied forces were engaged in the invasion of Europe to liberate it from Nazi control, such a scene would clearly have been considered to convey the wrong image and was therefore inappropriate for inclusion in the film. Similarly, although Branagh's film presents a less idealised version of Henry's leadership style than the Oliver version, sensitivities regarding the recent Falkland's War may also have led to these scenes being omitted.

Just as Henry fails to create an overall encompassing vision that would transform the values and aspirations of his followers, Henry's reluctance to take responsibility for the moral and ethical consequences of his actions contradicts the view that he is a truly transformational leader. Rather than facing up squarely to the consequences of his actions, time and again Henry seeks to evade responsibility and to transfer it onto another party. In Act I Scene ii, it is first the Archbishop of Canterbury and then the Dauphin who will be responsible for the death and suffering a war with France will cause. In Act II Scene iv, it is King Charles himself who, according to Henry, will unleash the "vasty jaws" of war (Henry V, 2. 4. 105), in Act III Scene iii, the townspeople of Harfleur will be the instruments of their own destruction and in Act IV Scene i it is the ordinary soldier who will be responsible if he does not "die well" in the Battle of Agincourt. Thus, responsibility of the monarch is a clear and persistent theme in Shakespeare's analysis of Henry's leadership style and, in this respect, Henry's transformational qualities are fundamentally questioned.
Perhaps one of the most important insights into Henry's attitude towards his responsibilities as king can be found from the soliloquy in Act IV Scene i, which is set during Henry's tour of the English camp, on the night before the Battle of Agincourt. It is interesting to note that this is the only time Shakespeare allows us to see Henry on his own, in a situation where there is no need for him to maintain his status as king in front of others. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that Shakespeare chooses to reveal Henry's innermost thoughts at this most crucial time, a moment where defeat is almost certain. Now, without any need to conceal his true feelings and faced with the imminent failure of his entire conquest, Henry reveals how heavily the responsibilities of his position weigh on his shoulders and how, because of his position he must suffer the criticism of everyone who only has his own suffering to care about (Henry V, 4. 1. 222-228). In Henry's view, kings cannot afford the peace of mind that ordinary men who do not have a public position can enjoy, and yet all that distinguishes a king from a commoner is public respect and ceremony of state (Henry V, 4. 1. 228-231). He ponders the value of ceremony and the benefits a king receives because of it, and questions whether ceremony is any more than a matter of the scale and formality of the proceedings that surround the king and the setting in which they take place (Henry V, 4. 1. 232-239). According to Henry, ceremony simply has the effect of striking awe into ordinary people and thereby creates a divide between the king and his subjects. While ordinary people may be accustomed to fearing the king and may even derive some sense of comfort, stability and security from knowing their own (inferior) position with respect to the king, Henry expresses unease at being feared and dissatisfaction at being in a position where he more often hears the "poison'd flattery" of those around him rather than true respect (Henry V, 4. 1. 240-243).

Thus, according to Henry, ceremony is simply an empty "tide of pomp" and there is nothing in the trappings of royalty that can compensate for the heavy burden imposed by the responsibilities of being monarch. In this respect, Henry comments that even a common slave
is more fortunate than a king: the slave's whole life is safely mapped out for him from year to year and he need have no concerns beyond his own daily work and day-to-day existence. For that reason, the slave may sleep soundly at night, whereas the king cannot, as his mind is troubled by wider concerns (Henry V, 4. 1. 249-276).

In many ways Henry's soliloquy is self-pitying and self-centred. It confirms him as a reluctant monarch, someone who does not appreciate the privilege of his position and who is unwilling to accept the responsibilities his office requires, even considering it unreasonable that he should be required to take responsibility for the welfare and concerns of others. He would therefore seem to lack the all-encompassing vision that a transformational leader should have in order to align the values and attitudes of his followers with his own. For Henry, it would seem that leadership is simply a burden.

In his determination that pomp and ceremony are ultimately useless, serving only to separate the king from his subjects, Henry forgets the very substantial material benefits that come with his position. His statement that a slave has an advantage over a king in being able to concentrate on every-day toil, totally overlooks the fact that the majority of Henry's ordinary subjects, the very people Henry claims to know so much about from the experiences of his youth, are simply concerned with securing their everyday survival. Thus, far from having a close understanding of his common subjects, Henry simply reveals himself to have a very limited insight into their condition.

By revealing Henry's own thoughts concerning the weight of his responsibilities at this crucial time, it is perhaps also Shakespeare's intention to plant the suggestion that Henry's self-transformation is not quite as complete as Henry would like it to be. Rather than having accepted the realities of his position as monarch, maturing almost overnight, Henry has, in fact, been unable to adapt fully to the demands of his newly acquired position of power and is fundamentally unprepared to accept the moral and ethical burden he faces as a king. As
audience we can now perhaps understand Henry's numerous attempts to evade his responsibilities and to transfer the consequences for his actions onto others as an unconscious manifestation of this reluctance, something he can only admit to himself in this quiet moment of reflection.

Furthermore, in the prayer at the end of the scene, Henry reveals deep concerns over the legitimacy of his own position as king of England, which, in turn, cast very real doubts on the ethical basis of Henry's claim to the throne of France. He also demonstrates a significant degree of insecurity and self-doubt. While over self-confidence and arrogance in a leader can lead to disaster and an element of self-questioning can be viewed as a healthy check on the ego, it is clear that Henry expects to be punished by God for the way in which his father, Henry IV, usurped the throne from Richard II:

King Henry: Not to-day, O Lord! 
O! Not to-day, think not upon the fault 
My father hath made in compassing the crown. 
(Henry V, 4.1.284-286)

As noted by Mebane, "how can Henry believe in the legitimacy of his claim to France when he confesses the illegitimacy of his claim to England?" (2007: 257). At this point there is little more he can do than hope the moment of reckoning will not come during the Battle of Agincourt. While Henry's attempts to make amend for his father's wrong-doings may be genuine, there may be a sense in which Henry has in fact learnt nothing, but is simply repeating the actions of his father by pursuing an unjust claim to the French throne. None of these aspects of Henry's character would appear to fit well with the view that he is a truly transformational leader and, coming as they do, from Henry's own self-reflection, they should be given considerable weight when trying to decide about Henry's motivation as a leader.

In conclusion, it is evident that although Shakespeare's Henry exhibits behaviours that can be clearly associated with modern transformational leadership theories, he also demonstrates characteristics that are totally incompatible with transformational leadership
theories and therefore he cannot be considered a truly transformational leader. Shakespeare clearly presents Henry's contradictory behaviours in the text of the play. Sometimes they become apparent through alternative readings of the same passage of text, sometimes through the juxtaposition of events. I would therefore tend to agree with Rabkin's Gestaltist view that one's starting assumptions concerning Henry's motives and character and the general bias of one's viewpoint strongly affect the impression one gains of Henry as a leader. If one approaches the play with the expectation of seeing an inspirational leader, who leads a vastly outnumbered band of courageous warriors to a glorious victory, which is precisely what one will see. If, on the other hand, one's initial view is that Henry is a scheming manipulator who takes advantage of the difficult position of the Church to obtain divine endorsement for an unfounded, self-interested conquest of a sovereign country, that view can also be supported by the text.

While the Gestaltist's viewpoint is that the two different representations of Henry are mutually exclusive and cannot exist simultaneously, it is my view that there is nothing to prevent the two interpretations existing at the same time, combining to form an overall view which is neither entirely transformational nor entirely opposed to transformational principles. In other words, an idealistically positive view of Henry, and a darkly negative view are not the only possible, or even the "correct" outcomes, as the Gestaltist view would suggest, but rather Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry as a leader is much more subtle and complex, Henry's true character lying somewhere in between the two extremes. Using Rabkin's analogy, Henry is neither rabbit nor duck, but "rabbit-duck", a complex character, at certain times exhibiting qualities which can clearly be identified with modern transformational leadership principles, at other times behaving in a authoritarian self-interested manner. There is also a sense in which Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry is actually more sophisticated than the transformational models of leadership discussed in the theoretical part of this work, which
approach leadership behaviours from a rather idealistic viewpoint. In my view, Shakespeare's own standpoint is essentially neutral and closer to real life, in which it is highly unlikely to find a leader who could be considered completely transformational. He does not seek to idealise Henry: rather than directing the audience towards a "preferred" interpretation, Shakespeare presents Henry's admirable qualities alongside his less favourable characteristics, leaving his audience to consider Henry's motives and ethics to arrive at a conclusion for themselves. The traditional view of Shakespeare's *Henry V* as the portrayal of an ideal leader was, in my view, more the result of interpretations chosen by those who produced the play rather than an intrinsic property of the text itself. Instead, in *Henry V*, Shakespeare has cleverly used his portrayal of Henry as a vehicle to investigate the complexities of leadership, without being bound by any model or framework or preferred outcome, leaving sufficient ambiguity for his audience to reach a number of different conclusions.
5. References

Primary sources:


Secondary sources:


