

A REINVESTIGATION OF
THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE
AND SHAKESPEARE'S KING JOHN

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To my husband

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PREFACE

Shakespeare, as a dramatic artist, has produced plays greater in performance history than The Life and Death of John, King of England. However, the fact that, in 1591, an anonymous author published in Quarto form the two parts of a play entitled The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, of which the construction of plot and introduction of incidents and characters almost precisely parallel Shakespeare's King John, is a matter of unique interest. An additional point for observation is that Shakespeare's King John has no established date for publication.

This intriguing information, suggested by Dr. Charles E. Walton, led to this re-investigation of The Troublesome Raigne, Parts I and II and Shakespeare's King John in an effort to resolve the special problems presented. An exhaustive research produced many conflicting theories of sources and chronology. This thesis presents a textual comparison of the 1591 quarto text The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, Parts I and II with the 1623 First Folio text of Shakespeare's The Life and Death of John, King of England.

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CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF CRITICAL OPINION AND FACTS CONCERNING THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE

Shakespeare's The Life and Death of King John and the anonymous two-part play, The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England, owed their inception to a vital national spirit. England had emerged the victor over Spain in the defeat of the Armada in 1588, and scholars think that these dramas were initially performed by members of the Queen's players sometime between 1589 and 1591, when religious problems were mounting in the nation.¹

In 1591, one quarto of a two-part play was printed, bearing the following information on the title-page:

The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, with the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne (vulgarly named, the Bastard Fawcenbridge): also the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London. Imprinted at London for Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold at his Shop, on the backe-side of the Royall Exchange. 1591.²

In the same year, a second part was also published, bearing the following information on its title-page:

¹Arthur Acheson, Shakespeare's Lost Years in London 1586-1592, pp. 131-32.

²The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, Part I title-page.

The Second Part of the troublesome Raigne of King Iohn, conteining the death of Arthur Plantaginet, the landing of Lewes, and the poysoning of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publickly acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London. Imprinted at London for Sampson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop, on the backe-side of the Royall Exchange. 1591³

The first quarto of The Troublesome Raigne has the fixed publication date, therefore, of 1591, but its date of composition is another matter, inasmuch as one recalls that acting companies were usually not willing to release a play for printing during the first year of its performance.⁴ Scholars agree, nevertheless, that The Troublesome Raigne was written around the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, probably between 1587 and 1591.⁵

Later, a second quarto, bearing on its title-page the ascription, "Written by W. Sh.," was printed by Valentine Simms for John Helme in 1611.⁶ Thomas Dewes, for whom a third quarto was issued by Augustine Matthews in 1622, boldly asserted on the title-page that its author was "W. Shakespeare."⁷

³The Troublesome Raigne, Part II, title-page.

⁴R. A. Law, "On the Date of King Iohn," SP, LIV (1957) p. 120.

⁵Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 23.

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Scholars who think that this quarto was simply a reprinting of the text of the 1611 edition, suggest that the phrase, "By the Queenes Maiesties Players," had been omitted from printer's copy simply because the Queen had been dead for nineteen years.⁸

Fleay was one of the first to bring together a mass of details on the chronology and composition of some of Shakespeare's plays. Since his time, The Troublesome Raigne has been assigned by scholars to various playwrights of the period, among them the following: Marlowe; Shakespeare; Greene, Peele, and Lodge working upon a Marlowan plot; and, again, Shakespeare in collaboration with William Rowley.⁹ Fleay himself vacillated in "recognizing" the hand of Marlowe in the drama, although he noted that Marlowe was named as the author in the catalogue of the British Museum.¹⁰ Actually, the only actor-playwrights mentioned in the records as belonging to the Queen's company at this time were Lodge, Green, and Peele, and scholars have pointed out that the only year in which all of these men were writing for this

⁸ H. H. Furness (ed.), The Life and Death of King John, "Variorum," p. 448.

⁹ Chambers, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁰ P. G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare, pp. 16; 98.

company was 1589.¹¹ Nevertheless, evidence shows that Greene was leaving the Queen's group in this same year, while Peele was occupying Greene's place in this company. Marlowe was also connected with the Admiral's and Pembroke's Men at this time.¹²

Most authorities consider the claim of Shakespeare's authorship of the play (in the 1611 and 1622 quartos) to be false, the work of a printer with an eye for business who was attempting to capitalize upon the popularity which Shakespeare's King John had enjoyed.¹³ Scholars argue that, for the 1611 and 1622 quartos, the bookseller may have avoided the words (on the title-page of the 1591 edition), ". . . publikely . . . in the honourable Citie of London . . .," so as not to credit the play as Shakespeare's, because the Blackfriars was, of course, a private house, and the Globe was a public theatre located in Southwark.¹⁴ Chambers notes that Shakespeare's King John apparently was treated as a play identical to the anonymous The Troublesome Raigne.¹⁵

¹¹Loc. cit.

¹²Loc. Cit.

¹³Law, op. cit., p. 120.

¹⁴Furness, op. cit., p. 447.

¹⁵Chambers, op. cit., p. 24.

Whether Shakespeare actually had a hand in the composition of this play, therefore, remains a mystery and has been a subject for much conjectural thought. For example, White has suggested that Greene, Peele, and Marlowe wrote the play with the help of Shakespeare, "their co-worker," who attempted to imitate their styles.¹⁶ Indeed, one thinks that the contrasts in styles evident in The Troublesome Raigne point to more than one author's having been involved in its composition. Furnivall, in his "Forewords" to Praetorius' facsimile of the play, states that ". . . the man is no fool . . .," and concludes that ". . . the old playwright made a very fair drama on the subject of his time" ¹⁷

The history of King John had been a familiar story to the English people for over half a century, mainly as a result of the efforts of playwright Bishop John Bale of Ossery in his play, Kynge Johan (1543). It is difficult to account for the facts surrounding Bale's play, however.¹⁸ For example, scholars know that Bale wrote this drama in two parts around mid-year, 1536, obviously defending the

¹⁶R. G. White quoted in Furness, op. cit., p. 454.

¹⁷F. J. Furnivall (ed.), "Forewords," The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, Part II, p. xxxvi.

¹⁸W. W. Greg (ed.), "Introduction," King Johan, p. xxiii.

actions of King John.¹⁹ Bale, however, was having trouble with the Pope in 1537, because he was forming a group of actors in behalf of Lord Cromwell and performing plays that supported the principles of the Reformation.²⁰ Sometime in 1538, Bale apparently decided to revise his two-part play of Kynge Johan, making of it a single drama and incorporating into it contemporary allusions to events and individuals; it was this version of the play which he performed before the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 2, 1539.²¹ When Cromwell lost power, Bale went into exile, but during Edward's reign, he made a further revision of this same play. Bale went into exile, again, when Mary came to the throne, but upon his return to England, he is once more discovered in the act of revising Kynge Johan, in hopes of having it performed before Elizabeth, the new monarch, in August, 1561, although one finds no records to show that this performance ever took place.²²

Kynge Johan resembles the ancient English morality drama with its abstractions such as ynglond vidua, nobelyte,

¹⁹Loc. cit.

²⁰Loc. cit.

²¹Ibid., p. xxiv.

²²Loc. cit.

vsurpid powr, sedycyon, sivyll order, and clargy (Bale's initial purpose in writing the drama had been to give support to the movement of the Reformation).²³ Scholars have decided that it probably occupies an "intermediate place" in the rise of English drama, midway, perhaps, between the morality play and the later historical drama.²⁴ It is also considered to be the earliest English drama to involve actual personages of contemporary significance, since Bale took his materials from the accounts of the English chronicles.²⁵ One sees that Bale has adapted major events from the reign of King John (e.g., the quarrel between John and Rome, the trouble which this quarrel brought upon England, John's eventual surrender to the Pope, and the notorious rumor about his death by poisoning at Swinestead Abbey), and has suited these episodes to similar sets of circumstances which had occurred in the late years of the reign of Henry VIII.²⁶ Perhaps, it is also pertinent to observe that Bale made use

²³J. P. Collier (ed.), "Introduction," Kynge Johan p. xiii.

²⁴A. A. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature, p. 187.

²⁵Furness, (ed.), op. cit., p. ix; Collier, op. cit. p. xiii.

²⁶L. B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy, pp. 126-27.

of a figure named the "interpretour," consistent with the ancient practice of the chorus and necessary to the development of his plot, because the interpretour states the theme of the drama at the end of the first scene, showing that it involves Bale's "mirroring" of the problems between Henry, the Pope, and the Catholics at home.²⁷

There is no scene division in the play, other than the obvious interruptions of entrances and exits in the unfolding of the plot. However, scholars have noted that Bale's arrangement of the play into two separate parts is the first instance of its kind to be noted in English drama, a practice which later became general when Elizabethan dramatists frequently worked with historical materials.²⁸ Bale, also, set one more precedent in writing this drama by failing to observe the unities of time or place.²⁹ His poetry, furthermore, has ". . . little elevation and a limited range of imagination, although it is morally severe and violently polemic."³⁰

²⁷Ibid., pp. 128-29.

²⁸Collier, op. cit., p. xiv.

²⁹Ibid., p. xv.

³⁰Ibid., p. xvi.

Although the author of The Troublesome Raigne must have known of Bale's Kynge Johan, he apparently did not make use of this play, but, instead, took his materials from Holinshed's Chronicles, distorting the chronology of his source, however.³¹ Indeed, scholars have concluded that he followed a variety of accounts in the older chroniclers of the time of King John,³² converting these prose records into scenes written in ". . . sustained but very rough blank verse with rare occasional diversions."³³

The plot of the two parts of The Troublesome Raigne is based, therefore, upon the reign of John (1199-1216), who had succeeded his brother, Richard I, Coeur de Lion, according to the contents of a will discovered after the latter's death, although Richard had actually named his nephew, Arthur, as his successor in 1190. John's title had been further strengthened by "an election of the nobles," reminding one that the action in the play occurs in a time before the law of hereditary succession had been established.³⁴

³¹Campbell, op. cit., pp. 132-33.

³²Furness, op. cit., p. 465.

³³Loc. cit.

³⁴E. M. O'Connor, Topical Index to Booklevers Edition of Shakespeare, p. 162.

The allusion to John's having been poisoned by a monk is not found in any of the histories of the period, but, one notes, it is mentioned slightly in Holinshed's account of John's concern with the Dauphin of France, a source which will be alluded to in detail in a later portion of this study; hence, it is important that one reproduce Holinshed's description of the episode:

. . . thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hasted forward till he came to Wellestreme sands, where passing the Washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horses and carriages, so that it was judged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoils which had beene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houses, should perish and be lost by such means together with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few others, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some have written, he tooke such grieffe for the losse sustained at this passage, that immediatlie there vpon he fell into an ague, the force and heat whereof, together with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new sider, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter . . . the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that . . . through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life . . . There be which have written, that after he had lost his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineshead in Lincolnshire . . . a moenke . . . being moued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gave the king poison in a cup of ale, whereof he first tooke assaie, to cause the king not to suspect the matter and so they both died in manner at one time³⁵

³⁵Quoted in E. A. J. Honigmann (ed.), King John, p. 162.

Since the plots of the two parts of The Troublesome Raigne are of much importance to the textual study to follow, the summary of action presented hereafter is detailed:

Part I

i. Attended by the English lords and supported by his mother, Queen Elianor, King John takes the throne of his brother, Richard Coeur-de-Lion. The French ambassador, Chatillion, has been sent to King John by Philip of France to demand the kingdom of England and all of its domains in the name of John's nephew, Arthur of Bretagne. John's refusal to yield the crown leads to a declaration of war in which he warns Chatillion that the English Army will be in France as soon as he. John listens to the contention of the explanation of the rights of two brothers to Faulconbridge's estate and discovers that Philip Faulconbridge is the bastard son of Richard Coeur-de-Lion. He dubs the bastard, Sir Richard Plantagenet, acknowledging him as a member of the royal family, and then prepares to sail for France.

ii. Meanwhile, in France, King Philip, his son Lewis, Limoges, the Duke of Austria responsible for Coeur-de-Lion's death, Constance, and her son, Arthur, approach Angiers, an English possession, to test Arthur's claim to the throne. Chatillion arrives with John's counter declaration of war,

closely followed by King John and his army. John and Philip contest each other's right to claim the loyalty of the citizens of Angiers, who have refused to accept either until the rightful King of England is made known. Queen Elinor and Constance have an exchange of invectives; the Bastard and Limoges exchange taunts; and King John and King Philip challenge each other to battle.

iii. The Bastard chases Limoges, who drops the lion's skin he had previously taken from the corpse of Richard. The Bastard, then, gives up the pursuit to retrieve his patrimony.

iv. After watching the battle between the English and French armies, the citizens of Angiers request a parley with John and Philip, who, in turn, both demand that the town yield. The Bastard presents the lion skin to Blanche, the daughter of the King of Spain and niece to King John. He also advises the two kings to unite their forces, beat down the walls of Angiers, and fight out their claims. The conflicting claims to the English throne are shamefully settled, not by combat, but by the bartering of Blanche in a marriage to Philip's son, Lewis, the Dauphin of France, along with a dowry of the French provinces, and a sum of money. Constance bewails the perjury of King Philip and the abandoned cause of Arthur.

v. On the wedding day of Blanche and Lewis, the Bastard craves a boon--to be made a duke equal in rank to

Austria, so that they may combat to the death. Limoges refuses to fight. Pandulph, legate to the Pope, challenges King John's right to annul the election by the Pope of Stephen Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury. John, however, defies the Pope, declaring himself Supreme Head over both the spiritual and temporal state in England. As a result, Pandulph excommunicates King John and promises to absolve any man from sin who will murder the King. He also incites King Philip to resume his war against John and acquits Philip of his oath of peace with England. The battle between the English and French armies is, thereafter, renewed.

vi. The Bastard pursues Austria and kills him to revenge King Richard's death.

vii. Queen Elinor is taken prisoner by the French. John rallies his men and swears to lose his life or set his mother free.

viii. A fierce battle ensues in which Elinor is rescued, and Arthur is taken prisoner by King John.

ix. Victorious John is challenged by Arthur who decrees that might, not right, has prevailed. Arthur reasserts his rights to the title, King of England. John confines Arthur as prisoner and delivers him to Hubert de Burgh, suggesting that Arthur's death also would make the crown safe.

The Bastard is sent to England to ransack the abbeys, cloisters, and priories for money with which to maintain the English armies.

x. Constance upbraids Philip and Lewes for permitting the capture of Arthur and prophesies her own death. Pandulph advises Lewis to leave John alone with Arthur, since his (Lewis's) title is the closest (through Blanche) to the English throne, and promises help to come from the church at Rome.

xi. Philip, then ransacks the abbeys, demands ransoms, and takes Peter of Pomfret a prisoner for having deluded the people with false prophecies.

xii. Hubert de Burgh attempts to carry out King John's orders to burn out the eyes of Arthur, but Arthur persuades Hubert to spare him. Hubert, then, departs to tell the King that Arthur is dead.

xiii. King John insists (against the counsel of his lords) upon a second coronation. The Bastard returns to the court with the wealth which he has garnered from the churches and tells John about Peter of Pomfret and his prophecies. The nobles return and crown John, again, as he commanded; then they ask a boon, which John grants: i.e., the release of Arthur. John agrees. At this moment, the Bastard observes five moons which have suddenly appeared in the

heavens. Peter of Pomfret is brought before the king to interpret the miracle. He explains that the heavens represent Rome with the Pope as supreme head. Four of the moons represent the four provinces that stand in fear of the Pope. The smallest moon which whirls about the others is Albion (England), that scorns the will of the Pope. Then, Peter predicts that before Ascension Day at noon, John will lose his crown, estate, and royal dignity. John, then, decides that Arthur must die and tells his barons that he is recalling his pardon. Hubert enters and claims that Arthur has died, as the result of the burning of his eyes. The nobles immediately desert John, who turns in wrath upon Hubert because he has carried out his orders. Hubert relents and tells King John the truth that Arthur lives, and is sent after the nobles to call them back.

Part II:

1. Arthur dies in his attempted escape by leaping from the castle wall, and his body is discovered by the deserting lords, who believe Arthur has been murdered at John's command. Hubert arrives to tell the nobles that Arthur lives, but is confronted with the nobles at the scene of Arthur's death. The nobles, then, decide to invite the Dauphin Lewis to invade England and claim the throne. They agree to go to St. Edmunds Bury on the tenth of April.

Then, they carry away Arthur's body.

ii. Hubert reports to King John that Arthur is dead. The king orders the execution of Peter the Prophet, since he can see no reason now for forfeiting his crown. After the execution, the Bastard tells King John that the nobles have elected Lewis their king and have asked the Bastard to join them. John orders Faulconbridge to meet with the barons to plead his (John's) cause. Since Queen Elinor is also dead, John has no comfort in his distress. He decides to dissemble with Pandulph, the Pope's legate. The French fleet approaches the shores of England, and John agrees to surrender his crown to the Pope in return for papal help in repulsing Lewis.

iii. Dressed in cloaks of holy pilgrimage, the English nobles meet at St. Edmunds Bury and agree to espouse the cause of Lewis and make him King of England in John's place. Faulconbridge tries to persuade them that it is wrong to depose God's anointed king. He denounces them as traitors, and returns to the service of King John. Lewis arrives, and the English lords swear to him an oath of allegiance to fight against their own King and countrymen. Lewis takes his oath to love them all. After the English withdraw, Lewis tells his men that, as soon as he is completely victorious, he will have all of the English traitors put to death, because death is to be their reward for treason.

iv. Pandulph returns the crown to King John to hold as tenant of the Pope. Lewis, with the French nobles and the English traitors, arrives and chides Pandulph for being leagued with John. Pandulph orders Lewis to return to France. The Bastard pleads with the English barons to forsake Lewis and return their allegiance King John. Salisbury reiterates the nobles' oath of allegiance to Lewis. Pandulph excommunicates Lewis and the peers and declares them traitors to King John and to the Pope. The Bastard wants John to answer Lewis in honorable battle.

v. The English and the French forces fight--John's deserted nobles supporting the French. Lord Meloun, a Frenchman, is fatally wounded and wishes to make his confession before he dies. He tells Salisbury and his friends that Lewis swore an oath on the altar at St. Edmunds Bury to behead every Englishman who had been treacherous to King John, as soon as Lewis was completely victorious. Meloun counsels the English to submit themselves to John and to expel the French from their native land. After Meloun's death, the contrite Lords decide to seek their King and kneel to him for pardon.

vi. The rumor that King John has deserted the battlefield causes the English army to retreat, closely followed by the French. The next morning, when the scattered troops

gather and try to cross the Lincoln Washes, the returning tide swallows up the men, horses, and carriages with much of the wealth and plunder of King John. The king is sick with a fever and, unable to ride, is being carried by his men. They take him to an abbey where the Abbot greets him. A meal is prepared for the king, and Manet, the monk, plans to poison John. The Abbot calls the monk, Thomas, and absolves him of all sin, because the death of John will be considered as a good deed by the Pope and the Church.

vii. Lord Meloun's death and the triumphant resistance of Dover Castle are the only bars to a glorious victory for Lewis in England. Then, Lewis learns of the defection of the English nobles from his cause; at the same time, he hears of the destruction of the French fleet on Goodwin Sands. But the news of the loss of the English at the Lincoln Washes bolsters Lewis's ego, and he proclaims himself King of England.

viii. At Swinsted Abbey, the Friars lay the cloth in the orchard for King John's food. A monk brings King John a cup of wine and acts as taster to reassure the king. The monk dies soon after King John has finished the drink. The poison, then, begins to work on John. The barons with Pandulph and Prince Henry arrive before John's death. John is unable to speak, but he lifts his hand in token of forgiveness to his barons and as an acknowledgement of his

CHAPTER II

FACTS AND THEORIES RELATED TO SHAKESPEARE'S KING JOHN

The text of Shakespeare's King John was first printed in the 1623 Folio, where it is preceded by The Winter's Tale and followed by the histories.³⁷ Because The Troublesome Raigne had been printed in 1611 and 1622 as one of Shakespeare's plays, scholars are prone to think that Heminge and Condell, the editors of the 1623 Folio, may have thought it unnecessary to have entered King John in the Stationers' Register, assuming that the initial 1591 entry for the anonymous play was adequate guarantee for their Folio edition.³⁸ At any rate, one finds no entry for Shakespeare's King John at the time of the printing of the Folio.

Shakespeare's history plays, concerned with the careers of six English kings, are the ". . . studies of weak kings . . . and strong kings,"³⁹ of whom John is the "royal criminal."⁴⁰ Scholars, however, are not certain about

³⁷John Munro, The London Shakespeare, III, p. 667.

³⁸Hardin Craig (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 339.

³⁹W. J. Rolfe (ed.), Shakespeare's History of the Life and Death of King John, p. 31.

⁴⁰Loc. cit.

the exact location of this drama within the chronology of Shakespeare's histories.⁴¹ Craig thinks it has a "uniformity and dignity of style" which places it above the work of 2 and 3 Henry VI, but at the same time notes that it has an "undoubted stiffness and formality that indicate an early date of composition,"⁴² and concludes that "it is somewhat archaic in style and surprisingly mature in thought and seems, on the whole, to be an early play."⁴³ Most scholars think it is the first play of its kind which Shakespeare may have written as a member of Lord Chamberlain's men.⁴⁴

On the other hand, it is agreed that The Troublesome Raigne is the main source for King John, in spite of the fact that there is evidence to show that Shakespeare also consulted other works, in particular, four.⁴⁵ For example, it is accepted that he made use of certain historical details found in Holinshed's Chronicles, as had the author of The Troublesome Raigne.⁴⁶ Furthermore, he is known to have

⁴¹P. S. Boas, Shakespeare and His Predecessors, p. 238.

⁴²Hardin Craig, An Interpretation of Shakespeare, p. 83.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁴⁴Marchette Chute, Shakespeare of London, p. 171.

⁴⁵E. A. J. Honigmann (ed.), The Life and Death of King John p. xi.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. xiii.

made adaptations from John Foxe's Actes and Monuments (1583) in IV.ii.144-45; V.i.1-4; and V.vi.29-30.⁴⁷ At the same time there is no doubt about his use of Matthew Paris's Historia Major (1571) in V.vi.39-44 and vi.61-64.⁴⁸ And finally, the Latin MS. Wakefield Chronicle is considered, at least by Honigmann, to be the only source from which Shakespeare could have learned that ". . . Queen Eleanor died on the first of April" ⁴⁹ It is necessary, therefore, that one first should become acquainted with the basic plot of Shakespeare's King John:

I. After the death of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the throne of England is seized by his brother John from the feeble grasp of their nephew Arthur, the rightful heir. King Philip of France supports the claims of Arthur, and menaces England with war; whereupon King John plans an invasion of France, and chooses as one of his generals a natural son of Coeur-de-Lion, whom he creates Sir Richard Plantagenet.

II. The English troops encounter the French forces before the city of Angiers--an English possession, which, however, refuses to open its gates to either king till the succession of the English throne be determined upon. The two sovereigns fight a battle without decisive result, and afterwards propose a treaty of peace. A niece of John is given in marriage to the French Dauphin. The treaty results in an acquisition of English territory on the part of Philip, who is thereby disaffected to the cause of Arthur.

III. King John refuses to bow to the authority of the Pope, and the latter excommunicates him. The papal legate incites Philip to break the treaty. War

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

⁴⁸Loc. cit.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. xvii.

is resumed. The French are defeated in a general engagement, and Arthur is taken prisoner by his uncle, who gives secret orders that he be put to death.

IV. Upon the return of John to England, Hubert, a courtier, is instructed to burn out Arthur's eyes; but the young prince's entreaties so soften Hubert's heart that he ventures to disobey the cruel mandate. Soon after Arthur attempts to escape from the castle where he is confined, by leaping from the battlements. The leap kills him, and his mangled body is found by some discontented nobles. They believe him to have been murdered by the Kings' command, and are confirmed in their purpose of deserting John and joining their strength with that of the Dauphin, who, armed with papal approval, is invading England.

V. The timid heart of John yields at this evidence of the Pope's wrath and power. He surrenders his authority to the papal legate, thinking thus to arrest the French invasion. But the Dauphin, urged by successes and claiming the English throne through his wife, continues to press forward. The English troops are mustered by Plantagenet, who valiantly battles with the French. The issue of the fray remains in doubt, each side having met with severe losses through outside and natural causes. The English nobles who had joined with the Dauphin now desert him, and he is disposed to terms of peace, which are willingly listened to by the enfeebled English. During the battle John has been removed in a state of illness to an abbey, where he is poisoned by a monk. Upon his death, his son Henry III, ascends the throne.⁵⁰

In the tradition, then, already established in the Chronicles, King John is presented as an early proponent of social, religious freedom, although in the play, Shakespeare does not

⁵⁰ Quoted in Booklovers Edition of Shakespeare's King John, pp. 6-7.

depict him as a great "Christian warrior" or hero.⁵¹ It is thought that John's inhuman treatment of Arthur causes Shakespeare in his drama to develop the figure of the Bastard Falconbridge to perpetuate the spirit and courage of Richard Coeur de Lion in the minds of Englishmen at a time when humiliation had become overbearing.⁵² Historically, however, it is obvious that the play is not accurate, for Shakespeare

. . . invented both characters and incidents . . . transposed scenes . . . shortened events and varied the sequences and chronology; but the message of this historical play was accepted in a time of national crisis as historically true in a moral sense.⁵³

Historical studies of this play reveal that many discrepancies exist between Shakespeare's handling of dramatic incidents and the actual events themselves.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the basis for the claim of Shakespeare's direct use of The Troublesome Raigne is contained in the fact that he makes his characters tell about some of the incidents acted upon the stage in the anonymous play; for example, the attempts

⁵¹Campbell, op. cit., p. 167; also, Peter Alexander, Shakespeare's Life and Art, p. 85.

⁵²Loc. cit.

⁵³L. B. Wright, Shakespeare for Everyman, pp. 146-47.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 158.

by Falconbridge to destroy the churches; the imprisonment of Peter of Pomfret; the reported poisoning of John at Swinstead Abbey; the resultant death of the monk who is thought to be the poisoner; Falconbridge's attack upon the Abbot; and, finally, the many soliloquies assigned to Falconbridge in The Troublesome Raigne.⁵⁵ Scholars, on the other hand, have noted that King John differs from the anonymous play in eight instances, each variant concerning a political theme, suggesting that Shakespeare was consciously attempting to make his play more topical and, thus, more suited to its time of composition.⁵⁶ Simpson argues that, in these eight instances, Shakespeare has deviated from the order of The Troublesome Raigne, only in some few particulars in order to correct his "history" to accord with the Chronicles, showing that ". . . his departures from history were retained with full knowledge and intention."⁵⁷ Simpson calls attention to the following points: (1) John, the favorite of Queen Elinor, is told that he must rely upon "strong possession," not upon his "right" to the throne; (2) Queen Elinor confides in Constance that she can bring to light a

⁵⁵Rolfe, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁵⁷Quoted in Furness, (ed.), op. cit., p. 612.

will that will prevent Arthur from gaining the title; (3) Shakespeare played loosely with historical facts in order to "refine" the characters of both Arthur and Constance; (4) by exaggerating the value of the dowry given to Blanche, Shakespeare emphasized the loss of John's French possessions; (5) the scenes in which John encourages Hubert to undertake the murder of Arthur were invented by Shakespeare; (6) Shakespeare reduced John's four wars to two for dramatic effect; the first encompassing Arthur's lack of religious support in his claim to the title; the second, the result of Arthur's death, involving the motive of revenge, to which Shakespeare added the account of John's excommunication;⁵⁸ (7) Pandulph's suggesting that Lewis should leave Arthur alone with John until Lewis could take advantage by intervening in the matter; and (8) the baron's new pledge of allegiance occurs after Melun's confession of Lewis's treachery. It becomes obvious, therefore, that these cases in which Shakespeare has deviated from the facts of the period have each been invested with political allusions to contemporary

⁵⁸Loc. cit. Simpson claims that ". . . this is wholly unhistorical. No English lord interfered in behalf of Arthur, whose death raised no commotion in England, and was long passed and forgotten before the controversy with the Pope about Langton began. The confederacy between the barons and Lewis was ten years after Arthur's death, with which it had nothing to do."

events or to circumstances which helped shape these contemporary affairs.⁵⁹ For example, while concerning himself with the problem of John's title to the throne, Shakespeare was actually alluding to Elizabeth's title, knowing that it was a timely subject and of much national interest, because Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, and her brother, Edward VI, were the only English sovereigns since the time of Richard II whose titles had gone undisputed.⁶⁰ The characters of Arthur and Constance, as well, have been shown to suggest parallels to Catharine of Aragon and Mary.⁶¹ Furthermore, some scholars think that John's loss of England's holdings in France was Shakespeare's allusion to the loss of Calais by the advisors of Elizabeth.⁶² Warburton and Malone have also considered the episode involving John and Hubert " . . . to be a veiled attempt" to ease the conscience of Elizabeth by blaming Secretary Davison for the death of Mary, Queen of Scots.⁶³ In addition, John's two wars have been seen as parallels to the troubles of Elizabeth.⁶⁴ Investigations of

⁵⁹Loc. cit.

⁶⁰Loc. cit.

⁶¹Loc. cit.

⁶²Ibid., p. 613.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 323-24.

⁶⁴Loc. cit.

the historical facts contained in King John, therefore, clearly point out that Shakespeare selected his material with little concern for historical accuracy, but with much care for its inherent dramatic values. While it is, no doubt, interesting and, perhaps, rewarding to speculate about Shakespeare's purpose in alluding to controversial contemporary events in this drama, the fact still remains that his source for King John was the anonymous The Troublesome Raigne, an older play written in two parts. A textual study of these plays should enable one to comprehend Shakespeare's early method of adapting source materials and show how he has rewritten the older play, almost line by line, how he has relocated its emphasis and greatly enhanced its characterizations.

CHAPTER III

A COMPARISON OF THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE WITH SHAKESPEARE'S KING JOHN

Most of recent scholars agree that the anonymous play of The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England is the main source for Shakespeare's The Life and Death of King John. For convenience in the following exposition, the titles, Troublesome Raigne and King John will be used, respectively, to refer to these two dramas in the ensuing comparison. The two plays show a remarkable relationship or similarity in the introduction of characters and in the construction of the plot. The main incidents are parallel in each: (i.e.) John usurps the throne of England; Arthur claims the crown through rights of primo-geniture; Queen Elinor supports her son, John, in his possession of power; King Philip of France initiates a war with John in support of Arthur's right; Arthur's mother, Constance, desires title for her son which would assure her of great power; Philip Faulconbridge, Bastard son of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, becomes the hero of national unity and loyalty to the King; Lewis, the Dauphin of France, successfully invades England; Salisbury and Pembroke, representative nobles of England, become aware of the tragedy of treason; Legates of the Pope

exploit whatever character or principle will best serve the Pope and the Church; Hubert de Burgh encounters an impossible situation in trying to carry out commands and counter-commands; and Limoges, or Austria, the braggart, becomes the ultimate loser in plucking ". . . dead Lyons by the beard . . ."65

The first eighteen lines of the Troublesome Raigne introduce and establish the strong character of Queen Elinor and the weak, but aspiring, character of King John:

Q. Elinor

Barons of England, and my noble Lords;
Though God and Fortune have bereft us
Victorious Richard Scourge of Infidels,
And clad this Land in stole of dismall hieu;
Yet give me leaue to ioy, and ioy you all,
That from this wombe hath sprung a second hope
A King that may in rule and vertue both
Succeede his brother in his Emperie.

K. John My gracious mother Queene, and Barons all;
Though farre unworthie of so high a place,
As is the Throne of mightie Englands King;
Yet Iohn your Lord, contented uncontent,
Will (as he may) sustaine the heaue yoke
Of pressing cares, that hang upon a Crowne.
My Lord of Pembroke and Lord Salsbury,
Admit the Lord Shattilion to our presence;
That we may know what Philip King of Fraunce
(By his Ambassadors) requires of us.

(TR.I.1.1-18)

Shakespeare begins King John with greetings to Chattilion. The parallels in King John and The Troublesome Raigne start here--the only point of difference being that

65 Shakespeare, King John, I.ii.146.

Shakespeare introduces the words, borrowed Maiesty, and vsurpingly, which state the situation within the speeches of the characters:

<p><u>King John</u></p> <p><u>I.1</u> <u>K.</u>John. Now say Chatillon, what would France with vs? <u>Chat.</u>Thus (aftergreeting) speakes the King of France, In my behavior to the Maiesty, The borrowed Maiesty of <u>England</u> here. <u>Elea.</u> A strange beginning: borrowed Maiesty! (KJ.I.1.1-5)</p>	<p><u>The Troublesome Raigne, Part I</u></p> <p><u>1</u> <u>John.</u> My Lord Chatillon, welcome into England: How fares our Brother Philip King of France? <u>Chatt.</u>His Hignes at my coming was in health, And wild me to salute your Maiestic, And say the message he hath given me in charge. <u>John.</u> And spare not man, we are preparte to heare. (TR.1.23-28)</p>
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By permitting Elinor to speak out, Shakespeare emphasizes the Queen's influence upon John. Chatillon's answer in both plays represents the first exact phrasing in both works, beginning with Ireland:

<p><u>Chat.</u> Philip of France, in right and true behalf Of thy deceased brother, Geffreys some, Arthur Plantaginit, laies most lawful claim To this faire Iland and the Territories: To Ireland, Poyctiers, Aniove, Torayne, Maine, Desiring thee to lay aside the sword Which sways vsurpingly these seuerall titles, And put the same into yong Arthurs hand, Thy Nephew, and right royall Soueraigne. (KJ.I.1.7-15)</p>	<p><u>Chatt.</u> Philip by the grace of God most Christian K. of France, hauing taken into his guardian and protection Arthur Duke of Brittain, son & heire to Ieffrey thine elder brother, requireth in the behalfe of the said Arthur, the Kingdom of England, with the Lordship of Ireland, Poiter, Aniove, Desiring thee to lay aside the sword and I attend thine aunswere. (TR.1.29-34)</p>
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In King John, Shakespeare compresses John's reply, thus quickening the movement in the dialogue:

<p><u>K. John.</u> What follows if we disallow of this?</p> <p><u>Chat.</u> The proud controle of fierce and bloody warre, To enforce these rights, so forcibly withheld,</p> <p><u>K. Jo.</u> Heere haue we war for war & bloud for bloud, Controlement for controle- ment: so answer <u>France.</u></p> <p><u>Chat.</u> Then take my Kings de- fiance from my mouth, The farthest limit of my Embassie.</p> <p><u>K. John.</u> Bear mine to him . . . (<u>KJ.I.i.16-23</u>)</p>	<p><u>John.</u> A small request: I wonder what he meanes to leauue for me.</p> <p>Tell Philip, he may keepe his Lords at home, With greater honour than to send them thus On embassades that not concerne himselfe,</p> <p>Or if they did, would yeeld but small returne.</p> <p><u>Chat.</u> Is this thine answer?</p> <p><u>John.</u> It is, and too good an an- swer for so proud a message.</p> <p><u>Chat.</u> Then King of England, in my Masters name, And in Prince Arthur Duke of Britaines name, I doe defie thee as an Enemie, And wish thee to prepare for bloodie warres. (<u>TR.i.35-48</u>)</p>
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Shakespeare deviates from historical and scientific fact in John's warning to Chattillon, and anachronistically initiates the "thunder of cannon," more than a century before the invention of gunpowder. Here, also, in Shakespeare appears the first indication of John's harrassment of the abbeys:

Q.Eli.What now my sonne,
 haue I not euer said
 How that ambitious Constance
 would not cease
 Till she had kindled France
 and all the world,
 Vpon the right and party of
 her sonne.

This might haue beene pre-
 vented and made whole
 With very easie arguments of
 loue,
 Which now the mannage of two
 kingdomes must
 With fearefull bloody issue
 arbitrate.

K.Iohn.Our strong possession
 and our right for vs.

Eli.Your strong possession
 much more than your right,
 Or else it must go wrong with
 you and me,
 So much my conscience whisp-
 pers in my eare,
 Which none but heauen, and
 you, and I, shall heare.

(KJ.I.1.31-43)

Q.Eli.Dare lay my hand that
 Elinor can gesse
 Whereto this weightie Embassade
 doth tend:
 If of my Nephew Arthur and his
 claime,
 Then say my Sonne I haue not
 mist my aime.

My Lord (that stands upon
 defiance thus)
 Commend me to my Nephew, tell
 the boy,

That I Queene Elianor (his
 Grandmother)
 Vpon my blessing charge him
 leaue his Armes
 Whereto his head-strong Mother
 pricks him so:
 Her pride we know, and know her
 for a Dame

That will not sticke to bring
 him to his ende,
 So she may bring her selfe to
 rule a Realme.

Next with him to forsake the
 King of Fraunce,
 And come to me and to his
 Uncle here.

And he shall want for nothing
 at our hands.

Chatt.This shall I doo . . . ,

(TR.1.19-22
 49-60)

Next, in King John, Shakespeare's plot and dialogue show a slight variation from that of The Troublesome Raigne in his having given one of Salisbury's speeches to Essex, at the beginning of the Faulconbridge incident:

Essex. My Liege, here is the
strangest controuersie
Come from the Country to be
Judg'd by you
That ere I heard: shall I
produce the men?
K. Iohn. Let them approach:

What men are you?

(KJ.I.1.44-47;
49)

Salisbury. Please it your Maiestie,
here is the Shriue of
Northhamptonshire, with certaine
persons that of late com-
mitted a riot, and haue appeal'd
to your Maiestie beseeching
your Highnes for speciall cause
to heare them.

Iohn. Will them come neere, . . .
while we hear the cause . . .

Say Shriue, what are these men,
what haue they done?

Or whereto tends the courte of
this appeal?

(TR.1.66-70;
73, 74)

Salisbury's speech in The Troublesome Raigne seems slower in comparison to the Essex speech in King Iohn. Hardin Craig has applied the term, "archaic", to the language of The Troublesome Raigne, and this characteristic becomes more apparent as the controversy continues between the Faulconbridge brothers. Shakespeare's dialogue in this next scene is in a lighter vein than that of The Troublesome Raigne. The sly wit assigned by Shakespeare to Philip Faulconbridge makes that character far more appealing than he seems to be in The Troublesome Raigne:

Enter Robert Faulconbridge,
and Philip

<u>Philip</u> . Your faithfull subject	<u>Philip</u> . Please it your Maiestie
I a gentleman,	the wrong is mine, yet wil
Borne in Northamptonshire,	I abide all wrongs, before I
and eldest sonne	once open my mouth to unrippe
As I suppose, to Robert Faul-	the shamefull slaunder of my
conbridge,	parents, the dishonour of myself,
A Souldier by the Honor-giuing	& the wicked dealing of my bro-
hand	ther in this princely assembly,

Of Courdelion, Knighted in
the field.

K. John. What art thou?

Robert. The son and heire to
that same Faulconbridge.

K. John. Is that the elder
and art thou the heyre?
You came not of one mother
then it seems.

Philip. Most certain of one
mother, mighty King
That is well known, and as I
think one father:
But for the cerrain knowledge
of that truth,

I put you o're to heauen, and
to my mother;
Of that I doubt, as all men's
children may.

El. Out on thee rude man, yu
dost shame thy mother,
And wound her honor with this
diffidence.

Phil. I Madame? No, I haue no
reason for it.
That is my brothers plea, and
none of mine,
The which if he can proue, a
pops me out,
At least from faire five hun-
dred pound a yeere:
Heauen guard my mothers honor
and my land.

K. John. A good blunt fellow:
why being yonger born
Doth he claime to thine in-
heritance?

(KJ.I.1.50-73)

Robert. Then by my Prince his
shall Robert speake.
and tell your Maiestie what
right I haue
To ouer wrong, as he accounterd
wrong.

My father (not unknowen unto
your Grace)
Receiud his spurres of Knight-
hood in the field,
At kingly Richards hands in
Palestine,
When as the walls of Acon
gaue him way:

His name Sir Robert Faucon-
bridge of Mountbery.
What by succession from his
Auncestours,
And warlike seruice under
Englands Armes,
His liuing did amount too at
his death
Two thousand Markes reueneu
euery yeare:
And this (my Lord) I challenge
for my right,
As lawfull heire to Robert
Fauconbridge.

Philip. If first borne sonne be
heire indubitate
By certaine right of Englands
auncient Lawe,
How should myselfd make any
other doubt,
But I am heire to Robert Fau-
conbridge?

John. Fond Youth, to trouble
these our Princely eares
Or make a question in so plaine
a case:
Speake, is this man thine elder
Brother borne?

(TR.1.87-111)

The legitimacy of Philip Faulconbridge is the subject of the following lines. In the Troublesome Raigne, the slow-moving dialogue merely introduces two themes parallel to those of King John--the support of the mother, and the question of right or possession. Philip has possession of Lord Faulconbridge's estate, but Robert is suing for his right to become heir to his paternity. Robert accuses Lady Faulconbridge of favoring Philip. Shakespeare, in borrowing this scene, makes Philip accountable for his own defense, thus strengthening the character. There is no stage record of performance for The Troublesome Raigne except for the statement occurring on the title-page of the 1591 Quarto (cited in Chapter I) which claims that the play had been acted several times by the Queen's players. One may surmise that the reason for this lack of stage history is the monotony of the traditional style of pseudo-classicism employed. The robust, vital Elizabethans would probably have preferred Shakespeare's faster-moving, wittier style. John's concept of justice is being influenced and tempered by Queen Elinore, then, in the following excerpt:

Phil. I know not why, except
to get the land.
But once he slanderd me with
bastardy;
But where I be as true begot
or no,
That still I lay vpon my
mothers head,
But that I am as well begot
my Liege
(Faire fall the bones that
tooke the paines for me)
Compare our faces, and be
Iudge your selfe
If old Sir Robert did beget
vs both,
And were our father, and
this sonne like him.
O old sir Robert Father, on
my knee
I giue heauen thankes I was
not like to thee.
K. Iohn. Why what a mad-cap
bath heauen lent vs here?

Robert. Please it your Grace
with patience forto heare;
I not denie but he mine Elder is,
Mine elder Brother too; yet in
such sort,
As he can make no title to the
Land.
Iohn. A doubtfull tale as euer I
did heare,
Thy Brother and thine elder,
and no heire:
Explaine this darke AEnigma.
Robert. I graunt (my Lord) he is
my mothers sonne,
Base borne, and base begot, no
Fauconbridge.
Indeepe the world reputes him
lawful heire,
My father in his life did count
him so,
And here my Mother stands to
prooue him so;
But I (my Lord) can prooue and
do averre
Both to my Mothers shame and
his reproach,
He is no heire nor yet legiti-
mate.
Then (gracious Lord) let Fau-
conbridge enjoy
The living that belongs to
Fauconbridge.
And let not him possesse an-
others right.
Iohn. Proue this, the land is
thine by Englands law.
Q. Eli. Ungracious youth, to rip
thy mothers shame,
The wombe from whence thou
didst thy being take,
All honest eares abhorre thy
wickednes,
But gold I see doth beate downe
natures law.

In King John, Shakespeare does not cause Philip's mother, Lady Faulconbridge, to arrive on the scene until the controversy between her two sons is finished. Thus Shakespeare shows a refined respect for womanhood in refraining from subjecting this mother to adulterous accusations. However, in The Troublesome Raigne, the anonymous author brings Lady Faulconbridge into the court of King John, where she must plead for her honor:

Mother.

My gracious Lord, & you thrice reverend Dame,
That see the teares distilling from mine eyes,
And scalding sighes blowne from a rented heart:
For honour and regard of womanhood

Let me entreate to be commaunded hence,
Let not these eares receive the hissing sound
Of such a viper, who with poysoned words
Deth masserate the bowels of my soule.

John. Ladie, stand up, be patient for a while;
And fellow say, whose bastard is thy brother.

Philip. Not for my selfe, nor for my mother now;
But for the honour of so brave a man,
Whom he accuseth with adulterie:
Here I beseech your Grace upon my knees,
To count him mad and to dismisse us hence.

(TR 1.135-149)

Shakespeare, next, continues in a refining and softening style in King John by having Queen Elinor and King John detect a physical resemblance between Philip Faulconbridge and King Richard Coeur-de-Lion. On the other hand, in The Troublesome Raigne, Robert Faulconbridge's blunt charge of bastardy against his brother Philip shows no delicacy or solicitude for his mother:

Elen. He hath a trick of
Cordelions face,
The accent of his tongue
affecteth him:
Doe you not read some tokens
of my sonne
In the large composition of
this man?

E. John. Mine eye hath well
examined his parts,
And findes them perfect
Richard: sirra speake,
What doth moue you to claime
your brothers land.

Philip. Because he hath a half-
face like my father!
With halfe that face would he
haue all my land,
A halfe-fac'd great, five hun-
dred pound a yeere?
(KJ.I.i.86-95)

Robert. Nor mad, nor made,
but well advised, I
Charge thee before this royall
presence here
To be a Bastard to King Richards
selfe,
Sonne to your Grace, and Brother
to your Maiestie.

Thus bluntly, and
Q. Eli. Yong man thou needst not
be ashamed of thy kin,
Nor of thy Sire. But forward
with thy prooffe.
(TR 1.150-156)

In King John, Shakespeare, then has Philip allude to the "half-face" of his brother, Robert, an allusion which could mean that Robert had a receding chin or even a receding forehead, but Shakespeare's subtlety could also cause one to think, here, that Robert resembled both his father and his mother, and that since Philip had the same mother, Robert would be entitled, therefore, to only one-half of the Faulconbridge inheritance--both brothers having equal rights to their mother's share. The following lines, in parallel, show the arguments presented by both Robert and Philip in both plays. The tale is told by Robert in both King John and The Troublesome Raigne, with the only difference being the accounting for the time of Philip's premature arrival into the Faulconbridge family:

Rob. My gracious Liege, when
that my father liv'd,
Your brother did imploy my
father much.

Phil. Well sir, by this you
cannot get my land
Your tale must how he em-
ploy'd my mother.

Rob. And once dispatch'd him in
an Embassie

To Germany, there with the
Emperour

To treat of high affaires
touching that time;
Th' advantage of his absence
tooke the King,

And in the meane time so-
journ'd at my fathers;
Where how he did prevaile, I
shame to speake;

But truth is truth, large
lengths of seas and shores
Betweene my father, and my
mother lay

When this same lusty gentle-
man was got:
Vpon his death bed he by
will bequeath'd

His lands to me, and tooke
it on his death

That this my mothers sonne
was none of his;
And if he were, he came into
the world

Full fourteene weekes before
the course of time,

Then good my Lidge let me
have what is mine,
My fathers land, as was my
fathers will.

(KJ I.1.96-116)

Robert. The prooffe so plaine,
the argument so stron,
As that your Highnes and these
noble Lords,

And all (save those that have
no eyes to see)
Shall sweare him to be Bastard
to the King.

First when my Father was Em-
bassabout

In Germanie unto the Emperour,
The King lay often at my
Fathers house;

And all the realm suspected
what befell:

And at my Fathers back returne
agen

My Mother was delivered as tis
sed,

Sixe weekes before the account
my Father made.

But more than this: looke but
on Philips face,

His features, actions, and
his lineaments,

And all this Princely presence
shall confesse,

He is no other but King Richards
Sonne,

And let me rest safe in my
Fathers right,

That am his rightfull sonne
and onely heire.

Iohn. Is this thy prooffe, and
all thou hart to say?

Robert. I have no more, nor neede
I greater prooffe.

Iohn. First, where thou saidst
in absence of thy Sire
My brother often lodged in his
house:

And what of that? base groome
to slaunder him,

That honoured his Embassador
so much,

In absence of the man to
cheere the wife?

This will not hold, proceede
unto the next.

(TR 1.157-182)

In King John, then Shakespeare gives the judgment and the decision of the "Faulconbridge dispute" to King John, whose philosophizing upon the subject of marriage contains some passages of very dry wit and humor. In the Troublesome Raigne, however, the anonymous author also gives to King John the right of decision, but here, King John waives his right in favor of Philip and his mother:

K. John. Sirra, your brother
 is Legittimate,
 Your fathers wife did after
 wedlock bear him:
 And if she did play false,
 the fault was hers,
 Which fault lyes on the
 hazard of all husbands
 That marry wives: tell me,
 how if my brother
 Who as you say, tooke paines
 to get this sonne,
 Had your father claim'd this
 sonne for his,
 Insooth, good friend, your
 father might haue kept
 This Calfe, bred from his Cow
 from all the world:
 Insooth he might: then if he
 were my brothers,
 My brother might not claime
 him, nor your father
 Being none of his, refuse him:
 this concludes,
 Your fathers heyre must haue
 your fathers land.

Rob. Shal then my fathers Will
 be of no force,
 To dispossesse that childe
 which is not his.

Phil. Of no more force to dis-
 possesse me sir,
 Than was his will to get me,
 as I think.

(KJ I.i.117-31)

John. Why (foolish boy)
 thy proofes are frivolous,
 Nor canst thou challenge any-
 thing thereby.
 But thou shalt see how I
 will helpe thy claime,
 This is my doome, and this
 my doome shall stand
 Irrevocable, as I am King of
 England.
 For thou knowst not, weele
 aske o them that know,
 His mother and himselfe shall
 ende this strife:
 And as they say, so shall thy
 living passe.
 (TR 1.206-213)

Robert. My Lord, herein I
 challenge you of wrong,
 To give away my right, and
 put the doome
 unto themselves. Can there be
 Likelihood
 That she will loose?
 Or he will give the living
 from himselfe?
 It may not be my Lord. Why
 should it be?
 (TR 1.214-219)

In both King John and the Troublesome Raigne, Philip gives the same answer when asked to name his father--Richard Coeur-de-Lion, but the dialog differs. Shakespeare's Philip, in a matter-of-fact way, chooses to claim the honor of being the Bastard son of King Richard rather than to accept the inheritance which he could gain by being a Faulconbridge. On the other hand, Philip, in The Troublesome Raigne, discourses upon (soliloquy device: TR.i.241-268) the majestic honor of being King Richard's son. Consequently, when he later tries to claim Sir Robert Faulconbridge as his father, he is unable to do so:

<p><u>Eli.</u>Whether hadst thou rather be a Faulconbridge, And like thy brother to enjoy thy land: Or the reputed sonne of Cordelion, Lord of thy presence, and beside, <u>Bast.</u>Madam, and if my bro- ther had my shape And I had his, Sir Roberts his like him,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.</p> <p>And to his shape were heyre to all this land, Would I might neuer stirre from off this place, I would giue it euery foot to haue this face:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.</p> <p>Brother by th'mothers side, giue me your hand, My father gaue me honor, yours gaue land: Now blessed be the houre by night or day When I was got, Sir Robert was away.</p>	<p><u>John.</u>Speake man, be sodaine, who thy father was. <u>Philip.</u>Please it your Maiestie, Sir Robert Philip, that Fauconbridge cleaues to thy iaws: It will not out, I cannot for my life Say I am son unto a Faucon- bridge. Let land and liuing goe, this honors fire That makes me sweare King Richard was my Sire, Base to a King addes title of more State, Than Knights begotten, though legittimate. Please it your Grace, I am King Richards Sonne. (<u>TR.i.259-278</u>)</p>
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Then good my mother, let
me know my father,
Some proper man I hope, who
was it mother?

Lady. King Richard Cordelion
was thy father.

(KJ.I.i.237-239;250-
254;257)

Ist not a blacknes in me
worthie blame,
To be foolde, and cannot
write my name.

Good Mother resolue me.

Mother. . . . Whose Sonne thou art,
then pardon me the rather,
For faire King Richard was
thy noble father.

(TR.I.374-377; 385-389;
410-411)

The length of the play, then, is the only other difference which one notes in the first scenes of King John and the Troublesome Raigne. The 1623 Folio Text of King John, I.i., contains 280 lines. The 1591 Quarto, Part I of the Troublesome Raigne, Scene 1, contains 421 lines.

In the opening, King John, I.ii, corresponds in action to The Troublesome Raigne, ii. In both plays, this scene occurs at Angiers, an English possession in France. The French King, Lewis, first explains the reason for having his army stationed before the gates of Angiers:

Lewis. Before Angiers well
met Brave Austria,
Arthur that great forerunner
of thy bloud,
Richard that rob'd the
lion of his heart,
And fought the holy Warres
of Palestine,
By this braue Duke came
early to his graue:
And for amends to his
posteritie,
At our importance hether
is he come,

King. Now gin we breach the
title of thy claime
Young Arthur in the Albion
territories,
Searing proud Angiers with
a puissant sledge:
Braue Austria, cause of
Cordelions death,
Is also come to aide thee
in thy warres;
And all our forces ioyne
for Arthurs right.
And, but for causes of
great consequence,

At our importance hether
 is he come,
 To spread his colours boy,
 in thy behalfe,
 And to rebuke the vsurpa-
 tion
 Of thy vnnaturall Vncle,
 English Iohn,
 Embrace him, loue him,
 giue him welcome hether.
 (KJ.I.ii.1-11)

Pleading delay till newes
 from England come,
 Twice should not Titan hide
 him in the West,
 Till I had with an unresis-
 ted shock
 Centroid the mannage of
 proud Angiers walls,
 Or made a forfeit of my fame
 to Chaunce.
 (TR.II.1-9;11-13)

Shakespeare's use of the name "Austria" indicates that he borrowed the place name from the comparable speech in The Troublesome Raigne, where "Limoges" is the name used, as well as throughout The Troublesome Raigne; Shakespeare, however, is consistent in his use of "Austria". Furthermore, in both King John and The Troublesome Raigne, Arthur's mother, Constance, requests Lewis and Austria, to postpone an attack upon Angiers until the return of Chattillon.

Con. Stay for answer to your
 Embassie,
 Lest vnaduis'd you staine
 your swords with bloud;
 My Lord Chattillon may from
 England bring
 That right in peace which
 heere we vrge in warre,
 And then we shall repent
 each drop of bloud;
 That hot rash haste so
 indirectly shede.
 (KJ.I.ii.45-51)

Constance. May be that Iohn
 in conscience or in feare
 To offer wrong where you
 impugne the ill,
 Will send such calme condi-
 tions backe to Fraunce,
 As shall rebate the edge of
 fearefull warres:
 If so, forbearance is a deede
 well done.
 (TR.II.14-16)

In both King John and the Troublesome Raigne, Chattillon arrives to report John's answer to Philip's challenge, before the appearance of John's English forces:

<p><u>Chat.</u> Then turne your forces from this paltry siege, And stirre them vp against a mightier task; England impatient of your iust demands, Hath put himselfe in Armes.</p>	<p><u>Chatt.</u> He on his part will try the chauce of warre, And if his words inferre assured truth, Will loose himselfe and all his followers, Ere yeeld unto the least of your demaunds.</p>
<p>(<u>KJ.I.ii.57-60</u>)</p>	<p>(<u>TR,ii.51-54</u>)</p>

At this point, one notes that nearly identical phrasing appears, for the second time, between King John and the Troublesome Raigne:

<p>. . . With them a Bastard of the Kings deceast,</p>	<p>. . . Next them a Bastard of the Kings deceast,</p>
<p>(<u>KJ.I.ii.68</u>)</p>	<p>(<u>TR.ii.69</u>)</p>

In King John, Shakespeare omits the names of Pembroke and Salisbury (two lords of England) from the list of people whom Chattillon reports as having come with King John. These two characters head the list also cited by the anonymous author of The Troublesome Raigne. Both plays include John's mother, Queen Elinor, her niece, Lady Blanche, daughter of the King of Spain, and the Bastard, whom the anonymous author describes as ". . . A hardy wilde head, tough and venturous. . . ." (TR. ii.70) In King John, Shakespeare next expands the incident of the challenge between King John

and King Philip in their meeting at Angiers. In refining this scene, Shakespeare emphasizes the theme of the divine right of Kings and their responsibility only to God:

<p><u>K. Iohn.</u>Peace be to France: If France in peace permit Our iust and lineall entrance to our owne; If not, bleede France, and peace ascend to heauen, Whiles we Gods wrathful agent doe correct Their proud contempt that beats their peace to heauen. <u>Fran.</u>Peace be to England, if that warre returne From France to England, there to liue in peace: England we loue, and for that Englands sake, With burden of our armor heere we sweat. This royle of ours should be a work of thine; But thou from louing England art so farre, That thou has vnder-wrought his lawfull King, Cut off the sequence of pos- terity, Out-faced Infant State, and done a rape Vpon the maiden vertue of the Crowne: Looke heere vpon thy brother Geffreyes face, These eyes, these browes, were moulded out of his; This little abstract doth containe that large, Which died in Geffrey; and the hand of time, Shall draw this breefe into as huge a volume:</p>	<p><u>K. Philip.</u> Me seemeth Iohn an over-baring spirit Effects some frenzie in thy rash approach, Treading my Confines with thy armed Troupes. I rather lookt for some sub- misse reply Touching the claime thy Nephew Arthur makes To that which thou uniuistly doest usurpe. <u>K.Iohn.</u> For that Chattilion can discharge you all, I list not plead my Title with my tongue. Nor came I hether with intent of wrong To Fraunce or thee, or any right of thine! But in defence and purchase of my right, The Towne of Angiers: which thou doest begirt In the behalfe of Lade Constance Sonne, Wheretoe nor he nor the can lay iust claime. <u>Constance.</u>Yes (false intruder) if that iust be iust, And headstrong usurpation put apart, Arthur my Sonne, heire to thy elder Brother, Without ambiguous shadow of descent, Is Soueraigne to the substance thou withholdst. <u>Q.Elinor.</u> Misgouernd Gossip, staine to this resort</p>
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That Geffrey was thy elder
 brother borne,
 And this his sonne, England
 was Geffreys right,
 And this is Geffreyes in the
 name of God:

How comes it then that thou
 art call'd a King,
 When liuing blood doth in
 these temples beat
 Which owe the crowne, that
 thou ore-masterest?

K. Iohn. From whom hast thou
 this great commission
 To draw my answer from thy
 Articles?

Fra. Fro that silpernal Iudge
 that stirs good thoughts
 In any beast of strong au-
 thoritie

To looke into the blots
 and staines of right,
 That Iudge hath made me
 guardian to this boy,
 Vnder whose warrant I im-
 peach thy wrong,
 And by whose helpe I meane
 to chastise it.

K. Iohn. Alack thou dost
 viurpe authoritie.

Fra. Excuse it is to beat
 vsurping downe.

Queen. Who is it thou dost
 call vsurper France?

Const. Let me make answer:
 thy vsurping sonne.

(KJ.I.ii.89-126)

Occasion of these undecided
 iarres,
 I say (that know) to check
 thy vaine suppose,
 Thy Sonne hath naught to doo
 with that he claymes.

(TR.ii.75-97)

Although The Troublesome Raigne has the same incidental plot,
 Shakespeare's characters in this particular scene are far
 more credible. The conceits used in the description of
 Arthur in this scene, however, are possibly a reflection of
 a classical source.

In both King John and The Troublesome Raigne, while the Kings are offering counter-claims, Elinor and Constance have the following conversation concerning the will:

<p><u>Que.</u>Thou vnaudised scold, I can produce A Will, that barres the title of thy sonne. <u>Con.</u> I who doubts that, a Will: a wicked will, A womans will, a cankered Grandams will. (<u>KJ.I.ii.202-05</u>)</p>	<p><u>Q.Elinor.</u> For prooffe whereof, That bafres the way he urgeth by discent. <u>Constance.</u> A Will indeede, a crabbed Womans will, Wherein the Diuell is an ouerseer, And proud dame Elnor sole Executresse: More wills than so, on perill of my soule, Were neuer made to hinder Arthurs right. (<u>TR.II.99-104</u>)</p>
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In both drams, it is clear that Constance is acquainted with Elinor's techniques in treachery to keep herself in power, and one is led to assume that Constance suspects foul play. One notices, here, as well, that there are verbal parallels between the two plays: i.e., in King John, ". . . that barres the title of thy sonne;" in The Troublesome Raigne, "That barres the way he urgeth by discent." This is the third instance of parallel phraseology discovered so far in the investigation of these two plays.

While this argument is proceeding between the two women, the Bastard next discovers Austria (or Limoges) wearing a lion's skin. In both plays, Blanche recognizes the lion skin as King Richard's badge of courage and speaks out in parallel terms:

Blan. O well did he become
that Lyons robe
That did disrobe the Lion
of that robe.
(KJ.I.ii.149-50)

Blanch. Ah icy betide his soule,
to whom that spoile belogd
Ah Richard how thy glorie here
is wrongd,
(TR.ii.131-32)

In both plays, the Bastard takes exception to Austria's (Limoges') wearing King Richard's "badge of honor." Shakespeare invests the Bastard's speech with wit, whereas the author of The Troublesome Raigne has the Bastard pledge death to his father's murderer:

Bast. One that wil play the
deuill sir with you,
And a may catch your hide
and you alone:
You are the Hare of whom the
prouerb goes
Whos valour plucks dead Lyons
by the beard;
Ile smooke your skin-coat and
I catch you right,
Sirra looke too't yfaith I
will, yfaith.
. . . It lies as sightly on
the back of him
As great Alcides shoes vpon
an Asse:
But Asse, Ile take that bur-
then from your backe,
Or lay on that shall make
your shoulders cracke,
(KJ.I.ii.143-54)

Bastard. What words are these:
. . . My Fathers foe clad in my
Fathers spoyle,
A thousand furies kindle with
reuendge,
. . . What makst thou with the
Trophei of a King?
Shamst thou not coystrel, loath-
some dunghill swad,
To grace thy carkasse with an
ornament
Too precious for a Monarchs
couerture?
. . . Twice will I not reuiew
the Mornings rise,
Till I haue torne that Trophei
from thy back,
And split thy heart, for wearing
it so long. . . .
(TR.ii.135-56)

In the next sequence, in both plays, again, the kings ask the trumpeters to call the citizens of Angiers to the walls of the city. Then, each king proposes that the citizens allow him to enter; however, the citizens refuse, until a rightful heir be determined:

John. . . . kinde Cittizens,
And let vs in. Your King,
whose labour'd spirits
Fore-wearied in this action
of swift speed
Grues harbourage within
your Citie walles.

France. When I haue saide,
make answer to vs both.
Lee in this right hand, whose
protection
Is most diuinely vow'd vpon
the right
Of him it holds, stands young
Plantagenet,

Somme to the elder brother of
this man,
And King ore him, and all
that he enioyes:

Cit. In breefe, we are the
King of Englands subjects
For him, and in his right, we
hold this Towne.

John. Acknowledge then the
King, and let me in.

Cit. That can we not: but he
that proues the King
To him will we proue loyal

(KJ I.ii.245-95)

Following the refusal of the determined citizens of
Angiers to permit entrance into the city to either King,
both authors next have these Kings dare one another to combat:

Iohn. Then God forgie the
sinne of all those soules,
That to their euerlasting
residence,
Before the dew of euening fall,
shall fleete
In dreadfull triall of our
kingdomes King.

* * * *

K. John. Say then, who who
keeps you the Towne for.
Citizen. For our lawfull King.
John. I was no less perswaded:

then
In Gods name open your gates,
and let me enter.
Citizen. And it please your
Highnes we controll not your
title, neither will we rashly
admit your entrance: if you
bee lawfull king, with all
obedience we keepe it to your
use, if not King, our rashnes
to be impeached for yeelding,
without more considerate triall:
we answer not as men lawles,
but to the behoefe of him that
prooues lawful. . . . He that
tries himselfe our Soueraigne,
to him will we remaine firme
subjects, and for him, and his
right we hold our Towne as de-
sirous to know tht truth as
leath to subscribe before we
knowe.

(TR ii.200-26)

K. Philip. Then Iohn I defie
thee in the name and behalfe
of Arthur Plantagenet thy King
and cousin, whose right and
patrimonie thou detainest, as
I doubt not ere the day ende
in a set battell make thee con-
fesse; whereunto with a zeale
to right I challenge thee.

Fra. It shall be so, and at
 the other hill
 Command the rest to stand,
 God and our right.
 (KJ I.ii.298-301;314-15)

K.Iohn. I accept the chal-
 lenge, and turne the defiance
 to thy throate.
 (TR.ii.228-34)

Next, the Kings return to parley with the citizens of Angiers, who say they have not yet determined who is victorious. Both Shakespeare and the anonymous author allow the Bastard the satisfaction of proposing an alternative to the decision of continuing the war with each other. However, Shakespeare expands the proposal and includes the Bastard's irritation with the Citizens of Angiers for having conducted themselves like spectators in a theatre:

Bast. By heauen, these scroy-
 les of Angiers flout you kings,
 And stand securely on their
 battlements,
 As in a Theater, whence they
 gape and point
 At your industrious Scenes
 and acts of death.
 Your Royall presences be
 rul'd by mee,
 Do like the Mutines of
 Ierusalem,
 Be friends a-while, and both
 conieyntly bend
 Your sharpest Deeds of malice
 on this Towne.
 By East and West let France
 and England mount.
 Their battering Canon charged
 to the mouthes,
 Till their soule-fearing
 clamours haue braul'd downe
 The flintie ribbes of this
 contemptous Citie,
 Ide play incessantly vpon these
 Iades,

Bastard. Might Philip
 counsell two so mightie
 Kings,
 As are the Kings of England
 and of Fraunce,
 He would aduise your Graces
 to vnite
 And knit your forces gainst
 these Citizens,
 Pulling their battered walls
 about their eares.
 The Towne once wonne then
 striue about the
 claime,
 For they are minded to
 delude you both.
 (TR.ii.53-59)

Iohn. Speake on with fauour,
we are bent to heare.

Hub. That daughter there of
Spaine, the Lady Blanch
Is neere to England, looke vp-
on the yeeres

Of Lewes the Dolphin, and
that louely maid,
If lustie loue should go in
quest of beautie,
Where should he find it fairer,
than in Blanch . . . for at
this match,

With swifter spleene than
powder can enforce
The mouth of passage shall
we fling wide ope,
And giue you entrance: but
without this match,
The sea enraged is not halfe
so deafe,

Lyons more confident, Moun-
taines and rockes
More free from motion, no
not death himselve
In mortall futie halfe so
peremptorie,

As we to keepe this Citie.

(KJ I.ii.439-50;470-78)

To liue in Princely league
and amitie:

Doe this, the gates of Angiers
shall giue way

And stand wide open to your
harts content,

To make this peace a lasting
bond of loue,

Remains one onely honorable
means,

Which by your pardon I shall
here display.

Lewes the Dolphin and the
heire of Fraunce,

A man of noted valor through
the world,

Is yet unmarried: let him take
to wife

The beauteous daughter of the
King of Spaine,

Neece to K.Iohn, the louely
Ladie Blanche,

Begotten on his Sister
Elianon.

With her in marriage will her
uncle giue

Castles and Towers as fitteth
such a match.

The Kings thus ioynd in league
of perfect loue,

They may so deale with Arthur
Duke of Britaine.

Who is but yong, and yet
unmeete to raigne,

As he shall stand contented
euerie way.

Thus haue I boldly (for the
common good)

Deliuered what the Citie gaue
in charge.

And as vpon conditions you
agree,

So shall we stand content to
yeeld the Towne.

(TR.iv.68-95)

In King John, the Bastard's lines are filled with witticisms which may have been culled from the speech habits of Elizabethan gallants whom Shakespeare knew. The anonymous author, however, does not approach the style manifest in Shakespeare's play in this comparable passage:

<p><u>Bast.</u> Here's a stay, That shakes the rotten carkasse of old death Out of his ragges. Here's a large mouth indeede, That spits forth death, and mountaines, rockes, and Seas, Talks as familiarly of roaring Lions, As maids of thirteene do of puppi-dogges, What Cannoneere befor this lustie blood, He speakes plaine Cannon fire, and smoske, and bounce, He giues the bastinado, with his gongue: Our eares are cudgl'd, not a word of his But buffets better than a fist of France: Zounds, I was neuer so be- thump with words, Since I first cal'd my brothers father Dad. (KJ I.ii.479-91)</p>	<p><u>Bastard.</u> Swounds Madam, take an English Gentleman: Slaue as I was, I thought to to haue mooude the match. Grandame you made me half a promise once, That Lady <u>Blanch</u> should bring me wealth inough, And make me heire of store of English land. <u>Q.Elienor.</u> Peace <u>Philip</u>, I will looke thee out a wife, We must with pollicie compound this strife. <u>Bastard.</u> If Lewes get her, well, I say no more: But let the frolicke Frenchman take no scorne, If <u>Philip</u> front him with an English horne. (TR.iv.121-30.)</p>
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In The Troublesome Raigne, the last lines of the Bastard's speech are directed toward Lewis the Dauphin. A similar idea was used by Shakespeare in the passage in which the Bastard taunts Austria:

. . . Sirrah were I at home
 At your den sirrah, with your Lionesse,
 I would set an Oxe-head to your Lions hide:
 And make a monster of you
 (KJ I.ii.305-08)

Following the supposed match of Blanche and the Dauphin, Shakespeare expands the sequence found in the anonymous The Troublesome Raigne, in the scene in which Queen Elinor gives advice to John:

<p>Old Gu. Son, ist to this con- iunction, make this match Give with our Neece a dowre large enough, For by this knot, thou shalt so surely tye Thy now vnsur'd assurance to the Crowne, That yon greene boy shall haue no Sunne to ripe The bloome that promiseth a mightie fruite. I see a yeelding in the lookes of France: Marke how they whisper, vrge them while their soules Are capeable of this ambition, Least zeale now melted by the windie breath Of left petitions, pittie and remorse, Coole and congeale againe to what it was. (KJ I.ii.492-503)</p>	<p>Q.Elinor. Iohn giue it him, so shalt thou liue in peace, And keepe the residue sans iopardie. (TR iv.166-67)</p>
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After the marriage agreement has been determined, Shakespeare gives the word-play on commodity to the Bastard. In The Troublesome Raigne Constance speaks out against Philip's treachery and greed in comparable passages:

Bast. Mad world, mad kings,
 mad composition:
Iohn to stop Arthurs Title
 in the whole,
 Hath willingly departed with
 a part,
 And France, whose armour
 Conscience buckled on,
 Whom zeale and charitie
 brought to the field,
 As Gods owne souldier,
 rounded in the care,
 With that same purpose-
 changer, that slye diuel,
 That Broker, that still
 breakes the pare of faith,
 That dayly breake-vow, he
 that winnes of all,
 Of kings, of beggers, old men
 yong men, maids
 Who hauing no externall thing
 to loose,
 But the word Maid, cheats the
 poore Maid of that.
 That smooth-fac'd Gentleman,
 tickling commoditie,
 Commoditie, the byas of the
 world,
 The world, who of it selfe is
 preysed well,
 Made to run euen, vpon euen
 ground;
 Till this aduantage, this vile
 drawing byas,
 This sway of motion, this
 commoditie,
 Makes it take head from all
 indifferency,
 From all direction, purpose,
 course, intent.
 And this dame byas, this Com-
 moditie,
 This Bawd, this Broker, this
 all-changing word,
 Clap'd on the outward eye of
 fickle France,
 Hath drawne him from his owne
 determin'd ayd,

Constance. If any Power will
 heare a widdowes plaint,
 That from a wounded soule
 implores reuenge;
 Send fell contagion to infect
 this Clyme,
 This cursed Countrey, where the
 traytors breath,
 Whose periurie as proud Briareus,
 Beleaguers all the Skie with
 misbeliefe.
 He promist Arthur and he sware
 it too,
 To fence thy rite, and check
 thy foeman's pride:
 But now black-spotted Periurie
 as he is,
 He takes a truce with Elnors
 damned brat,
 And marries Lewes to her lously
 Neece,
 Sharing thy fortune and thy
 Birth-dayes gift
 Betweene these louers: ill betide
 the match.
 And as they shoulder thee from
 out thy owne,
 And triumph in a widdowes teare-
 full cares:
 So heauens crosse them with a
 thriftles course.
 Shall the bloud yspilt on either
 part
 Closing the cranies of the
 thirstie earth,
 Growne to a louegame and a
 Bridall feast:
 And mist thy birthright bid the
 wedding banes. . . .
 (TR iv.205-24)

From a resolu'd and honourable
 warre,
 To a most base and vile-con-
 cluded peace.
 And why rayle I on this Com-
 moditie?
 But for because he hath not
 wooed me yet:
 Not that I haue the power to
 clutch my hand,
 When his faire Angels would
 salute my palme,
 But for my hand, as vnattempted
 yet,
 Like a poore begger, railleth
 on the rich.
 Well, whiles I am a begger, I
 will raille,
 And say there is no sin but to
 be rich:
 And being rich, my vertue then
 shall be,
 To say there is no vice, but
 beggerie:
 Since Kings breake faith vpon
 Commoditie,
 Gaine be my Lord, for I will
 worship thee.

(KJ I.ii.587-624)

Concerning Constance's scene in which she expresses her anger
 and makes her accusations against King Philip, calling him a
 perjurer, in King John, Shakespeare concedes the full Act II
 to this episode. In The Troublesome Raigne, I, the comparable
 passage is contained in iv. 19-234.

In King John, III, i, there occur the most striking
 parallels between Shakespeare's play and The Troublesome
 Raigne. The passage in Shakespeare is comparable to that

which one discovers in the anonymous play, Part I, v., showing the use which Shakespeare has made of this older play as a source for his history of John:

Pan. Haile you annointed
deputies of heauen;
To thee King Iohn my holy
errand is:
I Pandulph, of faire Millane
Cardinall,
And from Pope Innocent the
Legate heere,
Doe in his name religiously
demand
Why thou against the Church,
our holy Mother
So wilfully dost spurne; and
force perforce
Keepe Stephen Langton chosen
Archbishop
Of Canterbury from that holy
Sea:
This is our foresaid holy
Fathers name
Pope Innocent, I doe demand
of thee.
Iohn. What earthie name to
Interrogatories
Can tast the free breath of
a sacred King?
Thou canst not (Cardinall)
deuise a name
So slight, vnworthy, and
ridiculous
To charge me to an answer,
as the Pope:
Tell him this tale, and from
the mouth of England,
Adde thus much more, that no
Italian Priest
Shall tythe or toll in our
dominions:
But as we, vnder heauen, are
supreame head,
So vnder him that great supre-
macy

Card. Know Iohn, that I Pandulph
Cardinall of Millaine, and Legate
from the Sea of Rome, demaund of
thee in the name of our holy
Father the Pope Innocent, why
dost (contrarie to the lawes of
our holy mother the Church, and
our holye father the Pope) dis-
turbe the quiet of the Church,
and disanull the election of
Stephen Langton, whom his
Holines hath elected Archbishop
of Canterburie: this in his
Holines name I demaund of thee.
Iohn. And what hast thou or
the Pope thy maister to doe to
demaund of me, how I employ mine
owne? Know sir Priest as I
honour the Church and holy Church-
men, so I scorne to be subject
to the greatest Prelate in the
world. Tell thy Maister so
from me, and say Iohn of England
said it, that neuer an Italian
Priest of them all, shall either
haue tythe, tale, or poling
penie out of England, but as I
am King, so wil I raigne next
under God, supreame head both
ouer spirituall and temrall:
and hee that contradicts me in
this, Ile make him hoppe head-
lesse.

K. Philip. What King Iohn,
know you what you say, thus to
blaspheme against our holy
father the Pope.

Iohn. Philip, though thou
and all the Princes of Christen-
dome suffer themselues to be
abusde by a Prelates slauerie,
xy minde is not of such base

Where we doe reigne, we will
 alone vphold
 Without th' assistance of a
 mortall hands
 So tell the Pope, all
 ruerence see apart
 to him and his vsurp'd
 authoritie.

Fra. Brother of England,
 you blaspheme in this.

Iohn. Though you, and all
 The Kings of Christendom
 Are led so grossely by this
 meddling Priest
 Dreading the curse that money
 may buy out,
 And by the merit of vilde
 gold, drosse, dust,
 Purchase corrupted pardon of
 a man,
 Who in that sale sels pardon
 from himselfe:
 Though you, and al the rest
 so grossely led,
 This iugling witchcraft with
 reuennue cherish,
 Yet I alone, alone doe me
 oppose
 Against the Pope, and count
 his friends my foes.

Pand. Then by the lawful
 power that I have,
 Thou shalt stand curst and
 excommunicate,
 And blessed shall be he that
 doth reuolt
 From his Allegiance to an
 heretique,
 And meritorious shall that
 hand be call'd,
 Canonized and worship'd as
 a saint,
 That takes away by any secret
 course
 Thy hateful life.

temper. If the Pope will bee
 King in England, let him winne
 it with the sword, I know no
 other title he can alleage to
 mine inheritance.

Card. Iohn, this is thine
 answere?

Iohn. What then?

Card. Then I Pandulph of
Padua Legate from the Aposti-
 like Sea, doe in the name of
 S. Peter and his successor our
 holy Father Pope Innocent, pro-
 nounce thee accursed discharging
 euery of thy subiectes of all
 dutie and fealtie that they doe
 owe to thee, and pardon and
 forgiueness of sinne to those
 or them whatsoever, which shall
 carrie armes against thee, or
 murder thee: this I pronounce,
 and charge all good men to
 abhorre thee as an excommunicate
 person.

(TR. v.65-99)

One may observe in the passages quoted at length above that there are verbal parallels between Shakespeare's King John and The Troublesome Raigne in the scene of John's excommunication. It is to be suggested that Shakespeare possibly relied heavily upon his source, not only for situation (the theme of the excommunication) but for phrasing as well, because he was conscious of the fact that the subject dealt with herein was, at best, a tenuous one which demanded care and attention in its presentation. Whatever his reason, it is apparent that he has made much use of the comparable scene in its action and phraseology in The Troublesome Raigne. Further in this same scene in both plays, one may note additional verbal parallels:

<p><u>Pand. Philip</u> of <u>France</u> on perill of a curse Let goe the hand of that Arch-heretique, And raise the power of France Vpon his head, Vnless he doe submit himself to <u>Rome</u>. (<u>KJ</u> III.1.120-23)</p>	<p><u>Card. Stay King</u> of <u>France</u>. I charge thee loyn not hands With him that stands accurst of God and men. (<u>TR</u> v.63-64)</p>
--	---

In the plot in both plays, war is next declared, and John sends his cousin back to England to ransack the abbeys for funds with which to maintain his army afoot. In the orders which he, thus, gives to the Bastard, there occur, again, parallels between the two plays:

John. Cosen away for England John. . . . we will to England
 haste before,
 And ere our coming see thou And take some order with our
 shake the bags Popelings there,
 Of hoarding Abbets, imprisoned That swell with pride, and fat
 angells of lay mens lands,
 Set at libertie: the fat ribs Philip, I make thee thief in
 of peace this affaire,
 Must by the hungry now be Ransack the Abbeyes, Cloysters,
 fed vpon: Pories,
 Vse our Commission in his Conuert their coyne vnto my
 vtmost force. souldiers vse:
Bast. Belle, Booke & Candle, And whatscere he be within
 shall not driue me back, my land,
 When gold and siluer becks That goes to Rome for iustice
 me to come on. and for law,
 (KJ III.ii.20-27) While he may haue his right
 within the Realme,
 Let him iudge a traitor to the
 State,
 And suffer as an enemie to
 England.
 Mother, we leaue you here
 beyond the seas,
 As Regent of our Prouinces
 in France
 (TR ix.15-27)

Later in III, Shakespeare in King John expands the scene from The Troublesome Raigne in the episode in which he shows John making sly suggestions to Hubert concerning the removal of Arthur from the court:

John. I had a thing to say, John. . . . While we to
 but let it goe: . . . England and take a speedie
 If that thou couldst see me course,
 without eyes, And thanke our God that gaue vs
 Heare me without thine eares, victorie.
 and make reply Hubert de Burgh take Arthur
 Without a tongue, vsing con- here to thee,
 ceit alone, Be he thy prisoner: Hubert
 Without eyes, eares, and harm- keepe him safe,
 full sound of words For on his life doth hanf thy
 Then, in despite of brooded Soueraignes crowne,
 watchfull day, But in his death consists thy
 Soueraignes blisse;

I would into thy bosome poure
 my thoughts
 But (ah) I will not, yet I
 loue thee well,
 And by my troth, I thinke
 thou lou'st mw well.
Hub. So well, that what you
 bid me vndertake,
 Though that my death were
 adiunct to my Act,
 By heauen I would doe it.
John. Doe not, I know
 thou wouldst?
Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert
 throw thine eye
 On yon young boy: Ile tell
 thee what my friend,
 He is a very serpent in my
 way,
 And wheresoere this foot of
 mine doth tread,
 He lies before me: dost thou
 vnderstand me?
 Thou art his keeper.
Hub. And Ile keepe him so,
 That he shall not offend your
 Ma'esty.
John. Death.
Hub. My Lord.
John. A graue.
Hub. He shall not liue.
John. Enough.
 I could be merry now, Hubert,
 (KJ III.ii.48;63-88)

Then Hubert, as thou shortly
 hearst from me,
 So vse the prisoner I haue
 given in charge
Hubert. Frolick yong Prince,
 though I your keeper bee,
 Yet shall your keeper liue at
 your command.
Arthur. As please my God, so
 shall become of me.
 (TR. ix.30-38)

In Shakespeare's King John, Pandulph next approaches
 the Dauphin with the suggestion that Lewis delay in his
 attempt to rescue Arthur and leave Arthur alone with John.
 Shakespeare has developed this scene from The Troublesome
Raigne and has the wily Legate bribe Lewis with the thought
 of becoming King of England:

Pan. Are not you grieu'd
that Arthur is his prisoner?

Dol. As heartily as he is
glad he hath him.

Pan. Your minde is all as
youthfull as your blood.

Now heare me speake with a
propheticke spirit!

For euen the breath of what
I meane to speake,

Shall blow each dust, each
straw, each little rub

Out of the path which shall
directly lead

Thy foete to England's throne,
and therefore Marke:

Iohn hath seiz'd Arthur, and it
cannot be,

That whiles warme life playes in
that infants veines,

The mis-plac'd Iohn should enter-
taine an houre,

One minute, nay one quiet breath
of rest.

A Scepter snatch'd with an
vnruly hand,

Must be as boysterously main-
tain'd as fain'd.

And he that stands vpon a
slipp'ry place,

Makes nice of no vilde hold
to stay him vp:

That Iohn may stand, then
Arthur needs must fall,

So be it, for it cannot be
but so.

Dol. But what shall I gaine by
yong Arthur's fall?

Pan. You, in the right of Lady
Blanch your wife,

May then make all the claime
that Arthur did.

Dol. and loose it, life and
all, as Arthur did. . .

May be he will not touch yong
Arthurs life,

But hold himselfe safe in his
prisonment.

Card. Now Lewes, thy fortune
buds with happie spying,

Our holy Fathers prayers
effecteth this,

Arthur is safe, let John alone
with him,

Thy title next is fairst to
Englands Crowne:

Now stirre thy Father to begin
with Iohn,

The Pope sayes I, and so is
Albion thine.

(TR x.36-43)

Pan. O Sir, when he shall
 heare of your approach,
 If that yong Arthur be not
 gone alreadie,
 Euen at that newes he dies
 (KJ III.iii.126-46; 163-67)

In the same episode in both plays, Constance laments the capture of Arthur by the English. Shakespeare has added a noticeable amount of material to this scene: first, the wild grief, and next, the sorrow of resignation in Constance's feeling that she will never see her son, again:

Con. Greefe fills the roome
 vp of my absent childe:
 Lies in his bed, walkes vp
 and downe with me,
 Puts on his pretty lookes,
 repeats his words,
 Remembers me of all his
 gracious parts,
 Stuffles out his vacant garments
 with his forme;
 Then, haue I reason to be fond
 of grieffe?
 Fareyouwell: had you such a
 losse as I,
 I could giue better comfort
 then you doe.
 I will not keepe this form
 vpon my head,
 When there is such disorder
 in my witte:
 O Lord, my boy, my Arthur,
 my faire sonne,
 My life, my ioy, my food, my
 all the world:
 My widow-comfort, and my sor-
 rowes cure.

Const. My tongue is tunde to
 storie forth mishap:
 When did I breath to tell a
 pleasing tale?
 Must Constance speake: let
 teares preuent her talke:
 Must I discourse? lit Dido
 sigh and say,
 She weepes again to heare
 the wrack of Troy:
 Two words will serue, and then
 my tale is done:
 Elnors proud brat hath robd me
 of my Sonne.

(TR x.24-30)

In King John and The Troublesome Raigne, Hubert de Burgh receives a warrant from the king commanding him to put out Arthur's eyes. In The Troublesome Raigne, the anonymous author has made Arthur a young man; hence, he pleads for his eyes in the manner of a young magistrate in court, convincing Hugh that his salvation depends upon his display of mercy. In King John, Shakespeare, by having Arthur a sweet, appealing child, develops the character so that Arthur's pleading with Hubert becomes heartbreaking. Hugh cannot control his emotions and resolves to save Arthur's eyesight at the risk of his own life:

<u>Hub.</u> Reade heere yong <u>Arthur</u> .	<u>Arthur</u> . What, must I die.
. . . Can you not reade it?	<u>Hubert</u> . No newes of death, but
Is it not faire writ?	but tidings of more hate,
<u>Ar.</u> Too fairely <u>Hubert</u> , for	A watchfull doome, and most
so foule effect,	vnlucke fate:
Must you with hot Irons, burne	Deaths dish were dainte at so
out both mine eyes?	fell a feast,
<u>Hub.</u> Yong Boy, I must.	Be deafe, heare not, its hell
<u>Art.</u> And will you?	to tell the rest.
<u>Hub.</u> And I will	<u>Arthur</u> . Alas thou wrongst my
<u>Art.</u> Haie you the heart?	youth with words of feare,
. . . Will you put out mine	Tis hell, this horror, not for
eyes?	one to heare:
These eyes, that neuer did,	What is it man if it must needes
nor neuer shall	be don,
So much as frowne on you.	Act it, and end it, that the
<u>Hub.</u> I have sworne to do it:	paine were gon.
And with hot Irons must I	<u>Hubert</u> . I will not chaunt such
burn them out. . . .	dolour with my tongue,
<u>Art.</u> O saue me <u>Hubert</u> , saue	Yet must I act the courage with
me: my eyes are out	my hand.
Euen with the fierce lookes	My heart my head, and all my
of these bloody men.	powers beside,
<u>Hub.</u> Giue me the Iron I say,	To aide the office haue at once
and binde him heere.	denide.

Art. Alas, what neede you
 be so boistrous reuth?
 I will not struggle, I will
 stand stone still:
 For heuen sake Hubert let
 me not be bound:
 Nay heare me Hubert, driue
 these men away,
 And I will sit as quiet as
 a Lambe.
 I will not stirre, nor winch,
 nor speake a word,
 Nor looke vpon the Iron
 angerly:
 Thrust but these men away,
 and Ile forgieue you,
 What euer torment you do
 put me too.

Hub. Come (Boy) prepare
 your selfe.

Art. Is there no remedie?

Hub. None, but to lose your
 eyes.

Art. O heuen: that there
 were but a moth in yours,
 A graine, a dust, a gnat, a
 wandering haire,

Any annoyance in that precious
 sense:

Then feeling what small things
 are boysterous there,
 Your vilde intent must needs
 seem horrible.

Hub. Is this your promise?
 Go too, hold your toong.

Hub. Well, see to liue: I
 will not touch thine eye,
 For all the Treasure that
 thine Vnckle owes,
 Yet am I sworne, and I did
 purpose, Boy,
 With this same very Iron, to
 burn them out.

Art. O now you looke like
Hubert. You were disguis'd.

Hub. Peace: no more. . .
 And, pretty childe, sleepe
 doubtlesse, and secure,

Peruse this letter, lines of
 treble woe,
 Read ore my charge, and pardon
 when you know. . . .

Art. Ah monstrous damned man,
 his very breath infects the
 elements,

Contagious venyme dwelleth in
 his heart,

Effecting means to poyson all
 the world. . . .

Ah Hubert, makes he thee his
 instrument

To sound the tromp that causeth
 hell triumph? . . .

Hell Hubert, trust me all the
 plagues of hell

Hangs on performance of this
 damned deede. . . .

the case is hard,

To loose saluation for a Kings

Hub. But that same Essence hath
 ordaind a law,

A death for guilt, to keepe the
 world in awe. . . .

I faint, I feare, my conscience
 bids desist:

Faint did I say, deare was it
 that I named?

My King commaunds, that warrant
 sets me free:

But God forbids, and he com-
 maundeth Kings,

That great Commaunder counter-
 checks my charge,

He stayes my hand, he maketh
 soft my heart,

Goe cursed tooles, your office
 is exempt,

Cheere thee yong Lord, thou shalt
 not loose an eye,

Though I should purchase it with
 losse of life,

Ile to the King, and say his will
 is done

(TR xii.35-49;53-54;60-61;
 66-67;77-81;120-28)

That Hubert for the wealth of
all the world,
Will not offend the.

Art. O heauen! I thanke you
Hubert.

(KJ IV.1.35;39-45;60-64;
77-88;95-109; 129-35;1e8-
41)

The actual coronation scene takes place in The Troublesome Raigne ("Enter the Nobles and crowne King John, and then cris God saue the King."), but this sequence is merely alluded to in Shakespeare's play for the purpose, one assumes, of expediting the action.

The following scene, in both plays concerns a gathering of the lords who ask a favor--the release of Arthur--which King John, then grants:

<u>Pem.</u> . . . my selfe and them . . . heartily request Th' infranchisement of <u>Arthur</u> , whose restraint Doth moue the murmring lips of discontent To breake into this dangerous argument . . . let it be our suite, That you haue bid vs aske his libertie	<u>Essex.</u> A boon my Lord, at vaun- tage of your worlds We aske to guerdon all our loyalties. . . . <u>John.</u> My word is past, receiue your boone my Lords. What may it be? Aske it, and it is yours. <u>Essex.</u> We craue my Lord, to please the Commons with The libertie of Ladie <u>Constance</u> Sonne: . . . Dismiss him thence, your Highnes needes not feare, Twice by consent you are pro- claime our King . . . <u>John.</u> Your words haue searcht the center of my thoughts, Confirming warrant of your loyalties, Dismiss your counsell, sway my state, Let <u>John</u> doo nothing but by your consents. (TR xiii.108-09;114-117; 121-22; 125-28)
--	--

(KJ IV.11.51-55;63-64
69-70)

In the action which follows, Hubert de Burgh seeks the presence of King John in order to inform him that Arthur is dead. In The Troublesome Raigne, the news is roughly divulged, but in Shakespeare's King John, Hubert and the King go aside to communicate in secret:

John. Hubert, what newes with Hub. According to your Highnes strickt command
you? Yong Arthurs eyes are blinded and extinct.
Pem. This is the man should do the bloody deed;
 He shew'd his warrant to a friend of mine
Sal. The colour of the King doth come and go
 Betweene his purpose and his conscience
Pem. And when it breakes, I feare will issue thence
 The foule corruption of a sweet childes death.
John. We cannot hold mortalities strong hand.
 Good Lords, although my will to giue, is liuing,
 The suite which you demand is gone, and dead.
 He tels vs Arthur is deceas'd to night.
Sal. Indeed we heard how neere his death he was,
 Before the childe himselfe felt he was sick:
 This must be answer'd either heere, or hence.
Joh. Why do you bend such solemne browes on me?
 Think you I beare the Sheeres of destiny?
 Haue I commandement on the pulse of life?
Sal. It is apparent foule-play, and 'tis shame

John. Why so, then he may feele, for of the extreame paine,
 Within one hower gaue he up Ghost.
John. What is he dead?
Hubert. He is my Lord.
John. Then with him dye my cares.
Essex. Now loy betide thy soule.
Fembrooke. And heauens reuenge thy death.
Essex. What haue you done my Lord? Was euer heard
 A deede of more inhumane consequence,
 Your foes will curse, your friends will crie reuenge.
 Unkindly rage more rough than Northern winde,
 To chip the beautie of so sweets a flower.
 What hope in vs for mercie on a fault,
 When kindman dyes without impeach of cause,
 As you haue done, so come to cheere you with,
 The guilt shall neuer be cast me in my teeth.
 (TR. xiii.207-226)

That Greatnesse should so grossely
offer it;
So thrise it in your game, and so
farewell.

Pen. Stay yet (Lord Salisbury)
Ile go with thee,
And finde th'inheritance of this poore
childe,
His little kingdome of a forced graue.
That blood which ow'd the bredth of
all this Ile,
Three foot of it doth hold
(KJ IV.ii.70-102)

In IV.ii, of King John, Shakespeare merely introduces the Prophet, Peter of Pomfret, who predicts that King John will relinquish his crown before Ascension Day. In The Troublesome Raigne, xiii, the role of Peter is fully developed in a prominent episode in the action.

With IV.iii, of King John the parallels begin with The Troublesome Raigne, Part II. The first such parallel between the plays concerns Arthur's attempted escape:

<u>Ar.</u> The Wall is high, and yet	<u>Art.</u> Now helpe good hap to
will I leape downe.	will I leape downe.
Good ground be pittifull, and	Further mine entent,
hurt me not:	Crosse not my youth with any
There's few or none do know	more extreames:
me, if they did,	I venter life to gaine my
This Ship-boyes semblance hath	libertie,
disguis'd me quite.	And if I die, worlds troubles
I am affraide, and yet Ile	haue an end.
venture it.	Feare gins disswade the
If I get downe, and do not	strength of my resolute,
breake my limbes,	My holde will daile, and then
Ile finde a thousand shifts to	alas I fall,
get away;	And if I fall, no question
As good to dye, and go; as	death is next:
dye, and stay.	Better desist, and liue in
	prison still.

Oh me, my Vnckles spirit is
 in these stones,
 Heauen take my soule, and
 England keep my bones. Dies
 (KJ IV.iii.1-10)

Prison said I? nay rather
 death than so:
 Comfort and courage come
 againe to me
 Ile venture sure: tis but
 a leape for life.
 He leapes, and brusing his
 bones, after he was from
 his traunce, speakes
 thus
 (2R.i.1-11)

Becoming disgusted with King John, the English lords
 search for the body of Prince Arthur. In King John, the
 Bastard (dispatched by John to persuade these lords to main-
 tain allegiance to the King who thinks Arthur really lives)
 arrives upon the scene only a short time before Pembroke,
 Begot, and Salisbury discover Arthur's lifeless body. On
 the other hand, in 2 The Troublesome Raigne, Pembroke,
 Essex, and Salisbury are alone when they come upon Arthur's
 corpse, although Hubert enters soon after the grim discovery:

Bast. Once more to day well
 met, distemper'd Lords,
 The King by me requests your
 presence straight.

Sal. The king hath dispossesst
 himselfe of vs,
 We will not lyne his thin-
 bestained cloake
 With our pure Honors: nor
 attend the foete
 That leaues the print of
 blood where it walkes.
 Returne, and tell him so:
 we know the worst.

Bast. What ere you thinke,
 good words I think were
 best. . . .

Essex. My Lords of Penbroke
 and of Salisbury
 We must be carefull in our
 pollicie

To vndermine the keepers of
 this place,
 Else shall we neuer find the
 Princes graue.

Penbrooke. My Lord of Essex
 take no care for that,
 I warrant you it was not
 closely done.

But who is this? lo lords the
 withered flowre
 Who in his life shinde like
 the Mornings blush,
 Calf out a decre, denide his
 buriall right,

Sal. This is the prison:
What is he lyes heere?
P. Oh death, made proud with
pure & princely beuty,
The earth had not a hole to
hide this deede,

Sal. Murther, as hating
what himselfe hath done,
Doth lay it open to vrge on
reuenge.

Big. Or when he doom'd
this Beautie to a graue,
Found it too precious Princely
for a graue

Sal. This is the bloodiest
shame, The Wildest Saua-
gery, the vildest stroke
That euer wall-ey'd wrath,
of staring rage
Presented to the teares of
soft remorse.

Pen. All murthers past,
do stand excused in
this

Bast. It is a damned, and
a bloody worke
The gracelesse action of a
heavy hand,
If that it be the worke of
anyhand.

(KJ IV.111.22-60)

A pray for birds and beasts
to gorge vpon.

Salsburie. O ruthfull spec-
tacle, O damned deede;
My sinnewes shake, my very
heart doth bleede.

Essex. Leauē childish teares
braue Lords of England
If waterfloods could fetch
his life againe,

My eyes should conduit foorth
a sea of teares.

If sobbs would helpe, or
sorrowes serue the turne,
My heart should volie out
deepe piercing plaints.

But bootlesse wert to breath
as many sighes
As might eclipse the brightest
Sommers sunne,

Heere rests the helpe, a
seruice to his ghost.
Let not the tyrant causer of
this dole

Lie to triumph in ruthfull
massacres,

Giue hand and hart, and
and Englishmen to armes,
This Gods decree to wreake vs
of these harmes.

(2TR 1.27-50)

In King John, Shakespeare has extended this scene to include
the words of the Bastard to Hubert:

Bas. Here's a good world: knew you of this
faire work?

Beyond the infinite and boundlesse reach of mercie
If thou didst this deed of death art y damn'd Hubert.

Hub. Do but heare me sir.

Bast. He? Ile tell thee what.

Thou'rt damn'd as blacke, nay nothing is so blacke,
Thou art more deepe damn'd than Prince Lucifer:
There is not yet so vgly a fiend of hell
As thou shalt be, if thou didst kill this child

. . . .

Go, beare him in thine armes:
 I am amaz'd me thinkes, and loose my way
 Among the thornes, and dangers of this world,
 How easie dost thou take all England vp,
 From forth this morcell of dead Royaltie?
 The life, the right, and truth of all this
 Realme
 Is fled to heauen. . . .

(KJ IV.iii.120-28; 145-51)

Provoked by Arthur's murder, the lords agree to
 abandon John and to find service under Lewis, the Dauphin
 of France, at St. Edmund's Bury:

Big. Away, toward Burie to
 the Dopin there.
P. There tel the King, he
 may inquire vs out.
 (KJ IV.iii.118-19)

Essex. Now say you Lords,
 shall we with speed dispatch
 Vnder our hands a packet
 into Fraunce
 To bid the Dolphin enter with
 his force
 To claime the Kingdome for his
 proper right,
 His title maketh lawful strength
 thereto.
 Besides the Pope, on perill of
 his curse,
 Hath bard vs of obedience vnto
John,
 This hateful murder, Lewes his
 true discent.
 As weightie reasons if you like
 my reede,
 To make vs all perseuer in this
 deede.
 . . . Then each of vs send
 straight to his Allyes.
 To winne them to this famous
 enterprise,
 And let vs all yclad in Palmers
 weede,
 The tenth of April at Saint
Edmonds Bury
 Meet to conuer and on the Alter there
 Swear secrete and aid to this aduis
 (ZTR i.81-91;96-101)

One should note that in the F_1 text of King John, the act following IV is also designated as Actus Quartus, an obvious printer's error.

After Arthur's death, the disaffection of the Nobles for John, and their decision to meet at St. Edmund's Bury to join forces with the Dauphin in his invasion of England, Shakespeare fails to make use of materials in 2 The Troublesome Raigne, although he does report some of these incidents later on in Act V of King John. The events from 2 The Troublesome Raigne which are merely alluded to in Shakespeares play are the following: (1) the mental disturbance of King John and the hanging of Peter of Pomfret (V.1.26-30); the growing unrest of the English people influenced by the Legates of the Pope (V.1.9-10); John's surrender of his crown and diadem to Pandulph (V.1.1); the meeting of the Nobles at St. Edmund's Bury and their election of Lewis as King of England (V.1.11-12; 11.1-7); and the triumphant reception accorded Lewis by the English people when he invades England (V.11.104-05). Shakespeare's King John, then, returns to 2 The Troublesome Raigne for closer parallels in iv. of the older play.

Following his surrender of the crown to Pandulph, King John receives it once again in trust for the Pope in both plays:

K. John. Thus haue I yeelded
vp into your hand
The Circle of my glory.

Pan. Take againe
From this my hand, as holding
of the Pope
Your Soueraigne greatness
and authoritie.

John. Now keep your holy
word, go meet the French,
And from his holinesse vse
all your power
To stop their marches 'fore
we are enflam'd
(KJ V.1.1-8)

Philip. Thus John thou art
absolude from all thy
sinnes,

And freed by order from our
Gathers curse.
Receiue thy Crowne againe,
with this prouise,
That thou remaine true liegeman
to the Pope
And carry armes in right of
holy Rome.

John. I holde the same as
tenaunt to the Pope,
And thanke your Holines for
your kindness showne.

Philip. A proper iest, when
kings must stoop to Friers.
Neeede hath no law, when Friers
must be Kings.
(2TR iv.1-9)

After John's voluntary subjugation to the Pope,
Pandulph greets the victorious Lewis and, with the authority
invested in him, commands Lewis to abandon his plans for
conquest and return to France:

Pand. Haile noble Prince of
France.

The next is this: King John
hath reconcill'd
Himselfe to Rome, his spirit
is come in,
That so stood out against the
holy Church,
The great Metropolis and Sea
of Rome:

Therefore thy threatening
Colours now winde vp,
And tame the sauage spirit
of wilde warre,
That like a Lion fostered vp
at hand,

Pandulph. Lewis of France,
victorious Conqueror,
Whose sword hath made this
Iland quake for fear;
Thy forwardnes to fight for
holy Rome,

Shalbe remunerated to the full:
But know my Lord, K. John is
now absolude,
The Pope is please, the Land
is blest agen,
And thou hast brought each thing
to good effect.
It resteth then that thou with-
draw thy powers,

It may lie gently at the
foot of peace,
And be no further harmefill
then in shewe.

(KJ V.11.69-109)

And quietly returne to Fraunce
again:

For all is done the Pope would
wish thee doo.

(2TR.1v.24-33)

Exhilarated by his triumphant entry into England, however, Lewis refuses to obey the Church, and announces his continuing claim to the throne of England. In King John, Shakespeare extends the incident of Lewis's defiance of the Church, putting contempt for Rome into Lewis's speeches:

Dol. Your Grace shall pardon Lewes.
me, I will not backe:

I am too high-borne to be
propertied

To be a secondary at controll
Or vsefull seruing-man, and
Instrument

To any Soueraigne State
throughout the world.

Your breath first kindled the
dead coale of warres,

Betweene this chastiz'd king-
dome and my selfe,

And brought in matter that
should feed this fire;

And now 'tis farre to huge
to be blowne out

With that same weake winde,
which enkindled it:

You taught me how to know the
face of right,

Acquainted me with interest
to this Land,

Yea, trust this enterprize
into my heart,

And come ye now to tell me
John hath made

His peace with Rome? what is
that peace to me?

But als not done that
Lewes came to doo,

Why Pandulph, hath K. Philip
sent his sonne

And been at such excessiue
charge in warres,

To be dismist with words? K.
John shall know,

England is mine, and he vsurps
my right.

(2TR 1v.34-50)

I (by the honour of my marriage
 bed)
 After yong Arthur, claime this
 Land for mine.
 And now it is halfe conquer'd
 must I backe
 Because that John hath made his
 peace with Rome?
 Am I Romes slaue? What penny
 hath Rome borne?
 What men provided? What munition
 sent
 To vnder-goe this charge? Who
 else but I
 And such as to my claime are
 liable,
 Sweat in this businesse, and
 maintaine this warren.
 (KJ V.11.79-109)

The Bastard challenges Lewis as the representative of France to all-out war. He upbraids the traitorous English barons for destroying their own homeland. In King John, Shakespeare assigns speeches of bombast to the Bastard:

Bast. By all the bloud that
 euer fury breath'd
 The youth saies well. Now
 heare our English King,
 For thus his Royaltie doth
 speake in me:
 He is prepar'd, and reason
 to he should,
 This apish and vmannerly
 approach,
 This harness'd Maske, and
 vnaduised Reuell,
 This vn-heard sawcinesse and
 boyish Troopes,
 The King doth smile at, and
 is well prepar'd
 To whip this dwarfish warre,
 this Pigay Armes

Bast. My Lord of Melun, what
 title had the Prince
 To England and the Crown of
Albion,
 But such a title as the Pope
 confirme:
 The Prelate now lets fall his
 fained claime:
Lewes is but the agent for the
 Pope,
 Then must the Dolphin cease,
 sith he hath ceast:
 But cease or no, it greatly
 matters not
 If you my Lords and Barrons
 of the Land
 Will leaue the French, and
 cleaue vnto your King.

From out the circle of his Territories,
 That hand which had the strength, euen at your dore,
 To cudgell you, and make you take the hatch,
 To diue like Buckets in concealed Welles,
 To crouch in litter of your stable planks,
 To lye like pawnes, lock'd vp in chests and trunks,
 To hug with swine, to seeke sweet safety out
 In vaults and prisons, and to thrill and shake
 Euen at the crying of your Nations crow,
 Thinking this voyce an armed Englishman,
 Shall that victorious hand be feebled heere,
 That in your chambers gaue you chastisement?
 No: know the gallant Monarch is Armes,
 And like an Eagle, o're his Ayerie towres,
 To sowsse annoyaunce that comes neere his Nest;
 And you degenerate, you ingrate Reuolts,
 You bloody Hero's, ripping vp the wombe
 Of your deere Mother-England; blush for shame;
 For your owne Ladies, and Pale-visag'd Maides,
 Like Amazons, come tripping after drummes:
 Their thimbles into armed Gantlets change,
 Their Needl's to Lances, and their gentle hearts
 To fierce and bloody inclination

For shame ye peeres of England, suffer not
 Your selues, your honours, and your land to fall:
 But with resolued thoughts beate back the French,
 And free the Land from yoke of seruitude.
 . . . Comfort my Lord, and curse the Cardinall,
 Be take your selfe to Armes, my troupes are prest
 To answere Lewes with a lustie shocke:
 The English Archers haue their quiuers full,
 Their bowes are bend, the pykes are prest to push:
 God cheere my Lord, K. Richards fortune hangs
 Upon the plume of warlike Philip helme.
 Then let them know his brother and his sonne
 Are leaders of the Englishmen at armes.
John, Philip I know not how to answere thee:
 But let vs hence, to answere Lewes pride.
 (2TR iv.51-64;79-87)

Ill with fever, King John leaves the battlefield and is carried toward Swinstead Abbey. In King John, V, one discovers a confusion of parallels to 2 The Troublesome Raigne, some staged, some reported:

John. How goes the day with vs? oh tell me Hubert.

Hub. Badly I feare; how fares your Maiesty?

John. This Feauer that hath troubled me so long, Lyes heauie on me; oh, my heart is sick.

Mes. My Lord; your valiant kinsman Falconbridge, Desires your Maiestie to leaue the field,

And send him word by me, which way you go.

John. Tell him toward Swinsted to the Abbey there.

Mes. Be of good comfort: for the great supply That was expected by the Dolphin heere, Are wrack'd three nights ago on Godwin sands,

This news was brought to Richard but euen now, The French fight coldly, and retyre themselves.

John. Aye me, this tyrant Feauer burnes me vp, And will not let me welcome this good newes,

Set on toward Swinsted: to my Litter straight, Weaknesse possesseth me, and I am faint.

(KJ.V.iii.1-19)

John. Set downe, set downe the load not worth your pain, For done I am with deadly wounding grieffe:

Sickly and succourles, hopeles of any good, The world hath wearied me, and I haue wearied it:

It leaths I liue, I liue and loath my selfe

Philip. How fares my Lord, that he is taryed thus,

Not all the aukward fortunes yet befallne,

Made such impression of lament in me.

Nor euer did my eye attaynt my heart

With any obiect mouing more remorse,

Than now beholding of a mighty king,

Borne by his Lords in such distressed state.

John. What news with thee, if bad, report it strait:

If good, be mute, it doth but flatter me.

Philip. . . . The brauest bow-man had not yet sent forth Two arrowes from the quier at his side,

But that a rumor went throughout our Campe,

That John was fled, the King had left the field, . . .

And like the Lamb before the greedie Wolfe,

So hartlesse fled our warmen from
the feeld,

John. . . . My feuer growes,
what ague shakes me so:

Now farre to Swinstead. . . .
(2TR vi.14-61)

When Lord Melun is fatally wounded, he searches out
the Lords and warns them of Lewis's treachery:

Sal. I did not thinke the
King so stor'd with friends.

Pen. Vp once againe: put
spirit in the French,
If they miscarry: we miscarry
too.

Sal. That bisbegotten diuell
Falconbridge,
In spite of spight, alone
vpholds the day.

Pen. They say King John sore
sick, hath left the field.

Mel. Lead me to the Reuolts
of England heere.

Sal. When we were happie,
we had other names.

Pen. It is the Count Meloene
Sal. Wounded to death.

Mel. Fly Noble English, you
are bought and sold,
Vnthred the rude eye of
Rebellion,

And welcome home againe
discarded faith,

Seeke out King John, and
fall before his feete:

For if the French be Lords
of this loud day.

He meanes to recompence the
paines you take,

By cutting off your heads:
thus hath he sworne,

Vpon the Alter at S. Edmons-
bury,

Mel. O I am slaine, Nobles,
Salsbury, Pembroke

My soule is charged, heere me:
for what I say

Concernes the Peeres of England
and their State.

Listen, braue Lords, a fearfull
mourning tale,

To be deliuered by a man of
death. . .

O Peeres of England, know you
what you doo,

Theres but a haire that sunders
you from harme,

The hooke is bayted, and the
traine is made,

And simply you runne boating
to your deaths.

But least I dye, and leaue
my tale untolde,

With silence slaughtering so
braue a crew,

This I auerre, if Lewes win
the day,

Theres not an Englishman that
lifts his hand

Against King John to plant the
heire of Fraunce,

But is already damnd to cruell
death.

I heard it vovd; my selfe
amongst the rest

Swore on the Alter aid to this
Edict.

(2TR v. 1-23)

Euen on that Altar, where we
swore to you
Dere Amity, and euerlasting
lcue.

(KJ V.iv.1-23)

After the retreat of the English army before the French, the English gather to cross the Lincoln Washes. All of the men, carriages, supplies, horses, and riches of King John are swallowed by the tide:

Bast. With-hold thine indignation, mighty heauen,
And tempt vs not to beare
about our power.

He tell thee Hubert, halfe
my power this night
Passing these Flats, are
taken by the Tide.
These Lincolne-Washes haue
deuoured them,
My selfe, well mounted,
hardly haue escap'd.

(KJ V.vi.42-47)

Philip. When in the morning our
troupes did gather head,
Passing the washes with our
carriages,

The impartiall tyde deadly and
inexorable,
Came raging in with billowes
threatning death,

And swallowed up the most of
all our men,

My selfe vpon a Galloway right
free, well pacde,

Out stript the flouds that
followed waue by waue,
I so escapt to tell this
tragick tale.

(2TR vi.46-54)

In both plays, there are several reports of the poisoning of King John by a monk at Swinestead Abbey:

Hub. The King I feare is
poyson'd by a Monke,
I left him almost speechlesse,
and broke out

To acquaint you with this
euill, that you might
The better arme you to the
sodaine time,

Then if you had at leisure
knowne of this.

Bast. How did he take it?

Bast. What cheers my Liege,
your cullor gins to change.

John. So doth my life, O

Phillip I am poysond,
The Monke, the Deuill, the poys-
son gins to rage,

It will depose my selfe a King
from raigne.

(2TR viii.43-47)

who did taste to him?

Hub. A Monke I tell you, a
resolued villaine
Whose Bowels sodainly burst
out: The King
Yet speakes, and peradventure may
recouer.

Bas. Who didst thou leaue
to tend his Maiesty?

Hub. Why know you not? The
Lords are all come backe,
And brought Prince Henry in
their companie,
At whose request the king
hath pardon'd them,
And they are about his Maiestie.
(KJ V.vi.28-41)

After King John dies, his son becomes the next monarch,
King Henry. Lewis is constrained and eventually compelled
to forsake his war against England:

Sal. It seemes you know not
then so much as we,
The Cardinall Pandulph is
within at rest,
Who halfe an houre since
came from the Dolphin,
And brings from him such
offers of our peace,
As we with honor and respect
may take,
With purpose presently to
leaue this warre.

(KJ V.vii.85-89)

Dolphin. Faith Philip this I
say: It bootes not me,
Nor any Prince, nor power of
Christendome
To seeke to win this Iland
Albion,
Unles he haue a partie in the
Realme
By treason for to help him in
his warres.
The Peeres which were the
partie on my side,
Are fled from me: then bootes
not me to fight,
But on conditions, as mine
honour wills,
I am contented to depart the
Realme.

(2TR ix.25-33)

Both Shakespeare's King John and 2 The Troublesome Raigne also show King John as he is dying at Swinstead Abbey. His miscreant Lords have returned to his allegiance and have sworn fealty to young King Henry at his father's death. Both Shakespeare and the author of the anonymous play conclude their dramas with a tribute to England and national unity. In both plays, these lines are assigned to the role of the Bastard:

<p><u>Bast.</u> This England neuer did, nor neuer shall Lye at the proud foote of a conqueror, But when it first did helpe to wounde it selfe. Now, these her Princes are come home againe, Come the three corners of the world in Armes, And we shall shocke them: naught shall make vs rue, If England to it selfe, do rest but true. (<u>KJ V.vii.121-27</u>)</p>	<p><u>Bastard.</u> Let England liue but true within it selfe, And all the world can neuer wrong her State . . . If <u>Englands</u> Peeres and people ioyne in one, Nor Pope, nor <u>Fraunce</u>, nor <u>Spaine</u> can doe them wrong. (<u>2TR ix.45-54</u>)</p>
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The textual study of Shakespeare's King John proves conclusively that he made use of 1 & 2 The Troublesome Raigne, an anonymous play of 1591, as his main source, compressing twenty-two scenes of the two-part play into the space of five acts, amplifying character and manipulating chronology to serve his own stage interests. While one detects only minor instances in which Shakespeare has relied

upon the exact wording of his source, a parallel study of these drams indicates that Shakespeare did rewrite the older play, almost line by line, thereby providing one the opportunity of observing Shakespeare's work habits and method of composition and skill in the management of dramatic event.

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