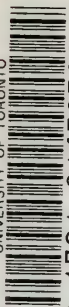


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Vol. 91

THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE
 OF
 JOHN, KING OF ENGLAND.

THE FIRST QUARTO,
 1591,
 WHICH SHAKSPERE REWROTE (ABOUT 1595) AS HIS
 "LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN."

PART II.

A FACSIMILE, BY PHOTOLITHOGRAPHY, FROM THE UNIQUE ORIGINAL IN
 THE CAPELL COLLECTION AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

BY
 CHARLES PRAETORIUS.

WITH FOREWORDS BY F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., PH.D.

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43 SHAKSPERE QUARTO FACSIMILES,

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, LINE-NUMBERS, &C., BY SHAKSPERE SCHOLARS,
ISSUED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF DR. F. J. FURNIVALL.

1. *Those by W. Griggs.*

No.	No.
1. Hamlet. 1603. Q1.	8. Henry IV. 1st Part. 1588. Q1.
2. Hamlet. 1604. Q2.	9. Henry IV. 2nd Part. 1600. Q1.
3. Midsummer Night's Dream. 1600. Q1. (Fisher.)	10. Passionate Pilgrim. 1599. Q1.
4. Midsummer Night's Dream. 1600. Q2. (Roberts.)	11. Richard III. 1597. Q1.
5. Loves Labor's Lost. 1598. Q1.	12. Venus and Adonis. 1593. Q1.
6. Merry Wives. 1602. Q1.	13. Troilus and Cressida. 1609. Q1.
7. Merchant of Venice. 1600. Q1. (Roberts.)	17. Richard II. 1597. Q1. Duke of Devon- shire's copy. (<i>Best version: text printed.</i>)

2. *Those by C. Praetorius.*

14. Much Ado About Nothing. 1630. Q1.	31. Othello. 1622. Q1.
15. Taming of a Shrew. 1594. Q1.	32. Othello. 1630. Q2.
16. Merchant of Venice. 1600. Q2. (Heyes.)	33. King Lear. 1608. Q1. (N. Butter, <i>Pide</i> <i>Bull.</i>)
18. Richard II. 1597. Q1. Mr. Huth's copy.	34. King Lear. 1608. Q2. (N. Butter.)
19. Richard II. 1608. Q3.	35. Rape of Lucrece. 1594. Q1.
20. Richard II. 1634. Q5.	36. Romeo and Juliet. Undated. Q4.
21. Pericles. 1609. Q1.	37. Contention. 1594. Q1. (For 2 Henry VI.)
22. Pericles. 1609. Q2.	38. True Tragedy. 1555. Q1. (For 3 Henry VI.)
23. The Whole Contention. 1619. Q3. Part I. (for 2 Henry VI.)	39. The Famous Victories of Henry V. 1558. Q1.
24. The Whole Contention. 1619. Q3. Part II. (for 3 Henry VI.)	40. The Troublesome Raigne of King John. Part I. 1591. Q1.
25. Romeo and Juliet. 1597. Q1.	41. The Troublesome Raigne of King John. Part II. 1591. Q1.
26. Romeo and Juliet. 1599. Q2.	42. Richard III. 1602. Q3.
27. Henry V. 1600. Q1.	43. Richard III. 1622. Q6. (<i>on stone.</i>)
28. Henry V. 1608. Q2.	
29. Titus Andronicus. 1600. Q1.	
30. Sonnets and Lover's Complaint. 1569. Q1.	

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TROUBLESOME RAIGNE, PART II. FOREWORDS.

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- Sc. ii, iv. Angiers, and the Betrothal of Leves and Blanche*, p. viii.
- Sc. iii, vi. Bastard and Limoges*, p. x.
- Sc. v. Pandulph, John, and the Interdict*, p. x; *John's Headship of the Church*, p. xii.
- Sc. vii—ix. Capture of Q. Eleanor*, p. xiv; *of Arthur*, p. xv.
- Sc. x. The Prophet*, p. xviii.
- Sc. xi. Arthur and Hubert*, p. xvi.
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The Persons of th: Play, p. xl.

THIS *Troublesome Raigne* was Shakspeare's material for his *King John*, and in the Forewords to Part I, Mr. Rose showd how skilfully (in the main) our Poet used that material, though he faild to make of it a good acting play. With the help of my friend Mr. W. G. Stone, I propose now to give what was probably the old Playwright's material, those parts of Holinshed's and Hall's *Chronicles* (*Holinshed*, ed. 2, 1586-7, vol. iii.) which he used, with a few words linking them together.

The old Playwright starts his first Part with the death of John's elder brother, Richard, 'Victorious scourge of Infidels,' the Lion-Heart of England, and with the sorrow of the land in consequence. On this, and the quality which may have led to the insertion of the Lady Falconbridge incident, Holinshed says:—

(156. i. 46) 'At length king Richard [I] by force of sicknesse (increased with anguish of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tuesdaye before Palmesundaie, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od daies: he left no issue behind him.

A.D. 1199.

King
Richard
departed this
life.

His stature & shape of bodie. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face

His disposition of mind. 'As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more courageous and fierce, so that not without cause, he obtained the surname of *Coeur de lion*, that is to saie, The lions hart. Moreouer, he was courteous to his souldiers, and towards his freends and strangers that resorted vnto him verie liberall

The vices that were in King Richard.

[Col. 2] 'He was noted of the common people to be partlie subject vnto pride, which surelie for the most part foloweth stoutnesse of mind: of incontinenie, to the which his youth might happilie be somewhat bent; and of couetousnesse . . . On a time whiles he sojourned in France about his warres . . there came vnto him a

Fulco a priest.

French priest whose name was Fulco, who required the K[ing] in any wise to put from him three abhominable daughters which he had . . . "for thou hast three daughters, one of them is called pride, the second couetousnesse, and the third lecherie" . . .

Next succeeds King John, the 'second hope' of Queen Elinor's womb (Sc. i. l. 6); and at once the strife between him (then in France) and Arthur begins (*Hol.* iii, p. 157, col. 1):—

Anno Reg. 1.

'This man, so soone as his brother Richard was deceased, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and

Rog. Houed.

William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepstow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and also to see his peace kept, together with Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilst he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laie, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turnham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert.

Matth. Pavis. Chinon.

Robert de Turnham.

[Angiers given up to Arthur.]

'But Thomas de Furnes, nephue to the said Robert de Turnham, deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was received as the liege and soueraigne lord of the same countries.

[Arthur preferred by some to John.]

'For euen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, dinerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilst he liued, fell at ods among themselues, some of them indeuouring to preferre king Iohn, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of

Britaine, considering that he seemed by most right to be their cheefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geffrey, elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in processe of time insued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.'

But Queen Eleanor 'being bent to prefer hir sonne Iohn, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betweene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as Iohn was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto hir will, and seeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, she signified the whole matter vnto K. John, who forthwith framed all his indeuours to the accomplishment of his businesse.

'Surelie queene Elianor the kings mother, was sore against his nephue Arthur, rather moued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw, if he were king, how his mother Constance would looke to beere most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe.

... 'When this dooing of the queene was signified vnto the said Constance, she, doubting the suertie¹ of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised² to defend him from all his enimies, and forthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French souldiers. Queene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all possible speed passed over the sea, and came to hir sonne Iohn into Normandie, and shortlie after they went forth together into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and castell of Mauns, throwing downe the wals and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, because they had aided Arthur against his vncke Iohn.'

After Easter, king John was invested duke of Normandy, and leaving his mother to defend Guienne, he past over into England, landing at Shoreham on May 25, 1199.

'On the next day, being Ascension eeu, he came to London, there to receive the crowne.'

A.D. 1199.
[Q. Eleanor

[wins over
the nobles.]

Queene
Elianors
enuie against
Arthur.

Constance
dutchesse
of Britaine.

[Arthur entrusted to
K. Philip II.]

Queene
Elianor
passeth into
Normandie.

The city of
Mauns
taken.
Math.
Paris.
R. Houed.

K. John
cometh ouer
into Eng-
land.

¹ safety

² p. 158, col. 2.

John's coronation took place on May 27, 1199. During his absence (*Holinshed's Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 160/1)

N. Triuet.
The French
K. invadeth
Normandie.
A.D. 1199.

'in England, Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake into Normandie, and tooke the cite of Eureux, the towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the English. And passing from thence into Maine, he recouered that countrie lately before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains with great diligence wan the townes of Gorney, Buteuant and Gensolin, and following the victorie, tooke the cite of Angiers, which king Iohn had woon from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These things being signified to king Iohn, he thought to make prouision for the recouerie of his losses there, with all speed possible.'

[Angiers
taken from
John.]

Nearly a year elapst between John's negotiations with Philip II. in 1199, and those which ended in the marriage of Lewes and Blanche (*Hol.* iii. 160/2).

Rog. Houed.
Arthur duke
of Britaine
made knight.

A.D. 1199.
[Aug. 16]

'About the same time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire; to wit, on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Guleton. Within three daies after, they came together personallie, and communed at full of the variance dependinꝝ betweene them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Veulquessine to be restored vnto him, as that which had beene granted by Geoffrey earle of Aniou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewes le Grosse, to haue his aid then against king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholie re-ign'd vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.¹

The French
kings de-
mand.

[John refuses
it.]

'But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king Iohn would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of any agreement. . . . shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephue duke Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpos.

A peace
betwixt king
Iohn & his
nephue.

The mistrust
that duke
Arthur had
in his vncl
king Iohn.

. . . 'vpon some mistrust and suspicion gathered in the obseruation of the couenants on K. Iohns behalfe, both

¹ The Playwright in Part I, sc. iv, lines 160-1, makes Philip II. demand these (with Veulquessine) for his own son Lewes, on his marriage with Blanche.

the said Arthur, with his mother Constance, the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse other, fled awaie secretlie from the king, and got them to the cite of Angiers, where the mother of the said Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Chester, married hir selfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation.⁷

[Constance marries Lord Guy of Tours.]

Sc. i, lines 75-304, p. 7-13, the incident of the brothers Falconbridge and their Mother, may have been adapted in part from the following story of the Duke of Orleans's bastard son (the 'Bastard of Orleans' of *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. 46, &c.) told by Hall in his *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 144-5, under 'The .VI. year of Kyng Henry the .VI.,' 1 Sept. 1427-8:—

"Here must I a litle digresse, and declare to you, what was this bastard of Orleance, which was not onely now capitain of the citee [Orleans, then besieged by the English¹], but also after, by Charles the sixt made erle of Dunoy, and in great authoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemye to the Englishe nacion, as by this story you shall apparauntly perceiue, of whose line and steme dyscend the Dukes of Longuile and the Marques of Rutylon.

[The Bastard of Orleans]

"Lewes, Duke of Orleance,—murdered in Paris by Iohn, duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue harde,—was owner of the Castle of Coucy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys, wherof he made Constable, the lord of Cauny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire; and yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceiued a child, and brought furthe a pretye boye called Ihon; whiche chyld beyng of the age of one yere, the duke disceased; and not long after, the mother and the Lorde of Cauny ended their liues. The next of kynne to the lord of Cauny chalenged the enheritaunse, whiche was worth foure thousande crounes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contencion before the Presidentes of the parliament of Paris, and there hang in controuersie till the child came to the age of eight yeres old. At which tyme it was demaunded of hym openly [*p.* 145] whose sonne he was: his frendes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a day, to be aduised of so

[had a beautiful Mother, Lady Cauny, lovd by the Duke of Orleans. She bare a boy, and soon died.]

[The boy's legitimacy was questioned;

[and at the trial, when he was 8,

¹ It was at this siege that Lord Salisbury and Sir Thos. Gargrave were kild by the son of the French Master Gunner, as told by Hall, p. 145, and in *1 Henry VI.* Act I, sc. iv, l. 69, 71.

great an answer; whiche he asked, & to hym it was graunted. In y^e meane season, his said frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable liuyng, and an auncient patrimony; affirming, that if he said contrary, he not only slaundered his mother, shamed himself, & stained his bloud, but also should haue no liuyng, nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster, thinkyng *that* his disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it accordyng to his instruccioⁿ, brought hym before the Iudges at the daie assigned; and when the question was repeted to hym again, he boldly answered, 'my harte geueth me, & my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleauce; more glad to be his Bastarde, with a meane liuyng, then the lawfull sonne of that coward cuckolded Cawny, with his foure thousand crounes' [a year].

[the boy told the Judges

[that he was the Duke's Bastard, and not the coward Lord Cauny's son.

"The Iustices muche merueiled at his bolde answere; and his mothers cosyns detested him for shamying of his mother; and his fathers supposed¹ kinne reioysed in gainyng the patrimony and possessions. Charles, duke of Orleance, beryng of this iudgement, toke hym into his family, & gaue him great offices & fees, which he well deserved, for (duryng his [the Duke's] captiuitie) he [the Bastard] defended his [the Duke's] landes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliuerance."

[The Duke of Orleans adopted and endowd the boy;

[and he drove out the English.]

For his first Scene then, the old Playwright borrowd only the death of Richard I, the succession of John, supported by his Mother, the opposition of Arthur backt by Philip II, with demands for cession of territory by John to both Philip and Arthur; and for the Falconbridge part, the possible hint of the Orleans narrative in Hall.

For Scenes ii and iv of Pt. I, the Playwright had only the following accounts of the Siege of Angiers in 1199 and 1206, and the negotiations for the marriage of Lewes and Blanche in 1200:—

A.D. 1199.

(*Hol.* iii. 158/2.) 'In the meane time his mother queene Elianor, together with captaine Marchades, entred into Aniou, and wasted the same, because they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their souereigne lord and gouernour.² And amongst other townes and fortresses, they tooke the cite of Angiers, slue manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.' (170/1, 27) 'Finallie he [K. John] entred into Aniou, and comming to the cite of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horssemen to compasse the towne about, whilst he, with the residue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go

The city of Angiers taken.

1206

Anno Reg. 8.
Les Annales de France.
Polydor.

¹ ? supposed father's. (On Falconbridge, see p. xxxix, below.)

² See p. iv above; and John's capture of the town, mentioⁿd on p. vi.

to assault the gates. Which enterprize with fire and sword he so manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the cite was entered and deliuered to the souldiers for a preie. So that of the citzens some were taken, some killed, and the wals of the cite beaten flat to the ground. This doone, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction. Then came the people of the countries next adioining, of their owne accord to submit themselves vnto him, promising to aid him with men and vittals most plentifullye.'

(161/1, 53) 'Finallie vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his [John's] reigne, they came eftsoones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Lisle Dandelie, where finallie they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, & neece to K. Iohn by his sister El'anor.

'In consideration whereof, king Iohn, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in siluer, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said neece, resigned his title to the cite of Eureux, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the cite of Angiers onelic excepted, which cite he receiued againe by couenants of the same agreement. The French king restored also to king Iohn (as *Rafe Niger* writeth) the cite of Tours, and all the castels and fortresses which he had taken within Touraine: and moreouer, receiued of king Iohn his homage for all the lands, sees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the said king Lewes¹ or any his predecessors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He also gaue the earledome of Gloucester vnto the earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that he resigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Eureux.

'By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanch, the right of king Iohn went awaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the cite of Eureux, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau Roux or Raoul, Cressie and Isoldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Veuxin or Veulquessine, which is a part of the territorie of Gisors: the right of all which lands,

King Iohn
won the
cite of
Angiers by
assault [in
1206].

A. D. 1200.
Anno.
Reg. 2.
[May 13]

A peace con-
cluded with
a marriage.

Matth.
Paris.
[Blanche's
dowry.]

[Angiers is
restored to
John.]
Ra. Niger.

[1 that is,
Philip II.]

[John gives
up Eureux,
and many
other townes.]

Polydor. townes and countries was released to the king of France by K. John, who supposed that by his affinitie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for ever. And in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid Blanch should be conueied into France to hir husband with all speed. That doone, he returned into England.

The king cometh back again into England.

The 'will', which Eleonor 'can inferre' against Arthur's claim, Part I, sc. ii, l. 98, was made by Richard I., who, in April, 1199 (*Hol.* iii. 155/2, l. 68),

He ordeineth his testament.

'seeing himselfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

[¹ fealtie]

'Vnto his brother Iohn he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie ¹ vnto him' . . .

For Scenes iii and vi of Part I, the old Playwright had only this bit in *Holinshed*, iii. 160/2, l. 70 :—

Philip king Richards son kills the vicount of Limoges.

'The same yere Philip, bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges,¹ in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell.'

For Scere v—the Pandulph part—the old Playwright went to the years 1207-8 and 1211-12 in *Holinshed*, *Chron.* iii. 171/21, l. 15, and 175/1, l. 7. See below, p. xi—xiii.

The controversy between John and Innocent III., concerning the Pope's appointment of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury, began in 1207, when Innocent wrote to John, urging Langton's personal claim to preferment (*Hol.* iii. 171/2, l. 15) :—

A.D. 1207.
An. Reg. 8.

[John oppresses all Stephen Langton's supporters.]

'Manie other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king Iohn, to haue persuaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king Iohn was so far from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie, which by any manner means had aided the forenamed Stephan. The pope being hereof aduertised, thought good not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling

¹ He is confused with the Austrich Duke, in the play, and is kild in Part I, Sc. vi, p. 35.

of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spiritualtie, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decreed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischeefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespassed so committed.'

[The Pope resolves to check K. John]

As John continued obstinate, he and his realm were interdicted by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, acting under Innocent's order (March 23, 1208), *Hol.* iii. 172/1, l. 25:—

'Herevpon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and furthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed vp, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be vsed, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiuing that the K. ment not to stoope for all this which they had doone, but rather sought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, Malger bishop of Worcester, Ioceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

A.D. 1208.
The mondaie in the passion weeke saith Matth. West.
The king and realm put vnder the popes curse.

'The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized vpon all their temporalities, and conuerted the same to his vse, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their dooings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Howbeit the most part of the prelates wiselie prouided for themselves in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbies, and other habitations, bicause they had no commission to vse any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings vse, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

Anno. Reg. 10 1209-10.
The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

'¶ It was a miserable time now for preestes and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong.'

An heauie time for churchmen.

[A. D. 1211.
Hol. iii.
 1751, 7.]
Anno Reg.
 13.
 Pandulph
 and Durant
 the Popes
 legats.
Polydor.

[The Le-
 gates quit
 England,
 leaving John
 curst and
 the land
 interdicted.]
Fabian.
 [The Pope's
 Interdict.]

Matth.
Paris.

Polydor.
 [The Pope,
 in 1212,

[deposes
 John,
 absolves his
 subjects from
 their allegi-
 ance,

[and urges
 K. Philip II.
 &c. to make
 war on
 John.]

‘ In the same yeare also [1211], the pope sent two legats into Eng^land, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king Iohn, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his stubborne disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdoings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne foorth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to preests which he had seized vpon, neither of those that appertained to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope, the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

‘¶ Touching the maner of this interdiction there haue bene diuerse opinions, some haue said, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houses of religion closed vp, that no where was anie diuine seruice vsed: but it was not so streit, for there were diuerse places occupied with diuine seruice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchased either then or before. Children were also christened, and men houseled and annoied through all the land, except such as were in the bill of excommunication by name expressed.’ . . .

(*Hol.* iii. 175/2, l. 17.) ‘ In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats¹ out of England, perceiuing that king Iohn would not be ordered by him, determined with the consent of his cardinals and other counsellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelates being there with him, to depriue king Iohn of his kinglie state, and so first absolved all his subjects and vassals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his deprivation vnto the French king and other christian princes, admonishing them to pursue king Iohn, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoever imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and overcome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, not onlie in

¹ Pandulph and Durant.

their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

‘But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holinesse, than to haue king Iohn to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiuennesse for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English exiles, to go into France, together with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be doone against king Iohn, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse excommunicated. Moreouer this Pandulph was commanded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king Iohn such letters as the pope had written for his better instruction, and to seeke by all means possible to draw him from his naughtie opinion.

Pandulph sent into France to practice with the french king, for king Iohn his destruction.

(*Hol.* iii. 175/2, l. 57.) ‘In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had released the people & absolved them of their oth of fidelitie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes sentence, by little and little a great number both of souldiers, citizens, burgesses, capteins and conestables of castels, leauing their charges, & bishops with a great multitude of preests reuolting from him, and auoiding his companie and presence, secretlie stale awaie, and got ouer into France.’ . . .

[After the Pope's Interdict, many English migrate to France.]

In Sc. v, line 79 (2)—perhaps John's declaration that he will be supreme head over temporal as well as spiritual, was suggested by the 2nd paragraph of the following extract (*Hol.* iii. 173/2, l. 58):—

‘¶ There liued in those daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the monks and friers saie) against his subiects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessell, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. . .

Anno Reg.
II (A. D.
1210-11).
Cementarius

[justifies John's cruelty to his subjects.]

‘He went about also to prooue with likelie arguments, that it appertained not to the pope, to haue to doo con-

[Cementarius argues against the Pope's right to interfere in temporal matters.] concerning the temporall possessions of any kings or other potentates touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters appertaining therevnto. By such doctrine of him set foorth, he wan in such wise the kings fauour, that he obtained manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of saint Austines in Canturburie.' . . .

In Scenes vii, viii, ix, allowing for anachronism, the writer of the old play had authority for the capture of Queen Eleanor by Arthur, and her subsequent release by John. *Hol. Chron.* iii. 164¹/₂, l. 13:—

An. Dom.
1202.
Queene
Eliantor.

[Arthur
captures Q.
Eleanor.]

Matth.
Paris.
Matth.
West.

[Arthur's
great Army.]

[John de-
nounces K.
Philip II, for
bad faith.]

Polydor.

K. Iohn
commeth
vpon his
enimies not
looked for.

‘Queene Eliantor that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturre, got hir into Mirabeau a strong towne, situat in the countrie of Aniou, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortlie after followed hir, and woone Mirabeau, where he tooke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intrated verie honorable, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported.) ¶ But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the foresaid carle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie together in the field.

‘King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangeness of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker; and in all possible hast speedeth him foorth, continuing his iournie for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be brieffe, he vsed such diligence, that he was vpon his inimies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his comming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approach so neere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once woone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie with-

out any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as preuented by the hastie comming of the enimies vpon them, and wanting leisure to take aduice what was best to be doone, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flee, to yeeld or to resist.

[Indecision
of the
French.]

‘This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noise and turmoile) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either tooke or slue them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towardes the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great hast to enter: but such speed was vsed by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wan the said towne before their enimies could come neere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Mirabeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first bickering was taken, who being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the cite of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping, some into castels within Normandie, and some were sent into England.’ . . .

[The English
capture and
slay the
French,

[and take
Mirabeau.]

Arthur duke
of Britaine
taken
prisoner.

*Math.
Paris.*

Of Scene x of the Play, the joke of the Friars and Nuns is the Playwright’s own, from wide popular experience. For the Prophet of Scene x, see p. xviii, below. For Arthur and Hubert in Scene xi, Part I, John’s recrowning, the Bastard’s 5 Moons, and Arthur’s death in Part II, sc. i, and for the wind-up of Part I, Holinshed gave the following material:—

(*Hol.* iii. p. 165, l. 31.) ‘The French king at the same time lieng in siege before Arques, immediatly vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raised from thence, and returned homewards, destroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie. It is said that king Iohn caused his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to persuade him all that he could to forsake his freendship and aliance with the French king, and to leane and sticke to him being his naturall vncl. But Arthur, like one that wanted good counsell, and abound- ing too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a pre- sumptuous answer,¹ not onelie denieng so to doo, but also

A. D. 1202.

Anno Reg. 4.

[Arthur
before John
at Falaise.]

¹ The old playwright has skilfully altered Arthur’s character.

commanding king Iohn to restore vnto him the realme of England, with all those other lands and possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For sith the same appertained to him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except restitution were made the sooner, he should not long continue quiet. King Iohn being sore moued with such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in prison, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the new castell there. Thus by means of this good successe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered.

[John im-
prisons
Arthur at
Falaise, and
then Rouen.]

Matth.
Paris.
King Iohn
eftsoones
crowned.
A.D. 1203.

Rafe Cog.

[John orders
Arthur's eyes
to be put
out.]

[Arthur
pleads for
his sight.
Hubert de
Burgh saves
it.]

‘Shortlie after, king Iohn comming ouer into England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbishop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his arriual, a rumour was spred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerse other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their suit, they banded themselues together, and ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanson, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie sharpe wars against king Iohn in diuerse places, insomuch (as it was thought) that so long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: where¹upon it was reported, that king Iohn, through persuasion of his counsellors, appointed certeine persons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in prison, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the young gentlemans eies. [*Part I, sc. xi. of the Play.*]

‘But through such resistance as he made against one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other rather forsooke their prince and countrie, than they would consent to obeie the kings authoritie heerein) and such lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preserue him from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the young gentleman had beene so cruellie dealt withall. For he considered, that king Iohn had resouled vpon this point onelic in his heat and furie (which moueth men to

¹ *Hol.* iii. p. 165, col. 2.

undertake manie an inconuenient enterprise, vnbesee-
 ming the person of a common man, much more reproch-
 full to a prince, all men in that mood being meere foolish
 and furious, and prone to accomplish the puruere conceits
 of their ill possessed heart; as one saith right well,

[Hubert's
 motives in
 sparing
 Arthur.]

— *pronus in iram*
Stultorum est animus, facilè exandescit, & audet
Omne scelus, quoties concepta bile tumescit)

and that afterwards, vpon better aduisement, he would
 both repent himselfe so to haue commanded, and giue
 them small thanke that should see it put in execution.
 Howbeit to satisfie his mind for the time, and to staie
 the rage of the Britains, he caused it to be bruted abroad
 through the countrie, that the kings commandement was
 fulfilled, and that Arthur also through sorrow and greefe
 was departed out of this life. For the space of fiteene
 daies this rumour incessantlie ran through both the realmes
 of England and France, and there was ringing for him
 through townes and villages, as it had beene for his funerals.
 It was also bruted, that his bodie was buried in the mon-
 asterie of saint Andrewes of the Cisteaux order.

[Hubert
 spreads a
 report of
 Arthur's
 death.]

But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but
 rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the mis-
 cheefe they could deuise, in reuenge of their souereignes
 death, there was no remedie but to signifie abroad againe,
 that Arthur was yet liuing and in health. Now when the
 king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing dis-
 pleased for that his commandement was not executed,
 sith there were diuerse of his capteins which vitered in
 plaine words, that he should not find knights to keepe his
 castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if it
 chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France
 or other their aduersaries, they should be sure to tast of
 the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie
 deed of the end of this Arthur¹, writers make sundrie
 reports. Neuerthelesse certeine it is, that in the yeare
 next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the
 castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not
 any that would confesse that euer he saw him go aliuie.
 Some haue written, that as he assaied to haue escaped out
 of prison, and proouing to clime ouer the wals of the
 castell, he fell into the riuier of Saine, and so was drowned.
 Other write, that through verie greefe and languor he
 pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some
 affirme, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be mur-

[Anger of
 the Bretons
 at it.]

[Arthur re-
 ported to
 be alive and
 well.]

[Arthur, in
 prison at
 Rouen, is
 said

[to haue
 climbd the
 walls, and
 been drown'd,

¹ This takes us to Part II, sc. i, of the old Play.

[for murderd
by John's
order.]

thered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies: but verelie king Iohn was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth.' . . .

(The old Playwright wisely didn't notice Constance's re-marriage and her accusation of K. John (*Hol.* iii. 166/1):—

Guie son to
the vicount
of Touars.
[Marries
Constance.]

'The Lord Guie, sonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the diuorse made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obtained the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, tooke the matter verie greuouslie, and vpon occasion therof, cited king Iohn to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such obiections as Constance the duches of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir sonne. And bicause king Iohn appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aswell Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.'

Constance,
the mother
of duke
Arthur,
accuseth
king Iohn.

For the 5 Moons in Sc. xii of the Play, Part I (A.D. 1202), Holinshed gives the following, under 1200 (*Hol.* iii. 163/1, l. 45):—

Fiue moones.
A. D. 1200.

'About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the midst of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie.'

We now come to Scene ii of Part II, p. 8, John and the Prophet.

For 'Peter, a Prophet, with people' in Part I, Scene xi, p. 43-4, and his talk with K. John in Sc. xiii, p. 52-4 (A.D. 1202), in which he prophesies John's loss of his Crown before Ascension-day, and also for Peter's appearance in Part II, Sc. ii, p. 9, Holinshed has only the following, under the year 1213-14 (it should be 1212: see Matthew Paris), *Chron.* iii. 180, col. i, line 18.

An hermit
named Peter
of Pontfret,
or Wakefield
as some
writers haue.
See M. Fox,
tome first,
pag. 331.

'There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people beleued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell what should follow after. And for

so much as oftentimes his saiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet

. . . 'This Peter, about the first of Ianuarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beleued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corfe, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king Iohn, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castell, vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, together with his sonne.

[Peter prophesied that Iohn would be cast out of England before Ascension Day.]

[Hol. Torf]

The heremit and his sonne hanged.

'The people much blamed king Iohn, for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king Iohn had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which moued king Iohn the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yeeld the sooner.'

[The people blame Iohn,

[as he did resign his kingdom to the Pope before Ascension Day.]

The death of Q. Eleanor in 1204 is not noted by the Playwright till Part II, sc. ii, l. 118-120, p. 12, in 1214, as if it had then just happened:—

(*Hol.* iii. 167/2, l. 73.) 'About this time [1204] queene Elianor the mother of king Iohn departed this life, consumed rather through sorow and anguish of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.'

A.D. 1204.

In 1214 John, then in France, invaded Britany, but fearing Lewes's army, retreated to Angiers, and remained there while Lewes subdued the Poitevins, and his father, K. Philip II., beat the united Flemish, German, and English forces, under the Emperor Otho, at the bridge of Bouvines, on July 26 (27, Mat. Paris), 1214, a defeat which was disastrous to John (*Hol.* iii. 183, col. 2, l. 4):—

The saieing
of king Iohn.
[Nothing
had pros-
perd with
him since he
submitted to
the Pope.]

A truce
taken be-
twixt the two
kings of
England &
France.

[The English
people deter-
mine to use
force against
John.]

‘Now king Iohn being aduertised of that ouerthrow, was maruellouslie sad and sorrowfull for the chance, in somuch that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow into rage, he openlie said, that since the time that he made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with him. Indeed he condescended to an agreement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather dissembled with the pope (sith he could not otherwise choose) than agreed to the couenants with any hartie affection.

‘But to the purpose. Perceiuing himselfe now destitute of his best freends, of whom diuerse remained prisoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce, which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fīue yeares, and to begin at Easter, in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appease certeine tumults which began already to shoot out buds of some new ciuill dissention. And suerlie the same spred abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouision could be hindered. For the people being set on by diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding themselues greeued that the king kept not promise in restoring the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determined from thenceforth to vse force, since by request he might not preuaile.’ . .

We must now hark back to the end of Scene i, Part II, the resolve of the rebel English Nobles, after Arthur's death, to ask the Dolphin of France to enter England and claim the throne, and to meet at Bury St. Edmunds, on April 10, to confer, and to aid Lewes in his enterprise, l. 81-108, p. 7-8, below. With this, we will take the Bastard's speech, l. 73-87 of Sc. ii, Pt. II, p. 10-11 below, and Part II, Scene iii, p. 15 below, the meeting of these Nobles at Bury; and we may fairly conclude that Essex's first line in the Play, ‘Under the cloke of holic Pilgrimage,’ came from the Holinshed side-note, ‘A cloked pilgrimage.’ But the old Playwright has reuerted Holinshed's order of events, and has made the sending for the Dolphin come before, instead of after, the meeting at Bury. The old Playwright has also altered the motive of the Nobles' pilgrimage. Holinshed says, iii. 183, col. 2, l. 45:—

'The Nobles, supposing that longer delaie therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselues together at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doe their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there inshrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners.' [and where was read to them a charter of Henry I, confirming Edward the Confessor's grant of certain liberties].

A cloked pilgrimage.

[The English nobles meet at Bury St. Edmund's,

(l. 74) 'And therefore being thus assembled in the queere of the church of S. Edmund, they received a solemne oth vpon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thencefoorth make warre vpon him, till they had obtained their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable.'

[and swear to make war on John if he'll not grant their liberties.]

In 1215 the Barons wrest Magna Charta—an incident which no dramatist would dare put on the stage in Elizabeth's time—from John, but the Pope takes his side, annuls the Charter, and excommunicates the Barons, who resolve to settle their quarrel by the sword. John, however, prevails against them, and then, says Holinshed, iii. 190, col. 1, l. 43, A.D. 1216 :—

'The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischeefes all at one time, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to seeke for releefe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it should any thing auaille them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despaire, they resolued with themselues to seeke for aid at the enimies hands, and there vpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales, were sent vnto Lewes, the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch, daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, necce to king Iohn by his sister Elianor.

[The English nobles are afflicted by John's victories over them, and by the Pope's enmity.]

The lor'ls send to the French kings sonne, offering to him the crowne.

[Philip II.
promises to
invade
England.]

' Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the relme of England, which he neuer loued, promised willinglie that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient speed (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages, which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certaine number of armed men, vnder the leading of the chateleine of saint Omers and the chatelaine of Arras, Hugh Thaçon, Eustace de Neuille, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun¹, W. de Beaumont, Giles de Hersie, Biset de Fersie, and others, the which taking the sea, arriued with one and fortie ships in the Thames, and so came to London the seauen and twentieth of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse. Moreouer the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by a day appointed, with an armie redie to passe ouer with all speed vnto their succours.' [p. 190, l. 13 : for l. 69 &c. see p. xxiv, at foot.]

[p. 190, col. 2]
French men
sent ouer to
the aid of the
barons.

The saturday
after the
Epiphanie,
saith *Rafé*
Cog.

We go back now to the entrance of Pandulph in Part II, Scene ii, of the Play, p. 13, and to the year 1213, and Holinshed's *Chronicle*, iii. 176/2, l. 18.

1213.
The French
king pre-
pared to
invade
England.

' Ye shall vnderstand, the French king being requested by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand against king Iohn, was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe ouer into England : and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greatest forwardnesse, to take his iournie. When Pandulph vpon good considerations thought first to go eftsoones, or at the least wise to send into England, before the French armie should land there, and to assaie once againe, if he might induce the king to shew himselfe reformable vnto the popes pleasure : king Iohn, hauing knowledge of the French kings purpose and ordinance, assembled his people, and lodged with them alongst by the coast towards France, that he might resist his enimies, and keepe them off from landing.' . . .

[John pre-
pared to
resist him.]

¹ The 'Vicount Meloun' of Part II, Sc. iii, and Sc. v. of the Play, p. 22, 26.

Then follows the material for Scene iv of Pt. II, p. 24, John's surrender of his Crown to the Pope's legate, and his agreement to hold his kingdom thenceforth of the Pope. (The extracts for Sc. iii, the oath on the Altar, p. 19, and Lewes's coming, p. 20, are on p. xxi above and p. xxvii below.)

(*Hol.* iii. 176/2, l. 65.) 'But as he lay thus readie, neere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

[Pandulph's proposal to reconcile John with the Pope.]

'The king vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers, sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, of whose arriual when the king was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence.'

The legat Pandulph cometh ouer.

Here follows a 'sawcie speech of proud Pandulph the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the presumptuous popes behalfe;' which the dramatist has not used.

(*Hol.* iii. 177/1, l. 60.) 'These words being thus spoken by the legat, king Iohn as then vtterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constrained to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waieng with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue doone, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Upon this, he promised to receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and banished men, making vnto them sufficient amends for all iniuries to them doone, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

[Despair and hesitation of K. Iohn.]

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

'Then Pandulph keeping the crowne with him for the Pandulph

restoreth
the crowne
again to the
kinge.

[To hold
England of
the Pope.]

*Ran.
Higden.*

space of five daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By means of this act (saith Polydor) the fame went abroad, that king Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition, that his successors should likewise from thencefoorth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdome from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king Iohn, haue not obserued any such lawes of reconciliation, neither doo the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king Iohn to obserue, pertained vnto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor' . .

Holinshed gives John's Charter of submission and words of fealty to the Pope, and adds, iii. 178, col. 2, l. 34 :—

1213.

[Pandulph
gets 8000
marks from
K. John,
and goes to
K. Philip II.]

[Philip II,
will not give
up the
invasion of
England.]

'Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king Iohn, thought not good to release the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be made to the archbishop, and the other banished men, he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and what he had doone in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse of monie, to the summe of sixtie thousand pounds, as he himselfe alledged, about the furniture of his iournie, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no small aid within the realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished men as he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king Iohn, and determined not so to breake off his enterprise, least it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue bene at such charges and great expenses in vaine. Therefore calling his counsell together, he declared vnto them what he purposed to doo.'

We now take up the Chronicle from p. xxii, above, before the Pandulph incident. In 1215 John returnd from the borders of Scotland, and threatend to besiege London, but withdrew on finding the Citizens ready to fight. The navy he had prepared to encounter Lewes, was disperst by tempest, and, says Holinshed, iii. 190, col. 2, l. 69, John :—

King John
oncc againe

'Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduersaries the

Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifieng to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring furthermore the said pope by his authoritie to cause Lewes to staie his iournie, and to succour those rebels in England which he had already excommunicated.' . . .

sendeth to the pope.

For Scene iv of Part II, lines 19-78 (p. 24-6), Pandulph's attempt (near Bury) to withdraw Lewes and the French from the invasion of England, Holinshed gave the old Playwright an account of a first attempt in France, and a second later one in England, p. xxviii.

'The pope desirous to helpe king Iohn all that he might (bicause he was now his vassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to dissuade king Philip from taking anie enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip, though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now sithens as an enemie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not doo without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie deprived of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogatiue roiall, to the vttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith he) if the pope doo meane to mainteine this errour, he shall giue a perillous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to anie other potentate, whereby the Nobles should become thrall or subject to a forren gouernour. These things were doone at Lions in the quindene after Easter.

Anno Reg.
18.
[A. D. 1216.]
Cardinal
Gualo.
Matth.
Paris.

The French
kings allega-
tions to the
popes legat
Gualo.

Matth.
West.

Matth.
Paris.

'Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councill chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, disprouing not onelie

Lewes, the
French kings
sonne, main-
teineth his
pretended
title to the
crown of
England.

the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the queene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer herevnto, "that king Iohn had taken vpon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enmities in the holie land, wherefore he ought by decree of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in suertie vnder protection of the apostolike see." But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had by warre first inuaded his castels and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castell and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the see of the said Lewes.

The priuilege of those that tooke vpon them the crosse.

*Matth.
Paris.*

'But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iournie in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his ¹father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to seeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

'The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his sute made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him forth into England, obteneing yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all meanes to preuent ² the legat, first dispatched forth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to excuse himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie moued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king Iohn, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This doone, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace surnamed the monke had gathered and prepared there readie against his comming.

The French kings some sendeth to the pope.

He commeth to Calice.

'Lewes therefore forthwith imbarcking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iournie,

¹ page 191, col. 2.

² be before, forestall.

tooke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and shortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe sware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had bene their true and naturall prince.

He taketh
the sea.

He landeth
in Kent.

The Lords
doo homage
vnto him.

‘King John about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, bicause he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, bicause he knew that they hated the Frenchmen no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, passed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the castels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Matth.
Paris.

Hubert de
Burgh.

‘At his comming to Rochester, he laid siege to the castell there, and wan it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This doone, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet doone their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he tooke an oth to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vsed them so courteouslie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beleued him with all their harts. But alas! *Cur vincit opinio verum?*

Rochester
castell
woone.

Lewes com-
meth to
London.

[He swears
to grant the
Barons their
ancient
liberties.]

‘The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie being once spred through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among ¹whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king

[Many folk
flock to
Lewes.]

¹ page 192, col. 1.

Noblemen
reuoiting
from K. Iohn
vnto Lewes.

Simon Lang-
ton chan-
ce'lor to
Lewes.

Cardinall
Gualo com-
meth ouer
into Eng-
land.

[And excom-
municates
Lewes and all
his abettors.]

The French-
men begin to
shew them-
selues in
their kind.
Iuuen. sat. 9.

Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisburie, William Marshall the yonger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obtaine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancellour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, induced thereto, bicause Lewes had alreadie sent his procurators to Rome before his comming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarell.

'But this auailed them not, neither tooke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king Iohn had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decree nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being aduertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iourne) with all diligence hasted ouer into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king Iohn, then sojourning at Gloucester, of whome he was most ioifullie receined, for in him king Iohn reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his comming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fautors and complices, but speciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the maner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Geruase de Hobrug deane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had alreadie appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they tooke as void.'

Nearly the whole south of England, with Essex and Suffolk, took Lewes's side; and, says Holinshed, iii. 192, col. 2, l. 26:—

'About the feast of saint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose comming, the tower of London was yeilded vp to him by appointment, after which the French captains and gentlemen, thinking themselues assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit altum)

they did manie excessiue outrages, in spoiling and rob-

bing the people of the countrie, without pitie or mercie. Moreouer they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and tooke out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and siluer, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedie souldiers, being whole giuen to the spoile.

[The French soldiers plunder English men and churches,

'But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Essex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserable spoiled the townes and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauish manner.'

[specially in the Eastern counties.]

For Scene v of Part II (p. 26-8), Meloun's dying disclosure of Lewes's treachery, and the consequent resolve of the rebel English Lords to turn again to John, Holinshed gives what follows, under the year 1216, vol. iii. p. 193, col. 2, l. 6:—

'About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuneth that the vicount of Melune a French man, fell sicke at London, and perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the cite, vpon safeguard thereof, and to them made this protestation: "I lament (saith he) your destruction and desolation at hand, because ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne (if it shall fortune him to conquire this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now doo serue vnder him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England. And bicause (saith he) you shall not haue doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point of death, doo now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduise you to provide for your owne safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie, and keepe this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you." After this speech was vttered he streightwaies died.

Math. Paris.

The vicount of Melune discovereth the purpose of Lewes.

[when victorious, to kill all his English Nobles.]

The vicount of Melune dieth.

'When these words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cause, in great doubt of themselues, for they saw how Lewes had alredie placed and set Frenchmen in most of such

The English nobilitie be-
ginneth to
mislike of
the match
which they
had made
with Lewes.

castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greued them much to vnderstand, how besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holiedaie openlie accursed in euerie church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue bene receiued.¹

For Scene vi, Pt. II, p. 28-32,—John's arrival at Swinstead Abbey, after the loss of his troops in the Wash—and for his death in Sc. viii, p. 35-8, the following is in *Holinshed*, iii. 194, col. 1, l. 45. (Of the several reported causes of John's death, the Playwright took the first.)

The losse of
the kings
carriages.

Matth.
Paris.
Matth.
West.

King Iohn
falleth sick
of an ague.
Matth.
Paris.

Laford.
Matth.
West.
Matt. Paris.

King Iohn
departed this
life.

[r. Some
say that

‘Thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hasted forward till he came to Wellestrems sands, where passing the washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horses and carriages, so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile which had bene 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 other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some haue written, he tooke such greefe for the losse sustained at this passage, that immediatelie therevpon 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 presentlie made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced to staie one night at the castell of Laford, and on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where in the castell through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned seauenteene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

‘¶ There be which haue written, that after he had lost¹ his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineshead in Lincolnshire, and there vnderstanding the cheapnesse and plentie of corne, shewed himselfe greatlie displeasid therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English

¹ p. 194, col. 2.

people, that had so traitorouslie reuolted from him vnto his aduersarie Lewes, wished all miserie to light vpon them, and therevpon said in his anger, that he would cause all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manie daies should passe. Wherevpon a moonke that heard him speake such words, being moued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gaue the king poison in a cup of ale, wherof he first tooke the assaie, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time.

[a Monk of Swinestead gave John poisond ale, in revenge.]
Caxton.

'There are that write, how one of his owne seruants did conspire with a conuert¹ of that abbeie, and that they prepared a dish of peares, which they poisoned, three of the whole number excepted, which dish the said conuert presented vnto him. And when the king suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast fourth a certeine sweat, as it were bewraing the poison, he compelled the said conuert to tast and eat some of them, who knowing the three peares which were not poisoned, tooke and eat those three, which when the king had scene, he could no longer absteine, but fell to, and eating greedilie of the rest, died the same night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of such as bare no good will to the K. found shift to escape, and conueied himselfe awaie from danger of receiuing due punishment for so wicked a deed.

*Gisburn
& alij*

[2. Others say that John eat poisond pears.]

'Beside these reports which yee haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of surfeting in the night, as Rafe Niger; some, of a bloudie flix,² as one saith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houedon. And Rafe Cogheshall saith, that comming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Mauleon to be capteine, and to take order for the fortieng of that towne) he tooke a surfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laske, and after his laske had left him, at his comming to Laford in Lindsey, he was let bloud: furthermore to increase his other greefes and sorrowes for the losse of his carriage, iewels and men, in passing ouer the washes, which troubled him sore; there came vnto him messengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam captains of Douer castell, aduertising him, that they were not able to resist the forceable assalts and engins of the enimies, if speedie succour came not to them in due time. Whereat his greefe of mind being doubled, so as he might seeme cuen oppressed with sorrow, the same increased his disease

The variable reports of writers, concerning the death of king Iohn.

[3. Others, that he died of a surfet, and loss of blood by flux and bleeding,

[with grief at his loss in the Wash, &c.]

Berneuwell.

¹ A lay brother. See note, p. xxxix. ² dysentery.

so vehementlie, that within a small time it made an end of his life (as before yee haue heard.)

[Burial of
John's body
in Worcester
Cathedral,

'The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came together, and marching forth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conuocied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompouslie buried in the cathedral church before the high altar,¹ not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but bicause it was thought to be a place of most suretie for the lords and other of his freends there to assemble, and to take order in their businesse now after his deceasse. And bicause he was somewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbeie, a house of moonks of the order called *Præmonstratenses*, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which house was his physician.

[his bowels
being interr'd
at Croxton
Abbey.]

'¶ How soeuer or where soeuer or when soeuer he died, it is not a matter of such moment that it should² impeach the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a surfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And surelie, he might be thought to haue procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie anguishes & vexations, which nipt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a sore symptome or passion: all which he might haue withstood if fortune had beene so fauourable, that the loialtie of his subiects had remained towards him inuiolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shamefull apostasie withstood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himselfe had not sought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in vertie, to the preseruacion of the state and the securitie of their soueraigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, what happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accursed papasie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

[He bred
troubles for
himself:

[his Nobles
rebeld
against him ;

[he misspent
what he
wring from
his people,

[and the
accursed

Papacy had
most of his
royalty.]

[All John's
and Eng-
land's ill's

'Here therefore we see the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that

¹ *Tr. R.*, Pt. II, Sc. ix, l. 38-9, p. 40.

² p. 195, col. 1.

riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sense thought vnpossible) is atchiued, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolved. From diuision and mutinies doo issue (as out of the Troiane horsse) ruines of roialties, and decaies of communalities.

[arose from homebred broils.]

See Part II
Tr. Raigne,
ix. 45-6, 53-4,
p. 40.]

The presence of young Prince Henry (or K. Henry III.) in Sc. viii, l. 127 is due to the old Playwright, for the boy was but 9 years old at his father John's death, says Holinshed, iii. 197, col. 1 :—

‘Henrie, the third of that name, the eldest sonne of K. John, a child of the age of nine yeres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1216, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yeare of the reigne of Philip the second king of France.’

Anno Reg. 1.
1216

For the end of Sc. vii, Pt. II, p. 38-9, the reported advance of the French army against the English finds very little support in *Holinshed*, iii. 200, col. 2, l. 64, under the year 1217 :—

‘On the other part, Lewes, who all this season remained at London, being sore dismaied for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betraied and deliuered into his enemies hands. Therefore he went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortieng the citie, sent messengers into France, to require his father to send him more aid. His father sorie to heare of his sons distresse, and loth that he should take the foile, caused his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of hir husband. For the French king himselfe would not seme to aid his sonne, bicause he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commission thereto, gat together three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the monke had prouided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon.

[A.D. 1217.]

Lewes
sendeth to
his father
for aid.

An armie
prepared in
France to
come to the
succour of
Lewes.

‘In the meane time the eale of Pembroke approched towards London, purposing to assaile the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting passe no occasion that might further his proceedings, night and day studieng

Polydor.

The diligence of the earle of Penbroke.

[The Barons seek to make pence between K. Henry and the Dolphin.]

Auson in epig.

Matth. Paris.

[Watch kept against the fresh French soldiers and fleet.]

Hubert de Burgh assaileth the French fleet.

The French fleet is vanquished.

how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to set the same at libertie: so that what was to be deuise, he did deuise, and what was to be doone, that he did, not forslowing anie occasion or opportunitie that might be offered. The English barons also calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their most need, sought now by all means possible, some waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the said Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themselues, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courtesie bountifullie shewed in a case of extremitie, which bicause it was obtained in a wished time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had bene the lesse welcome, as one saith,

*Gratia quæ tarda est ingrata est, gratia namque
Quùm fieri properat, gratia grata magis.*

‘Herevpon they caused dailie new articles of agreement to be presented in writing vpon the said Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while these things were a dooing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement that a new supplie of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the coming of the aduersaries, that they might keepe them from landing, who on saint Bartholomews day set forth from Caleis, in purpose to arriue in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuier to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh capiteine of the castell of Douer, together with the said Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall, with other such power as they could get together of the cinque ports, hauing not yet aboute the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discovering of the French fleet, which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed, made foorth to the sea. And first coasting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to assaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their crossebowes and archers at the first ioining, made great slaughter of their enimies, and so grappling together, in the end the Englishmen bare themselues so manfullie, that they vanquished the whole French fleet, and obtained a famous victorie.’

For Sc. ix of Part II (p. 39), the Dolphin’s agreement with Henry to quit England, Holinshed says, under 1217 (vol. iii. p. 201, col. 2, l. 8):—

‘But Lewes, after he vnderstood of this mischance¹ happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time heerafter: wherefore he inclined the sooner vnto peace; so that at length he tooke such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, together with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris doe also agree) affirmeth that he receiued fifteene thousand marks. Moreouer, the popes legat absolued Lewes, and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the warre against the popes commandement.

An accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds.

Matth. Paris.

‘Then Lewes, with all his complices that had bin excommunicated, sware vpon the holic euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holic church, and from thencefoorth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him laie, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

[Lewes swears that he'll leave England.]

‘On the other part, king Henrie tooke his oth, together with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was moued betwixt the late king Iohn and his barons. Moreouer, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paieng anie ransome: yea, and those which had couenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

[Henry swears to restore his subjects their liberties.]

‘This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuier of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and

[Peace concluded on Sept. 11, 1217, at

¹ The loss of the French fleet and men sent to him, not, as the Play says, on the Goodwin Sands (Pt. II, sc. vii, l. 33, p. 337), but by the victory of the English ships, page xxxiv, above.

Staines,
Middx, by
Thames.]

diuerse of the spirituality, with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, so farr as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as appertained, and there tooke leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.'

[Lewes em-
barks at
Dover about
Michs.]

Of K. John's person and character, Holinshed, besides the extract on p. xxxii, &c., says (*Hol.* iii. 196/2, l. 4):—

[John,
comely, but
cruel.]

'He was comelie of stature,¹ but of looke and countenance displeasent and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull² in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report vttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated.'

[He couldn't
abide the
pride of the
Clergy.]

(*Hol.* iii. 196/1, col. 67.) 'Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogative of his princelie rule and gouernment. True it is that to mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constrained to make all the shift he could deuise to recouer monie; and bicause he pinched their purses, they conceiued no small hatred against him, which when he perceiued, and wanted peradventure discretion to passe it ouer, he discouered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.'

The old Playwright's treatment of his Material.—If Shakspeare had not rewritten *The Troublesome Raigne*, I think the Author of it would have got more credit for his work than he has yet obtained. As the case stands, almost all the Shakspeare critics—save Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd in his *Critical Essays on Shakspeare*, [1856], ed. 1875, p. 195-6, &c.—have felt bound to run down the old Playwright and run up Shakspeare. They don't seem to have askt themselves what merit Shakspeare saw in the old play, that he was content to write his own *King John* on his foregoer's lines (more or less), and go no further than the *T. R.* for his material. They do not give the

¹ But 'fat and corpulent' at last, p. xxxii, above.

² hesitating, afraid.

Playwright credit for having recognized before Shakspeare, that—in Elizabethan days at least—comedy had to be mixt with history in order to get an effective historical play. They forget that if Shakspeare had his first lesson of the kind in *The Contention* and *2 Henry VI*, it made so little impression upon him that after it he wrote *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* without comic relief—and made his gardeners in the former play talk like philosophers—while after the *Troublesome Raigne* and *King John*, he learnt to put Falstaffe and comedy into *Henry IV.* and *V.*¹ They pass over the fact that Shakspeare put his seal of approval on the old Playwright's invention of Falconbridge and his mother, &c., his alteration of Holinshed's characters of Arthur, of Limoges, &c., and his avoidance of Constance's remarriages. They do not give the earlier dramatist credit for his keeping clear of one great blemish in Shakspeare's play, the non-showing of the motive for the poisoning of John by the Swinstead monk. They are not as fair to the old Playwright as Shakspeare himself was. He evidently said to himself when he saw (or perchance read the MS. of) the *Troublesome Raigne*: 'this play has merit; it'll do for me; I can make a better thing of it; but the man who wrote it is no fool: he's given me all the material I want, and hints that I can develop; and I thank him for them.'

Though it is quite true that no good play can be made of the historic John, who degraded himself from the representative of England's independence into the Pope's tool, from a man into a cur, yet it is clear that the old Playwright made a very fair drama on the subject for his time. That Scene xi. of Part I, p. 41-2, when the Bastard finds the Nun lockt up in the Prior's chest "To hide her from lay men," and then discovers 'Friar Lawrence' lockt up in the ancient Nun's chest, must have been a very telling one on the Elizabethan stage: you can fancy the audience's chuckles over it. So also must the Falconbridge incident, I. i. p. 7-17, and the Bastard killing Limoges on the stage, Pt. I, sc. xi, p. 35, have been thoroughly appreciated. Besides these scenes, the pathos of Arthur's death, the patriotism of the resistance to the Pope, and to John's oppressive taxation, the treachery of the French turning the nobles back to their allegiance, the final echo of the Chronicler,

"Let *England* liue but true within it selfe,
And all the world can neuer wrong her state. . . .
If *England's* Peeres and people ioyne in one,
Nor *Pope*, nor *France*, nor *Spaine* can doo them wrong,"—

all these points must have appeal'd strongly to an audience of Elizabeth's time, to whom home strife, Armada threats, disputed succession to the throne, and Papal intrigues, were matters of life-long familiarity.

¹ 'Post hoc, sed non propter hoc' is the answer. All I contend for is, that the *T. R.* may have been one of the many causes of the result.

The freedom with which the old Playwright used his Chronicle material must strike every one who reads or skims over these Fore-words. And altogether, many as are the blemishes of *The Troublesome Raigne*, no fair-minded reader will deny or belittle its merits.

I ought perhaps to mention that—following earlier suggestions of possible authorship, he says—Mr. Fleay has turnd the old Playwright into three, Greene, Peele, and Lodge, and has assignd to each the part of the Play he is supposed to have written (*K. John*, Collins, 1878, p. 33-5). To these suggestions and the statements in support of them, I attach no value myself; but other readers may do so. Minds differ. To Mr. Fleay's claim that "the original plot was laid down for the early play by Shakespeare" (*ib.* p. 11)—less the Friar and Nun scene (p. 25)—I cannot conceive many reasonable beings agreeing. But thought is free. After the acceptance of the Baconian and Dónnelly hypotheses by some creatures bearing the form of men and women, anything is possible.¹

I have now only to thank my friend, Mr. W. G. Stone, for his help, and to ask every owner of a copy of this volume to make in the last pages of the Text, the corrections noted below.

British Museum, under the electric light,
20 Nov. 1888, 7.45 p.m.

¹ As to Mr. Fleay's mention, on his p. 22, of Mr. Daniel adopting his Table prefixed to Marlowe's *Edw. II*, I note that Mr. Daniel made his Table showing the difference between the Qo. and Fo. of *Henry V.* (Parallel Text, N. Sh. Soc.) quite independently of Mr. Fleay's table showing how the actors' parts in *Edw. II.* might be doubled. The object of the two Tables was altogether different, tho' the result of Mr. Daniel's—unconsciously to him—was that a reader could tell from it how to double certain parts.

The foregoing extracts from Holinshed were of course made by Mr. Stone and myself without reference to Mr. Fleay's in his edition of *King John*.

By some oversight or accident, the corrected proof of sheet E which I returnd to Mr. Praetorius, was not sent to Hamburg, so that the following Corrections have to be made in the text:—

- p. 34, Sc. vii, l. 41, word 3 is 'fled'; l. 46, word 8 is 'Nauics'
- p. 34, Sc. viii, l. 18, syllable 1 is 'tis'; word 7 'surfet'
- p. 35, l. 40, word 3 is 'so'
- p. 36, l. 59, word 2 is 'fierce'; l. 75, word 3 is 'forgiue'
- p. 37, l. 98, word 1 is 'But'; l. 102, word 2 is 'roote'; l. 120, there is no stop after 'fee'
- p. 38, l. 150, word 4 is 'defiance' (alterd in Hamburg to 'dstance')
- p. 39, Sc. ix, l. 5, last word is 'lyes'
- p. 39, Sc. ix, l. 11, word 4 is 'chiefest'

Part I, p. 8. *Falconbridge*. The name occurs several times in Holinshed. One owner of it was a contemporary of Edw. IV. ab. 1470. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd (*Essays on Shakespeare*, [1856] 1875, p. 196) suggests that some of Falconbridge's characteristics were got from that *raffarius nequissimus* and bastard, Falco de Brenta,—or Foukes de Brent, as Holinshed calls him,—who, though he was one of the barons who wrested Magna Charta from King John (*Hol.* iii, 186/1, l. 38), yet gave him great help in his fight with his barons, and backt his son against Lewes. Holinshed tells of Foukes's deeds for John in 1215—16, on p. 189, col. 2, how he helpt in garrisoning the 'castell of Windsore, Hertford and Barkhamsted,' in wasting 'the counties of Essex and Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntington,' subduing the towns, destroying the possessions of the barons, and setting fire to the suburbs of London. On Dec. 18, Foukes took 'the castell of Hnslap,' and Bedford, 'both the town and castell.'

'Vnto whom K. Iohn gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castels of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge.

Castels deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Brent. Foukes de Brent advanced by marriage.

'The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage, Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to her belonged.' *Hol.* iii. 189/2, l. 47-55.

In Henry III's time (1217), the castle of Hertford was surrendered by Foukes's servant to Lewes, after a long defence (*Hol.* iii. 198/1); but on Feb. 22, 1218, Foukes spoild the town and abbey of St. Albans, as he had wasted all the towns and villages on his way thither from Hertford (*Hol.* iii. 199/1). Then he took part in the siege of 'Mountsorell beside Loughborough in Leicestershire' (*ib.*), and at the after siege of Lincoln, he made the attack which carried the city and castle, and which determind Lewes to come to terms with Henry III. The Earl of Pembroke turnd from his assault on Lincoln Castle, to attack the town gates. The French and their English allies followd to defend the town, leaving the castle unguarded ;

(*Hol.* iii. 200/1, l. 42.) 'Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Brent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backside, and a great number of souldiers with him; and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce batell with the citizens within the citie: which, when the Frenchmen perceined, by the noise and criè raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, dooing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Foukes de Brent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, under the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon . . . brake open the gates and entred the citie. Then the fight was sore increased and maintained for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English were with them, being sore laid-at on ech side, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs, and so fled awaie: but being beset round about with the king's horsemen, they were straight waies either slaine or taken, for the most part of them.' l. 64.

Fouks de Brent. [gets thro' the Castle postern, and fights in the City.]

[Other Englishmen enter thro' the City gates.]

lords that

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

This manœuvre of Falco de Brenta—or Breauté: see *Annals of England*, 1876, p. 148, col. 2—may (as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd says) have suggested to Shakespeare, Falconbridge's proposal that the English and French forces should attack Angiers from opposite sides, 'east and west,' *K. John*, II. i. 38.

p. xxxi, *convert*. 'Convert, *n.* 2. A lay friar, or brother, permitted to enter a monastery for the service of the house, but without orders, and not allowed to sing in the choir.'—Webster. Latin *conversus*: see D'Arnis.

**THE CHARACTERS, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR
ONCOMING.**

- ARTHUR, Prince of Britaine, Sc. i, p. 5.
 The Earl of PENBROOKE, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24;
 Sc. v, p. 26; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 THOMAS PLANTAGINET, Earle of SALSBURIE, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p.
 15 (speaks, p. 18, 21); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v, p. 26; Sc. viii, p.
 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 The Earl of ESSEX, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v,
 p. 26; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 HUGHERT, Sc. i, p. 7; p. 9.
 King JOHN, Sc. ii, p. 8; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vi, p. 28; Sc. viii, p. 34.
 2 or 3 Nobles, Sc. ii, p. 8; Sc. iv, p. 24.
 Peter, the *Prophet*, Sc. ii, p. 8.
 The Bastard, Philip Faulconbridge (son of K. Richard I.), Sc. ii,
 p. 10; Sc. iii, p. 16; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vi, p. 28; Sc. viii, p.
 34; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 Cardinal PANDULPH, Legate from the See of Rome, Sc. ii, p. 13;
 Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 A Messenger, Sc. ii, p. 15; Sc. iii, p. 19; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vii, p.
 33; Sc. viii, p. 37, 38.
 The Earl of CHESTER, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38;
 Sc. ix, p. 39.
 The Earl BEAUCHAMPE, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38;
 Sc. ix, p. 39.
 The Earl of CLARE, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc.
 ix, p. 39.
 The Earl PERCY, Sc. iii, p. 15 (speaks, p. 19); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc.
 viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 LEWES, the Dolphin of *France*, with his Troupe, Sc. iii, p. 20; Sc.
 iv, p. 24; (and his Armie,) Sc. vii, p. 32; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 Earle BIGOT, Sc. iii, p. 20; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
 Vicount MELOUN, Sc. iii, p. 20 (speaks, p. 22); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc.
 v, p. 26.
 A French Lord, Sc. iii, p. 22; Sc. iv, p. 24.
 2 English Lords, Sc. vi, p. 28.
 The Abbot of *Swinsteed*, and certayne Monks, Sc. vi, p. 30; Sc.
 viii, p. 34.
 The Monke who poisons K. John, Sc. vi, p. 31; Sc. viii, p. 36.
 Another Messenger, Sc. vii, p. 33.
 Another Messenger, Sc. vii, p. 33.
 Two Friars, laying a Cloth, Sc. vii, p. 34.
 Prince HENRY, afterwards King HENRY III of England, Sc. viii, p.
 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.

I I I I
Second part of the
troublesome Raigne of King
John, containing the death
of Arthur Plantaginet,
the landing of Lewes, and
the poyfning of King
Iohn at Swinstead
Abbey.

*As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the
Queenes Maiesties Players, in the ho-
nourable 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.*

1591.



To the Gentlemen Readers.

THe changeles purpose of determinde Fate
 Gines period to our care, or harts content,
 When heauens fixt time for this or that hath end:

Nor can earths pomp or pollicie preuent

The doome ordained in their secret will.

Gentles we left King Iohn replete with blisse

That Arthur liue, whom he supposed slaine;

And Hubert posting to returne those Lords,

Who deemd him dead, and parted discontent:

Arthur himselfe begins our latter Act.

Our Act of outrage, desprate furie, death;

Wherein fond rashnes murdereth first a Prince,

And Monkish falsnes poysoneth last a King.

First Scene shews Arthurs death in insanie,

And last concludes Iohns fatal tragedie.



K. John
IV. iii.

*The second part of the troublesome Raigne
of King Iohn, containing the entraunce of Lewes
the French Kings sonne : with the poysoning of King
Iohn by a Monke.*

Enter yong *Arthur* on the walls.

Sc. i.

Now helpe good hap to further mine entent,
 Crosse not my youth with any moze extreames :
 I venter life to gaine my libertie,
 And if I die, worlds troubles haue an end.
 Feare gins dissuade the strength of my resolute,
 My holde will faile, and then alas I fall,
 And if I fall, no question death is next :
 Better desist, and liue in pynson still.
 Pynson said I : nay rather death than so :
 Comfort and courage come againe to me.
 Ile venter sure : tis but a leape for life.

He leapes, and brusing his bones, after he was from
 his traunce, speakes thus ;

Hoe, who is nigh ? some bodie take me vp.
 Where is my mother ? let me speake with her.
 Who hurts me thus ? speake hoe, where are you gone ?
 Ap me pooze *Arthur*, I am here alone.
 Why cald I mother, how did I forget ?
 My fall, my fall, hath kilde my Mothers Sonne.
 How will she weepe at tidings of my death ?
 My death indeed, O God my bones are burst.

A 3

Sweete

Sci.

20
24
28
32
36
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44
48
51

A TRAGICOMEDIE IN FIVE ACTES

K. John
IV. iii.

Sweete Iesu saue my soule, forgive my rash attempt.
Comfourt my Mother, shiedo her from despaire,
When she shall heare my tragick ouerthrowe.
My heart controules the office of my tongue,
My vitall powers forsake my brused trunk,
I dye I dye, heauen take my fleeting soule,
And Lady Mother all good hap to thee. He dyes.

Enter Penbrooke, Salisbury, Essex.

Essex My Lords of Penbrooke and of Salisbury
We must be carefull in our pollicie
To undermine 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? No Lords the withered flower
Who in his life shinde like the Sparrows blushe,
Cast out a dove, denide his buriall right,
A pray for birds and beasts to gorge vpon.

Salisbury O ruthfull spectacle, O damned deede;
My sinnewes shake, my very heart doth bleede.

Essex Leau childsh teares braue Lords of England,
If water floods could fetch his life againe,
My eyes should conduit forth a sea of teares.
It sobbs would helpe, or sorowes serue the turne,
My heart should volie out deepe piercing plaints.
But bootlesse wert to breach as many ligges
As might eclipse the brightest Sommers sunne,
Where rests the helpe, a seruice to his ghost.
Let not the tyrant causer of this dole,
Liue to triumph in ruthfull massacres,
Giue hand and hart, and Englishmen to armes,
Tis Gods decree to wreake vs of these harmes,

Penbrok The best aduise: But who comes posting heere.

Enter

Enter *Hughbert*.

Right noble Lords, I speake unto you all,
The King intreates your soonest speed
To visit him, who on your present want,
Did ban and curse his birth, himselfe and me.
For executing of his strict commaund.
I saw his passion, and at fittest time,
Assurde him of his cousins being safe,
Whome pittie would not let me doe to death,
He craues your company my Lords in haste,
To whome I will conduct young *Arthur* straight,
Who is in health under my custodie.

Essex In health base villaine, wert not I leane thy crime
To Gods reuenge, to whome reuenge belongs,
Where shouldst thou perish on my Rapires point.
Callst thou this health? such health beside thy friends,
And all that are of thy condition.

Hughbert My Lords, but heare me speake, & kil me then,
If heere I lest not this yong Prince aliuē,
Haugre the halty Edict of the King,
Who gaue me charge to put out both his eyes,
That God that gaue me liuing to this howre,
Thunder reuenge vpon me in this place:
And as I tenderd him with earnest loue,
So God loue me, and then I shall be well.

Salf. Hence craptor, hence thy counsell is heere in. Exit *Hughb.*
Some in this place appoynted by the King
Haue throwne him from this lodging here aboue,
And sure the matter hath bin newly done,
For yet the body is not fully colde.

Essex How say you Lords, shall we with speed dispatch
Under our hands a packet into *FRANCE*
To bid the Dolphin enter with his loyce
To claime the Kingdome for his proper right,
His title maketh lawfull strength thereto,
Besides the Voye, on perill of his curllse,

Hath

Sc. i.

A PROPHETICKE KNIGHT

Hath hard vs of obedience unto *John*,
This hatefull murder, *Lewes* his true discent,
The holy charge that wee receiue from *Rome*,
Are weightie reasons if you like my reede,
To make vs all perseuer in this deede.

Pembrooke My Lord of *Essex*, well haue you aduise,
I will accoꝝd to further you in this.

Salsbury And *Salsbury* will not gain say the same.
But aid that course as far foorth as he can.

Essex Then each of vs send straight to his *Allyes*.

To winne them to this famous enterpryse,
And let vs all yclad in *Palmer*s weede,
The tenth of *Aprill* at *Saint Edmonds Bury*

Meete to confer, and on the *Altar* there
Swear secrecie and aid to this aduise.

Meane while let vs conueigh this body hence,
And giue him buriall as befits his state,
Keeping his months minde and his obsequies
With solemne intercession for his soule.

How say you *Lordings*, are you all agreed?

Pembrooke The tenth of *Aprill* at *Saint Edmonds Bury*
God letting not, I will not faile the time.

Essex Then let vs all conuey the body hence. Exeunt.

Enter King *Iohn* with two or three and the Prophet.

Iohn Disturbed thoughts, foredoomers of mine ill,
Distracted passions, signes of growing harmes,
Strange *Prophecies* of imminent mishaps,
Confound my wits, and dull my senses so,
That euery object these mine eyes behold
Some instruments to bring me to my end.
Ascension day is come, *Iohn* feare not then
The prodigies this prating Prophet threates.
Tis come in deede: ah were it fully past,
Then were I careles of a thousand feares,

The

(not in
K. John)

Sc. ii.

(not in
K. John)

MORNING TOWN.

The Diall tells me, it is twelue at noone,
Were twelue at midnight past, then might I haunt
Falle seers prophcies of no import.
Could I as well with this right hand of mine
Remoue the Sunne from our Meridian,
Unto the moonsted circle of thantipodes,
As turne this steele from twelue to twelue agen,
Then *John* the date of fatall prophcies
Should with the *Prophets* life together end.
But *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labre.*

Peter, vnlay thy foolish doting dreame,
And by the Crowne of *England* heere I sweare,
To make thee great, and greatest of thy kin.

Peter King *John*, although the time I haue prescribed
Be but twelue houres remainning yet behinde,
Yet do I know by inspiration,
Ere that first time be fully come about,
King *John* shall not be King as heeretofore.

John Uain buzzard, what mischaunce can chaunce so soone,
To set a King beside his regall seate :
My heart is good, my body passing strong,
My land in peace, my enemies subdewd,
Only my Barons storme at *Arthurs* death,
But *Arthur* liues, I thcre the challenge growes,
Where he dispatcht vnto his longest home,
Then were the King secure of thousand foes,
Hubert what news with thee, where are my Lords?

Hubert Hard newes my Lord, *Arthur* the louely Prince
Seeking to escape ouer the Castle walles,
Fell headlong downe, and in the cursed fall
He brake his bones, and there before the gate
Your Barons found him dead, and breathlesse quite.

John Is *Arthur* dead? then *Hubert* without more words
hang the *Prophet*.
Away with *Peter*, villen out of my sight,
I am deafe, be gone, let him not speake a word,

B

Now

THE TROUBLEDOME KAINIE

4 6 Now *John*, thy feares are vanishte into smoake,
Arthur is dead, thou guiltlesse of his death,
Swæte Youth, but that I strived for a Crowne,
I could haue well afforded to thine age
5 0 Long life, and happines to thy content.

Enter the Bastard.

5 1 *John Philip*, what newes with thee?

Bastard The newes I heard was *Peters* prayers,
Who wisht like fortune to befall vs all:
And with that word, the rope his latest friend,
Kept him from falling headlong to the ground.

5 6 *John* There let him hang, and be the Ravens food,
While *John* triumphs in spight of Prophecies.
But whats the tidings from the Popelings now.
What say the Monkes and Priests to our proceedings?
6 0 Or wheres the Barons that so sodainly
Did leaue the King vpon a false surmise?

Bastard The Prelates storme & thirst for sharpe reufgi
But please your Maiestie, were that the worst,
5 4 A little skid: a greater danger growes,
Which must be weeded out by carefull speede,
Or all is lost, for all is leuel'd at.

John Ooze frights and feares, what ere thy tidings be,
6 8 I am preparede: then *Philip* quickly say,
Meane they to murder, or imprison me,
To giue my crowne away to Rome or Fraunce;
Or will they each of them become a King?
7 2 Worse than I thinke it is, it cannot be.

Bastard Not worse my Lord, but euerie whit as bad.
The Nobles haue elected *Lewes* King,
7 6 In right of Ladie *Blanche* your Neece, his Wife:
His landing is expected euer yhower,
The Nobles, Commons, Clergie, all Estates,
Ancient chieflie by the *Cardinall*,

Pandolph

(not in
K. John)

Pandulph that liues here Legate for the Pope,
Thinks long to see their new elected King.

And for vndoubted prooue, see here my Liege
Letters to me from your Nobilitie,

To be a partie in this action :

Which vnder show of fained holines,

Appoynt their meeting at *S. Edmonds Bury*,

There to consult, conspire, and conclude

The ouerthrow and downfall of your State.

John Why so it must be : one hower of content
Hatcht with a month of passionate effects.

Why shines the Sunne to fauour this consort ?

Why doo the windes not beake their brazen gates,

And scatter all these periurd complices,

With all their counsellis and their damned vixits.

But see the welkin rolleth gently on,

Theres not a lowring clowde to frowne on them ;

The heauen, the earth, the sunne, the moone and all

Conspire with those confederates my decay.

Then hell for me if any power be there,

For sake that place, and guide me step by step

To popson, strangle, murder in their steps

These traitors : oh that name is too good for them,

And death is easie : is there nothing worse

To weake me on this proud peace-breaking crew :

What saist thou *Philip* ? why assists thou not,

Bastard These curses (good my Lord) fit not the season ;

Help must descend from heauen against this treason ?

John Nay thou wilt prooue a traitor with the rest,

Goe get thee to them, shame come to you all.

Bastard I would be loath to leaue your Highnes thus,

Yet you command, and I though grieud will goe.

John Ah *Philip* whether goest thou, come againe. (man.

Bastard My Lord these motions are as passions of a mad

John A mad man *Philip*, I am mad indeed,

My hart is mazd, my senses all fordone.

And *John* of England now is quite bndone,
 Was euer King as I opprest with cares ?
 Dame *Eliano* my noble Mother Quene,
 My onely hope and comfort in distresse,
 Is dead, and *England* excommunicate,
 And I am interdicted by the Pope,
 All Churches curst, their doozes are sealed vp,
 And for the pleasure of the Romish Priest,
 The seruice of the Highest is neglected;
 The multitude (a beast of many heads)
 Doe with confusion to their Soueraigne;
 The Nobles blinded with ambitions fumes,
 Assemble powers to beat mine Empire downe,
 And moze than this, elect a fozen King.
 O *England*, wert thou euer miserable,
 King *John* of England sees thõ miserable:
John, tis thy sinnes that makes it miserable,
Quicquid delirunt Reges, plectuntur Achini,
Philip, as thou hast euer loude thy King,
 So show it now: post to *S. Edmonds Bury*,
 Dissemble with the Nobles, know their dysts,
 Confound their diuelish plots, and damnd deuices,
 Though *John* be faultie, yet let subiects beare,
 He will amend and right the peoples wrongs.
 A Mother though she were vnnaturall,
 Is better than the kindest Stepdame is:
 Let neuer Englishman trust fozeaine rule.
 Then *Philip* shew thy fealtie to thy King,
 And mongst the Nobles plead thou for the King.
Bastard I goe my Lord: see how he is distraught,
 This is the curst Priest of *Italy*
 Hath heapt these mischiefes on this haplesse Land,
 Now *Philip*, hadst thou *Tullyes* eloquence,
 Then mightst thou hope to plead with good successe. Exit.
John And art thou gone? successe may follow thee:
 Thus hast thou shewd thy kindnes to thy King.

Strra,

(not in
K. John)

SIRRA

Sirra, in hast goe greete the Cardinall,
Pandulph I meane, the Legate from the Pope.
 Say that the King desires to speake with him.
 Now *John* bethinke thee how thou maist resolute:
 And if thou wilt continue *Englands* King,
 Then cast about to keepe thy Diadem;
 For life and land, and all is leuel'd at.
 The Pope of *Rome*, tis he that is the cause,
 He curseth thee, he sets thy subiects free
 From due obedience to their Soueraigne:
 He animates the Nobles in their warres,
 He giues away the Crowne to *Philips* Sonne,
 And pardons all that seeke to murder thee:
 And thus blinde zeale is still predominant.
 Then *John* there is no way to keepe thy Crowne,
 But finely to dissemble with the Pope:
 That hand that gaue the wound must giue the salue
 To cure the hurt, els quite incurable.
 Thy sinnes are farre too great to be the man
 To abolish Pope, and Popery from thy Realme:
 But in thy Seate, if I may gesse at all,
 A King shall raigne that shall suppress them all.
 Peace *John*, here comes the Legate of the Pope,
 Dissemble thou, and whatsoere thou saist,
 Yet with thy heart with their confusion.

Enter *Pandulph*.

Pand. Now *John*, vnworthie man to breath on earth,
 That dost oppugne against thy Mother Church:
 Why am I sent for to thy curled selfe?
John Thou man of God, Vicegerent for the Pope,
 The holy Vicar of *S. Peters* Church,
 Upon my knees, I pardon craue of thee,
 And doo submit me to the sea of *Rome*,
 And vow for penaunce of my high offence,

B 3

Co

To take on me the holy Crosse of Christ,
And carry Armes in holy Christian warres.

Pandulph. No *John*, thy crowching and dissembling thus
Cannot deceite the Legate of the Pope,
Say what thou wilt, I will not credit thee:
Thy Crowne and Kingdome both are tane away,
And thou art curst without redemption.

John Accurst indeede to kneele to such a dudge,
And get no help with thy submission,
Unneath thy sword, and slep the misprovd Priest
That thus triumphs oze thee a mighty King:

No *John* submit againe dissemble yet,
For Priests and Women must be flattered,
Yet holp Father thou thy selfe dost know
No time to late for sinners to repent,
Absolue me then, and *John* doth sweare to doo
The vttermost what euer thou demaundst.

Pandulph *John*, now I see thy hartly penitence,
I rewe and pittie thy distrest estate,
One way is left to reconcile thy selfe,
And only one which I shall shew to thee,
Thou must surrender to the sea of *Rome*
Thy Crowne and Diademe, then shall the Pope
Defend thee from thinuation of thy foes,
And where his holinesse hath kindled *Fraunce*,
And set thy subiects hearts at warre with thee,
Then shall he curse thy foes, and beate them downe,
That seeke the discontentment of the King.

John From bad to woorse or I must lose my realme,
Or giue my Crowne for pennance vnto *Rome*?
A misserle moze piercing than the darts
That bzeake from burning exhalacions power.
What shall I giue my Crowne with this right hand:
No: with this hand defend thy Crowne and thee.
What newes with thee,

Enter

(not in
K. John)

ORISING JOHN,

Sc. ii.

Enter Messenger.

Please it your Maestie, there is descried on the Coast of
Kent an hundred Saylor of Ships, which of all men is
thought to be the French Fleete, vnder the conduct of the
Dolphin, so that it puts the Cuntrie in a mutinie, so they
send to your Grace for succour.

220

K. Iohn How now Lord Cardinall, whats your best aduise,
These mutinies must be allayd in time
By pollicy or headstrong rage at least.

224

Iohn, these troubles tye thy wearyed soule,
And like to *Luna* in a sad Eclipse,
So are thy thoughts and passions for this netwes.
Well may it be when Kings are grieued so,
The vulgar sort worke Princes ouerthrow.

228

Cardinall *K. Iohn*, for not effecting of thy plighted bow,
This strange annoyance happens to thy land:
But yet be reconcild vnto the Church,
And nothing shall be grieuous to thy State.

232

Iohn On *Pandulph* be it as thou hast decreed,
Iohn will not spurne against thy sound aduise,
Come lets away, and with thy helpe I trow
My Realme shall flourish and my Crowne in peace.

236

239

Enter the Nobles, *Penbrooke*, *Essex*, *Chester*, *Bewchampe*,
Clare, with others.

Sc. iii

Penbrooke Now sweet *S. Edmond* holy Saint in heauen,
Whose Shyne is sacred, high esteemd on earth,
Infuse a constant zeale in all our hearts
To prosecute this act of mickle waight,
Lord Bewchampe say, what friends haue you procured,
Bewchamp. The *L. Fitzwater*, *L. Percy*, and *L. Rosse*,
Ald meeting heere this day the leuenth houre.
Essex Under the cloke of holie Pilgrimage,

1

4

8

By

THE UNBROKEN RAIGHE

By that same houre on warrant of their faith,
Phillip Plantagenet, a bird of swiftest wing,
Lord Eustace, Vesey, Lord Cressy, and Lord Mowbrey,
 Appoynted meeting at *S. Edmonds Shyine.*

Pembroke Untill their presence ile conceale my tale,
 Sweete complices in holie Christian acts,
 That venture for the purchase of renowne,
 Chyice welcome to the league of high resolute,
 That pwayne their bodie for their soules regard.

Essex Now wanteth but the rest to end this worke,
 In Pilgrims habit commes our holie troupe
 A furlong hence with swift vnwonted pace,
 May be they are the persons you expect.

Pembroke With swift vnwonted gate, see what a thing is
 That spurs them on with feruence to this Shyine,
 Now ioy come to them for their true intent
 And in good time heere come the warmen all
 That sweate in body by the minds diseale
 Hap and hartseale braue Lordings be your lot.

Enter the Bastard *Phillip.* &c.
 Amen my Lords, the like betide your lucke,
 And all that trauaile in a Christian cause.

Essex Chcerely replied braue braunch of kingly stock,
 A right *Plantagenet* should reason so.

But silence Lords, attend our commings cause,
 The seruile yoke that payned vs with toyle,
 On strong instinct hath framd this conuentickle,
 To ease our necks of seruitudes contempt.

Should I not name the foeman of our rest,
 Which of you all so barraine in conceipt,
 As cannot leuell at the man I meane?

But least Enigmas shadow shining truth
 Plaineely to paint as truth requires no arte,
 Theffect of this resoxt impoyteth this,
 To roote and cleane extirpate tirant *John,*
 Tirant I say, appealing to the man,

(not in
K. John)

If any heere that loues him, and I aske
 What kindship, lenitie, or christian raigne
 Rules in the man, to barre this soule impeach.
 First I inferre the *Chesters* bannishment:
 For reprehending him in most vncristian crimes,
 Was speciall notice of a tyrants will.
 But were this all, the deuill should be saud,
 But this the least of many thousand faults,
 That circumstance with leisure might display.
 Our priuate wrongs, no parcell of my tale
 Which now in presence, but for some great cause
 Right wish to him as to a mortall foe,
 But shall I close the period with an acte
 Abhorring in the eares of Christian men,
 His Colens death, that sweet vnguiltie childe,
 Untimely butcherd by the tyrants meanes,
 Here is my proofes as cleere as grauell brooke,
 And on the same I further must inferre,
 That who vpholds a tyrant in his course,
 Is culpable of all his damned guilt.
 To showe the which, is yet to be describd.
 My Lord of *Penbrooke* shew what is behinde,
 Only I say that were there nothing else
 To moue vs but the Popes most dreadfull curse,
 Whereof we are assured if we sayle,
 It were inough to instigate vs all
 With earnestnesse of spirit to secke a meane
 To dispossesse *John* of his regiment.
Penbrooke Well hath my Lord of *Essex* tolde his tale,
 Which I auer for most substanciall truth,
 And moze to make the matter to our minde,
 I say that *Lewis* in chalenge of his wife,
 Hath title of an vncontrouled plea
 To all that longeth to our English Crowne,
 Short tale to make, the Sea apostolick
 Hath offerd dispensation for the fault.

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79

THE TRAGICOMEDIE NAIGHE

(not in
K. John)

80

If any be, as trust me none I know
By planting *Lewes* in the Usurpers roome:
This is the cause of all our presence here,
That on the holie Altar we protest

84

To ayde the right of *Lewes* with goods and life,
Who on our knowledge is in Armes for *England*.
What say you Lords:

88

Salsburie As *Pembrooke* sayeth, affirmeth *Salsburie*:
Faire *Lewes* of *Fraunce* that spoused *Lady Blanch*,
Hath title of an vncontrouled strength
To *England*, and what longeth to the Crowne:
In right whereof, as we are true informd,
The Prince is marching hither ward in Armes,
Our purpose to conclude that with a word,
Is to inuest him as we may deuise,
King of our Countrey in the tyrants stead:
And so the warrant on the Altar sworne,
And so the intent for which we hither came.

92

96

Bastard. My Lord of *Salsbury*, I cannot couch
My speeches with the needfull words of arte,
As doth beleeue in such a waightie worke,
But what my conscience and my dutie will
I purpose to impart.

100

104

For *Chesters* exile, blame his busie wit,
That medled where his dutie quite forbade:
For any priuate causes that you haue,
He thinke they should not mount to such a height,
As to depose a King in their reuenge.

108

112

For *Arthurs* death King *Iohn* was innocent,
He desperat was the deathsmen to himselfe,
With you to make a colour to your crime iniustly do impute
But where fell *traptozilme* hath residence, (to his default,
There wants no words to set despight on worke.
I say tis shame, and worthy all reppose,
To worst such peetic wrongs in tearmes of right,
Against a King annoputed by the Lord.

115

Why

(not in
K. John)

Why *Salsburie* admit the wrongs are true,
Yet subjects may not take in hand reuenge,
And rob the heauens of their proper power,
Where sitteth he to whome reuenge belongs.
And doth a Pope, a Priest, a man of pride
Giue charters for the liues of lawfull Kings ?
What can he blesse, or who regards his curse,
But such as giue to man, and takes from God,
I speake it in the sight of God above,
Theres not a man that dyes in your beliefe,
But seis his soule perpetually to payne.

And *Lewes*, leaue God, kill *Iohn*, please hell,
Make hanock of the welfare of your soules,
For here I leaue you in the sight of heauen,
A troupe of traytors foode for hellish feends ;
If you desist, then follow me as friends,
If not, then do your worst as hatefull traytors,
For *Lewes* his right alas tis too lame,
A senselesse clayme, if truth be titles friend,
In brieft, if this be cause of our resort,
Our Pilgrimage is to the Devils Shrine.
I came not Lords to troupe as traytors do,
Nor will I counsaile in so bad a cause :

Please you returne, wee go againe as friends,
If not, I to my King, and you where traytors please. Exit.

Percy A hote young man, and so my Lords proceed,
I let him go, and better lost then found,

Penbrooke What say you Lords, will all the rest proceed,
Will you all with me sweare vpon the Altar
That you wil to the death be ayd to *Lewes*, & enemy to *Iohn* ?
Euery man lay his hād by mine, in witnes of his harts accord,
Well then, euery man to Armes to meete the King
Who is alrcadie before *London*.

Messenger Enter.

Penbrooke What newes Harrold.

C 2

The

150 The right Christian Prince my Haister, *Lewes of Francke*, is
at hand, comming to visit your Honors, directed hether by
the right honorable *Richard Earle of Bigot*, to conferre
with your Honors,

154 *Penbrooke* How nêere is his Highnesse,
Messenger Ready to enter your presence.

Enter *Lewes*, Earle *Bigot*, with his troupe.

156 *Lewes* Faire Lords of England, *Lewes* salutes you all
As friends, and firme wellwillers of his weale,
At whose request from plenty flowing *Francke*
Crossing the Ocean with a Southern gale,
160 He is in person come at your commaunds
To vndertake and gratifie withall
The fulnesse of your fauours proffered him,
But woꝝds braue men, omitting promises,
164 Till time be minister of moze amends,
I must acquaint you with our fortunes course.
The heauens dewing fauours on my head,
Haue in their conduct safe with victorie,
168 Brought me along your well manured bounds,
With small repulse, and little crosse of chaunce.
Your Citie *Rochester* with great applause
By some deuine instinct layd armes aside:
172 And from the hollow holes of *Thamelis*
Eccho apace replide *Vive la roy*.

From thence, along the wanton rowling glade
To *Troynouant* your sayre *Metropolis*,
176 With luck came *Lewes* to shew his troupes of *Francke*,
Mauing our Ensignes with the dallying windes,
The fearefull obiect of fell frowning warre;
Where after some assault, and small defence,
180 Heauens may I say, and not my warlike troupe,
Temperd their hearts to take a friendly foe
Within the compasse of their high built walles,
183 Seuing me tittle as it seemd they wish.

Thus

(not in
K. John)

Thus Fortune (Lords) acts to your forwardnes
Deanes of content in lieu of former grieſe ;
And may I liue but to requite you all,
Worlds wiſh were mine in dying noted yours.

Salisbury Welcome the balme that cloſeth vp our wounds,
The ſoueraigne medicine for our quick recure,
The anchoꝝ of our hope, the onely prop,
Whereon depends our liues, our lands, our weale,
Without the which, as ſheepe without their heard,
(Except a ſhepherd winking at the wolfe)
We ſtray, we pine, we run to thouſand harmes.
No meruaile then though with vnwonted ioy,
We welcome him that heateth woes away.

Lewes Thanks to you all of this religious league,
A holy knot of Catholique conſent,
I cannot name you Lordings, man by man,
But like a ſtranger vnacquainted yet,
In generall I promiſe faithfull loue :
Lord Bigot, brought me to *S. Edmonds* Shrine,
Giuing me warrant of a Chriſtian oath,
That this aſſembly came deuoted heere,
To ſweare accordyng as your packets ſhowd,
Homage and loyall ſeruiſe to our ſelſe,
I neede not doubt the ſuretie of your wills ;
Since well I know for many of your ſakes
The townes haue yeelded on their owne accords :
Yet for a faſhion, not for miſbeliefe,
My eyes muſt witneſs, and theſe eares muſt heare
Your oath vpon the holy Altar ſwoꝝne,
And after march to end our commings cauſe.

Sal. That we intend no other then good truth,
All that are preſent of this holy League,
For confirmation of our better truſt,
In preſence of his Highneſſe ſweare with me,
The ſequel that my ſelſe ſhal vtter heere,

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230 *I Thomas Plantaginet Earle of Salisbury, swear vpon the*
Altar, and by the holy Armie of Saints, homage and alleag-
ance to the right Christian Prince *Lewes of Fraunce*, as true
and rightfull King to *England, Cornwall and Wales*, & to their
Territories, in the defence whereof *I vppon the holy Altare*
234 *swear all forwarones. All the Eng. Lords swear,*

As the noble Earle hath swoyne, so swear we all.

238 *Lewes I rest assured on your holy oath,*
And on this Altar in like sort *I swear*
Loue to you all, and Princely recompence
To guerdon your goodwills vnto the full,
And since *I am at this religious Shrine,*
232 *By good wellwillers, giue vs leaue awhile*
To vse some oxions our selues apart
To all the holy companie of heauen,
That they will smile vpon our purposes,
And bying them to a fortunate euent.

236 *Salsbury We leaue your Highnes to your good intent.*

Exeunt Lords of England.

Lewes Now Vicount Meloun, what remains behinde?
Trust me these traitors to their soueraigne State
Are not to be belænde in any sort.

240 *Meloun Indæd my Lord, they that infringe their oaths,*
And play the rebels gainst their natie King,
Will for as litle cause revolt from you,
If euer oppoxtunitie incite them so:
244 *For once forswoyne, and neuer after sound,*
Theres no affiance after peritrie,

Lewes Well Meloun well, lets smooth with them awhile,
248 *Untill we haue as much as they can doo:*
And when their vertue is exhæled drie,
I hang them for the guerdon of their help,
Weane while wee'l vse them as a pprecious poppon
To vndertake the illue of our hope.

252 *Fr. Lord His policie (my Lord) to bait our hookes*
With merry smiles, and promise of much waight:

But

(not in
K. John)

But when your Highnes needeth them no more,
This good make sure work with them, least indeede
They prooue to you as to their naturall King.

Melin Trust me my Lord right well haue you aduise
Meyme for vble, but neuer for a sport
Is to be dallied with, least it infect.
Were you instald, as soone I hope you shall:
Be free from traitors, and dispatch them all.

Leyes That so I meane, I sweare before you all
On this same Altar, and by heauens power,
Theres not an English traytor of them all.

John ouce dispatcht, and I faire *Englands* King,
Shall on his shoulders beare his head one day,
But I will crop it for their guilts desert:
Nor shall their heires enioy their Signories,
But perisb by their parents fowle amisse.
This haue I swozne, and this will I perforce,
If ere I come vnto the height I hope.
Lay downe your hands, and sweare the same with mee.

The French Lords sweare.

Why so, now call them in, and speake them faire,
A smile of *France* will feed an English foole.
Beare them in hand as friends, for so they be:
But in the hart like traytors as they are.

Enter the English Lords.

Now famous followers, chieftaines of the world,
Hane we sollicited with heartie prayer
The heauen in fauour of our high attempt.
Leaue we this place, and march we with our power
To rowse the Tyrant from his chieftest hold:
And when our labours haue a prosperous end,
Each man shall reape the fruite of his desert.
And so resolute, byaue followers let vs hence.

Enter

Enter *K. John, Bastard, Pandulph*, and a many priests
with them.

Thus *John* thou art absolude from all thy sinnes,
And freed by order from our fathers curse.
Receiue thy Crowne againe, with this ppointe,
That thou remaine true liegeman to the Pope,
And carry armes in right of holy *Rome*.

John I holde the same as tesaunt to the Pope,
And thanke your Holines for your kindnes showane.

Philip A proper iest, when Kings must stoop to Friers,
Neeede hath no law, when Friers must be Kings.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Please it your Maiestie, the Prince of *Fraunce*,
With all the Nobles of your Graces Land,
Are marching hetherward in good aray.
Where ere they set their foote, all places yeeld;
Thy Land is theirs, and not a foote holds out
But *Douer* Castle, which is hard besiegd.

Pandulph Feare not King *John*, thy kingdome is þ popes,
And they shall know his Holines hath power,
To beate them soone from whence he hath to doo.

Drums and Trumpets. Enter *Lewes, Melun, Salis-
bury, Essex, Pembrooke*, and all the Nobles from
Fraunce, and *England*.

Lewes Pandulph, as gaue his Holines in charge,
So hath the *Dolphin* mustred vp his troupes
And wonne the greatest part of all this Land.
But ill becomes your Grace Loyd Cardinall,
Thus to conuert se with *John* that is accurst,

Pandulph

K. John
V. ii.

O

Pandulph Lewes of *France*, victorious Conqueror,
Whose sword hath made this *Island* quake for fear;
Thy forwardnes to fight for holy *Rome*,
Shalbe remunerated to the full:
But know my Lord, *K. John* is now absolute,
The *Pope* is please, the *Land* is blest agen,
And thou hast brought eath thing to good effect.
It resteth then that thou withdraw thy powers,
And quietly returne to *France* againe:
For all is done the *Pope* would wish thee doo.

Lewes But als not done that *Lewes* came to do,
Why *Pandulph*, hath *K. Philip* sent his sonne
And been at such excessiue charge in warres,
To be dismiss with words? *K. John* shall know,
England is mine, and he vsurps my right.

Pand. *Lewes*, I charge thee and thy complices
Upon the paine of *Pandulphs* holy curse,
That thou withdraw thy powers to *France* againe,
And yeeld by *London* and the neighbour *Townes*
That thou hast tane in *England* by the sword.

Melun Lord *Cardinall*, by *Lewes* princely leaue,
It can be nought but vsurpation
In thee, the *Pope*, and all the *Church* of *Rome*,
Thus to insult on *Kings* of *Christendome*,
Now with a word to make them carie armes,
Then with a word to make them leaue their armes.
This must not be: *Prince Lewes* keep thine owne,
Let *Pope* and *Popes* lings curse their bellies full.

Bas. O my Lord of *Melun*, what title had the *Prince*
To *England* and the *Crowne* of *Albion*,
But such a title as the *Pope* confirmde:
The *Bisshope* 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*

D

Will

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60 Will leaue the French, and cleaue vnto your King,
For shame ye Peeres of England, suffer not
Your selues, your honours, and your land to fall:
64 But with resolu'd thoughts beate back the French,
And free the Land from yoke of seruitude.

Salisbury Philip, not so, *Lord Lewes* is our King,
And we will follow him vnto the death.

68 *Pand.* Then in the name of *Innocent* the Pope,
I curse the Prince and all that take his part.
And excommunicate the rebell Peeres
As traitors to the King, and to the Pope.

Lewes Pandolph, our swords shall blesse our selues agen:
72 Prepare thee *John*, Lords follow me your King. *Exeunt.*

John Accursed *John*, the diuell owes thee shame,
Resisting *Rome*, or yeelding to the Pope, all one.
The diuell take the Pope, the Peeres, and *Francke*:
76 Shame be my share for yeelding to the Priest.

Pand. Comfort thy self *K. John*, the Cardnall goes
Upon his curse to make them leaue their armes. *Exit.*

80 *Basford* Comfort my Lord, and curse the Cardnall,
Betake your self to armes, my troupes are prest
To answer *Lewes* with a lustie shocke:
The English Archers haue their quiuers full,
Their bowes are bent, the pykes are prest to push:
84 God chære my Lord, *K. Richards* fortune hangs
Upon the plume of warlike *Philips* helme.
Then let them know his brother and his sonne
Are leaders of the Englishmen at armes.

88 *John Philip* I know not how to answer thee:
But let vs hence, to answer *Lewes* pride.

Excursions. Enter *Melonn* with English Lords.

3 *Mel.* O I am staine, Nobles, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*,
My soule is charged, heare me: for what I say
Concerues the Peeres of England, and their State.

Listen

THE TRAGEDIE OF KING

40 That bled you, beares you, brought you by in armes.

41 Ah be not so ingrate to digge your Mothers graue,

42 Preferue your lambes and beate away the Wolfe,

43 My soule hath said, contritions penitence

44 Lays hold on mans redemption for my sinne.

45 Farewell my Lords, witnes my faith when wee are met in

46 And for my kindnes giue me graue roome heere. (heauen,

47 My soule doth steete, worlds vanities fare well.

48 *Sals.* Now loy betide thy soule wel-meaning man.

49 How now my Lords, what cooling card is this,

50 A greater grieve growes now than earst hath been.

51 What counsell giue you, shall we stay and dye ?

52 Or shall we home, and kneele unto the King.

53 *Pemb.* My hart misgaue this sad accursed newes :

54 What haue we done, sie Lords, what frenzie moued

55 Our hearts to peeld vnto the pride of *Fraunce* ?

56 If we perseuer, we are sure to dye :

57 If we desist, small hope againe of life.

58 *Salsb.* Beare hence the bodie of this wretched man,

59 That made vs wretched with his dying tale,

60 And stand not wayling on our present harmes,

61 As women wont : but seeke our harmes redresse.

62 As for my selfe, I will in hast be gon :

63 And kneele for pardon to our Soueraigne *John*.

64 *Pemb.* I, theres the way, lets rather kneele to him,

65 Than to the French that would confound vs all. *Exeunt.*

Enter King *John* carried betweene 2. Lords.

1 *John* Set downe, set downe the load not worth your pain,

2 For done I am with deadly wounding grieve :

3 Sickly and succourles, hopeles of any good,

4 The world hath wearied me, and I haue wearied it :

5 It loathes I liue, I liue and loath my selfe.

6 Who pities me ? to whom haue I been kinde ?

7 But to a few ; a few will pitie me.

8 Why dye I not ? Death scoones so bilde a pray.

Why

Why liue I not, life hates so sad a prize,
 I sue to both to be recapnd of either,
 But both are deafe, I can be heard of neither,
 Noz deach noz life, yet life and neare the neere,
 Pnirt with death biding I wot not where.

Philip. Now fares my Lord that he is carped thus,
 Not all the aukward fortunes yet befallne,
 Hade such impressiõ of lament in me.
 Noz euer did my eye attaynt my heart
 With any obiect mouing moze remoze,
 Than now beholding of a mighty King,
 Boyne by his Lords in such distressed state.

John What news with thee, if bad, report it straitte :
 If good, be mute, it doth but flatter me.

Phillip Such as it is, and heauie though it be
 To glut the world with tragick elegies,
 Once will I heath to agrauate the rest,
 Another moane to make the measure full.
 The bzauest bowman had not yet sent fozt
 Two arrowes from the quiuer at his side,
 But that a rumoz went throughtout our Campe,
 That *John* was fled, the King had left the field.
 At last the rumoz scald these eares of mine,
 Who rather chose as sacrifice for *Mars*,
 Than ignominious scandall by retyre.
 I cheerd the troupes as did the Prince of *Troy*
 His weery followers gainst the *Hirmidons*,
 Crying aloude *S. George*, the day is ours.
 But feare had captiuated courage quite,
 And like the Lamb befoze the greedie Wolfe,
 So hartlesse fled our warmen from the seeld.
 Shozt tale to make, my selfe amongst the rest,
 Was faine to flie befoze the eager foe.
 By this time night had shadowed all the earth,
 With sable curteines of the blackest hue,
 And sent vs from the fury of the French,

THE HOLLANDISH RAIGIE

K. John
V. iii.

45 As lo from the zealous *Iunos* eye,
 When in the morning our troupes did gather head,
 Passing the washes with our carriages,
 48 The impartiall tyde deadly and inexorable,
 Came raging in with billowes threating death,
 And swallowed vp the most of all our men,
 My selfe vpon a Galloway right free, well pacde,
 52 Out stript the fouds that followed waue by waue,
 I so escapt to tell this tragick tale,

John Griefe vpon griefe, yet none so great a griefe,
 To end this life, and thereby rid my griefe.

56 Was euer any so infortunate,
 The right *Idea* of a cursed man,
 As I, poze I, a triumph for despight,
 My feuer growes, what ague shakes me so:
 60 How farre to *Swinseed*, tell me do you know,
 Present vnto the *Abbot* word of my repaice.
 My sicknesse rages, to tirannize vpon me,
 I cannot liue vnlesse this feuer leaue me.

64 *Phillip*. Good cheare my Lord, the *Abbey* is at hand,
 Behold my Lord the *Churchmen* come to meete you,
 Enter the *Abbot*, and certayne *Monks*.

Abbot All health & happines to our soueraigne Lord the

68 *John* No health nor happines hath *John* at all. (*King*,
 Say *Abbot* am I welcome to thy house.

Abbot Such welcome as our *Abbey* can affoord,
 Your Maiesty shalbe assured of.

72 *Phillip* The *King* thou seest is weake and very faint,
 What viquals hast thou to refresh his Grace.

Abbot God stoze my Lord, of that you neede not feare,
 For *Lincolneshire*, and these our *Abbey* grounds
 76 Were neuer fatter, nor in better plight.

John *Phillip*, thou neuer needst to doubt of cates,
 Nor *King* nor *Lord* is seated halfe so well,
 As are the *Abbeys* throughout all the land,
 79 If any plot of ground do passe another,

The

The Friers fatten on it streight:
But let vs in to taste of their repast,
It goes against my heart to feed with them,
Or be beholding to such Abbey groomes, Excunt.

Manet the Monke.

Monk. Is this the King that neuer loud a Friar?
Is this the man that doth condemne the Pope?
Is this the man that robd the holy Church,
And yet will flye vnto a Friory?
Is this the King that apmes at Abbeyes lands?
Is this the man whome all the world abhoyres,
And yet will flye vnto a Friory?
Accurst be Swinseed Abbey, Abbot, Friers,
Monks, Nuns, and Clerks, and all that dwells therein,
If wicked *John* escape aliuie away.
Now if that thou wilt looke to merit heauen,
And be canonizd for a holy Saint:
To please the world with a deseruing worke,
Be thou the man to set thy cuntrey free,
And murder him that seekes to murder thee.

Enter the Abbot.

Abbot Why are not you within to cheare the King?
He now begins to mend, and will to meate.

Monk. What if I say to strangle him in his sleepe?

Abbot. What at thy *mumpsimus*? away,
And seeke some meanes for to pastime the King.

Monk. Ile set a dudgeon dagger at his heart,
And with a mallet knock him on the head.

Abbot. Alas, what meanes this Donke to murther me?
Dare I lay my life hee kill me for my place.

Monk. Ile popson him, and it shall neare be knowne,
And then shall I be chiefest of my house.

Abbot. If I were dead, indeede he is the next,
But ile away, for why the Donke is mad,
And in his madne he will murther me,

Monk *Exy*

113

Monk *Hy L.* I cry your Lordship mercy, I saw you not.
Abbot Alas good *Thomas* do not murther me, and thou
 shalt haue my place with thousand thanks.

116

Monk I murther you, God sheeld from such a thought.

Abbot If thou wilt needes, yet let me say my prayers.

Monk I will not hurt your Lordship good my Lord: but
 if you please, I will impart a thing that shall be beneficiall to
 vs all.

120

Abbot Wilt thou not hurt me holy *Donke*, say on.

Monk You know my Lord the King is in our house,

Abbot True.

124

Monk You know likewise the King abhors a Frier,

Abbot True.

Monk And he that loues not a Frier is our enemy.

Abbot Thou sayst true.

128

Monk Then the King is our enemy.

Abbot True.

Monk Why then should we not kil our enemy, & the King
 being our enemy, why then should we not kill the King.

132

Abbot O blessed *Donke*, I see God moues thy minde to
 free this land from tyrants slavery.

But who dare venter for to do this deede:

136

Monk Who dare? why I my Lord dare do the deede,
 I'll free my Countrey and the Church from foes,
 And merit heauen by killing of a King.

Abbot *Thomas* kneele downe, and if thou art resolute,
 I will absolue thee heere from all thy sinnes,
 For why the deede is meritorious.

140

Forward and feare not man, for euery mouth,
 Our Friers shall sing a Masse for *Thomas* soule.

Monk God and *S. Francis* prosper my attempt,
 For now my Lord I goe about my worke. Excunt.

144

Enter *Lewes* and his armie.

Lewes Thus victorj in bloody *Latwelle* clad,
 Followes the fortune of young *Lodowicke*,
 The Englishmen as daunted at our sight,

3

Fall

Fall as the fowle before the Eagles eyes,
 Only two crosses of contrary change
 Do nip my heart, and bere me with breest.
 Lord *Melons* death, the one part of my soule,
 A braver man did neuer liue in *Fraunce*.
 The other grieke, I thats a gall in deede,
 To thinke that *Douer* Castell should hold out
 Gaint all assaults, and rest impregnable.
 Pee warlike race of *Francus* *Hectors* sonne,
 Triumph in conquest of that tyzant *John*,
 The better halfe of *England* is our owne,
 And towards the conquest of the other part,
 We haue the face of all the English Lords,
 What then remaines but ouerrun the land.
 Be resolute my warlike followers,
 And if good fortune serue as she begins,
 The poorest peasant of the Realme of *Fraunce*
 Shall be a maister oze an English Lord.

Enter a Messenger.

Loves Fellow what newes.

Messen. Pleaseth your Grace, the Earle of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, *Clare*, and *Arundell*, with all the Barons that did
 fight for thee, are on a suddaine fled with all their powers, to
 topne with *John*, to driue thee back againe.

Enter another Messenger.

Messen. *Loves* my Lord why standst thou in a maze,
 Gather thy troups, hope out of help from *Fraunce*,
 For all thy forces being siktie sayle,
 Conteyning tweney thousand souldoyers,
 With victuall and munition for the warre,
 Putting from *Callis* in vnluckie time,
 Did crosse the seas, and on the *Goodwin* sands,
 The men, munition, and the ships are lost.

Enter another Messenger.

Loves Hoze newes: say on.

Messen. *John* (my Lord) with all his scattered troupes,

E

flying

Sc. vii

37

Flying the fury of your conquering sword,
As Pharaoh eas't within the bloody sea,
So he and his enuironed with the tyde,
On Lincoln washes all were ouerwhelmed,
The Barons fled, our forces cast away.

40

44

Lewes Was euer heard such vnerspected newes :
Messenger Yet Lodowike reuine thy dying heart,
King John and all his forces are confumde,
The lesse thou needst the ayd of English Charles,
The lesse thou needst to grieue thy James wyacke,
And follow tymes advantage with successe.

48

52

Lewes Braue Frenchmen arme with magnanimitie,
March after Lewes who will leade you on
To chase the Barons power that wants a head,
For John is drownd, and I am Englands King,
Though our munition and our men be lost,
Phillip of Fraunce will send vs fresh supplies. Exeunt.

Sc. viii

V. vii.

4

Enter two Friers laying a Cloth.
Frier Dispatch, dispatch, the King desires to eate,
Would a might eace his last for the loue hee beares to
Churchmen.

8

Frier I am of thy minde to, and so it should be and we
might be our owne caruers.
I meruaile why they dine heere in the Dychar.

12

Frier I know not, nor I care not. The King coms.
John Come on Lord Abbot, shall we sit together ?
Abbot Pleaseth your Grace sit downe.

16

John Take your places sirs, no pomp in penury, all beg-
gers and friends may come, where necessitie keepes the
house, curtesie is hard the table, sit downe Phillip.

Bast. My Lord, I am loth to allude so much to thy proverb
honors change maners : a King is a King, though fortune do
her worst, and we as dutifull in despight of her frowne, as if
your hignesse were now in the highest tyde of dignitie.

John Come, no more ado, and you tell me much of digni-
tie, poule mar my appetite in a surlet of sozrow.

What

What cheere Lord Abbot, me thinks you frowne like an host
that knowes his guest hath no money to pay the reckning ?

Abbot No my Liege, if I frowne at all, it is for I feare
this cheere too homely to entertaine so mighty a guest as
your Maiesty.

Bastard I thinke rather my Lord Abbot you remember
my last being heere, when I went in progresse for powiches,
and the rancor of his heart byakes out in his countenance,
to shew he hath not forgot me.

Abbot Not so my Lord, you, and the meanest follower
of his majesty, are hartely welcome to me.

Monke Massell my Liege, and as a poore Monke may
say, welcome to Swinsted.

John Begin Monke, and report hereafter thou wast taster
to a King.

Monk As much helth to your highnes, as to my own hart.

John I pledge thee kinde Monke.

Monke The meriest draught ever was dronk in England.
Am I not too bold with your Highnesse.

John Not a whit, all friends and fellows for a time.

Monke If the inward of a Toad be a compound of any
prooffe : why do it worke.

John Stay Phillip wheres the Monke ?

Bastard He is dead my Lord.

John Then drinke not Phillip for a world of wealth.

Bast. What cheere my Liege, your culloz gins to change.

John So doth my life, O Phillip I am poysond,
The Monke, the Devill, the poyson gins to rage,
It will depose my selfe a King from raigne.

Bastard This Abbot hath an interest in this act.
At all adventures take thou that from me.

There lye the Abbot, Abbey, Lubber, Devill,
March with the Monke vnto the gates of hell.

How fares my Lord ?

John Phillip some drinke, oh for the frozen Alps,
To tumble on and coole this inward heate,
That rageth as the foynate seuenfold hote.

50 To burne the holy tree in *Babylon*,
 Power after power forsake their proper power,
 Only the hart impugnes with faint resist
 The fierce inuade of him that conquers Kings,
 60 Help God, O payne, dye *John*, O plague
 Inflicted on thee for thy grieuous sinnes.
Phillip a chayre, and by and by a graue,
 My leggs disdain the carriage of a King.

64 *Bastard*. A good my Lege with patience conquer griefe,
 And beare this paine with kingly fortitude.

John He thinks I see a cattalogue of sinne
 68 Wrote by a fiend in Marble characters,
 The least enough to loose my part in heauen.
 He thinks the Deuill whispers in mine eares
 And tels me tis in vayne to hope for grace,
 72 I must be damnd for *Arthurs* sodaine death,
 I see I see a thousand thousand men
 Come to accuse me for my wrong on earth,
 And there is none so mercifull a God
 That will forgitte the number of my sinnes.
 76 How haue I liud, but by anothers losse?
 What haue I loud but wrack of others weale?
 When haue I bowd, and not infringd mine oath?
 Where haue I done a deede deseruing well?
 80 How, what, when, and where, haue I bestowd a day
 That tended not to some notozious ill.
 My life repleat with rage and tyranis,
 Craues little pittie for so strange a death.
 84 Or who will say that *John* disceals too soone,
 Who will not say he rather liud too long.
 Dishonor did attaynt me in my life,
 And shame attendeth *John* vnto his death.
 88 Why did I scape the fury of the French,
 And dyde not by the temper of their swords:
 Shamelesse my life, and shamefull it ends,
 94 Scoynd by my foes, disdaind of my friends.

Bastard,

Bastard Forgiue the world and all your earthly foes,
And call on Christ, who is your latest friend.

John My tongue doth falter: *Philip*, I tell thee man,
Since *John* did yeeld vnto the Priest of Rome,
Nor he nor his haue prospered on the earth:
Curst are his blessings, and his curse is blisse.
But in the spirit I cry vnto my God,
As did the Kingly Prophet *Dauid* cry,
(Whose hands, as mine, with murder were attaint)
I am not he shall buyld the Lord a house,
Or roote these Locusts from the face of earth:
But if my dying heart deceaue me not,
From out these loynes shall spring a Kingly branch
Whose armes shall reach vnto the gates of Rome,
And with his feete treads downe the Strumpets yfde,
That sits vpon the chaire of *Babylon*.

Philip, my heart strings breake, the popsons flame
Hath overcome in me weake Natures power,
And in the faith of Iesu *John* doth dye.

Bastard See how he strives for life, vnhappy Lord,
Whose bowells are deuided in themselves.
This is the fruite of Poperie, when true Kings
Are slaine and shouldred out by Donkes and Friers.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Please it your Grace, the Barons of the Land,
Which all this while bare armes against the King,
Conducted by the Legate of the Pope,
Together with the Prince his Highnes Sonne,
Doo craue to be admitted to the presence of the King.

Bastard Your Sonne my Lord, pong *Henry* craues to see,
Your Heiretie, and brings wth him beside
The Barons that reuolted from your Grace.
Dpiercing sight, he fumbleth in the mouth,
His speech doth falte: list vp your selfe my Lord,

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And see the Prince to comfort you in death.

Enter Pandulph, yong Henry, the Barons with daggers
in their hands.

Prince O let me see my Father ere he dye :
O Uncle were you here, and sufferd him
To be thus popined by a damned Monk.
Ah he is dead, Father sweete Father speake.

Basard His speech doth faile, he hasteth to his end.

Pandulph Lords, giue me leau to ioy the dying King,
With sight of these his Nobles kneeling here
With daggers in their hands, who offer by
Their liues for ransome of their fowle offence.
Then good my Lord, if you forgive them all,
Lift by your hand in token you forgive.

Salisbury We humbly thanke your royall Maiestie,
And how to fight for England and her King :
And in the sight of John our soueraigne Lord,
In sight of Lewis and the power of France
Who hecherward are marching in all hast,
We crowne yong Henry in his Fathers sted.

Henry Help, help, he dyes, a Father, looke on me.

Legat K. John farewell : in token of thy faith,
And signe thou dyest the seruant of the Lord,
Lift by thy hand, that we may witnes here
Thou dyedst the seruant of our Saviour Christ.
Now ioy betide thy soule : what nople is this :

Enter 2 Messenger.

Mess. Help Lords, the Dolphin maketh hecherward
With Ensignes of distance in the winde,
And all our armie standeth at a gaze
Expecting what their Leaders will command.

Basard Lets arme our selues in yong K. Henries right,
And

K. John
V. vii.

ON KING JOHN

And beate the power of *Fraunce* to sea againe,
Legat Philip not so, but I will to the *Prince*,
 And bring him face to face to parle with you.
Bastard Lord Salisbury, your selfe shall march with me,
 So shall we bring these troubles to an ende.
King Sweete Uncle, if thou loue thy *Soueraigne*,
 Let not a stone of *Swinsfed Abbey* stand,
 But pull the house about the *Friers eares* :
 For they haue kilde my Father and my King. Excunt.

A parle founded, *Lewes, Pandulph, Salisbury, &c.*

Pandulph Lewes of *Fraunce*, yong *Henry Englands King*
 Requires to know the reason of the claime
 That thou canst make to any thing of his,
King John that did offend is dead and gone,
 See where his breathles trunk in presence lyes,
 And he as heire apparant to the crowne
 Is now succeeded in his Fathers roome.
Henry Lewes, what law of Armes doth lead thee thus,
 To keepe possession of my lawfull right ?
 Answer in fine if thou wilt take a peace,
 And make surrender of my right againe,
 Or trie thy title with the dint of sword ?
 I tell thee *Dolphin*, *Henry* feares thee not,
 For now the *Barons* cleaue vnto their King,
 And what thou hast in *England* they did get.
Lewes Henry of *England*, now that *John* is dead
 That was the chiefest euemie to *Fraunce*,
 I may the rather be inducde to peace.
 But *Salisbury*, and you *Barons* of the Realme,
 This strange reuolt agrees not with the oath.
 That you on *Bury Altare* lately sware.
Salisbury No, did the oath your Highnes there did take
 Agree with honour of the *Prince* of *Fraunce*.
Bastard My Lord, what answere make you to the King,
Dolphin

(not in
K. John)

Sc. viii.

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Sc. ix.

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A NEW DRAMATIQUE RAIGNE

2.5 *Dolphin* Faith *Philip* this I say: He bootes not me,
 Not any Prince, nor power of Christendome
 To seeke to win this Iland *Albion*,
 2.8 Unless 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,
 3.2 But on conditions, as mine honour wills,
 I am contented to depart the Realme.

Henry On what conditions will your Highnes yeeld?

Lewes That shall we thinke vpon by moze aduice.

3.6 *Bastard* Then Kings & Princes, let these broils haue end,
 And at moze leasure talke vpon the League.
 Meane while to *Worster* let vs beare the King,
 And there interre his bodie, as belesemes.
 4.0 But first, in sight of *Lewes* heire of *Fraunce*,
 Lords take the crowne, and set it on his head,
 That by succession is our lawfull King.

They crowne yong *Henry*.

4.4 Thus *Englands* peace begins in *Henryes* Raigne,
 And bloody warres are closde with happie league.
 Let *England* liue but true within it selfe,
 And all the world can neuer wrong her State.
 4.8 *Lewes*, thou shalt be brauely shipt to *France*,
 For neuer Frenchman got of English ground
 The twentieth part that thou hast conquered.
Dolphin thy hand, to *Worster* we will march,
 Lords all lay hands to beare your Soueraigne
 5.2 With obsequies of honoz to his graue:
 If *Englands* Peeres and people ioyne in one,
 5.4 Not *Pope*, nor *Fraunce*, nor *Spaine* can doo them wrong.

F I N I S.

(not in
K. Joh





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1888

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