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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (03 OF 12) ***

HENRIE THE FIRST, YOONGEST SONNE TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR.

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An. Reg. 1.
1100.

Henrie the yoongest sonne to William the first, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the first of that name that ruled heere in England, & for his knowledge in good literature surnamed Beauclerke, was admitted king by the whole assent of the lords and commons, and began his reigne ouer England the first of August, in the yeare after the creation of the world 1067. after the birth of our Sauieur 1100. and 44. of the emperour Henrie the fourth, Paschall the second then gouerning the sée of Rome, which was about the 51. yeare of Philip the first of that name king of France, and in the beginning of the reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was consecrated and crowned at Westminster, the fift daie of August, by Thomas archbishop of Yorke, and Maurice bishop of London, bicause at that time Anselme archbishop of Canturburie was exiled. This prince had aforehand trained the people to his humor and veine, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceiue a maruellous euill opinion of his brother duke Robert, persuading them moreouer, that the said duke was likelie to prooue a sharpe and rigorous gouernour, if he once obtained the crowne and dominion of the land. Moreouer, he caused to be reported for a certeine truth, that the same Robert was alreadie created king of Jerusalem. And therefore considering that the kingdome of Palestine (as the rumor ran) was of greater reuenues than that of England, there was no cause why they should staie for him, who would not willinglie leaue the greater for the lesser. By which meanes the Nobilitie and Commons were the sooner persuaded to decline from the election of the said Robert, and to receiue his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the other side ceased not to promise mountaines, till his enterprise tooke effect; and then at leisure paied some of them with molhils as by the sequele of the storie shall more at large appéere.

*Wil. Thorne. Geruasius
Dorobernensis.*

Matth. Paris.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the crowne, considered furthermore with himselfe, that hereafter, when his eldest brother Robert should returne, and vnderstand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himselfe to haue had much wrong, and béene verie euill dealt withall, sith that as well by birthright, as also by agrément made with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, and therevpon would not faile but make earnest claime against him. Wherefore yer he should come home out of the holie land (where he then remained) the king studied by all possible meanes how to gratifie all the states of his realme, & to plant in their harts some good opinion of him. And first of all he reformed such things as his brother had left verie preiudiciall to the estate of the church, setting the same frée which before was sore oppressed. And furthermore, somewhat to reléue the

The king séeketh to win the
peoples faour.

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Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

common-wealth, he promised to restore the lawes of good king Edward, and to abolish or amend those which by his father and brother were already ordeined to the hurt & prejudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yee haue heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. Moreouer, he placed in the see of Winchester, one William Gifford, a graue and discret person, and also ordeined moonkes of honest reputation to be abbats in certeine abbies which had beene long void, and in the hands of William his brother: in like maner he remitted certeine payments which his brother and predecessour had caused to be raised by waie of taxes and customes. Besides this, on the 8. daie of September, he committed Rafe bishop of Durham to the Tower of London, by whose lewd counsell his said brother being seduced, had in his life time doone manie oppressions to his people. He ordeined also that one length of measuring should be vsed through this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme. Manie other things he redressed, to the contentation and commoditie of his subiects, who gaue God thanks that he had in such wise deliuered them out of the hands of cruell extortioners.

Matth. Paris.
Anselme called home.
Wil. Malm.
William Gifford bishop of Winchester.
Hen. Hunt.

Rafe bishop of Durham committed to the Tower.
Simon Dun.
The first ordeining of the yard measure.
Wil. Malm.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in so good estate, he consulted with his Nobilitie, where he might best get him a wife, and thereby leaue vnlawfull companie keeping with concubines: which demand was not misliked at all. Herevpon they considered that Edgar king of Scotland had a sister named Maud, a beautifull ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a professed nunne in a religious house, to the end she might auoid the stormes of the world, and lead hir life in more securitie after hir fathers deceasse. This gentlewoman, notwithstanding hir vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he sent ambassadors to hir brother Edgar, requesting that he might haue hir in mariage. But she refusing superstitiouslie at the first to breake hir professed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, sent new ambassadors to moue the case in more earnest sort than before, in somuch that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambassage, set the abbesse of the house (where then she abode) in hand to persuade hir, who so effectualle and diuerselie telling hir how necessarie, profitable, & honorable the same should be both to her countrie and kinred, did so preuaile at the last, that the yong ladie granted willinglie to the mariage. Herevpon she was transported into England, and wedded to the king, who caused the archbishop Anselme to crowne hir queene on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a sundaie, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

Wil. Malm. Polydor.

¶ It should séeme by Eadmerus, that she was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by hir mother, and placed amongst nunnes against hir will (as she protested to the whole world) at such time as archbishop Anselme refused to solemnize the mariage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occasion remoued, wherevpon euill disposed men would haue surmised ilfauoredlie, and reported the worst. Howbeit whether she were professed, or veiled onelie, loth she was to consent at the first (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that she was coupled with the king in mariage, she proued a right obedient wife.

About this season the archbishop of Vienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended) to be legat ouer all Briteine, which was strange newes vnto England, and greatlie woondered at (as Eadmerus saith) of all men. For it had not beene heard of in England before that time, that any person should supplie the popes roome except the archbishop of Canturburie. And so he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exercise anie legantine authoritie. Not long after, the king sent ambassadours to Rome, about a suit which he had against the archbishop Anselme, for that he denied not onelie to doo him homage, but also would not consecrate such bishops and ecclesiasticall gouernours as he vndertooke to inuest. Touching which matter no small trouble arose, as hereafter shall appeere.

The archbishop of Vienna the popes legat.

He is not receiued for legat.

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1101.

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertisement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yoonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatlie displeased in his mind, and meant with all spéed to assaie if he might recouer it out of his hands.

¶ We read, that when christian princes had woone Hierusalem, they met together in the temple to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrie, in which conuent duke Robert was chosen before all the residue to be king there, by reason of a miracle (as some haue left recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the sudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the

Ran. Higd. Duke Robert chosen king of Hierusalem.

same in his hand, standing in the church before the altar amongst other on Easter euen: so as thereby it should be thought he was appointed among all the residue to be king, and so was nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him: wherevpon after that daie he neuer greatlie prospered in anie businesse which he tooke in hand: as some doo gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anie such matter, but declare, that Godfraie of Bolongne was by the generall consent of all the princes and capiteins there elected king, as in the description of that voiage more plainelie appéereth. But now to returne from whence I haue digressed.

Polydor.

An. Reg. 2.

When the fame was blown into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuerse which desiring innouations, deliting in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernment of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, signifieng to him, that if he would make hast, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who vsurped it by an vniust title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Herewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterprise, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earnest to make hast about this businesse: in so much as, where he would not séeme at the first to estéeme greatlie of the offer made to him by the Englishmen, who had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the English Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the seruice of the christian common-wealth against the infidels, they would suffer him to be in such wise defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to dissemble with them for a time, than to commit the successe of his affaires and person to their inconstancie; shortlie after being set on fire, and still encouraged by the persuasion of Rafe bishop of Durham (who by a woonderfull wilie shift, about the first of Februarie had broken out of prison) with all speed possible he gathered an armie, purposing out of hand to passe ouer with the same into England, and to hazard his right by dent of sword, which was thus by plaine iniurie most wickedlie deteined from him.

Duke Robert is solicited to come into England to claim the crowne.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun.

In the Kal. of Februarie. *R. Houe. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

King Henrie in the meane time vnderstanding his meaning, assembled likewise his power, and rigged foorth a great number of ships, appointing them to lie in a readinesse to stop his brothers comming to land if it might be. He himselve, also lodged with his maine armie neere the towne of Hastings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert also meaning to set foreward, sent certeine of his ships before, to choose some conuenient place where he might land with his armie: which ships by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet abstaining from battell, they recouered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, signifieng from point to point how they had sped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of so gentle a nature that he beleued he should win their good wils, with whom he should haue any thing to doo, passed forward, and approching to the kings nauie, vsed such mild persuasions, that a great part of the souldiours which were aboard in the kings ships, submitted themselues vnto him, by whose conduct he arriued in Portsmouth hauen, and there landed with his host, about the begining of August. Now when he had rested a few daies & refreshed his men, he tooke the way towards Winchester, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

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Duke Robert arriued at Portsmouth. *Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arriuall of his enimies, as also of the reuolting of his subiects, raised his campe, and came to lodge neere vnto his enimies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purposed to doo. They were also in maner readie to haue ioined battell, when diuerse Noble men that owght good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds so vnnaturall discord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henrie (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) should now enioy the same, yeelding and paieng yeerelie vnto duke Robert the summe of iij. M. marks. Prouided, that whose hap of the two it should be to suruiue or outliue, he should be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agreement. Conditionallie also, that those English or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, should be pardoned of all offenses that could be laid vnto them for the same by either of the princes. There were twelue Noble men on either part that receiued corporall othes for performance of this agrément, which being concluded vpon in this sort, duke Robert, who in his affaires shewed himselfe more credulous than suspicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feast of S. Michaell, and then shewing himselfe well contented with the composition, returned into Normandie. In the second yeare of this kings

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Thorne. Matth. West. Geruasius Dorober.

reigne, the Quéene was deliuered of hir daughter Maud or Mathild, so called after hir owne name, who afterward was empress, of whom yée shall heare by Gods grace anon in this historie.

1102.

The king being now rid of forren trouble, was shortlie after disquieted with the seditious attempts of Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, sonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the castell of Bridgenorth, and an other castell in Wales at a place called Caircoue, and furnished the towne of Shrewsburie, with the castels of Arundell & Tickehill (which belonged to him) in most substantiall maner. Moreouer he sought to win the fauour of the Welshmen, by whose aid he purposed to defend himselfe against the king in such vnlawfull enterprises as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkeling whereabout he went, straightwaies proclaimed him a traitor, wherevpon he got such Welshmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entered into Staffordshire, which they forraied and wasted excéedinglie, bringing from thence a great bootie of beasts and cattell, with some prisoners, whom they led foorthwith into Wales, where they kept themselues as in a place of greatest safetie.

Simon Dun. Robert de Belesme^[1] earle of Shrewsburie.

Stafford wasted.

The king in the meane time with all conuenient^[2] spéed raised a power, first besieging the castell of Arundell, and then planting diuerse bastillions before it, he departed from thence, and sending the bishop of Lincolne with part of his armie to besiege Tickehill, he himselfe went to Bridgenorth, which he enuironed about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: so that what with gifts, large promises, and fearefull threatnings, at the last he allured to his side the fickle Welchmen, and in such wise wan them, that they abandoned the earle, and tooke part against him. Wherevpon the king within 30. daies subdued all the townes and castels (which he held) out of his hands, and banished him the relme, and shortlie after confined his brother Arnold for his traitorous demeanour vsed against him, whereby their attempts were brought vnto an end.

Arundell castell besieged.

Bridgenorth besieged.

The earle of Shrewsburie banished the realme.

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An. Reg. 3.

After this, at the feast of saint Michaell, Anselme archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminster, whereat were present the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Worcester, Chester, Bath, Norwich, Rochester, and two other bishops latlie elected by the king, namelie, Salisburie and Hereford: the bishop of Excester was absent by reason of sicknesse.

A synod of bishops. *Eadmerus.*

At this councell or synod, diuerse abbats and priors, both French and English, were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anselme, bicause they had come vnto them otherwise than he pretended to stand with the décrées of the church; as the abbats of Persor, Ramsey, Tauestocke, Peterborow, Middleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Elie, and others. The chéefest cause of their deposing, was, for that they had receiued their inuestitures at the kings hands.

Abbats & Priors depriued.

Matth. Paris.

The cause why they wer depriued. *Hen. Hunt. Sim. Dun.*

Diuerse constitutions were made by authoritie of this councell, but namelie this one.

1 That preests should no more be suffered to haue wiues, which decree (as saith Henrie of Huntingdon) séemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilest diuers of those that coueted to professe such cleannesse and puritie of life as passed their powers to obserue, might happilie fall into most horrible vncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almightye.

Eadmerus. Mariage of préests forbidden. *Hen. Hunt.*

2 That no spirituall person should haue the administration of any temporall office or function, nor sit in iudgment of life and death.

Decrées instituted in this councell.

3 That preests should not haunt alehouses, and further, that they should weare apparell of one maner of colour, and shooes after a comelie fashion: for a little before that time, préests vsed to go verie vnséemlie.

Against préests that were alehouse hunters.

4 That no archdeaconries should be let to farme.

Archdeaconries.

5 That euerie archdeacon should at the least receiue the orders of a deacon.

Subdeacons.

6 That none should be admitted to the orders of a subdeacon, without profession of chastitie.

7 That no préests sonnes should succéed their fathers in their

Préests sons.

benefices.

8 That moonks and préests which had forsaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) should be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profession againe.

9 That préests should weare broad crownes.

Préests to weare crowns.

10 That no tithes should be giuen but to the church.

Tithes.

11 That no benefices should be bought or sold.

Benefices.

12 That no new chappels should be builded without consent of the bishop.

New chapels.

13 That no church, should be consecrated except prouision were first had to the maintenance of it and the minister.

Consecration of churches.

14 That abbats should not be made knights or men of war, but should sléepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houses, except some necessitie mooued them to the contrarie.

Abbats.

15 That no moonks should inioyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for those of whose soules they had cure.

Moonks.

16 That no moonks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

17 That moonks should not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands.

Farmes.

18 That no moonks should receiue any parsonages, but at the bishops hands, nor should spoile those which they did receiue in such wise of the profits and reuenues, that curats which should serue the cures might thereby want necessarie prouision for themselues and the same churches.

Parsonages.

19 That contracts made betwéene man and woman without witnesses concerning mariage should be void, if either of them denied it.

Contracts.

20 That such as did weare their heare long should be neuerthelesse so rounded, that part of their eares might appéere.

Wearing of haire

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21 That kinsfolke might not contract matrimonie within the seuenth degré of consanguinitie.

22 That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes, least the préest might lose his dutie.

Buriall

23 That no man should vpon some new rash deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the bishops authoritie, which hath béene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

Fond worshipping of men.

24 That there should be no more buieng and selling of men vsed in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had béene kine or oxen.

25 That all such as committed the filthie sinne of Sodomitie should be accursed by the décrée of this councell, till by penance & confession they should obteine absolution. Prouided that if he were a preest or any religious person, he should lose his benefice, and be made vncapeable of any other ecclesiasticall preferment: if he were a laie man, he should lose the prerogatiue of his estate. Prouided also that no religious man might be absolued of this crime, but at the bishops hands.

26 That euerie sundaie this cursse should be read in euerie church.

The cursse to be read euerie sundaie

The king also caused some necessarie ordinances to be deuised at this councell, to mooue men to the leading of a good and vpright life.

About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of saint Bartholomewes by Smithfield was begun by Raier one of the kings musicians (as some write) who also became the first prior thereof. In those daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was also the appointed place of execution, where felons and other

S. Bartholomewes by Smithfield founded. Smithfield sometimes a common laiestall & a place of execution. *An. Reg. 3.*

malefactors of the lawes did suffer for their misdeeds.

In this third yeare of king Henries reigne the quéene was deliuered of a sonne called William.

When the earle of Shrewesburie was banished (as ye haue heard) the state of the realme seemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietnesse: so that king Henrie being aduanced with good successe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any maner of waie. Howbeit herein he somewhat displeased the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he tooke vpon him both to nominate bishops and to inuest them into the possession of their sées: amongst whom was one Remclid, bishop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Remclid or Remeline did afterwards resigne that bishoprike to the king, because he was persuaded he had greatlie offended in receiuing the same at a temporall mans hands.

Polydor. The king bestoweth bishopriks. *Matth. Paris.*

Simon Dunel.

Trulie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but also other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the same season, challenged this right of inuesting bishops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predecessors, without all prescription of time, as they alledged, which caused no small debate betwixt them and the spiritualltie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more easilie appeere.

Howbeit Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie more earnest in this case than any other, would not admit nor consecrate such bishops as were nominated and inuested by the king, making no account of their inuestiture: and further he tooke vpon him to admonish the K. not to violate the sacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of christian religion so latelie decreéd concerning those matters. But so far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he stood the more stiffelie in his chalenge. And where Thomas the archbishop of Yorke was not long before departed out of this transitorie life, he gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as some writers report) more desirous of honor than was requisite for his calling, and willed him in despite of Anselme to consecrate those bishops whom he had of late inuested. This Gerard therefore obeieng his commandement, did consecrate them all, William Gifford bishop of Winchester excepted; who refused to be consecrated at his hands, wherevpon he was depriued and banished the relme. The archbishop Anselme also was quite out of fauour, for that he ceased not to speake against the K. in reproouing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paschall, and to stand to his decree and determination: also, that such as he had placed in any bishoprike, should haue licence to go to Rome to plead their causes, whither he promised shortlie to send his ambassadours, and so he did: appointing for the purpose, Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Lichfield, being both of his priuie councill, and William Warlewast, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commission.

Anselme refuseth to consecrate the bishops inuested by the king.

Gerard inuested archbishop of Yorke.

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W. Gifford bishop of Winchester. *Matth. Paris. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.*

Polydor.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

After them also folowed Anselme archbishop of Canturburie, Gerard archbishop of Yorke, & William the elect of Winchester, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of interteinement. But Anselme was highlie honored aboue all the residue, whose diligence and zeale in defense of the ordinances of the sée of Rome, he well inough vnderstood. The ambassadours in like maner declaring the effect of their message, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuersie begun betweene the king and Anselme, & with good arguments went about to prooue the kings cause to be lawfull. Vpon the otherside, Anselme and his partakers with contrarie reasons sought to confute the same. Wherevpon the pope declared, that sith by the lawes of the church it was decreéd, that the possession of any spirituall benefice, obtained otherwise than by meanes of a spirituall person, could not be good or allowable; from thencefoorth, neither the king nor any other for him, should challenge any such right to apperteine vnto them.

Anselme goeth also to Rome.

The kings ambassadours hearing this, were somewhat troubled in their minds: wherevpon Willam Warlewast burst out and said with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: "Whatsoeuer is or may be spoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be present should well vnderstand, that the king, my maister will not lose the inuestitures of churches for the losse of his whole realme." Vnto which words Paschall himselfe replieng, said vnto him againe: "If (as thou saiest) the king thy maister, will not forgo the inuestiture of churches for the losse of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I speake it before God, that for the ransome of his head, pope Paschall will not at any time permit that he shall enioie them in quiet." At length by the aduise of his councill, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and customes, which his predecessors had vsed and enioied: but as for the inuestitures of bishops, he would not haue him in any wise to meddle withall:

Eadmerus. The saing of Wil. Warlewast to the pope.

The popes answer to him.

yet did he confirme those bishops whom the king had already created, least the refusal should be occasion to sow any further discord.

Polydor.

This business being in this manner ordered, the ambassadors were licensed to depart, who receiving at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbishop of York his pall, they shortly after returned into England, declaring unto the king the popes decree and sentence. The king being still otherwise persuaded, and looking for other news, was nothing pleased with this matter. Long it was yet he would give over his claim, or yield to the popes judgement, till that in process of time, overcome with the earnest suite of Anselme, he granted to obey the popes order herein, though (as it should appear) right sore against his will.

In this mean time, the king had seized into his hands the possessions of the archbishop of Canturburie, and banished Anselme, so that he staid at Lions in France for the space of one year and four months, during which time there passed many letters and messages to and fro. The pope also wrote to king Henrie in very courteous manner, exhorting him to call Anselme home againe, and to release his claim to the investitures of bishops, whereunto he could have no right, since it appertained not to the office of any temporall magistrate: adding furthermore, if the king would give over that ungodly and usurped custome, that he would shew such friendly favour in all things, as by the sufferance of God in any wise he might be able to performe, and further would receive not onely him, but also his young soone William (whom lately it had pleased God to send him by his vertuous wife queene Maud) into his protection, so that who so ever did hurt either of them, should be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

Wil. Malm.

The pope writeth courteously to [54] the king.

In one of the letters which the said pope wrote unto Anselme (after that the king was contented to renounce the investitures aforesaid) he willed Anselme, according to the promise which he had made, to assoyle as well from sinne as from penance due for the same, both the king and his wife queene Maud, with all such persons of honour as in this behalfe had travelled with the king to induce him to be agreeable to his purpose.

1104.
An. Reg. 4. Moreouer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Riuers (who had counselled the king to stand stoutly in the matter, and not to give over his title of such investitures, since his ancestors had used them so long a time before his daies, by reason whereof, in renouncing his right to the same, he should doo a thing greatly prejudiciall to his roiall estate and princely maiesty) were now earnest labourers to agree the king and the pope, in so much that in the end the king was persuaded by Anselme and them to let go his hold, resigning the investitures with staffe and ring; notwithstanding that, he reserved the right of elections, and such other royalties as otherwise appertained to his maiesty, so that such bishops as had done homage to the king, were not disabled thereby, but quietly permitted to receive their iurisdictions.

The earle of Mellent.

The K. persuaded to renounce his title to the investiture of prelates.
Eadmerus.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to see his brother: who through the sugred words and sweet entertainment of the king, released the yearly tribute of 3000. markes, which he should have had out of the realme upon agreement (as before ye have heard) but chiefly indeed at the request of the queene, being instructed by hir husband how she should deale with him that was knowne to be free and liberall, without any great consideration what he presently granted.

Duke Robert commeth into England to visit his brother.

Now having bene here a certaine time, and solaced himselfe with his brother and sister, he returned into Normandie, where shortly after he began to repent him of his follie, in being so liberall as to release the foresaid tribute: whereupon he menaced the king, and openly in his reproch said that he was craftily circumvented by him, and falsly couzened. Divers in Normandie desired nothing more than to set the two brethren at square, and namely Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, with William earle of Mortaigne: these two were banished the realme of England. The earle of Shrewesburie for his rebellious attempts (as before you have heard) and the earle of Mortaigne left the land of his owne willfull and stubborne mind, exiling himselfe onely upon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earldome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the earldome of Cornewall in England, he made suite also for the earldome of Kent, which his vnckle Odo sometime held. Now because he was not onely denied of that suite, but also by order of lawe had certaine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfully detained, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both against those places which the king held, and also against other that belonged to Richard earle of Chester, who was then vnder the kings tuition and gouernement by reason of his minoritie.

Wil. Malm. Factious persons practise to set the two brethren at variance.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Richard earle of Chester.

The threatening words of duke Robert comming at the last to king Henries

eaues, caused him foorthwith to conceiue verie sore displeasure against the duke, in so much that he sent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great resistance, did much hurt in the countrie, by fetching and carieng spoiles and preies. Againe the Normans rather fauoured than sought to hinder the enterprise of king Henrie, because they saw how duke Robert with his foolish prodigalitie and vndiscrēt liberalitie had made awaie all that belonged to his estate; so that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne possession, Roan onelie excepted, which he also would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue consented to his fond motion.

A power of men sent into Normandie.

[55]

1105.
An. Reg. 6.

Now king Henrie hearing of the good successe of his men, passed ouer himselve soone after with a mightie armie, and with little adoo tooke Eureux or (as others haue) Baieux and Caen, which cities when he had furnished with sufficient garisons of men, he repassed the sea into England, bicause the winter approached, and the wether waxed troublesome for such as laie in the field. Herevpon duke Robert considering how vnable he was (by reason that his people failed him at néed) to resist king Henrie, sith the Britans also, and they of Aniou, tooke part with the said king, he thought good to laie armour aside, and to passe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this present danger. But at his arriual here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherefore he hasted thither, and comming to him, made earnest sute for peace, beséeching the king in respect of brotherlie loue to grant the same; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to consider at least wise what appertained to his accustomed gentleness, and to think with himselve that warre betwixt brethren could not be maintained without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obtained against his owne flesh. Wherefore he required him not to refuse peace, freendship, and voluntarie beneuolence, sith he was now readie to render all that euer he had into his hands.

Gemeticensis.

The k. passeth ouer to Normandie. *Simon Dun. Gemeticensis. Polydor.*

1106.
An. Reg. 7.

The king nothing mooued herewith, but as one that disdained to make a direct answer, murmured certeine things with himselve, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and vnstable mind, or as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the vttermost. Duke Robert also, abhorring and vtterlie detesting this his brothers pride, streightwaies returned home, purposing with himselve to the hazard of warre, sith he sawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Wherevpon he prouided for wars with all his power, seeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him small leisure thereto, who followed him incontinentlie with a new supplie of souldiours, desiring nothing more than to get him within his danger.

The brethren depart in displeasure.

K. Henrie passeth into Normandie to pursue his brother.

Soone after, both the brethren approching neere together, ech of them pitched their campe within the sight of other, preparing themselues to giue battell with princelie stomachs. The king surmounting the duke his brother in number, first bringeth foorth his men in order of battell, and streightwaies the duke likewise, both being readie to trie the matter by dint of sword. Then the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets sounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings souldiers trusting too much in their owne force, by reason of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and assailed their enimies on ech side verie disorderlie: but the Normans being wiselie ordered and instructed by their duke, kept themselues close together: so that the kings battell, which had without order stept foorth to assaile them, finding sturdie resistance, began now to result or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but also William earle of Mortaigne preased forward amongst their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Whervpon the king, when he perceiued how his men began to shrink, cried vpon them to staie, and withall commanded his horssemen to breake vpon the flanks of his enimies battell: which they did, with such violence that they disparkled the same, and caused the enimies to scatter. Herewith also the kings footmen, together with the horssemen inuaded the Normans afresh, who neuerthelesse resisted a while, till being compassed about in maner on euerie side, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few driuen in sunder by a multitude, are assailed on all sides. The king then hauing vanquished his aduersaries, followeth the chase, and maketh great slaughter of them, though not without some losse of his owne: for the Normans despairing of safetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their pursuers.

They ioine in battell.

The Normans vanquished.

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Duke Robert and the earle of Mortaigne fighting most manfullie in the verie prease of enimies, were taken or (as other saie) betrayed, and deliuered into their enimies hands: beside which twaine, William Crispine, William Ferreis, Robert Estoutuille the elder, with foure hundreth men of armes, and to the number of 10. thousand footmen were taken. As for the number that were

The earle of Mortaigne. *Eadmerus. W. Crispine. W. Ferreis. Robert de Estoutuille.* The number slaine.

slaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certeintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in those daies was sorer fought, nor with greater bloudshed either in Normandie, or elsewhere.

Gemeticensis sheweth breefelie, that king Henrie was offended with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for wasting his reuenues with such riotous demeanour as he vsed, so that he left himselfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not passed to haue giuen awaie also, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their consent. The king (I saie) taking displeasure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and assuming a mightie power, first besieged Baieux, & then halfe destroieng it, he tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen also, and then besieged a castell called Tenerchbray perteing to the earle of Mortaigne, during which siege his brother Robert, and the said earle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chase him out of the countrie. But the punishment of God fell so vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their freends with them, as Robert de Estoutuille, William de Crispine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as prisoners. ¶ Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloodshed, for he lost not a man: as for his aduersaries, there died in the field not past three score persons.

Gemeticensis.

This séemeth also to agree with that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth: for he saith, that king Henrie with small adoo brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troope of men came against him then lodging néere the said castell of Tenerchbray. The earle of Mortaigne was also taken, but the earle of Shrewsburie escaped by flight, notwithstanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practise some priuie conspiracie against the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the same Wil. Malme. affirmeth) vpon a saturdaye, being the daie of S. Michaell, In gloria, and (as maybe thought) by the prouident iudgment of God, to the end that Normandie should be subdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares passed, king William the Conquerour first set foot on land at Hastings, when he came out of Normandie to subdue England. Neither dooth Simon Dunelmensis varie in anie thing from Gemeticensis touching the conclusion of this businesse, and the taking of duke Robert.

Wil. Mal.

Robert de Belesme.

The 27. of September chro. de Nor.

Simon Dun.

1107.

These wars being thus finished, and the countrie set in quiet, which through the méere folie of duke Robert was woonderfullie impouerished, the king receiued the keies of all the townes and castels that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Mortaigne, and furnished the same with garisons to be kept for his behoofe. Hauing thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouin, where archbishop Anselme then remained, whome by mediation of freends he receiued to fauour againe, and sending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himselfe.

Matth. West.

Anselme returneth home.

Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortlie committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the space of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warrior, & comparable with the best capiteines that then liued, had he béene somewhat more warie and circumspect in his affaires, and therewithall constant in his opinion. His worthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie atchiued against the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and sundrie writers to his high commendation and long lasting praise. It is said also, that he was after his taking once set at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forswear the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auoid within the space of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But bicause he was perceiued to practise somewhat against the king, he was eftsoones taken againe, and hauing his eies put out, committed to prison, where finallie worne through age and gréefe of mind, he ended his miserable life. ¶ The forme of banishing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confessor, and remained as a law in vse till these our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to escape the punishment of death due for their offenses. By a latter custome it was also deuised, that they should beare a crosse in their hand, as a signe that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place sake where they sought for succour.

Duke Robert prisoner in the castell of Cardiff. *Gemeticensis.*

Polydor.

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But duke Robert (as it should appeere by that which others write) found no such fauour, saue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forests, parks, and chases néere the place where he was appointed to remaine; so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horsse, and with all post hast rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped: howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue and crie, and at length ouertooke him in a medow, where he had laid his horsse vp to the bellie in a quauemire. Then being

Matth. West.

brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison, aduertising the king of his demeanour: wherevpon he commanded that the sight of his eies should be put out, but so, as the balles of them should remaine unbroken, for the auoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glassie tunicles should take hurt.

In his returne out of the holie land, he married one Sibell, the earle of Conuersans sister in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Geffrey (as some bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyshard duke of Puglia, and by hir had issue one sonne named William afterward earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

John Pike.

Here must I leaue duke Robert, and speake somewhat of Anselme the archbishop, who shortlie after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Paschall, wherein Anselme was authorised to dispose and order things as should séeme to him most expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the English clergie consisted of préests sonnes, he committed to his discretion the order to dispense with them; namelie, that such as were of commendable life and sufficient learning, might be admitted to the ministerie, as the necessitie of time and state of the church should require. The pope also by the same letters gaue Anselme authorise to absolue Richard the prior of Elie, vpon his satisfaction pretermitted, and to restore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Elie, if the king thought it conuenient.

Richard prior of Elie.

1107.

About the calends of August, in this yeare 1107, the king held a councell of bishops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his pallace at London, where in the absence of Anselme, the matter touching the inuestitures of churches, was argued vpon for the space of thrée daies together, and in the end because the pope had granted the homages of bishops and other prelates to the king, which his predecessor Urban had forbidden, together with the inuestitures; the king was contented to consent to the popes will in forbearing the same. So that when Anselme was come, the king in presence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thenceforth no bishop nor abbat should be inuested within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other side it was granted againe by Anselme, that no person elected into the prelatie, should be deprived of his consecration for dooing his homage to the king.

These things thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were provided of gouernors, which were placed without any inuestiture of staffe or ring. About this time, Anselme consecrated fiue bishops at Canturburie in one day, archbishop William to the see of Winchester, Roger that was the kings chancellor to Salisburie, William Warlewast to Excester, Remaline the quéenes chancellor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamorgan in Wales.

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About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an exundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beséeching the king to haue some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the riuer of Twéed: but within foure yeres after, they were remooued into a corner by the sea side in Wales, called Penbroke-shire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the vnquiet Welshmen.

Polydor. Ran. Higd.

Flemings cōming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

¶ It should appeare by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came ouer about that time by reason their countrie was ouerflowne with the sea (as ye haue heard) but of other also that arriued here long before, euen in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the freendship of the quéene their countriewoman, sithens which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them: wherevpon king Henrie deuised to place them in Penbroke-shire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercenesse of the Welshmen. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe: for after they were settled there, they valiantlie resisted their enimies, and made verie sharpe warres vpon them, sometimes with gaine, and sometimes with losse.

Wil. Malms.

1108.
An. Reg. 9.

In the yeare 1108. Anselme held an other synod or councell, wherent in presence of the king, and by the assent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

A councell. Sim. Dunel. Eadmerus.

1 That préests, deacons, and subdeacons should liue chastlie, and kéepe no women in their houses, except such as were neere of kin to them.

Préests are sequestred frō their wiues.

2 That such preests, deacons, and subdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the councell holden at London, had either kept their wiues, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus saith, there was no small number) they should put them quite away, if they would continue still in their préesthood.

3 That neither the same wiues should come to their houses, nor they to the houses where their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to say to them, they should take two or thrée witnesses, and talke with them abroad in the street.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accused of breaking this ordinance, he should be driuen to purge himselfe with six sufficient witnesses of his owne order, if he were a préest: if a deacon, with foure: and if a subdeacon, with two.

5 That such preests as would forgo seruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wiues) should be depriued of their benefices, and not suffered to come within the quire.

6 That such as contemptuously kept still their wiues, and presumed to say masse, if being called to satisfaction, they should neglect it, they should then be excommunicated. Within compasse of which sentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were comprised, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie; and also the punishment by the censures of the church, if they transgressed the ordinance.

Archdeacons and canons.

7 That euerie archdeacon should be sworne, not to take any monie for fauouring any person transgressing these statutes: and that they should not suffer any preests, whome they knew to haue wiues, either to say masse, or to haue any vicars. The like oth should a deane receiue. Prouided that such archdeacons or deanes as refused this oth, should be depriued of their roomes.

Archdeacons to be sworn.

8 That préests, who leauing their wiues, would be content to serue God & the altar, should be suspended from that office, by the space of fortie daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to serue for them: and after, vpon performance of their inioined penance by the bishop, they might return to their function.

Penance.

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertised of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his sonne Lewes, surnamed Crassus might happilie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, sailed ouer into Normandie, to see the countrie in good order, and the townes, castels, and fortresses furnished accordinglie as the doubtfull time required. Now after he had finished his businesse on that side, he returned into England, where he met with ambassadours sent to him from the emperour Henrie. The effect of whose message was, to require his daughter Maud in marriage vnto the said emperour, wherevnto (though she was not then past fiue yeares of age) he willinglie consented, and shewing to the ambassadours great signes of loue, he caused the espousals by waie of procuracion to be solemnized with great feasts and triumphs. This being ended, he suffered the ambassadours honored with great gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

Polydor. [59]
Philip king of Fran. dead.
Lewis le gros K. of France.

Ambassadors from the emperour.

Maud the kings daughter fianced vnto the emperour.

About this time Gerard archbishop of Yorke died, whom one Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded, who for lacke of monie to furnish his iournie, and for other causes (as in his letters of excuse, which he wrot to Anselme it dooth appeere) could not come to Canturburie for to be consecrated of him in so short a time as was conuenient. But Anselme at length admonished him by letters, that without delaie he should dispatch and come to be consecrated. And wheras Anselme vnderstood that the same Thomas was purposed to send vnto Rome for his pall, he doubted, least if the pope should confirme him in his see by sending to him his pall, he would happilie refuse to make vnto him profession of his due obedience. Wherefore to preuent that matter, Anselme wrote to pope Paschall, requiring him in no wise to send vnto the nominated archbishop of Yorke his pall, till he had (according^[3] to the ancient customes) made profession to him of subiection, least some troublesome contentions might thereof arise, to the no small disquieting of the English church. He also aduertised pope Paschall, that bicause he permitted the emperour to inuest bishops, and did not therefore excommunicate him, king Henrie threatened, that without doubt he would resume the inuestitures into his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well as he; and therefore besought him to consider what his wisdom had to doo therein with spéed, least that building which he had well erected, should vtterlie decaie, & fall againe into irrecoverable ruine. For K. Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (saith he) what order you

Eadmerus. The death of Gerard archbishop of Yorke. Thomas the kings chapleine succéded in that see.

The doubt of Anselme.

Anselme writeth to the Pope.

take with the emperour.

The pope receiuing and perusing these letters, wrote againe vnto Anselme a verie freendlie answer concerning the archbishop of Yorke. And as for suffering of the emperour to haue the inuestitures, he signified to him that he neither did nor would suffer him to haue them: but that hauing borne with him for a time, he now ment verie shortlie to cause him to feele the weight of the spirituall sword of S. Peter, which alreadie he had drawen out of the scaberd, therewith to strike if he did not the sooner forsake his horrible error & naughtie opinion.

The popes answer to Anselme.

There was another cause also that moued Anselme to doubt of the archbishop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appeered. For being summoned to come and receiue his consecration at Canturburie (as alreadie yee haue heard) through counsell of the canons Yorke he refused so to doo: bicause they informed him that if he so did, it should be greatlie preiudiciall to the liberties of that sée, whose archbishop was of like authoritie in all things vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, so that he was bound onelie to fetch his consecration and benediction at Canturburie, but in no wise to acknowledge anie subiection vnto that sée. ¶ For ye must vnderstand, that there was great stomaching betwixt the clergie of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Yorke, about the metropolitane prerogatiue: and euer as occasion serued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels, they of Yorke sticked not to vtter their gréefes, in that (as they tooke it) some iniurie was offered them therein.

The archbishop of Yorke refuseth to come vnto Canturburie to be consecrated.

Looke in the 15. pa. of the debate betwéene Thomas of Yorke^[4] & Lanfranke of Canturburie.^[5]

1109.

The archbishop of Yorke being thus instructed by the canons of his church, signified to archbishop Anselme the cause why he came not at his summons. The copie of a parcell whereof is here exemplified. "Causam, qua differtur sacratio mea, quam nemo studiosius quàm ego vellet accellerare, qui protulerunt, non desistunt corroborare. Quamobrem, quàm periculosum & quàm turpe sit, contra consensum ecclesiæ, cui præfici debeo, regimen ipsius inuadere, vestra discretio nouerit. Sed & quàm formidabile & quàm sit euitandum, sub specie benedictionis maledictionem induere," &c: that is;

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"The cause why my consecration is deferred, which no man liuing would wish to be doone with more speed than I my selfe: those that haue prolonged it, ceasse not to confirme. Wherefore how dangerous and how dishonest it should be for me to inuade the gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule, without cōsent of the same, your discretion rightwell vnderstandeth. Yea and how dreadful a thing it is, and how much to be auoided to receiue a curse, vnder colour of a blessing," etc.

Anselme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the said Thomas archbishop of Yorke about this matter, and now receiuing this answer, could not be quiet in mind, and therevpon taking aduice with certeine bishops whom he called vnto him, determind to send two bishops vnto the said Thomas of Yorke: and so the bishop of London (as deane to the archbishop of Canturburie) & the bishop of Rochester (as his household chapleine) were sent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effect of their message: but he deferred his answer, till a messenger which he had sent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was returned, and so without any full answer the bishops came backe againe.

The bishop of London deane to the archbishop of Canturburie. The bishop of Rochester his chapleine.

Howbeit shortlie after, there came to Canturburie a messenger on the behalfe of the archbishop of Yorke, with letters inclosed vnder the kings seale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded Anselme, that the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke might staie till the feast of Easter; and if he might returne into England by that daie, he promised (by the aduice had therein of the bishops and barons of his realme) that he would set a direction betwixt them in all matters, whereof anie controuersie had bene moued heretofore: or if he could not returne so soone, he would yet take such order, that brotherlie loue & concord might remaine betwixt them. When he that brought these letters required an answer, Anselme answered, that he would signifie his mind to the king, and not to his maister. Immediatlie therefore as the deane of Chichester sent ouer from Anselme, with a moonke of Bechellouin to the king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beséech his maiestie, by his authority to prouide, that no discord should rise to the diuiding of the present state of the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he had commanded him to grant vnto Thomas the archbishop of Yorke, a time of respite; he should take for certeine answer, that he would rather suffer himselfe to be cut in peeces, than to grant so much as one hours space on the said Thomas of Yorke, whom he knew alreadie to haue set himselfe vniustlie against the ancient constitutions of holie fathers, and against the Lord himselfe. The messengers declared these things to the king, and brought

A stout prelat.

Anselme sendeth to the king.

word backe againe at their returne, that the king had heard their message with faourable mind, and promised by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted vnitie, and not any diuision in the church of England.

All this while Anselme was detained with long and gréuous sicknesse, and yet not forgetfull of the obstinate dealing of Thomas of Yorke, he wrote letters vnto him, by vertue whereof he suspended him from exercising all pastorall function, till he had reformed his errour, submitted himselfe to receiue his blessing, and acknowledged his subiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predecessours Thomas and Gerard had doone, and before them other ancients, as custome had prescribed. Thus he charged him, vpon paine of cursing, except he would renounce his archbishops dignitie: for in so dooing he did grant him licence to vse the office and ministerie of a préest (which before time he had taken vpon him) or else not.

Anselme sick.

In the same letters he prohibited all the bishops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wise they should consecrate him, vpon paine of cursing: and if he should chance to be consecrated by any stranger, that in no wise they should (vnder the like paine) receiue him for archbishop, or communicate with him in any condition. Euerie bishop also within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of these leters directed to him from Anselme vnder his seale, commanding them to behaue themselues therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the subiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March.

Letters from Anselme.

[61]

1109.
An. Reg. 10.

Notwithstanding all this, vpon the 21. of Aprill insuing, Anselme ended his life in the sixteenth yéere after his first preferment to that sée, being thréescore and sixtéene yeeres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, néere to the Alpes, in a citie called Aosta, he was brought vp by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbishop, was abbat of the monasterie of Bechellouin in Normandie.

Augusta Prætoriana.

About the same time was the bishops sée of Elie erected by the king, who appointed one Haruie to be the first bishop there, who before had béene bishop of Bangor. Cambridgeshire was annexed to that see, which bicause it had of former time belonged to the see of Lincolne, the king gaue vnto the bishop of Lincolne (as it were in recompense) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elie, named Richard, desirous to honour himselfe and his house with the title of a bishops dignitie, procured the erection of that bishoprike, first moouing the king therein, and after persuading with the bishop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet yer the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and so the said Haruie enioied the roome: wherein the prouerbe tooke place, that One soweth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to procéed.

Matth. West. The first erection of the bishoprike of Elie. *Eadmerus.*

Richard prior of Elie.

Polydor.

Shortlie after the deceasse of Anselme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbishop of Yorke. Howbeit now that Anselme was dead, the said Legat wist not what to doo in the matter, bicause he was appointed to deliuer the pall first and immediatlie vnto Anselme, and further therein to deale (concerning the bestowing thereof) as should séeme good vnto him.

Eadmerus.
A legate from Rome.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the solemnitie of that feast, he called an assemblie of the bishops, to vnderstand what was to be doone in the matter, for the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke. Here were the letters shewed which the archbishop Anselme had (a little before his death) directed vnto euerie of the bishops as before yee haue heard. Which when the earle of Mellent had read, and vnderstood the effect, he asked what he was that durst receiue any such letters without the kings assent and commandement: At length the bishops aduising themselues what they had to doo, required Samson bishop of Worcester to declare his opinion, who boldlie spake these words; "Although this man, who is elected archbishop, is my sonne, whome in times past I begot of my wife, and therefore ought to seeke his aduancement as nature and worldlie respects might mooue me: yet am I more bound vnto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honor that I doo beare, and by the ministerie of a bishoplke office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deserued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it should be notified vnto you all, that I meane to obeie in euerie condition the commandement contained in the letters of our father Anselme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine assent, that Thomas nominated archbishop of Yorke shall be consecrated, till he haue professed his due and canonicall obedience touching his subiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my selfe was present when my brother Thomas archbishop of Yorke, constreined both by ancient customes and inuincible reasons, did professe the like subiection vnto

The earle of Mellent.

Samson bishop of Worcester.

Looke in pa. 15, where you shall see this matter determined.[6]

archbishop Lanfranke, and all his successours the archbishops of Canturburie."

These words thus vttered by the bishop of Worcester, all the bishops returned together, comming before the kings presence, boldlie confessed that they had receiued Anselmes letters, and would not doo any thing contrarie to the tenour of the same. Whereat the earle of Mellent shooke the head, as though he ment to accuse them of contempt towards the king. But the king himselfe vttered his mind, and said, that whatsoever other men thought of the matter, he suerlie was of the like mind with the bishops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anselms cursse. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Yorke should either acknowledge his subiectiō to the church of Canturburie, or else forgo his dignitie of archbishop: wherevpon in the end he came to London, and there vpon the 28. daie of Maie was consecrated by Richard bishop of London, as deane to the sée of Canturburie. Then hauing the profession or protestation of his subiectiō to the sée of Canturburie deliuered him vnder seale, he brake vp the same, and read the writing in maner and forme following:

The protestations of the bishops to the king.

[62]

"Ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ consecrandus metropolitanus, profiteor subiectiōnem & canonicam obedientiam sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ, & eiusdem ecclesiæ primati canonicè electo & consecrato, & successoribus suis canonicè inthronizatis, salua fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & salua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas antecessor meus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ex parte sua professus est:" that is;

The tenour of the profession which the archbishop of Yorke made vnto the archbishop of Canturburie.

"I Thomas to be consecrated metropolitane archbishop of Yorke, professe my subiectiō and canonicall obedience vnto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the same church, canonicallie elected and consecrated, and to his successours canonicallie inthronized, sauing the faith which I owe vnto my souereigne lord Henrie king of the English, and sauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predecessour professed on his behalfe vnto the holie church of Rome."

1110.

When this writing was read, the bishop of London tooke it, and deliuered it vnto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to kéepe the same as a testimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbishop of Yorke consecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that sée, who when he was consecrated, the popes Legate went vnto Yorke, and there deliuered to the same archbishop the pall, wherewith when he was inuested, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

At the feast of Christmasse next insuing, the king held his court at London with great solemnitie. The archbishop of Yorke prepared to haue set the crown on the king's head, and to haue soong masse afore him, bicause the archbishops see at Canturburie was void. But the bishop of London would not suffer it, claiming as high deane to the sée of Canturburie to execute that office, and so did, leading the king to the church after the maner. Howbeit when they should come to sit downe at dinner, there kindled a strife betwixt the said two bishops about their places, bicause the bishop of London, for that he had beene ordeined long before the archbishop, and therefore not onelie as deane to the see of Canturburie, but also by reason of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper seat. But the king perceiuing their maner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his house, and get them to dinner at their innes.

Strife betwixt bishops.

An. Reg. 11.

About the same time the cause of the mariage of préests and their keeping of women came againe into question, so that by the kings commandement, they were more streightlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anselmes time. For after his deceasse, diuerse of them (as it were promising to themselues a new libertie to doo that which in his life time they were constrained sore against their willes to forbear) deceiued themselues by their hastie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the ecclesiasticall lawes compelled them to stand to and obeie the decree of the councill holden at London by Anselme (as before ye haue heard) at least wise in the sight of men. But if so it be (saieth Eadmerus) that the préests attempt to doo worse, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anselmes dooings, let the charge light on their heads, sith euerie man shall beare his owne burthen: for I know (saieth he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their one cousins (I will not say their owne sisters and daughters) shall not suerlie escape his iudgement.

Préests prohibited to marrie or kéepe women.

About the same time manie woonders were seene and heard of. The riuer of Trent néere to Notingham, for the space of a mile ceased to run the woonted

The riuer of Trent dried vp.

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course during the time of foure & twentie houres, so that the chanell being dried vp, men might passe ouer to and fro drie shod.

Also a sow brought foorth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreouer a comet or blasing star appéered in a strange sort: for rising in the east, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the course forward, but seemed to go backward, as if it had bin retrograde.

Monsters.
A comet. *Wil. Thorne.*
Matth. West.

About this season the king married Robert his base sonne to the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his said sonne earle of Glocester, who afterwards builded the castels of Bristow and Cardiff, with the priorie of S. James in Bristow, where his bodie was buried.

John Stow. Robert the kings base son created earle of Glocester.

1111.
An. Reg. 12.

In the yeare following, Foulke earle of Aniou, enuieng the prosperous estate of king Henrie, and lamenting the case of duke Robert, wan the citie of Constances, by corrupting certeine of the kings subiects the inhabitants of the same. Whereof king Henrie being aduertised, passed ouer into Normandie, recouered the said citie, punished the offenders, reuenged himselve of the earle, and returned into England.

Fabian. The citie of Constances^[7] taken. The king passeth into Normandie.

1112.

Now, as also before, the king continued his inordinate desire of enriching himselve, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *Sacra* of the poets *Per antiphrasin*) he pinched manie so sore, that they ceased not to speake verie ill of his dooings. He did also incurre the misliking of verie manie people, bicause he kept still the sée of Canturburie in his hands, and would not bestow it, for that he found sweetnesse in all the profits and reuenues belonging therevnto, during the time that it remained vacant, which was the space of foure yeares, or thereabouts. In like maner, when he was admonished to place some méet man in the roome, he would saie, that he was willing to bestow it, but he tooke the longer time, for that he meant to find such a one to prefer therto as should not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anselme in doctrine, vertue and wisdom. And sith there was none such yet to be found, he suffered that sée to be void till such could be prouided. This excuse he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacation.

The archbishops sée of Canturburie in the kings hand foure yeares.

1113.
An. Reg. 13.

Howbeit not long after, he translated one Richard bishop of London to that archbishoprike, who enioieng it but a while, he gaue the same to one Rafe then bishop of Rochester, and made him archbishop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that see. He was elected at Windsor the 26. daie of Aprill, and on the 16. daie of Maie installed at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feast which was holden at the same. Soone after likewise he sent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Paschall by one Anselme nephue vnto the late archbishop Anselme. About this time also the pope found himselve gréeued, for that his authoritie was but little estéemed in England, & for that no persons were permitted to appeale to Rome in cases of controuersie, and for that (without seeking to obteine his licence and consent) they did kéepe their synods & counsels about ecclesiasticall affaires, neither would obeie such Legats as he did send, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In so much that one Cono the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the préests of Normandie, bicause they would not come to a synod which they had summoned. Wherevpon the king being somewhat troubled, by aduice of his counsell, sent the bishop of Excester to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter.

The kings excuse.

Eadmerus.

1114.
An. Reg. 14.

Not long after this Thomas the archbishop of Yorke died: after whom succeeded Thurstane, a man of a loftie stomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie first began to contend with Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primasie. And though the king aduised him to stand to the order which the late archbishops of Yorke had obserued, yet he would not stiaie the matter, sith he saw that archbishop Rafe being sicke and diseased, could not attend to preuent his dooings. Thurstane therfore consecrated certeine bishops of Scotland, and first of all Giles Aldane the elect bishop of S. Ninian, who promised and tooke his oth (as the manner is) to obeie him in all things as his primate.

The popes authoritie not regarded in England.

The bishop of Excester sent to Rome.

Thurstane archbishop of Yorke.

[64]

Giles Aldane bishop of S. Ninian.

The citie of Worcester about this season was by a casual fire almost wholie burnt vp and consumed. Which mishap, bicause that citie ioineth néere vnto Wales, was thought to be a signification of troubles to folow by the insurrection of the Welshmen: who conceiuing hope of good speed by their good successe in the wars held with William Rufus, began now to inuade & waste the English marshes. Whervpon king Henrie desirous to tame their hautie stomachs (bicause it was a gréeffe to him still to be vexed with such tumults and vprisings as they dailie procured) assembled a mightie armie and went into Wales. Now bicause he knew the Welshmen trusted more to the

Floriacensis. Wigorniensis.
Worcester burnt.
Polydor.
The Welshmen inuade the english marshes. K. Henrie entreth into Wales with an armie.

woods and mountains, than to their owne strength, he beset all the places of their refuge with armed men, and sent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waste, & to hunt the Welsh out of their holes. The soldiours (for their parts) néeded no exhortation: for remembring the losses susteined afore time at the Welshmens hands, they shewed well by their fresh pursute, how much they desired to be reuenged, so that the Welsh were slaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceiued the huge slaughter, & saw that hauing throwne away their armour and weapons, they sought to saue themselues by flight, he commanded the souldiours to ceasse from killing, and to take the residue that were left prisoners, if they would yéeld themselues: which they did, and besought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgiue them.

The king thus hauing vanquished and ouercome the Welshmen, placed garisons in sundrie townes & castels, where he thought most necessarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Thither shortlie after came ambassadours from the emperour, requiring the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and (being^[8] now viripotent or mariable) desired that she might be deliuered vnto them. King Henrie hailing heard their sute and willing with spéed to performe the same, raised a great tax among his subiects, rated after euerie hide of land which they held, & taking of ech one thrée shillings towards the paiment of the monie which was couenanted to be giuen with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be employed in sending hir foorth, he appointed certeine of his greatest péeres to safe conduct hir vnto hir husband, who with all conuenient speed conueied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable maner there deliuered hir vnto the foresaid emperour. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his sonne William duke of that countrie, causing the people to sweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof rose a custome, that the kings of England from thencefoorth (so long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euer their eldest sonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had doone this with other his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England.

Garisons placed in Wales by K. Henrie. *Floriacensis. Wigorniensis.*

A subsidie raised by the king to bestowe with his daughter. *Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114. In this yeare about the fiftéenth daie of October, the sea so decreased and shranke from the old accustomed water-markes and coasts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue passed on foot ouer the sands and washes, for the space of a whole daie together, so that it was taken for a great woonder. It was also noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the sea vsed to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became so shallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namlie the riuer of Thames was so lowe for the space of a day and a night, that horsse, men, and children passed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and also vnder the bridge, the water not reaching aboue their knées. Moreouer, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like maner, the Winter was verie extreame cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

The sea decreaseth. Wonders. *Wil. Thorne.*

Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Matth. Westm.

1115.
An. Reg. 16. In like maner, the Winter was verie extreame cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

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1116.
An. Reg. 17. Not long after this, Griffin ap Rees tooke a great preie and bootie out of the countries subiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings castels, bicause he would not restore such lands and possessions vnto him as appertained to his father Rées or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithstanding this businesse) being not otherwise troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voiage into those quarters, and first called a councell of his lords both spirituall and temporall at Salisburie on the nintéenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet state of the land. And first he sware the Nobilitie of the realme, that they should be true to him and his sonne William after his deceasse. Secondlie, he appeased sundrie matters then in controuersie betwixt the Nobles and great Péers, causing the same to be brought to an end, and the parties made freends: the diuision betwixt the archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in triall, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Thurstane would not stand to any décréé or order therin, except he might haue had his whole will, so that the king taking displeasure with him for his obstinate demeanor, commanded him either to be conformable to the décréé made in Lanfranks time, or else to renounce his miter, which to doo (rather than to acknowledge any subiection to the archbishop of Canturburie) he séemed to be verie willing at the first, but afterwards repented him of his speech passed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, trusting by some meanes to persuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be consecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the sée of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter rested long in sute, as heereafter shall appeare.

Griffin ap Rice dooth much hurt on the marshes. *Polydor.*

Thurstane refuseth to obey the kings pleasure. *Eadmerus.*

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor saith) how the bishops in those daies were blinded with couetousnesse and ambition, not considering that it was their duties to despise such worldlie pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a studious endeouour for the health of such soules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembered they the simplicitie of Christ, and his contempt of worldlie dignitie, when he refused to satisfie the humor of the people, who verie desirouslie would haue made him a king, but withdrew himselfe, and departed to a mountaine himselfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apostles, contending one with another for the primasie, forgetting the vocation whereto Christ had separated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles; but to submit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Christ their maister an example and president.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England vsed but seldome to call together the states of the realme after any certeine maner or generall kind of processe, to haue their consents in matters to be decreed. But as the lords of the priuie councill in our time doo sit onlie when necessitie requireth, so did they whensoever it pleased the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the first vse of the parlement to haue proceeded, which sith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, insomuch that whatsoever is to be decreed touching the state of the commonwealth and conseruation thereof, is now referred to that councill. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other person to be vsed for the wealth of the realme, it shall not yet be receiued as law, till by authoritie of this assemblie it be established.

The first vse of parlements in England.

Now bicause the house should not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned cōmoners, whose propertie is to vnderstand little reason, and yet to conceiue well of their owne dooings: there was a certeine order taken, what maner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sort of temporall men should be called vnto the same, and how they should be chosen by voices of free holders, that being as attornies for their countries, that which they confessed or denied, should bind the residue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This councill is called a parlement, by the French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publike assemblies.

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The maner of their consulting heere in England in their said assemblies of parlement is on this wise. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commoditie both of the prince and of the people, that euerie man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are appointed to sit in seuerall chambers, the king, the bishops, and lords of the realme sit in one chamber to conferre together by themselues; and the commoners called knights for the shires, citizens of cities, and burgesses of good townes in another. These choose some wise, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or speaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth those things vnto them that are to be talked of, and asketh euerie mans opinion concerning the conclusion thereof. In like sort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower house in respect of their estate) he declareth it againe to the lords that sit in the other chamber called the higher house, demanding likewise their iudgments touching the same. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the consent of the more part of both those houses. Now when they haue said their minds, and yeilded their confirmation therevnto, the finall ratification is referred to the prince; so that if he thinke good that it shall passe for a law, he confirmeth also by the mouth of the lord Chancellor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the custome of that house.

The maner of the parlement in England

The same order is vsed also by the bishops and spiritualltie in their conuocation houses. For the bishops sit in one place by themselues as in the higher house, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the spiritualltie in an other, as in the lower house, whose prolocutor declareth to the bishops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbishop (by consent of the more part of them that are assembled in both those conuocation houses) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithstanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houses.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in such decrees (established by authoritie of the prince, the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus assembled in parlement) consisteth the whole force of our English lawes. Which decrees are called statutes, meaning by that name, that the same should stand firme and stable, and not be repealed without the consent of an other parlement, and that vpon good and

great consideration.

About this season, one Owin (whome some name prince of Wales) was slaine, as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whom, or in what sort, he sheweth not. In this eighteenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All hallowes daie, or first of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and such a storme of haile fell, that the people were maruellouslie amazed therwith. Also on the thirteenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the moone was turned into a bloodie colour: which strange accidents fell about the midst of the night. At the same time queene Maud, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other dooings.

Simon Dun.

It chanced vpon a small occasion, that verie sore and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewes surnamed the grosse king of France: the beginning whereof grew herevpon. Theobald earle of Champaigne, descended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reason of affinitie that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adila the sister of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foresaid Theobald had by chance offended the said Lewes, who in reuenge made sharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be sent from his fréends in the meane time valiantlie resisted him, and at length (by reason of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in such sort vexed and annoied the French king, that he consulted with Baldwine earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Aniou, by what means he might best depriue king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and restore the same vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he said it did belong.

Theobald erle of Champaigne.
Polydor.

Hen. Hunt.

Foulke earle of Aniou.

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Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpose, endeauoured on the otherside to resist his attempts, and after he had leuied a sore tribute of his subiects, passed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no small masse of monie, where ioining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purposing to follow the same euen to the vttermost. K. Lewes in the meane time, supposing that all hope of victorie rested in spéedie dispatch of present affaires, determined likewise to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the sudden. But after he perceiued that his enimies were all in a redinesse, and verie well prouided to resist him: he staid and drew backe a little while. Neuertheless in the end he became so desirous to be dooing with king Henrie, that approching néere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie skirmishes with the English, yet no notable exploit passed betwixt them in that yeare.

King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie to assist the erle of Champaigne.

The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

¶ Here will I leaue the kings of England and France skirmishing and encountring one another, and shew something more of the contention that was betwéene the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, to the end that their ambitious desire of worldlie honor may in some respect appéere.

1117.
An. Reg. 18.

About this verie time, Anselme the nephue to archbishop Anselme came againe from Rome, with frée authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which seemed a thing right strange to the English clergie. Wherefore the bishop of Canturburie, to preuent other inconueniences likelie to insue, tooke vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderstand the popes pleasure concerning the truth and certeintie of this matter, and to require him in no wise to diminish the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogatiue of his sée of Canturburie, which hitherto vsed to determine all causes rising in his prouince.

Anselme the popes legat.

The bishop of Canturburie goth to Rome

1118.
An. Reg. 19.

This said archbishop came to Rome, but finding not the pope there, he sent messengers with letters vnto him, then lieng sicke at Beneuento, and obtained a fauourable answer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his setting foorth forward) certifieng him how he had sped in this voiage. The forsaid Anselme was also staid by the king at Roan, and could not be suffered to passe ouer into England all that time, till it might be vnderstood by the returne of the archbishop, what the popes pleasure should be further in that matter. Shortlie after whose repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Paschall was departed this life, and that Gelasius the second was elected in his place. This Gelasius (to auoid the dangers that might insue to him by reason of the schisme and controuersie betwixt the sée of Rome, and the emperour Henrie the fift) came into France, where he liued not long, but died in the abbeie of Clugnie, after whose decease Calixtus the second was called to the papasie.

Pope Gelasius succéded pope^[9] Paschall.

Carlixtus the second of that name pope.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatship of Anselme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation or time, not

onellie to call and celebrate synods for reformation of disorders in the church, but also for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuiued in England (in the which point pope Paschall in his life time thought them in England verie slacke) as by the same bulles more largelie dooth appéere. The archbishop of Canturburie had alreadie staid foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the sées, about the matter in controuersie betwixt him and Thurstane archbishop of Yorke, who was likewise gone ouer to solicit his cause. But where as at the first he could not find the king in anie wise agréeable to his mind, yet when the councill should be holden at Rhemes by pope Calixt, he sued at the leastwise for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant so to doo, till he had promised (vpon his allegiance which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie in anie maner of wise. Neuerthelesse, at his comming thither, he so wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing easilie doone in Rome) fauoured his cause; yea, such was his successe, that the pope consecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuersie depending betwixt Thurstane and Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wise either to consecrate Thurstane himselfe, or grant licence to anie other person to consecrate him; for if he did, surelie (for his part) he would banish him quite out of his dominion, which should not be long vndoone. But now to the purpose.

[68]

1119.
An. Reg. 20.

In this meane time, the warres were busilie pursued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betweene them, with great slaughter on both sides for the space of nine houres. The forewards on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie receiued sundrie stripes on his head at the hands of one William Crispine countie de Eureux, so as (though his helmet were verie strong and sure) the blood burst out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more lustilie about him, and stroke downe diuerse of his enimies, namelie the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the kings feet. Now were the kings people encouraged at the valiancie and prowesse of their king and chieftaine, so that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and setting vpon the rereward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the vttermost. There died and were taken prisoners in this conflict manie thousands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England recouering a towne by the waie called Nicasium, which the French king had latelie woone, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchiued.

The two kings of England & France ioine battell.

King Henrie hurt in the battell.

The earle of Eureux taken prisoner.

Andelei.
Nicasium.

The earle of Flanders (as some write) was so wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that cōming into Normandie in the yeare last past, to make warre against king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he wan the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name Aquæ Nicasij. But as he was come before the towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and assailed the same, he receiued his deaths wound in the head, wherevpon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Rosilare the 17. daie of June.

Matth. Paris. Ia. Meir.

The earle of Flanders wounded.
He departed this life.

Shortlie after Foulke earle of Aniou (who before had aided the French king against king Henrie) became now king Henries freend by aliance, marieng his daughter to William king Henries eldest sonne. But the French king (as their histories make mention) minding still to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, inuaded his countrie againe with a puissant armie, and had destroyed the citie of Chartres, which belonged vnto the same earle, had not the citizens humbled themselues to his mercie: and so likewise did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperour Henrie, the erle aided the French king against the same emperour to^[10] the vttermost of his power. Soone after this, the king came to an enteruiew with pope Calixtus at Gisors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongst other, the king required of the pope a grant of all such liberties as his father enioied within the limits of England and Normandie, and chéefelie that no legat should haue any thing to doo within England, except he required to haue one sent him for some vrgent cause.

Foulke earle of Aniou became the king of Englands man.

The king and the pope come to an enteruiew at Gisors.

All which matters being determind (as the state of the time present required) the pope besought the king to be good vnto archbishop Thurstane, and to restore him to his sée: but the king protested that he had vowed neuer so to doo whilst he liued. Wherevnto the pope answered, that he was pope, and by his apostolike power he would discharge him of that vow, if he would satisfie his request. The king to shift the matter off, promised the pope that he would take aduice of his councill, and giue him further knowledge, as the cause required, wherevpon departing from thense, he did afterwards (vpon farther deliberation) send him this message, in effect as followeth.

The pope is a suiter for Thurstane

The pope offereth to discharge the K. of his vow.

[69]

Eadmerus. The kings answer sent to the pope.

"Whereas he saith he is pope, and will (as he said) assoile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will restore Thurstane to the sée of Yorke: I thinke it not to stand with the honor of a king, to consent in any wise vnto such an absolution. For who shall beléeue an others promise hereafter, if by mine example he sée the same so easilie by an absolution to be made void. But sith he hath so great a desire to haue Thurstane restored, I shall be contented at his request, to receiue him to his sée, with this condition, that he shall acknowledge his church to be subiect vnto the sée of Canturburie, as his predecessours haue doone before him; although in fine this offer would not serue the turne."

Simon Dun. Eadmerus.

1120.
An. Reg. 21.

But now to returne againe to the two princes. Not long after the departure of the pope from Gisors, Foulke earle of Aniou found meanes to make an agreement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes, so that king William sonne to king Henrie did homage vnto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betwéene them, that all those that had borne armour either on the one side or the other, should be pardoned, whose subiects^[11] soeuer they were. In like maner, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, bicause of the controuersie betwixt him and Thurstan archbishop of Yorke, as is aforesaid.

Simon Dun.

The kings of England and France are accorded. *Wil. Malm. Eadmerus.*

Now shortlie after his returne to Canturburie, messengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland vnto him, signifieng, that where the sée of S. Andrews was void, the same king did instantlie require him to send ouer Eadmer a moonke of Canturburie (of whom he had heard great commendation for his sufficiencie of vertue and learning) to be seated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the same which wrote the historie intituled *Historia nouorum in Anglia*, out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the most part of our matters concerning Anselme and Rafe archbishops of Canturburie, in whose daies he liued, and was Anselmes disciple.

Alexander K. of Scots.

Eadmer Anselmes disciple.

Archbishop Rafe was contented to satisfie the request of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obtaining the consent of king Henrie, he sent the said Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the said king Alexander, who receiued him right ioifullie, and vpon the third daie after his comming thither (being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule) he was elected archbishop of S. Andrews by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the rest of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him secretlie of his consecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him consecrated at the hands of Thurstan archbishop of Yorke. In which case when he was informed by the said Eadmer, that no such thing needed to trouble his mind, since the archbishop of Canturburie, being primate of all Britaine, might consecrate him as reason was; the king could not away with that answer, bicause he would not heare that the church of Canturburie should be preferred before the church of S. Andrews. Herevpon he departed from Eadmer in displeasure, and calling one William (sometime moonke of S. Edmundsbury) vnto him, a man also that had gouerned (or rather spoiled) the church of S. Andrews in the vacation: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleasure, whose meaning was vtterlie to remooue Eadmer, as not worthie of that roome. Howbeit, within a moneth after (to satisfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the said Eadmer, and with much adoo got him to receiue the staffe of that bishoprike, taking it from an altar whereon it laie (as if he shuld haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inuested, & went streight to S. Andrews church, where he was received by the quier, the schollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull bishop.

Eadmer receiueth his staffe from an altar.

In this meane while Thurstan nothing slacking his sute in the popes court, obtained such fauour (wherein the king of England also was greatlie laboured vnto) that he wrote letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, that neither the king should permit Eadmer to be consecrated, nor the archbishop of Canturburie in any wise consecrate him if he were therevnto required. Herevpon it came to passe, that finally Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceiued that things went not as he would haue wished (for that he could not get the kings consent that he shuld be consecrated of the archbishop of Canturburie, as it was first meant both by the archbishop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cause should mooue him. In like maner king Henrie, hauing quieted his businesse in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but such publike reioising lasted not long with him. For indéed, this pleasantnesse and mirth was changed into mourning, by aduertisement giuen of the death of the kings sons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who

King Henrie returneth into England. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Polydor. Matth. Paris.
The kings sonnes and his daughter with other Nobles are drowned by shipwracke.

together with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Perch, Richard earle of Chester, with his brother Otwell gouernour to duke William, and the said earle of Chester his wife the kings neece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geoffrey Riddle, Robert Manduit, William Bigot, and diuerse other, to the number of an hundreth and fourtie persons, besides fiftie mariners, tooke ship at Harflew, thinking to follow the king, and sailing foorth with a south wind, their ship thorough negligence of the mariners (who had drunke out their wits & reason) were throwne vpon a rocke, and vtterlie perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25. of Nouember, so that of all the companie none escaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the mast, was driuen with the same to the shore which was at hand, and so saued from that dangerous shipwracke. Duke William might also haue escaped verie well, if pitie had not mooued him more than the regard of his owne preseruation. For being gotten into the shipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the skréeking of his sister in dredfull danger of drowning, and crieng out for succour; wherevpon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the prease of the companie that stroue to leape in with her, that it streightwaies sanke, so that all those which were alreadye in the boat were cast awaie.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the vnaduised speech of William Rufus to the shipmaister, whom he emboldened with a vaine and desperat persuasion in tempestuous weather and high seas to hoise vp sailes; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he sinned presumptuously against God, who in due time punished that offense of his in his posteritie and kinred, euen by the same element, whose fearsenes he himselfe séemed so little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the stormes to cease; as we read Christ did in the gospell by the vertue and power of his word. Here is also to be noted the variableness of fortune (as we commonlie call it) or rather the vncertaine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes dooth raise vp (euen in the^[13] minds of princes) troublesome thoughts, and gréuous passions, to the great empairing of their quietnesse: as here we see exemplified in king Henrie, whose mirth was turned into mone, and his pleasures relished with pang of pensifenes, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midst of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we see the old adage verified, *Miscentur tristia lætis*; and that saing of an old poet iustified;

Looke in page 39.^[12]

"Sæua nouerca dies nunc est, nunc mater amica."

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. opera & dies.

1121.
An. Reg. 22

But to returne to the historie. King Henrie being thus deprived of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to restore that losse, shortly after, euen the 10. of Aprill next ensuing, he married his second wife named Adelia, a ladie of excellent beautie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Louaine, and descended of the noble dukes of Loraine, howbeit he could neuer haue any issue by hir. The archbishop Thurstan (after the manner of obtaining suites in the court of Rome) found such fauour at the hands of pope Calixt, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Rafe archbishop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accursed them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Yorke as Canturburie from the vse of all maner of sacraments: from baptisme of infants, the penance of them that died onelie excepted: if archbishop Thurstan were not suffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of those letters) to inioie his see, without compelling him to make any promise of subiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurstan to returne into the realme, and so repaire vnto Yorke; but with condition, that he should not exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne diocesse as metropolitane, till he had confessed his obstinat error, and acknowledged his obedience to the church of Canturburie.

Eadmerus. Hen. Hunt. The king marieth againe.

[71]

Eadmerus. The pope writeth to king Henrie, in fauour of the archbishop Thurstan, & accurseth him with the archbishop of Canturburie.

Whilest these things were thus a dooing, king Henrie was aduertised, that the Welshmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marshes, & speciallie in Cheshire where they had burned two castells. Meaning therefore to be reuenged on them to the vttermost, he assembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the same into Wales. The Welshmen, hearing that the king was come with such puissance to inuade them, were afraid, and forthwith sent ambassadours, beséeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king mooued with their humble petitions, tooke hostages of them, & remitted them for that time, considering that in mainteining of warre against such maner of people, there was more feare of losse than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his subiects which inhabited néere the marshes, that they shuld not be ouerrun and harried dailie by them (as oftentimes before they had béene) he appointed Warren earle of Shrewesburie to haue the charge of the marshes, that peace might be the

The Welshmen make sturres.
Eadmerus.
The king raiseth an armie to go against the Welshmen.

The Welshmen sue for peace.

More doubt of losse than hope of gaine, by the warres against the Welshmen.

better kept and maintained in the countrie.

Soone after king Henrie caused a chanell to be cast along the countrie in Lincolnshire, from Torksey to the cite of Lincolne, that vessels might haue passage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the same. Moreouer, Rafe bishop of Durham began to build the castell of Norham, vpon the bank of the riuer of Twéed.

Simon Dun. A chanell cast from Torksey to Lincolne. Norham castell built. *H. Hunt.*

At this time likewise Foulke Earle of Aniou being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell against king Henrie, for withholding the iointure of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings sonne that was drowned. He also gaue hir sister in mariage vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, assigning vnto him the earledome of Maime to enioy in the right of his wife.

In the meane time, king Henrie visited the north parts of his realme, to vnderstand the state of the countrie, and to prouide for the suertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requisite.

Polydor.

1122.
An. Reg. 23.

In the yeare next ensuing, the twentieth of October, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that see the space of 8. yeares, in whose roome succéded one William archbishop, who was in number the eight and twentieth from Augustine. Moreouer, Henrie the sonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Glastenburie, was now made bishop of Winchester, a man for his singular bountie, gentlesse and modestie greatlie beloued of the English.

13. Kalends of Nouember.

1123.
An. Reg. 24.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the sea (being^[14] now void of a gouernour (as they suppose) by meanes of the death of the kings sonne) began to make commotions. Soone after it came also to passe that Robert earle of Mellent rebelled against the king, who being spédilie aduertised thereof, sailed foorthwith into those quarters, and besieged the castell of Ponteaudemere pertaining to the said earle, and tooke it. About the same time also the king fortified the castell of Roan, causing a mightie thick wall with turrets thereabout as a fortification to be made. Likewise, he repaired the castell of Caen, the castels of Arches, Gisors, Faleise, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with others, & made them strong. In the meane season, the earle of Mellent (desirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured aid where he could, and so with Hugh earle of Mountfert entred into Normandie, wasting and destroieng the countrie with fire and sword, thinking yer long to bring the same to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in those parts, named William de Tankerulle, being thereof aduertised, laid an ambush for them, and training them within the danger thereof, set vpon them, and after long fight, tooke them twaine prisoners, with diuers other, and presented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceased in that countrie for a time.

Robert earle of Mellent rebelleth. *Hen. Hunt.*
The castle of Roan fortified. *Matth. Paris.*

1124.
An. Reg. 25.

The king hauing in this maner purchased quietnesse by the sword, gaue himselfe somewhat to the reformation of his house, and among other things which he redressed, he caused all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire short, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they ware the same long after the vsage of women.

[72]
Polydor. H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

1125.
An. Reg. 26.

After this also, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Johannes Cremensis was sent into England from pope Honorius the second, to see reformation in certeine points touching the church: but his cheefe errand was to correct preests that still kept their wiues with them. At his first comming ouer he sojourned in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeies, addicting himselfe to lucre & wantonnesse, reaping where he had not sowed. At length, about the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inueihed sore against those of the spiritualtie that were spotted with any note of incontinenie. Manie thought themselues touched with his words, who hauing smelled somewhat of his secret tricks, that whereas he was a most licentious liuer, and an vnchast person of bodie and mind, yet he was so blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his own eies, whilest he espied a mote in another mans. Herevpon they grudged, that he should in such wise call other men to accompts for their honest demeanor of life, which could not render any good reckoning of his owne: insomuch that they watched him so narrowlie, that in the euening (after he had blown his horne so lowd against other men; in declaring that it was a shamefull vice to rise from the side of a strumpet, and presume to sacrifice the bodie of Christ) he was taken in bed with a strumpet, to his owne shame and reproch. But being reprooued thereof, he alledged this excuse (as some write) that he was no preest, but a reformer of preests. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe

Long haire redressed in the court. *Matth. West.*

Johannes Cremensis a legat sent into England.

But this shuld not seeme to be any iust excuse, for *M.P.* saith that the same day he consecrated the

from whence he came, without any performance of that whereabout he was sent.

Lords bodie, & therefore he must néeds be a préest.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whilest he remained in Normandie (which was a long time after the apprehension of the two foresaid earles) vnderstood that his sonne in lawe Henrie the emperour was departed this life at Utregt, the 23. of Maie last past. Wherevpon he sent for his daughter the empresse to come ouer vnto him into Normandie, and hauing set his businesse in order on that side the sea, and taken hir with him, he returned into England before the feast of S. Michaell, where calling a parlement, he caused hir by the authoritie of the same to be established as his lawfull heire and successor, with an article of intaile vpon hir issue, if it should please God to send hir any at all. At this parlement was Daud K. of Scotland, who succéded Alexander the fierce. Stephan earle of Morton and Bullongne, and son of Stephan earle of Blois, nephue to K. Henrie by his sister Adela; these two princes chéefelie tooke their oth amongst other, to obey the foresaid empresse, as touching hir right and lawfull claime to the crowne of England. But although Stephan was now the first that was to sweare, he became shortlie after the first that brake that oth for his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it commeth often to passe, that those which receiue the greatest benefits, doo oftentimes soonest forget to be thankefull.

Polydor. An oth taken by the lords touching the succession of the crowne.

Stephan erle of Bullongne the first that offered to receiue the oth.

This Stephan latelie before by his vnclé K. Henries meanes, had purchased & got in marriage the onelie daughter and heire of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and so after the decease of his father in lawe, became earle there; and further, had goodlie possessions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as farther shall appeare) he kept not his oth made with K. Henrie. Some write that there rose no small strife betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Glocester, in contending which of them should first receiue this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings sonne, and the other affirming that he was a kings nephue.

[73]

Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after this parlement was ended, K. Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, where Thurstan archbishop of Yorke (in preiudice of the right of William archbishop of Canturburie) would haue set the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the church: but he was put backe with no small reproch; and his chapleine (whom he appointed^[15] to beare his crosse before him at his entrance into the kings chappell) was contemptuouslie and violentlie thrust out of the doores with crosse and all by the fréends of the archbishop of Canturburie. In short time, this vnseemlie contention betwixt Thurstan and William the two archbishops grew so hot that not onelie both of them, but also the bishop of Lincolne went to Rome about the deciding of their strife.

Matth. Paris.

Strife betwixt the prelates for preheminece.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the successor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouslie murdered of his owne people: & bicause he left no issue behind him to succéed as his heire, Lewes the French king made William the sonne of duke Robert Curthose earle of Flanders, as the next cousine in bloud to the same Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his fathers side, this William was descended from erle Baldwin surnamed Pius, whose daughter Maud being married vnto William Conqueror, bare by him the aforesaid Robert Curthose, father to this William now aduanced to the gouernment of Flanders, but he wanted not aduersaries that were competitors and malignant sutors for that earledome, who sought to preferre themselues, and to displace him.

Polydor.

William sonne to Robert Curthose made erle of Flanders

King Henrie misliking the promotion of the said William, although he was his nephue, for that he supposed he would seeke to reuenge old displeasures if he might compasse to haue the French kings assistance, thought good with the aduice of his councill to withstand the worst. Wherevpon he tooke order for the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the supplie of souldiers, and other things necessarie to be considered of for the suretie of his realme.

After this, bicause he was in dispaire to haue issue by his second wife, about Whitsuntide he sent ouer his daughter Maud the empresse into Normandie, that she might be married vnto Geoffrey Plantagenet earle of Aniou, and in August after he followed himselfe. Now the matter went so forward, that the mariage was celebrated betwixt the said earle and empresse vpon the first sundaie in Aprill, which fell vpon the third of the moneth, and in the 27. of his reigne.

The empresse Maud married to the earle of Aniou. *Ger. Dor.*

In the yeare ensuing, king Henrie meaning to cause the French king to withdrawe his helping hand from his nephue William earle of Flanders, passed foorth of Normandie with an armie, and inuading France, remained for the space of eight daies at Hipard, in as good quiet as if he had béene within his owne dominions, and finallie obtained that of the French king which he sought for; namelie, his refusall to aid his nephue the said earle of

Matth. Paris.

1126.
An. Reg. 27.

1127.

An. Reg. 28.
1128.

Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claimed the earldome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as he pursued his enimies vnto the walls of a towne called Albust, and soone after died of the hurt the 16. of August.

Ia. Meir.

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occasion of this earles death, who meant (if he might haue brought his purpose to passe, and be once quietlie set in the dominion of Flanders) to haue attempted some great enterprise against king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of prison. Which was knowen well inough to king Henrie, who mainteined those that made him warre at home, both with men and monie; namelie, William of Hypres, who tooke vpon him as regent in the name of Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie procured to make claime to Flanders also, in the title of his grandmother queene Maud, wife to William Conqueror. But to procéed with our historie.

William earle of Flanders deceaseth of a wound.

The fortunat & good hap of K. Henrie.

[74]

William de Hypres.

When king Henrie had sped his businesse in Normandie, where he had remained a certeine space, both about the conclusion and solemnizing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the empresse and the earle of Aniou, and also to see the end of the wars in Flanders, he now returned into England, where he called a great councell or parlement at London, in August: wherein (amongst other things) it was decreed, that préests, which liued vnchastlie, should be punished, and that by the kings permission, who hereby tooke occasion to serue his owne turne: for he regarded not the reformation which the bishops trusted (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but put those préests to their fines that were accused, and suffered them to kéepe their wiues still in house with them, which offended the bishops greatlie, who would haue had them sequestred asunder.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. An act against vnchast préests.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his Christmasse at Worcester, and his Eastermasse following at Woodstocke, where a certeine noble man named Geoffrey Clinton was accused to him of high treason. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne, great death and murren of cattell began in this land so vniuersallie in all places, that no towne nor village escaped frée: and long it was before the same discontinued or ceased. King Henrie passing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with certeine strange dreames or visitations in his sléepe. For as he thought, he saw a multitude of ploughmen with such tooles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approching towards him with their crosier stauies readie to fall vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when he awaked, he lept foorth of his bed, got his sword in his hand, & called his seruants to come & helpe him. Neuerthelesse, repressing those perturbations, and somewhat better aduising himselfe, partlie by his owne reason and partlie by the counsell of learned gentlemen, was persuaded to put such fantasies awaie, and was admonished withall, that whilest he had time and space here on earth, he should redeeme his passed offenses and sinnes committed against God, with repentance, almesdées, and abstinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to practise an amendment of his former lewd life.

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia. *Polydor.*

¶ Here it shall not be amisse to compare the two sonnes of William the Conquerour; namelie William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke together; and to consider among other euent the supernaturall dreames wherewith they were admonished, to excellent good purpose (no doubt) if they could haue applied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you shall read in pag. 44.^[16]) neglecting to be admonished by a dredfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, shortlie after receiued his deaths wound by casualtie or chancemedlie, euen in the prime of his pastime and disport. This other brother H. Beauclerke had the like warnings by the same meanes, and (to a good effect) as the learned doo gather. Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as meere delusorie, alledging by waie of disprooffe an old erroneus verse:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima plures,

Speaking indefinitely of dreames without distinction: whereas in truth great valure is in them in respect of their kind and nature. For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physicall) are not greatlie to be relied vpon; yet those of the metaphysicall sort hauing a speciall influence from aboue natures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerslipped. To determine this matter I remit the studious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the first part of his common places, pag. 32. colonne 2. where dreames In genere are copiously handled.

About the same time, Maud daughter of this Henrie, being forsaken of hir husband Geoffrey earle of Aniou, came to hir father then being in Normandie. What the cause was why hir husband put hir from him, is not certeinlie

Polydor.

[75]

known: but the matter (belike) was not verie great, sith shortlie after he receiued hir againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time also king Henrie remained in Normandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enimies: and holding a counsell at Cleremont, he accursed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had vsurped as pope, and named himselfe Anacletus. Afterward at breaking vp of the same counsell at Cleremont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to mainteine his cause against his enimies to the vttermost of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thanks: and séemed as though he had beene more carefull for the defense of the common cause of the christian common-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, against the Saracens and enimies of the christian religion.

King Henrie and pope Innocent méet at Charters.

In this enteruiew betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were mooued to maruell greatlie at the wisedome and sharpnesse of wit which they perceiued in the Normans. For king Henrie, to shew what learning remained amongst the people of the west parts of Europe, caused the sonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and dispute in the points and subtill sophismes of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chapleins of the pope there present, who were not ashamed to confesse, that there was more learning amongst them here in the west parts, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrie of Italy.

Wil. Malm.

The sons of Robert erle of Melent praised for their learning.

King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the sea was in danger to haue drowned by tempest: so that iudging the same to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie vowes, and after his landing went to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke to doo his deuotions vnto the sepulchre of that king. Now at his comming from thence, being well disposed, towards the reliefe of his people, he lessened the tributes and impositions, and did iustice aswell in respect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

King Henrie returneth into England.

Not long after, Geffrey earle of Aniou had a son named Henrie by his wife the empresse, who (as before is said) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no issue male to succeed him, caused the empresse and this Henrie hir sonne to be established heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other estates taking an oth to be their true and loiall subiects. After this king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Dunstable, and his Easter at Woodstocke. In the same yeare, or (as some haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a bishops sée at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwoolfe, who before was abbat of S. Bothouls, and the kings confessor, was the first bishop that was instituted there. This man immediatelie after his consecration placed regular canons in that church.

Matth. Paris. Prior of L. Oswald as *Wil. Thorne.* hath, and likewise *Matth. Paris.* and *Matt. Westm.*

Not long after, or rather before (as by *Wil. Malmes.* it should séeme) king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, from whence (this being the last time of his going thither) he neuer returned aliue. And as it came to passe, he tooke ship to saile this last iournie thither, euen the same daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (felling vpon the Wednesdaie and being the second of August) a wonderfull and extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne and moone appeared, in somuch that *Wil. Malmes.* who then liued, writeth that he saw the starres plainlie about the sunne at the verie time of that eclipse. On the fridaie after such an earthquake also happened in this realme, that manie houses and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was so sensible, or rather so visible, that the wall of the house wherein the king then sat was lift vp with a double remoue, at the third it settled it selfe againe in his due place. Moreouer at the verie same time also fire burst out of certeine riffes of the earth in so huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwise it could be quenched.

An eclipse^[17].

An earthquake.

[76]

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Robert Curthose departed this life in the castell of Cardiff. It is said that on a festiuall daie king Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape whereof being streict, he rent it in striuing to put it ouer his head: and perceiuing it would not serue him, he laid it aside, and said; "Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a sharper head than I haue." Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not sowed vp, he perceiued it, and asked whether any man had worne it before. The messenger told the whole matter how it happened. Wherewith duke Robert tooke such a greefe for the scornfull mocke of his brother, that he waxed wearie of his life, and said: "Now I perceiue I haue liued too long, that my brother shall cloth me like his almes man with his cast and rent garments." Thus cursing the time of his natiuitie, he refused from thencefoorth to eat or drinke, and so pined awaie, and was buried at Gloucester.

Matth. Paris. *Matth. West.*

The deceasse of Robert Curthose.

1131.
An. Reg. 32.

1132.
An. Reg. 33

1133.
An. Reg. 34.

An. Reg. 35.

King Henrie remaining still in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, shewing no small loue and courtesie to the people, studieng by all meanes possible to win their fauours, and being merie amongst them. Howbeit nothing reioised him more than that his daughter Maud the empresse at the same time was deliuered of hir second sonne named Geffrey, so that he saw himselfe prouided of an assured successor.

1135.
An. Reg. 35.

But whilest he thus passed the time in mirth and solace, he began soone after to be somewhat diseased, and neuer could perceiue any euident cause thereof. Wherefore to driue his greefe away, he went abrode to hunt, and being somewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his comming home he would néeds eat of a lampry, though his physician counselled him to the contrarie: but he delighting most in the meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be dissuaded from it, so that his stomach being annoyed therewith he fell immediatellie into an ague, and so died shortlie after, on the first day of December being as then about 67. yeares of age after he had reigned 35. yeres, and foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowed in his life time with great and large possessions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the stench which had infected manie men, was closed in a buls hide, and how he that censed the head died of the sauour which issued out of the braine.

Polydor.

Matth. West. Sim. Dunel.

King Henrie departeth this life.

*Matth. West. Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dunel.*

¶ Thus we see that euen princes come to the like end by as base meanes as other inferiour persons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furiaē toruo spectacula Marti,
Exitio est auidis mare nautis:
Mista senum ac iuuenum densantur funera, nullum
Sæua caput Proserpina fugit.

Horat. lib. car. 1. ode. 28.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the physicians counsell, and that same ill disposition in diet which the king chose rather to satisfie, than by restraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the preposterous election of vntoward patients, according to that:

Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusq; negata.

Touching his issue, he had by his first wife a sonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the sea: also a daughter named Maud, whome with hir sonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had issue also by one of his concubins, euen a sonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a sonne named Robert, who was created duke of Gloucester.

The issue of king Henrie the first.

He was strong of bodie, flehise, and of an indifferent stature, blacke of haire, and in maner bald before, with great and large eies, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleasant to the beholders, speciallie when he was disposed to mirth.

His stature.

[77]

He excelled in three vertues, wisdom, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithstanding were somewhat blemished with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetousnesse, crueltie, and fleshlie lust of bodie. His couetousnesse appeared, in that he sore oppressed his subiects with tributes and impositions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curtehorse in perpetuall prison, and likewise in the hard vsing of his cousine Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie detained in prison, but also caused his eies to be put out: which act was kept secret till the kings death reuealed it. And his fleshlie lust was manifest, by kéeping of sundrie women.

His vertues.
His vices.

But in his other affaires he was circumspect, in defending his owne verie earnest and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he euer sought to appease; but when such iniuries were offered as he thought not meet to suffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the same, ouercomming all perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, showing himselfe either a most louing fréend, or an extreame enimie: for he would subdue his foes to the vttermost, and aduance his fréends about measure.

His wisdom.

His manlie courage.

With iustice he ruled the commons quietlie, and entertained the nobles honorablie. Théues, counterfeiters of monie, and other transgressors he caused to be sought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be punished with great seueritie. Neither did he neglect reformations of certeine naughtie abuses. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that théues should suffer death by hanging. When he heard that such peeces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongst the people, although the same were good and fine siluer, he caused all the coine in the realme to

His zeale to iustice.

Simon Dun. Théues appointed to be hanged.

be either broken or slit. He was sober of diet, vsed to eat rather for the quailing of hunger, than to pamper himselfe with manie daintie sorts of banketting dishes. He neuer dranke but when thirst mooued him, he would sléepe soundlie and snore oftentimes till he awaked therewith. He pursued his warres rather by policie than by the sword, and ouercame his enimies so neere as he could without bloudshed, which if it might not be, yet with as little slaughter as was possible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in those daies, in wisdom and policie, and so behaued himselfe, that he was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerse abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chéefe. He builded the manour of Woodstocke, with the parke there, wherein (beside the great store of deere) he appointed diuerse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent vnto him from foreign countries farre distant, as lions, lepardes, lynxes, and porcupines. His estimation was such among outlandish princes, that few would willinglie offend him.

His policie.

His praise for his princelie government.

Reading abbey builded.

Murcherdach king of Ireland & his successors had him in such reuerence, that they durst doo nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might stand with his pleasure, though at the first the same Morchad attempted something against the Englishmen more than held with reason, but afterward (vpon restraint of the entercourse of merchandize) he was glad to shew himselfe more fréendlie.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

Moreouer the earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwaies subiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henries fréendship, sending such strange beasts and other things to him oftentimes as presents, wherein he knew the king tooke great delight and pleasure. He had in singular fauour aboue all other of his councell, Roger, the bishop of Salisburie, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whome he committed the gouernment of the realme most commonlie whilest he remained in Normandie.

The earle of Orkney.

Roger bishop of Salisburie.

As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, men forgetting their owne sex and state, transformed themselues into the habit and forme of women, by suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouslie, after the maner of damosels and yong gentlewomen: insomuch that they made such account of their long bushing perukes, that those which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who should haue the longest tresses, and such as wanted, sought to amend it with art, and by knitting wreathes about their heads of those their long and side locks for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandment to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. Preachers indeed inueied against such vnseemlie maners in men, as a thing more agréeeable and seemelie for the contrarie sex.

The abuse of wearing long haire.

Matth. West.

1127.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in those daies that tooke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it séemed to him in his sléepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire (which¹⁸¹ he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impression whereof sanke so deepelie into his mind, that when he awaked out of his sléepe, he streightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorse of conscience herein that thus caused them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuse againe, so as within a twelue moneths space they excéeded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of séemelie order as before.

¶ In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for so manie are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who succéded the said Henrie.

Thus farr the succession and regiment of the Normans; namelie, William Conquerour the father, William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke the sonnes.

Transcriber's notes

There are no footnotes in the original. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained, with the exception of obvious errors which have been corrected by reference to the 1587 edition of which the original is a transcription.

[1] Original reads 'Robert de B

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