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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (04 OF 12) ***

STEPHAN EARLE OF BULLONGNE.

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1135.
An. Reg. 1.

Stephan earle of Bullongne, the sonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer with all speed after the death of his vncler, and tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partlie through confidence which he had in the puissance and strength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partlie by the aid of his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester and abbat of Glastenburie, although that he with other of the Nobles had sworne afore to be true vnto the emperesse and hir issue as lawfull heires of king Henrie latelie deceased.

The same daie that he arriued in England, there chanced a mightie great tempest of thunder, horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. Now because this happened in the winter time, it séemed against nature, and therefore it was the more noted as a foreshewing of some trouble and calamitie to come.

A tempest. *Matth. West.*

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the second day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yeare of the emperour Lothair, the sixt of pope Innocentius the second, and about the xxvii. of Lewes the seuenth, surnamed Crassus king of France, Daudid the first of that name then reigning in Scotland, & entring into the twelfe of his regiment. He was crowned at Westminster vpon S. Stephans day, by William archbishop of Canturburie, the most part of the Nobles of the realme being present, and swearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull souereigne.

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Matth. Paris. Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.

Howbeit, there were diuerse of the wiser sort of all estates, which regarding their former oth, could haue béene contented that the emperesse should haue gouerned till hir sonne had come to lawfull age; notwithstanding they held their peace as yet, and consented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was worthilie punished afterward, insomuch that as well the bishops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerse kinds of calamities and mischances, and that euen here in this life, of which some of them as occasion serueth shall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the bishop of Salisburie) which protested that they were free from their oth of allegiance made to the said emperesse, because that without the consent of the lords of the land she was married out of the realme, whereas they tooke their oth to receiue hir for queene, vpon that condition, that without their assent she should not marrie with any person out of the realme.

Periurie punished.

Wil. Malm. The bishop of Salisburies protestation.

Moreouer (as some writers thinke) the bishops tooke it, that they should doo

The bishops think to please God

God good seruire in prouiding for the wealth of the realme, and the aduancement of the church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceased king vsed himselfe not altogether for their purpose, they thought that if they might set vp and creat a king chéeflie by their especiall meanes and authoritie, he would follow their counsell better, and reforme such things as they iudged to be amisse. But a great cause that mooued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as some authors rehearse) for that Hugh Bigot, sometime steward to king Henrie the first, immediatlie after the decease of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbishop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, tooke a voluntarie oth (although most men thinke that he was hired so to doo bicause of great promotion) declaring vpon the same that he was present a little before king Henries death, when the same king adopted and chose his nepheue Stephan to be his heire and successour, bicause his daughter, the empresse had gréuouslie displeased him. But vnto this mans oth the archbishop and the other lords were so hastie in giuing of credit. Now the said Hugh for his periurie, by the iust iudgment of God, came shortlie after to a miserable end.

in breaking their oth.

Matth. Paris. Hugh Bigot.

1136.

But to our purpose. King Stephan (by what title soeuer he obtained the crowne) immediatlie after his coronation, went first to Reading to the buriall of the bodie of his vnclé Henrie, the same being now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence after the buriall he repaired to Oxenford, and there calling a councill of the lords & other estates of his realme; amongst other things he promised before the whole assemblie (to win the harts of the people) that he would put downe and quite abolish that tribute which oftentimes was accustomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres of hides or land, commonlie called Danegilt, which was two shillings of euerie hide of land. Also, that he would so prouide, that no bishop sees nor other benefices should remaine void, but immediatlie after vpon their first vacation, they should be againe bestowed vpon some conuenient person meet to supplie the roome. Further he promised not to seize vpon any mans woods as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and killed his déere in the same woods, as the maner of his predecessour was. ¶ For a kind of forfeiture was deuised by king Henrie, that those should lose their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced to kill any of the kings déere within the same.

Simon Dun.

Polydor. Simon Dun.

Matth. Paris.

The faire promises of king Stephan.

Moreouer, he granted licence to all men, to build either castell, tower, or other hold for defense of themselues vpon their owne grounds. Al this did he chieflie in hope that the same might be a safegard for him in time to come, if the empresse should inuade the land, as he doubted she shortlie would. Moreouer he aduanced manie yoong & lustie gentlemen to great liuings. For such as were of any noble familie, and thereto through a certeine stoutnesse of stomach sought preferment, easilie obtained of him the possession of castels and great lordships, diuerse of whom he honored with titles of dignitie, creating some of them earles and some lords. Now, such was their importunate sute in demanding, that when he had little more to bestow amongst them, hauing^[1] already giuen sundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceased not to be in hand with him for more, and being denied with reasonable excuses on his behalfe, they thought themselues ill dealt withall, and so turning from him, fortified their castels and holds, making open warre against him: as hereafter shall appeare.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Licence to build castels. [80]

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia.

There came ouer vnto him also a great number of Flemings and Britons to serue him as souldiers, whom he reteined, to be the stronger and better able to defend himselfe against the malice of the empresse, by whom he looked to be molested he wist not how soone. Wherefore he shewed himselfe verie liberall, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of persons at the first, and (to saie truth) more liberall, familiar, and free harted than stood with the maiestie of a king: which was afterward a cause that he grew into contempt. ¶ But to such meanes are princes driuen, that atteine to their estates more through fauour and support of others, than by any good right or title which they may pretend of themselues. Thus the gouernement of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his subiects, but full of gentlenesse, lenitie, courtesie, and mildnes.

The resort of strangers to serue king Stephan.

Howbeit whilest these things were a dooing, certeine of the English Nobilitie, abhorring both the king and the present state of his gouernment, went priuillie out of the realme into Scotland to king Daud, declaring vnto him what a detestable act was committed by the lords of England, in that (contrarie to their oth made vnto the empresse Maud, and hir issue) they had now crowned Stephan. Wherefore they besought the said king to take in hand to reuenge such a vile iniurie practised against hir, and to restore the kingdome vnto the said empresse, which if he did, it should be a thing most acceptable both to God and man.

Polydor.

King Daid hauing heard and well weied the effect of their request, forthwith was so moued at their words, that in all possible hast he assembled an armie, and entring into England, first tooke the citie and castell of Carleil: afterward comming into Northumberland, he tooke Newcastle and manie other places vpon the borders there. Whereof king Stephan being aduertised, streightwaies assembled a power, and forthwith hasted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes, which the enimie had stolen from him by craft and subiltie. At his approch néere to Carleil, he pitched downe his field in the euening, thinking there to staie till the morning, that he might vnderstand of what power the enimie was, whome he knew to be at hand.

The king of Scots inuadeth the English marshes. *Sim. Dunel. Matt. Paris. Polydor.*

K. Stephan encamped néere to his enimie the K. of Scots.

King Daid also was of a fierce courage, and redie enough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the English standards in the field, and diligentlie viewed their order and behaiour, he was at the last contented to giue care to such as intreated for peace on both sides. Wherevpon comming to king Stephan, he entred a fréndlie peace with him, wherein he made a surrender of Newcastle, with condition that he should reteine Cumberland by the frée grant of king Stephan, who hoped thereby to find king Daid the more faithfull vnto him in time of need: but yet he was deceiued, as afterwards manifestlie appéered. For when king Stephan required of him an oth of allegiance, he answered that he was once sworne already vnto Maud the emperesse. Howbeit to^[2] gratifie him, he commanded his son Henrie to receiue that oth, for the which the king gaue him the earledome of Huntington to hold of him for euer.

An accord made betwixt the two kings Stephan and Daid.

[81]

¶ The Scottish chronicles set out the matter in other order, but yet all agréed that Henrie sweare fealtie to king Stephan, as in the said historie of Scotland you may see more at large. Now after that king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Daid, he returned to London, and there kept his Easter with great ioy and triumphes: who whilest he was yet in the midst of all his pastime, about Rogation wéeke, he chanced to fall sicke of a litargie, by reason whereof a rumor was spread ouer all the realme that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the first, yet was it after the occasion of much euill. For vpon that report great sedition was raised by the kings enimies amongst the people, the minds of his fréends were alienated from him, & manie of the Normans (which were well practised in periuries & treasons) thought they might boldlie attempt all mischéfes that came to hand, and hervpon some of them vndertooke to defend one place, and some another. Hugh Bigot erle of Norfolke a valiant chieftain entered into Norwich, Baldwin Reduers tooke Excester, & Robert Quisquere got certeine castels also into his hands.

Hec. Boetius.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.
Simon Dun. King Stephan sicke.

False rumors what hurt they oftentimes doo.

Hugh Bigot. Baldwin Reduers.
Robert Quisquere.

King Stephan hearing what his enimies had doone, though he was somewhat moued with this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the matter, he said merilie to those that stood about him: "We are aliue yet God be thanked, and that shall be knowne to our enimies yer it be long." Neither doubted he any thing but some secret practise of treason, and therefore vsing all diligence, he made the more hast to go against his enimies, whose attempts though streightwaies for the more part he repressed, yet could he not recouer the places (without much adoo) that, they had gotten, as Excester, and others: which when he had obtained, he contented himselfe for a time and followed not the victorie any further in pursuing of his enemies. Wherevpon they became more bold afterward than before; in somuch that soone after they practised diuerse things against him, whereof (God willing) some in places conuenient shall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whilest he studied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no small number of his subiects did dailie shew themselues to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie those liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie those promises which he had made, according to the saieng, "That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, and that which remaineth I will kéepe still." This sudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchased him great enuie amongst all men in the end. About the same time, great commotions were raised in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geoffrey earle of Aniou, husband to Maud the emperesse, setting the whole cuntry in trouble: but yer any newes thereof came into England, king Stephan went against Baldwin Reduers, who being latelie (though not without great and long siege expelled out of Excester) got him into the Isle of Wight, and there began to deuise a new conspiracie. Howbeit the king comming suddenlie into the Isle, tooke it at the first assault, and exiled Baldwin out of the realme.

Polydor.

Geoffrey earle of Aniou.

Simon Dunel. Wil. Paruus.
Polydor.

armie: and being come within two daies iournie of his enimie the earle of Aniou, he sent foorth his whole power of horssemen, diuided into three parts, which were not gone past a daies iournie forward, but they encountred the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Wherevpon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and slue manie of his people. Which enterprise in this maner valientlie atchiued, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in freendship with Lewes the seuenth king of France: and hauing latelie created his sonne Eustace duke of Normandie, he presentlie appointed him to doo his homage vnto the said Lewes for the same.

The earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lwes king of France. Eustace son to king Stephan.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himselfe greeued, that Stephan the yoonger brother had vsurped the lands that belonged to their vncler king Henrie, rather than himselfe, Stephan to stop this iust complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agréed with him, couenancing to paie him yearelie two thousand marks of such current monie as was then in vse. Furthermore, wheras Geffrey the earle of Aniou demanded in right of his wife the empresse, the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to satisfie him with a yearelie pension of fiue thousand marks, which composition he willinglie receiued.

Matth. Paris. Theobald erle of Blois. [82]

K. Stephan agréeth with the earle of Aniou.

Thus when he had prouided for the suertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no sooner arriued, but aduertisement was giuen him of a warre newlie begon with the Scots, whose king vnder a colour of obseruing the oth to the empresse, made dailie insurrections and inuasions into England, to the great disturbance of king Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Wherwith being somewhat mooued, he went streightwaies toward the north parts, and determined first to besiege Bedford by the waie, which appertained to the earledome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the sonne of king Dauid, and therevpon at that present kept with a garison of Scottish men.

Polydor.

The Scots inuade the English borders.

This place did the king besiege by the space of 30. daies together, giuing thereto euerie daie an assault or alarme, in somuch that cōming thither on Christmase daie, he spared not on the morow to assaile them, and so at length wan the towne from them by méere force and strength. King Dauid hearing those newes, and being already in armour in the field, entered into Northumberland, and licensed his men of warre to spoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleasure. Herevpon followed such crueltie, that their rage stretched vnto old and yoong, vnto preest and clearke, yea women with child escaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and slue all that came in their waie: houses were burnt, cattell driuen awaie, and all put to fire and sword that serued to any vse for reléefe, either of man or beast.

Simon Dun..

King Dauid inuaded Northumberland. *Matth. West. Polydor. Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.*

An. Reg. 3.
1138.

¶ Here we see what a band of calamities doo accompanie and waite vpon warre, wherein also we haue to consider what a traine of felicities doo attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine together, we may easilie perceiue in how heauenlie an estate those people be that liue vnder the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what a hellish course of life they lead that haue sworne their seruice to the sword. We may consider also the inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fiersenes, who esteeme not the losse of their subiects liues, the effusion of innocent bloud, the population of countries, the ruinating of ample regions, &c.: so their will may be satisfied, there desire serued. And therefore it was aptlie spoken by a late poet, not beside this purpose:

M. Pal. in suo Capric.

Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiúmque sibi miserorum cæde lucrantur.
O cæci, ô miseri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hôc nil terpius, & nil
Quod magis humanâ procul à ratione recedat.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

Ouid.

But to our storie. King Stephan hearing of this pitifull spoile, hasted forward with great iournies to the rescue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of spéedie comming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he pursued them, and entring into their countrie burned and destroyed the south parts of that realme in most miserable maner. Whilest king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the forren enimies, and reuenge himselfe on them, he was assailed by other at home, & not without the iust vengeance of almightie God, who meant to punish him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the empresse and hir children. For Robert erle of Glocester, base brother vnto the empresse, and of hir priuie councill, sought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment restored to the empresse and hir sonne.

K. Stephan maketh hast to rescue the north parts. The Scots retire. K. Stephan burnt the south parts of Scotland.

Robert earle of Glocester. [83]

Such earnest trauell was made by this earle of Glocester, that manie of his freends which faoured his cause, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conspiracie against their souereigne. First the said earle himselfe tooke Bristowe; and after this diuerse other townes and castels there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpose to kéepe the same to the behoofe of the empresse and hir sonne. Amongst other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Hereford in Wales: William Louell held the castell of Gary: Paganell or Painell kept the castell of Ludlow: William de Moun the castell of Dunestor: Robert de Nicholl, the castle of Warram: Eustace Fitz-John, the castle of Walton; and William Fitz-Alain, the castle of Shrewesburie.

Bristow taken.

Sim. Dun.
Talbot.
Matt. Paris.
Louell. Painell. Fitz-John. Fitz-Alain.

When word hereof came to king Stephan, he was maruellouslie vexed: for being determined to haue pursued the Scots euen to the vttermost limits of their countrie, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the first to stop the proceedings of his enimies at home, least in giuing them space to increase their force, they might in processe of time growe so strong, that it would be an hard matter to resist them at the last. Herevpon therefore he returned southward, and comming vpon his enimies, recouered out of their hands diuers of those places which they held, as Hereford, and the castle of Shrewesburie. About the same time one Walkeline yéelded the castle of Douer vnto the quéene, who had besieged him within the same.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. The castle of Douer deliuered to the quéene. *Polydor.*

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned northwards againe; and comming to Thurstan the archbishop of Yorke, he committed the kéeing of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a redinesse to defend the borders vpon any sudden inuasion. Which thing the couragious archbishop willinglie vndertooke. By this meanes king Stephan being eased of a great part of his care, fell in hand to besiege the residue of those places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an assault, fled away, some into one part, and some into another; whom the kings power of horssemen still pursuing and ouertaking by the way, slue, and tooke no small number of them prisoners in the chase. Thus was the victorie in maner wholie atchiued, and all those places recouered, which the enimies had fortified.

Thurstan archbishop of Yorke made lieutenant of the north ports.

In like maner when king Dauid heard that the king was thus vexed with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in most forceable wise: and sending his horssemen abroad into the countrie, commanded them to waste and spoile the same after their accustomed maner. But in the meane time he purposed with himselfe to besiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue woone, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold against king Stephan, and the rest that tooke part with him. Herevpon calling in his horssemen from straieng further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming neere to the citie, pitched downe his tents.

The Scots eftsoones inuade Northumberland.

In this meane while the archbishop Thurstan, to whom the charge of defending the countrie cheefelie in the kings absence appertained, called together the Nobles and gentlemen of the shire and parties adioining, whom with so pithie and effectuall words he exhorted to resist the attempts of the Scots (whose cruell doings could kéepe no measure) that incontinentlie all the power of the northparts was raised, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albermarle, Walter Espeke, William Peuerell of Nottingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gilbert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter against the Scots in a pight field, and either to driue them out of the countrie, or else to loose their liues in the quarel of their prince.

Archbishop Thurstan raiseth a power to fight with the Scots.

Sim. Dunel. Capteines of the armie.

It chanced at this time, that archbishop Thurstan was sicke, and therefore could not come into the field himselfe, but yet he sent Rafe bishop of Durham to supplie his roome, who though he saw and perceiued that euerie man was readie enough to encounter with their enimies; yet he thought good to vse some exhortation vnto them the better to encourage them, in maner as here ensueth.

Rafe bish. of Durham supplieth the roome of the archbishop. [84]

"Most noble Englishmen, and ye right valient Normans, of whose courage the Frenchman is afraid, by you England is kept vnder, by you Apulia dooth flourish, and vnto you Jerusalem and Antioch haue yéelded their subjection. We haue at this present the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be subiect to the crowne of England) come into the field against vs, thinking for euermore to rid themselues of their submission, and to bring both vs and our countrie into their bondage and thraldome. Now albeit I see in you courage sufficient, to beat them backe from any further attempt; yet least when you shall come to the triall, by any manner of chance, you should loose any péce thereof, I lamenting the state of my countrie (whose gréuances I wish you should redresse) doo meane to vse a few words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to doo any man wrong, but rather to beat

Matth. Paris. Sim. Dun.

them backe which offer to doo you iniurie. Consider therefore that you shall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentimes vanquished, and oftentimes offending in periurie, haue oftentimes most worthilie punished: whome also (to be bréefe) raging after the maner of cruell robbers, wickedlie spoiling churches, and taking awaie our goods, you did latelie constreine to lurke in desert places and corners out of sight. Against this enimie (I say) therefore worthie of reuengement for his so manifold outrages, shew yourselues valiant, and with manlie stomaches driue him out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God surelie will aid you, who cannot longer abide the sinnes of this people. Wherefore he that looseth his life in so iust a quarell (according to the saieng of our sauour) shall find it. Let not their rash and presumptuous boldnesse make you afraid, sith so manie tokens of your approoued valiancie cannot cause them to stand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and so appointed with helmet, curase, greiues, and target, that the enimie knoweth not were to strike and hurt you. Then sith you shall haue to doo with naked men, and such as vse not to weare any armour at all, but more méet for brablers and ale-house quarrellers than men of warre vsed to the field: what should you stand in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to stand against your skilfull order and practised knowledge in all warlike feats and martiall discipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherance to atchiue the victorie. A small number of your worthie elders haue oftentimes vanquished great multitudes of enimies." As the bishop was thus speaking to the English armie, and before he grew to an end of his exhortation, the Scots approched with their battels, & first certeine of their bands of horssemen were sent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Englishmen perceiued, they staid not till the enimies should begin the battell, but straightwaies caused their trumpets to sound, and so giue the onset.

The Englishmen set vpon the Scots.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with them, so that the battell began to be verie hot, and euen at the first out flew the arrows, and then the footmen ioined, who fought most fiercelie on both sides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which were in the Scottish vauntgard, brake in vpon the vauntgard of the English: but yet closing together againe, they kept out the enimies, and casting about with a wing, compassed the Scottish horssemen round about, and panching their horsse, they slue a great number, and constreined the residue to retire. Which thing when their felowes in the other wing saw, their hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to their heeles.

The Scots of Lodian disorder the Englishmen. *Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.*

The rumor of this flight being notified to the maine battell of the Scottish men, where king Dauid himselfe was fighting with his enimies, discomfited them also, in such wise, that they in like began to shrinke backe: first by parts, and after by heapes together. The king did what he could to staie them: but the English pressed so vpon them, that there was no recouerie. Wherefore he himselfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in séeking to saue himselfe by flight, and make such shift as he could amongst the residue.

The Scots put to flight.

[85]

His sonne Henrie the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither mooued with the flight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongst his men, being readie to turne their backs, and with bold countenance spake these or the like words vnto them, as the shortnesse of the time would permit. "Whither go you good fellowes? Here shall you find armour and force, neither shall you, whilest life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore choose whether yee had rather trie the matter with the enimies by battell, or to be put to a shamefull death at home after your returns thither." The Scots mooued with these vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enimies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beset with the English footmen before, and the horssemen behind, they were shortlie brought to distresse, and for the more part either taken or slaine.

Henrie earle of Huntington his valiancie.

At length earle Henrie perceiuing how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recouerie, fled also with those that could escape, bitterlie cursing the frowardnesse of fortune, and mishap of that daies chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was about ten thousand. In which number there were not manie of the English: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their cheefe capteines is remembered to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioised, and gaue infinite commendations to his subiects (the Englishmen and the Normans) but principallie praised archbishop Thurstan and the bishop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent seruice shewed in this behalfe.

Polydor. Hen. Hunt.
The number.
Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.
Wil. Paru. Polydor.

On the other side he himselfe vsing the like good successe amongst the

Ran. Higd. Castels recouered by king Stephan.

rebels at home, ouercame them, and chased them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the castels of Hereford, Glocester, Webbeley, Bristowe, Dudley, and Shrewesburie. Likewise Robert earle of Glocester not being able to resist the king thus preuailing against his aduersaries on ech hand, fled into France vnto his sister the empresse. After this, about Aduent, the popes legat one Alberike bishop of Hostia, held a synod at London, within Paules church, where by the kings consent, Theobald abbat of Bechellouin was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbishop which had ruled that see, after Augustine the moonke.

N. Triuet. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

An. Reg. 5.
1140.

The king hauing now accomplished his purpose, taken the castell of Leides, and brought the state of the realme to a meetlie good staie, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to pursue the victorie, and vtterlie to subdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, first wasting and spoiling the countrie, and afterward preparing to fight with such Scots as came fourth to defend their goods and houses. K. Dauid perceiuing himselfe to be too weake, made sute to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obtained at length, by deliuering his sonne Henrie vnto king Stephan in pledge for the sure performance of couenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Herevpon king Stephan hauing thus ended his businesse in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iornie towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduersaries) he wan yer long out of their hands.

Polydor. Matth. Paris. K. Stephan inuadeth Scotland.

A peace concluded betwéene the two kings of England and Scotland.

Ludlow wun.

After this he went to Oxenford, where whilest he remained, a great brute was spred abroad, that the empresse was comming with hir brother, the earle of Glocester: which caused him to put the lesse trust in his people from thenceforth, in so much that he began to repent himselfe (although too late) for that he, had granted licence to so manie of his subiects to build castels within their owne grounds. For he had them all in suspicion: and amongst other, he vehemently suspected Roger bishop of Salisburie (who had doone verie much for him) and Alexander bishop of Lincolne nephue to the said bishop of Salisburie, or (as some thought) more néere to him in kindred than his nephue, I meane, his sonne. For the said Roger had builded diuerse castels, as at Shierborne, at the Uies, and at Malmesburie. The said Alexander likewise following his vncles example, bestowed his monie that way verie fréelie, hauing builded one castell at Newarke, and another at Sléeford.

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Roger bishop of Salisburie. Alexander B. of Lincolne. *Wil. Malm.*

Castels built by the bishop of Salisburie.

The king therefore hauing committed both these bishops to prison, and furthermore sent Nigell or Neill the bishop of Elie into exile (which Nigell was nephue also to the foresaid bishop of Salisburie) he threatened to keepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cause these castels to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obtained them, and moreouer found in the bishop of Salisburies cofers 40. thousand marks, which he tooke to his owne vse, by way of confiscation for his disloiall demeanor. This ingratitude of the king wounded the bishops hart, insomuch that taking thought for the losse of his houses and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

Simon Dun. Newarke castel built by the bishop of Lincolne. The B. of Elie banished.

The bishop of Salisburie dieth of thought. *Wil. Malm.* In nouella historia.

The quarrell which was first picked at these bishops, rose by occasion of a fraie betwixt the bishops men and the seruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Oxenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his nephue almost slaine, and the residue of his folkes sore beaten and chased. Herevpon were the bishops first committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleasure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Héere by the way, good reader, thou hast one example worthie to be marked of fickle fortunes inconstancie, whereof the poet speaketh verie excellentlie;

Fortunes inconstancie. *Wil. Paru.*

— variat semper fortuna tenorem,
Diuerso gaudens mortalia voluere casu,
Nam qui scire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum
Aut premat aut sursum tollat, nimis ardua quærit:
Terrarum sequidem est illi concessa potestas
Maxima, & huic illam præfecit Iuppiter orbi.

M. Pal. in suo scor.

For this Roger bishop of Salisburie, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore préest, seruing a cure in a village néere the citie of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henrie the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a préest to say masse before him. Whervpon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quicke at it, and therewithall had so speedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the said lord Henrie, affirmed that this préest aboue all other, was a chapleine meet to say masse before men of warre, bicause he had made an end when manie thought he had but newlie begun. Herevpon the kings brother

commanded the preest to follow him, insomuch that when oportunitie serued, for his diligent seruice, and readie dispatch of matters, when Henrie had attained the crowne, he was by him aduanced to great promotions: as first to be Chancelour of England, & after bishop of Salisburie, growing still into such estimation, that he might doo more with the king than any other of the councill.

The bishop of Salisburie made lord chancelour.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus imprisoned the aforesaid bishops, manned those castles which he tooke from them with his owne soldiers, in like maner as he had doone all the rest which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withstand the emperesse and hir sonne, whose comming he euer feared. He began also to shew himselfe cruell towards all men, and namelie against those that had chieflie furthered his title to the obtaining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie tooke it) came to passe by the prouidence of almightie God, that those should suffer for their periuries, which contrarie to law and right had consented to crowne him king.

In déed he wist not well whom he might trust, for he stood in doubt of all men, bicause he was aduertised by credible report, that the emperesse sought for aid on all sides, meaning verie shortlie to come into England. For this cause also he thought good to procure the fréendship of Lewes king of France, which he brought to passe, by concluding a mariage betwéene his sonne Eustace and the ladie Constance sister to the said Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Eustace died, and then was Constance married to Raimond earle of Tholouse.

K. Stephan doubts whom to trust. [87]

He côtracteth affinitie with the French king.

In the meane time, namelie on the first daie of September, a councill was holden at Winchester, wherein earle Alberike de Ueer pleaded with great eloquence the kings case, in excuse of his fault for imprisoning the bishops, which was sore laid to his charge by his owne brother the bishop of Winchester, being also the popes legat: who (together with the archbishop of Canturburie and other bishops) had called this councill for that purpose. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promises of amendment in that which had béene doone otherwise than equitie required which promises were vtterlie vnperformed, and so the councill brake vp.

Wil. Malm. Polydor.
Matth. Paris. Alberike de Uéer pleadeth the kings cause.

In the moneth of Iulie the emperesse Maud landed here in England at Portesmouth, & went strait to Arundell, which towne (together with the countie of Sussex) hir mother in law Adelia king Henries second wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of assignation for hir dower. There came in with the emperesse hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.

The emperesse landed here in England.

Some write that the emperesse brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that ioining with Ranulph earle of Chester (who tooke part with Robert erle of Glocester, bicause the same Rob. had married his daughter) she might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that she came to England now at the first, but with a small power (as seuen score horssemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods assurance (who seldome faileth those that fight in a rightfull cause) and againe vpon trust of aid of freends, who for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, would be readie to go against king Stephan. Wherevpon hir brother earle Robert leauing his sister in the castle of Arundell, rode with all spéed vnto Glocester thorough his enimies cuntrye, not taking with him past 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horssebacke, that vpon his cōming thither he might leuie an armie with so much speed as was possible. Now when he came to Glocester, though the citie was kept with a garison of soldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the townesmen, after they heard that their earle was approached to the gates, they droue out the garison, & receiued him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to assemble an armie, and partlie to practise with other townes and castels thereabouts, to reuolt vnto his sister. Amongst all other, the earles sonne Brian, and Miles of Glocester were right ioifull of the news of the emperesses arriuall, and gladlie prepared themselues to fight in defense of hir cause.

What power she brought with hir.

Wil. Malm. Polydor.

Earle Robert commeth to Glocester.

Matth. Paris. Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne. Miles earle of Hereford.

In the meane time king Stephan, hauing knowledge of the landing of the emperesse, and other his enimies, came strait to Arundell, where he besieged hir in the castle, and spent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that present he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the emperesse bare him in hand, that it was not possible to win that fortresse, and therefore aduised him to raise his siege, and suffer the emperesse to be at libertie to go to some other place, where he might with more ease and lesse damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiuing the drift of those secret practisers, followed their councill. Wherevpon the emperesse being now at libertie, went from place to

Polydor. The emperesse besieged in Arundell castel.

The king raiseth his siege.

place to trie and solicit hir fréends: and as a riuer increaseth in the passage, so the further the ladie went, the more hir power increased. About the midst of the next night after the siege was raised, she departed out of the castle, and with great iournies sped hir towards Bristow; which was alreadie reuolted to hir side.

The empresse goeth to Bristow.

These things being thus bruted abroad, the Peeres of the realme resorted to hir, as they that well remembred how in time past by oth of allegiance they were suerlie bound to hir and hir issue. The king in the meantime besieged the castle of Wallingford, but after he vnderstood that the empresse was gotten to Bristow, repenting himselfe for his light credit giuen to euill counsell, he left off the siege of Wallingford, and drew towards Bristow, that he might (if it were possible) inclose his aduersaries within that walled citie. But the empresse, being aduertised of his determination (by such of hir fréends as were resident about him) first went to Glocester, and after to Lincolne, where she prouided vittailles and all other things necessarie for hir armie and defense: purposing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephen, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir side, he might be driuen out of the realme, and she restored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earnestlie, and comming vnto Lincolne besieged it, assaieng on euerie side which waie he might best find meanes to win it, & enter into the same. At length the empresse found shift to escape from thence, and within a little while the king got possession of the citie. But shortlie after, Robert earle of Glocester, and Ranulph earle of Chester, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley assembling their power, aswell of Welshmen as others, to come to the succour of those that were thus besieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents néere to the enimies, they rested the first night without making any great attempt.

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K. Stephen besiegeth Wallingford.

An. Reg. 6.
1141.

K. Stephen winneth Lincolne,
*Ran. Higd. Simon Dun. Polydor.
N. Triuet.*

In the morning being the second daie of Februarie, so soone as it was daie, they set their men in order of battell, and brought them foorth in sight of the king and his host: who were on the other side, not meaning to refuse the conflict, ordered his men readie to encounter them, whome he diuided into 3. seuerall battels. The chieftest part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongst whom he placed himselfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Baldwin, and others. The residue being horssemen, he disposed into two seuerall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other carles, Mellent and Waren: Howbeit they were not furnished with such number of men as had béene requisit; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was gouerned by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Ypres.

The ordering of the kings armie readie to giue battell.
Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.

The earles of Norfolke, Hampton, Mellent, & Waren.

The earle of Albermarle, William de Ypres.

Now on the aduersaries side, the earle of Chester led the fore ward, and those whome king Stephan had disherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rere ward the earle of Glocester with his companie had the rule. And besides those thrée battels, the Welshmen were set as a wing at one of the sides.

The ordering of the battels on the kings aduersaries part.

Here the earle of Chester (to vtter the good will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, spake these words in effect as followeth, directing the same to the earle of Glocester, and other the capteines, saieng: "I giue you hartie thanks, most inuincible chiefteine, and you my fellow soldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the ieoparding of your liues at this my request and instance. Sith then I am the occasion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the first entrance, and giue the onset of the battell vpon that most disloiall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and swearing to be a subiect, is now proued a most wicked vsurper: I therefore trusting both vpon reuenge of the vnjust dealings of this king, and also vpon mine owne force and courage, shall straitwaies breake in sunder the arraie of his armie, and make waie through the middest of the enimies with sword in hand. It shall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I shall passe thorough the battels, tread the capteines vnder foot, and run the king through with this my sharpe sword."

The oration of the earle of Chester. *Ran. Higd.*

When he had thus ended, the earle of Glocester answered in this wise: "It is not against reason that you should require the honor of the first onset, both for the nobilitie of your house, and also in respect of the prowess wherein you excell: but yet if you stand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the sonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred? If vpon valiance, here are manie verie worthie men, afore whom there is not one aliue that may challenge any prerogatiue. But another reason moueth me most chieflie to be the foremost. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my sister, hath

The earle of Glocesters answer to the earle of Chesters oration.

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cruellie vsurped the kingdoms, and setting allin trouble, hath beene the cause of manie thousand mens deaths, and distributed lands and liuings to such as haue no right to the same, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite disherited. This king (I saie) is first to be assailed with the assistance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth punishment for wicked doers. For almightie God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will looke downe from his heauenlie habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortlesse in this so great a necessitie. One thing there is, most valiant capteines, and all you right hardie souldiers, which I would haue you to consider, that through the fennes, which much adoo you haue passed, there is no waie to escape by flight. Here must we either vanquish the enimies, or else die in the field: for no hope of safegard remaineth in fléeing awaie. This onelie resteth (I saie) that you make waie for you to enter the citie with force of your weapons. If I be not deceiued in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to escape, otherwise than by shewing your selues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he must néeds plaie the man, who hath not other succor to auoid the danger of destruction. The citizens of Lincolne, who shall fight so néere their houses as you shall see, will not staie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith consider and weie (I beseech you) against whom you shall match in this battell. There is Alane duke of Britaine, who commeth armed against you, yea rather against God, a wicked person, and spotted with all kind of filthinesse; who in malice hath no péere, as one that neuer wanted desire to doo mischéefe and who to be comparable in crueltie, would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth also the earle of Mellent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whose hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing sounding in his mouth but vnthankfulnesse; besides this, he is slothfull in déeds, presumptuous in words, not hastie to fight, but swift to run awaie. Then commeth earle Hugh, who hath not thought it sufficient to breake his oth to my sister the empress, but he must commit periurie the second time, in aduouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and disabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of singular constancie in euill, verie readie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a mischeefe: whose wife, through irkesomnes of his filthie behaiour is gone from him; & he that keepeth hir, cōmeth with him also against vs, an open adulterer, & one well esteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars. Then setteth fourth Simon earle of Hampton, whose déeds consist in words, & whose gifts rest in promises. For when he hath said, he hath doone; & when he hath promised, ye get no more. Finallie there come together a knot of Péeres & Noble men, [Like maister, like seruants.] like to their king and maister, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embrued with manslaughters, & defamed with periurie. You therefore (most valiant capteins & hardie souldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impouerished; vpon trust of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon trust of Gods iustice seeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon these wicked wretches, & with manlie stomachs vow to go forward, & forswere stepping back." When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to Gods) abiured all intencion to flée, and so made themselues readie to set forward.

The necessitie to fight valientlie.

Alaine duke of Brittanie.

The earle of Mellent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of Albermerles wife.

Simon earle of Hampton.

King Stephan hauing no pleasant voice of himselfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, wherevpon getting himselfe to an high place where he might be seene & heard of them, he thus began. "All such as shall giue battell, ought to foresée thrée things: first, that their cause be righteous: secondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the least: and thirdlie, the goodnesse and sufficiencie of them. The righteousnes of their cause ought to be regarded, least men runne in danger of the soule; the number of men is to be respected, least they should be oppressed with multitude of enimies; and the goodnesse of the soldiers is to be considered, least trusting in the multitude, they should presume vpon the aid of feeble persons, & such as are of small valure. In all these points we see our selues sufficientlie furnished. The iustice of our cause is this: that obseruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we stand to the same against those that haue falsified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much lesse in horssemen, and in footmen we excéed them. As for the goodnesse or sufficiencie of our men, who is able to expresse the noble prowesse of so manie earles, of so manie lords and soldiers, trained vp euer in warres: The passing valiancie of our king may stand in place of innumerable souldiers. Sith then he being the lords annointed, is here amongst you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your vow. For the more earnestly and faithfully ye serue your prince in this battell, which you are readie to fight against periured persons, the more shall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therefore be of good comfort, & haue in remembrance against whom you doo darraine the battell. The force of erle

Earle Baldwin his oration on the behalfe of king Stephan.

Thrée things to be foreséene by [90] them that shall giue battell.

Erle Robert.

Robert is well knowne, his maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious in words, eloquent of speach, but cold or rather dead harted in déeds. The earle of Chester what is he? A man of vnreasonable boldnesse, bent to conspiracie, inconstant to performe that which he rashlie taketh in hand, readie to run into batell, vncircumspect in danger, practising things of great importance, séeking after things vnpossible, bringing with him few good soldiers, but gathering a vagrant rout of rascals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afraid of, for looke whatsoeuer he attempteth manfullie, the same he giueth ouer womanlie, in all his dooings vnfortunate, in all encounters either he is ouercome and fléeth awaie, or if he get the vpper hand (which seldome times chanceth) he susteineth greater losse than they whom he dooth vanquish.

The earle of Chester.

"The Welshmen, whom he bringeth with him are little estéemed of vs, who pretend a naked rashnesse without any vse of armor, so that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brute beasts vpon the hunters iaueline. The other, as well the nobles as the common souldiers are but runnagates and vagabounds; of whom I would wish the number greater than it is: for the more they be, the woorse in effect their seruice shall prooue in time of need. You therefore (most worthie cheefetaines) you men of honor, it standeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renowme, and follow the foresteps of your famous ancestors, leaue to your sonnes an euerlasting commendation. The continuall successe of victorie ought to be a prouocation vnto you to doo manfullie: the continuance of euil speed may be to yonder side an occasion to run away. For euen alreadie (I dare say) they repent them of their comming hither, and could be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place would suffer them to depart. Then sith it is not possible for them either to fight or to flée, what other thing can they doo, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance) offer themselues and all they haue about them presentlie vnto vs. Yée sée then their horsse, their armour, and their bodies readie here at your pleasure, lift vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to take that with great chearefulness of mind, which the Lord hath thus offered and freeilie presented vnto you."

Continuall good successe a prouocation of boldnesse.

Now yer he had all made an end of his words, the batels were readie to ioine, they met with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, and the fight began with a verie sore and cruell slaughter. Hard it was in the beginning to gesse who should haue the better. The wing of the disherited men ouerthrew and bare downe their aduersaries, which were led by the duke of Britain, and the forenamed earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle and William de Ypres put the Welshmen to flight, but by the earle of Chester and his retinue, the same earle and William de Ypres were fiercelie assailed afresh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings side put to the worse, namelie his horssemen, who being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping. Which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any whit therewith abashed, but like an hardie captein (as he was no lesse indéed) comforted his footmen whom he had about him, and rushing vpon his enimies, bare them down, and ouerthrew so manie as stood before him, so that with the point of his weapon he made himsele waie. His footmen, who were but a few in number to the multitude of his enimies, counteruailed in all points the prowes and manlike dooings of their king and capteine, insomuch that few battels had beene better fought, nor with greater slaughter on both sides, if the kings fore ward (which in maner at the first shranke backe and was disordered, not without some supicion of treason) had staid the brunt of the enimies a while, as it had béene requisite. At length the king encountring with the earle of Chester, being ouercharged with multitude, was taken prisoner by one William de Cahames.

Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt.

W. Paru. Hen. Hunt.

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Polydor.

Earle Baldwine, who had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was also taken, after he had fought valiantlie and receiued manie sore wounds: likewise Richard Fitzvrse, who on that daie had shewed good prooue of his manhood, and had giuen and received manie a sore stripe. To conclude, all those that abode with the king, and namelie all the footmen were taken prisoners, those which were slaine in the place excepted. This battell was fought in the sixt yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas daie, being sundaie, as Niger saith.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Matth. Paris.

W. Paru.

The king being apprehended and brought to the empresse lieng at Glocester, was commanded by hir to be conueied in safetie vnto Bristow, where he was kept as prisoner from that time of his taking, vntill the feast of All saints next ensuing. Not long after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey earle of Aniou husband to the empresse, receiuing aduertisement of this victorie atchiued in England, foorthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the Nobles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by publishing the captiuitie of king

Polydor. The king led to Bristow.

W. Paru.

Stephan, it was easie for him to come by the possession of the same.

Moreouer, Daid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commandement of the empresse tooke the countrie into his hands, whilest she (like a woman of great wisdom, as she was no lesse indéed) iudging that it stood hir vpon vs the victorie which fell to hir lot, slept not hir businesse, but went forward, and setting from Glocester, she came to Winchester, where she was honorablie receiued of bishop Henrie, though he was king Stephans brother, and inwardlie lamented the misfortune of the king. Then came she backe againe to Wilton, and so to Oxenford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albons, into all which cities and townes she was receiued with great triumph and honour.

The king of Scots taketh Northumberland into his possession.
Polydor.
The empresse foloweth the victorie.

Hauing thus passed through all the south parts of the realme on that side, she finallie came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir in most ioifull and hartie maner. Now being come to London, and consulting with those of hir councill for the quieting of the whole state of the realme, queene Maud wife to king Stephan (for so she was also called) made humble suit vnto hir to haue hir husband set at libertie, promising that he should resigne his whole claime and title into hir hands, and content himselfe with a priuate life. But hir suit was so farre off from being granted, that she was reiected and cast off with reprochfull words. Wherevpon she conceiued a most high displeasure, and vnderstood well inough; that peace was to be purchased by force of armes onelie, and not by any other meanes: insomuch that with all diligence she sent to hir sonne Eustace (then being in Kent) & willed him to prepare an armie, which he did most spédilie.

Shée cometh to London.

The quéene sueth to the empresse for the deliuerie of hir husband.

It chanced at the same time that the citizens of London made great and laborious suit vnto the said empresse, that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Confessour restored, and the straight lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished. But for so much as they could get no grant of their petition, and perceiued the empresse to be displeas'd with them about that importunat request, wherein onelie she ouershot hir selfe, they deuised how and by what meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that all the Kentishmen would helpe to strengthen^[3] them in their enterprise. But reckoning with hir selfe that

The Londoners conspire to take the empresse.

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Nil poterit propera tutius esse fuga,

And being warned thereof, she fled by night out of the citie, and went to Oxenford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduersaries when time should serue hir turne. Herewith she began to wax more displeas'd both against those Nobles whom she kept in prison, & other also whom she troubled, but namelie king Stephan, whom she commanded to be loden with yrons, and serued with verie slender diet.

Shée fled in the night time out of the citie.

Now when she had thus fled out of London, which was about the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, the tower of London was besieged, which Geffrey de Mandeuile held, and valiantlie defended. The same Geffrey rushing out on a time, came to Fulham, where he tooke the bishop of London then lodging in his manor place, being one of the contrarie faction.

N. Triuet.
Geffrey de Mandeuile.

The bishop of Londō taken.

Henrie bishop of Winchester perceiuing the wrath of the empresse more and more to increase dailie against hir people, thinking it wisdom to serue the time, manned all the castels which he had builded within his dioces; as at Waltham, Farnham, and other places and withdrew himselfe into the castell of Winchester, there to remaine, till he might see to what end the furie of the woman would grow. This being knowne, the empresse tooke vnto hir Daid king of Scotland that was hir vncler, who immediatlie ioining their armies together, went to Winchester and besieged the castell. In the meane time the quéene and hir sonne Eustace, with the helpe of their freends, as the Kentishmen, the Londoners and other had assembled a great armie, and appointed the gouernement and generall conduct thereof vnto one William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valiancie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he was sonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a concubine, his father also was sonne to Robert earle of Flanders, surnamed Frisius. This William was banished out of his countrie by Theodorike Elsas earle of Flanders, because he attempted to bereaue him of his earledome.

Polydor.

Castells fortified by the bishop of Winchester.

William de Ypresse. *Ia. Meir.*

The quéenes armie thus committed to his guiding, came néere vnto Winchester, and kept the empresse and hir people in maner besieged: at length perceiuing the aduantage after the comming of a great supplie of Londoners to their aid, they set vpon hir armie as the same was departing, with such violence, that straightwaies hir host was put to flight and discomfited. The empresse was glad to faine hir selfe dead, and so to be conueied in a coch as a dead corps vnto Glocester. Hir brother Robert with manie other of the Nobles that staid behind, till she and other might get out

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia.
N. Triuet. Sim. Dun. Polydor.
The empresse armie put to flight. *Wil. Malm.* Robert earle of Glocester taken prisoner.
Matth. Paris.

of danger, were taken prisoners. And because the king was kept at Bristow vnder the custodie of the said Robert, the queene caused him to be hardlie handled, that he might prooue the words of the gospell true: "With what measure yée meat vnto other, with the same by other shall it be remeasured vnto you." He had deserued verie euill of the king heretofore, and therefore it was now remembered. He was taken (in maner abouesaid) on the feast day of the exaltation of the crosse.

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the battell himselfe, but hearing of the discomfiture, got him out of the countrie, and by helpe of trustie guides returned into Scotland, whilst Alberike de Uéer was slaine at London in a seditious tumult raised by the citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two seuerall factions, was by all similitudes like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one against another, sought nothing else but reuenge on both sides, and still the land was spoiled and wasted by the men of warre which lodged within the castels and fortresses, and would often issue out to harrie and spoile the countries. But now that the two cheefest heads were prisoners, there was good hope conceiued that God had so wrought it, whereby might grow some ouerture of talke, to quiet such troubles by fréendlie peace and agreement.

Herevpon those lords that wished well to the common-wealth, began to intreate betwixt them, and articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and an exchange of prisoners on both sides. But the empresse and hir brother would not hearken to any agrément, except that the realme might wholie remaine to the said empresse. Whereby the enimies were rather increased than decreased by his treatie, so that at length the king and the earle (weried with tedious yrksomnesse of yrons and hard imprisonment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war) about the feast of All saints made by deliuering of the one for the other, without making mention of any peace at all: and so kindled with new displeasures, they renewed the warre.

King Stephan being deliuered in such wise as you haue heard, comming to London, and there being accompanied with his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester (then the popes legat) Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parlement, wherein the king declared the present state, how the enimie was brought to this point, that if it would please the Nobles of the realme to mainteine him with men & monie, he trusted now so to worke, as they should not need to feare submission to the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the first they seemed much to mislike, and now sithens (to their great gréeffe) had prooued to be intollerable. The summe of his talke tended to this end, that those which were able of themselues to aid him with their owne persons, should prepare them out of hand so to doo; and the residue that were not meet (as bishops, and such like maner of men) should be contributors to aid him with hired souldiers, armour, and monie.

This was gladlie agréed vpon, with the generall consent of all the assemblie. And because the bishops shewed themselues verie liberall towards the aduancing of the kings purpose, there was a statute made at the same parlement, that who so euer did laie any violent hands on a sacred person, or else tooke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what fault soeuer, without the bishops licence, he should be accursed, and not be assoiled of any maner of person, except of the pope, as by a canon it was alreadye decreéd but not obeyed among the Englishmen till that daie. ¶ The cause of making this statute was chéeflie, for that preests during the time of the ciuill wars, were dailie either slaine, or taken prisoners, and so put to their ransoms, or charged with great penalties and gréeuous fines.

The bishop of Winchester at this councill also began an other brall among the cleargie, for being brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes authoritie as his legat in England, by reason of exercising his authoritie, fell at variance with the bishop of Canturburie, who tooke himselfe for his superior, because he was his primat. This quarell grew so far in question, that they went both to Rome to haue the controuersie decided, and so bringing their sutes thither, contented well the eares of them that had the hearing of the same: for the more weightie the cause seemed, the better it liked them.

¶ A late writer, noting in clergiemmen of his age & countrie not onelie the aspiring vice of ambition, but other disorders also, and monstrous outrages, after a complaint made that gold (by which title he calleth those of the ecclesiasticall order) is turned into drosse, and swéet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cause hereof comprised in this metricall accouplement, saieng:

Dum factor rerum priuaret flamine clerum,
Ad satanæ volum successit turba nepotum.

Wil. Paruus. N. Triuet.
Dauid king of Scots retired home.
Simon Dun. R. Houe.
Alberike de Uéer slaine.
Wil. Malm. Polydor.

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Geruasius Dorober. The king and the earle of Gloucester deliuered by exchange.

Geruasius Dorobernensis. A parlement called.

A statute established in fauour of préests.

Paul. Lang. in Chron. citizen. pag. 760.

An. Reg. 7.
1142.

Which he inferred vpon occasion against the preposterous elections of vnmeet men into episcopall sées, for that they were not so qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwise peradventure enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And suerlie, we may note these inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the best (I meane in respect of their estates) of this liuerie, and may iustlie impute it to the defection of Gods spirit in them, whose nature is to plant peace and méekenesse in the harts of his tenants, not discord, not ambition, not the works of darknesse, which beséeme not the children of light. But to the purpose.

As the king began (after his libertie obtained) to prouide for warres, so earle Robert (after he was discharged) sailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the sonnes of diuerse Noble men who faouored the empresse, whome he deliuered to hir husband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, & earnestlie besought him to passe ouer into England with an armie to aid the empresse. Howbeit because he was newlie intred into the conquest of Normandie, and had already won the most part thereof, he thought good to make first an end of his warres there, hauing somewhat to doo against certeine rebels of his owne countie of Aniou, which did not a little molest him. But he recouered (whilest the earle of Glocester was there with him) Alney, Mortaigne, Tenerchbray, and diuerse other places pertaining chieflie to the earle of Mortaigne: about the same time also they of Constances submitted themselues vnto him. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in those parties, could not well come into England.

Matth. Paris. Earle Robert passeth ouer into Normandie. [94]

Normandie woone by the earle of Aniou.

Wherevpon the earle of Glocester came backe againe himselfe, and bringing with him somewhat lesse than foure hundred men of armes (imbarked in 52. ships) landed with the same at Warrham, and besieged the castell there, which his enimies had won out of his hands whilest he was absent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agreement by composition, that if they were not succoured by a certeine time, they should deliuer the castell vnto the earle. King Stephan himselfe the same time held a siege before Oxford, within the which he had inclosed the empresse, as hereafter shall be shewed: so that they within the castell of Warrham had no succour sent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their composition) they yeelded vp the hold, after erle Robert had lien three wéekes before it.

Wil. Malm. Earle of Glocester returneth.
Ger. Dor.

Wil. Malm.

This castell being thus woone, earle Robert subdued also such as kept the ile of Portland, and had fensed it after the maner of a fortresse: afterwards he came to Circester, and there assembled all those that faouored the part of the empresse, meaning with all conuenient spéed to go to Oxford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had assembled a great host of men, and comming to Oxford, where the empresse then laie, suddenlie besieged hir, before she looked for him. And to the end also that he might compell the townsmen to yeeld, or else kéepe them from entring which would come to their succors, he ranged abroad into the countrie with part of his armie, wasting all afore him by fire & sword. This siege continued almost two moneths, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of Nouember, vntill Christmasse immediatlie following: in somuch that through lacke of vittels they within the towne began to raise mutinies. The empresse therefore doubting the sequele, and séeing hir prouision to decaie, deuised a shift how to escape that present danger, which by force she was vnlikelie to performe.

The ile of Portland. Circester.

The empresse besieged in Oxford.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were frosen, so that both man and horsse might safelie passe oner vpon the yce, the fields were also couered with a thicke and déepe snow. Herevpon taking occasion, she clad hir selfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be discerned from the snow; and so by negligence of the watch that kept ward but slenderlie, by reason of the excéeding cold weather, she and hir partakers secretlie in the night issued out of the towne, and passing ouer the Thames, came to Walingford, where she was receiued into the castell by those that had the same in kéeping to hir vse: of whom Brian the sonne to the erle of Glocester was the chiefe.

N. Triuet. Simon Dun. Wil. Paru. Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. The empresse escapeth out of Oxford. *Polydor. Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.* Brian sonne to the earle of Glocester.

¶ Here we may see the subtiltie of the empresse, whereby she obtained frée and safe passage out of hir enimies hands, who otherwise had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer béene false, which Æneas Syluius (and before him many more driuing vpon the like argument) dooth saie in this distichon:

Aeneas Syluius.

Non audet stygius Pluto tentare, quod audent
Effrænis monachus plenáque fraudis illa,

Meaning Mulier, a woman. And therefore looke what they want in magnanimitie, in strength, in courage, the same is supplied by deceit, by circumuention, by craft, by fraud, by collusion; sometimes applied to a good intent, but most commonlie directed to an euil meaning and purpose, as the euenths themselues doo manie times declare. But let vs see what followed vpon this escape of the empressse.

After hir departure from Oxford, the townesmen yeelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the kéeping of them in obedience, marched toward Wallingford, minding to besiege the castell there: but being encountred in the way by his enimies, he was driuen backe, and so constreined to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his sister was escaped and gotten to Wallingford, hasted thither with all spéed to visit hir: & (as some write) brought with him hir sonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the seas, to see his mother: so that the empressse now beholding both hir sonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that she could or might presentlie make them. Hir son remaining vnder the gouernement of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Bristow, & there continued for the space of 4. yéeres, being committed to one Matthew his schoolemaister, to be instructed in knowledge, and trained vp in ciuill behaiour.

Polydor. Simon Dun. N. Triuet.

An. Reg. 8.
1143

The empress hir sonne lord Henrie.

King Stephan (after the spoiling of sundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired souldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the bishop of Winchester stronglie armed vnto Wilton, where he tooke in hand to fortifie the nunrie in steed of a castell, to resist the incursions and inrodes of them of Salisburie, who in the behalfe of the empressse had doone manie displeasures vnto his fréends: but earle Robert vnderstanding of his dooings, got a power together with all speed, and the first daie of Julie about sunne setting came to Wilton, and suddenlie set the towne on fire.

The king commeth to Wilton.

The king being lodged within the nunrie, and fearing no such matter, after he heard of the sudden assemblie of his enimies, was put in such feare, that he tooke himselfe dishonourable to flight, leaning his men, his plate, and other riches altogither behind him. The earles souldiers egerlie assailed the kings people, killed and spoiled them at their pleasure, rifled the kings treasure without resistance, and satisfied themselues with greedines. In this broile was William Marcell or Martell taken prisoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the castell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne hauing charge of that castell, kept him in close prison, and vsed him hardlie, who by reason of the opinion which men had conceiued of his valiancie, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ransome, and deliuered the castell of Shirborne into the earles hands. Within a few daies after, Miles earle of Hereford departed this life, whose death was verie gréeuously taken of the empressse, for he was one of hir chéefe fréends and councellers. His eldest sonne Roger succéded him, a gentleman though yoong in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Mandeuille earle of Essex, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had serued the empressse, was taken also at S. Albons) but not without great slaughter of the kings souldiers: in so much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a couragious palfrie & a verie valiant man was ouerthrowen the middest of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Orcaie, so that same earle was sore bruised in his bodie, and almost drowned. The king was present himselfe at the taking of the said Mandeuille, whom he spoiled of all his goods, and constreined by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the castell of Walden, and Pleshey. Here vpon the same earle being released was driuen through pouertie to seeke some recouerie of his losses by sundrie spoiles and roberies. First of all therefore he spoiled the abbeie of S. Albons, and then the abbeie of Ramsey, which he fortified and defended as a fortresse, casting the moonks out of doores, and in euerie place where soeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midst of his reuenge and malicious dooings, he was shot thorough with an arrow amongst his men by a sillie footman, and so ended his life with confusion, receiuing worthie punishment for his vngodlie behaiour. For he was a man of high stomach & loftie courage, but verie obstinate against God, of great industrie in worldlie businesse, but passing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Wil. Par. Sim. Dun. M. Triuet. Matt. Paris.

Miles earle of Hereford deceased.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Essex taken.

The earle of Arundell.

N. Triuet. Wil. Paru.

Hen. Hunt.

Sim. Dunel. Iohn Pike. Matth. West. N. Triuet.

An. Reg. 9.
1144.

Likewise Robert Marmion, who had attempted the semblable robbie & spoile in the abbeie church of Couentrie, was slain before the same abbeie by a like mischance. For going forth to encounter with the earle of Chester (his mortall enimie, and being approched as then towards the citie) he fell with his horsse into a ditch, which he caused to be couertlie made for the destruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieued, a souldier of the

Wil. Malm. Wil. Paru.

earles part stept to him, and stroke his head from his shoulders in sight of both armies. Ernulfus the sonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the church of Ramsey as a fortresse, after his fathers death, was taken at length and banished.

¶ Thus we see how Gods iudgement hunteth and pursueth the wicked, in somuch that they be ouertaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the scripture, "The wicked and bloudthirstie man shall not liue halfe his daies." And true it is, that as men liue, so commonlie they die: for, as one saith verie well:

— bona nulla scelestis
Et iustis mala nulla quidem contingere possunt.

M. Pal. in suo scor.

About the same time aduertisement was giuen, that the cite of Lincolne, which the earle of Chester had in keeping, was but slenderlie manned. Wherevpon the king conceiuing some hope to win the same, hasted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid siege therevnto, and began to cast a trench to stop them within frō making any salies without.

Lincolne besieged.

The earle at the first being somewhat amazed with the sudden approach of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceiued the rankes to be verie thin: and thereby gessing their number to be but small, suddenlie issued forth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, bicause he was but weake and therefore fled; neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cause; but setting vpon those that were about to make the trench, he slue 80. of the workmen, and then retired into the castell.

The siege raised.

N. Triuet.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Jewes at Norwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifieng him vpon a crosse to the reproch of Christian religion.

A child crucified by the Jewes.

An. Reg. 10.
1145.

In the yeare following; namelie, in the 10. yeare of king Stephans reigne, Robert earle of Glocester and other capteins took in hand to build a castell at Faringdon. But King Stephan assembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and besieged them within. Now whilest earle Robert and others of the empresse capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with sharpe assaults (but not without losse of his men) wan the fortresse: whereby his side began to wax the stronger, and to be more highlie aduanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a strong castell ouer against the other castell which his aduersaries held against him.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.
A castell built at Faringdon.
Hen. Hunt.
The king winneth it by force.

An. Reg. 11.
1146.

Thither also came the earle of Chester with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and so at length they were not vnfeignedlie accorded and made freends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For shortlie after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Northampton, by the practise of K. Stephan, and could not be deliuered till he had surrendred the cite and castell of Lincolne, with other fortresses pertaining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welshmen destroie the prouince of Chester, but at last they were distressed. This yeare also the loard Geffrey earle of Aniou sent thrée Noble men into England, accompanied with certeine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requesting him to send ouer his sonne Henrie into France, that he might see him, and if need required, he promised to send him backe againe with all conuenient speed. Earle Robert was contented to satisfie his request: and so with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Warham, where he tooke leaue of him, neuer after to see him in this world. For when the child was transported, earle Robert returned spédilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of Nouember, and was buried at Bristow. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioifully receiued, and remained in those parties for the space of two yeares and foure moneths.

Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris.
N. Triuet. Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd. The welshmen waste
Cheshire. Ger. Dor.

[97]

The earle of Glocester departeth
this life.

An. Reg. 12.
1147.

In the meane season, the vniust procéedings of K. Stephan against the earle of Chester, purchased him new hatred of his old aduersaries, and like supicion of such as were his freends, for it sounded not a little to his dishonor. Euerie man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it stood them vpon to take héed to themselues. But he (as one that thought he had atchiued some high exploit) in triumphant wise shortlie after entred into Lincolne in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not béene heard that any king had doone the like manie yeares before.

Simon Dun. K. Stephen entreth
into Lincolne with his crowne on
his head.

¶ It is reported by some writers, that he did this, to root out of mens minds a foolish superstitious conceit, which beléueed that no king with his crowne vpon his head might enter that cite, but some mischance should light vpon

him: wherevpon he seemed by this meanes to mocke their superstitious imagination.

About the same time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiuing the kings authoritie to repressse violent wrongs committed by euill dooers to be defectiue) builded sundrie strong castels and fortresses vpon their owne grounds, either to defend themselues, or to make force vpon their enimies néere adioining. After the departing of the king from Lincolne, the earle of Chester came thither with an armie, to assaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was slaine at the entring of the northgate, and so the erle was beaten backe with the losse of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the vpper hand, reioised not a little for the victorie.

Simon Dun.

But here (to staie a litle with temporall affaires) it shall not be amisse to rehearse the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betwéene that king and the archbishop of Canturburie. For so it happened (as Geruasius Dorobernensis writeth) that pope Eugenius came this yere into France, about the middest of Lent, and afterward held a synod or councell at Rhemes: wherevnto Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, with others of the English bishops were summoned. The archbishop therevpon asking licence of the king, & not obtaining it, found meanes to steale awaie in a small bote, not without danger of his person.

Ger. Dor.

Now therefore the case of this Theobald stood verie hard: for Henrie bishop of Winchester the kings brother through enuie had so wrought, that if the archbishop passed ouer without licence, he should be confined of the king. Againe, he was sure, if he came not to the councell, that he should be suspended by the pope. Herevpon the archbishop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were swimming, rather than sailing; the vessell wherein he passed ouer being starke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings seruants, so that he was glad to take such a bote as came next to hand. In consideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Yorke, together with Henrie Mordach then abbat of Fountney, presented themselues, exhibiting their complaint against William archbishop of Yorke, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonicallie chosen, nor lawfullie consecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbishop William was conuicted and deposed, Albert bishop of Hostia pronouncing sentence in this wise: "We doo décréé by the apostolike authoritie, that William archbishop of Yorke is to be deposed from his sée, bicause Stephan king of England, before any canonicall election, named him."

Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus deposed archbishop William, although not with the consent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapter of the church of Yorke, by his commandement comming together, part of them chose Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and the other part elected Henrie Mordach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were shewed him at Auxerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Mordach, and disanulled the other, and then consecrated the foresaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbishop William being thus deposed, returned into England, and remained at Winchester with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counsell of the same bishop in all things.

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Now when the councell at Rhemes was ended, archbishop Theobald returned into England, and comming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honor, of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was sore displeased, and came with great spéede vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbishop (although to small purpose) for the bringing of them to an agréement, at length the king compelled the archbishop to depart the realme. Wherevpon, after a few daies respite, he went to Douer, where he tooke ship and sailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the quéene and William of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the sooner aduertise him of the kings mind and pleasure. Here he consecrated Gilbert the elect bishop of Hereford, the fift daie of September, Theodoric bishop of Amiens, and Nicholas bishop of Cambre assisting him.

After this, when by sending of messengers to and fro, as well bishops, abbats, and other, both spirituall persons and temporall, there could no agréement be made, he directed his letter to certeine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certeine day, namelie the twelwe day of September, a sentence of interdiction to be obserued through the relme. The monks of Canturburie sore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this sentence

to be put in vse, sent two moonkes of their owne house, Nigell and Absolon, vnto the pope: whose errand when the pope had vnderstood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeie their archbishops sentence in all things.

In the meane time, the archbishops men and tenants were sore oppressed, and his rents and reuenues seized to the kings vse, yea euen before the daies of paiment. Which maner of proceeding sore gréeued the archbishop: in so much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the sea, crossed ouer to a towne called Goseford that belonged vnto Hugh Bigot erle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honor, and sent him all necessarie prouision, so long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the sentence, till Robert bishop, of London, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and William bishop of Norwhich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Framelingham in Norfolke, a castell apperteining to the said earle, where at length an attonment was concluded betwixt him and the king: wherevpon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great ioy and honor.

He accused the moonkes of Canturburie, for disobeieng the interdiction, trusting that the pope would not heare those two moonkes whom they had sent, as he did not indéed. He excommunicated also all those that had receiued the sacraments amongst them, during the time of the interdiction. Now these moonkes being at their wits end, dispatched with all speed other two moonkes to the pope, to obtaine an absolution, before the archbishop should vnderstand it: but they were sent backe againe with checks and commanded to obeie their archbishop in all things, as the other were, which had béene there with him before.

Geruasius.

An. Reg. 13.
1148.

The moonkes of Canturburie that were sent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found those that were first sent thither: and so they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope also had sent a priuie commandement to the archbishop that he should duellie punish as well them as the other. Wherevpon the archbishop taking counsell with his fréends, deposed Syluester the prior, and suspended William the secretarie of the house from entring the quéere. It was decreed also, that the residue should cease so long a time from saieng seruice, as they had said it before vnlawfullie, against the archbishops commandement. For it was thought reason, that whilest other sang and were merrie, they should keepe silence, which wilfullie tooke vpon them to sing, whilest other held their peace and were still. They began therefore to cease from saieng diuine seruice, and from ringing their bells in the second wéeke of Lent & so kept silence from the twelfe day of March, vntill the first daie of August.

[99]

The quéene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Augustines in Canturburie, bicause of hastening forward the building of Feuersham abbeie, which she and hir husband had begonne from the verie foundation. And bicause the moonkes of S. Augustine might not celebrate diuine seruice, she called thither commonlie the moonkes of Christes church to say seruice before hir. Thus much for that purpose: and now to other matters.

An. Reg. 14.
1149.

The lord Henrie Fitzempresse after all these businesses returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great companie of men of warre both horssemen and footmen: by reason whereof many reuolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they sat still, and would not attempt any exploit against him. But now encouraged with the presence of the lord Henrie, they declared themselues freends to him, and enimies to the king. Immediatlie after his arriuall, he tooke with him the earles of Chester and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knights of great fame, beside those whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went vnto Carleil, where he found his coosin Daudid king of Scotland, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued; and vpon Whitsunday with great solemnitie, being not past sixtéene yeares of age, was by the same king made knight, with diuerse other yoong gentlemen that were much about the same age.

The L. Henrie returneth into England.

He is made knight. *R. Houed.*

¶ Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oth of him before he gaue him the honor of knighthood, that if he chanced to atteine vnto the possession of the realme of England, he should restore to the Scots the towne of Newcastle, with the countrie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Twéed, to the riuer of Tine. But whether it were so or not, I am not able to make warrantize.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduersarie the lord Henrie with the chéefest lords of the west parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raised an armie, and came to the citie of Yorke, where he

K. Stephan with an armie commeth to Yorke.

remained for the most part of the moneth of August, fearing least his enimies should attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in Yorke, they departed from both those places without any further exploit for that season, sauing that Eustachius king Stephans sonne (hauing also latelie receiued the order of knighthood) did much hurt in the countries which belonged to those Noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

The great raine that fell in the summer season this yeare did much hurt vnto corne standing on the ground, so that a great dearth followed. In the winter also after, about the tenth day of December, it began to fréese extreamelie, and so continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: whereby the riuer of Thames was so frosen, that men might passe ouer it both on foot and horssebacke.

Matth. Paris. Great raine.

A sore frost.

An. Reg. 15.
1150.

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, sailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of August, leauing England full of all those calamities, which ciuill warre is accustomed to bring with it, as burning of houses, killing, robbing, and spoiling of people, so that the land was in danger of vtter destruction, by reason of that pestilent discord.

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monumetensis, otherwise called Galfridus Arthurius, who turned the British historie into Latine, was consecrated bishop of S. Assaph, by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William bishop of Norwich and Walter bishop of Rochester assisting him.

[100]

Morouer, this yeare (as some writers haue recorded) Geffrey earle of Aniou, of husband to the empresse Maud, departed this life, on the seuenth day of September, leauing his sonne Henrie onelie heire and successor in the estates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Aniou. The bodie of the said earle was buried at Mans, with a great funerall pompe: his three sonnes Henrie, Geffrey, and William being present.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Aniou father to Henry Fitzempress departeth his life.

But king Stephan assaulting the faire citie of Worcester with a great power of men tooke it, and consumed it with fire, but the castell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Waleran de Mellent, at that season: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had giuen it vnto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the spoile amongst them, they came backe, and passing through the lands of their enimies, got great booties, which they also tooke away with them, finding none to resist them in their iournie.

Worcester assaulted.

An. Reg. 16.
1151.

In the yeare following Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the sée apostolike, held a generall synod or councell at London in the Lent season, where king Stephan himselfe with his sonne Eustachius, and other the peers of the realme were present. This councell was full of appeales, contrarie to that had beene vsed in this land, till the time that Henrie bishop of Winchester vnto his owne harme (whilst he was likewise the Popes legat) had by vniust intrusion brought them in, and now at this councell he was himselfe thrise appealed to the hearing of the popes owne consistorie. After this king Stephan in the same yeare brake into the citie of Worcester, and whereas he could not the last time win the castell, he now endeauoured with all his force to take it. But when those within made valiant resistance, he raised two castels against it, and leauing in the same certeine of his Nobles to continue the siege, he himselfe returned home. ¶ Thus (as yee see) the kings propertie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he procéded in them oftentimes verie slowlie: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leicester, those two castels which the king had raised to besiege the other castell, were shortlie after destroyed: and so the besieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leicester was brother to the earle of Mellent. Thus the kings purposed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect.

Ger. Dorober. A synod at London.

The earle of Leicester brother to the erle of Mellent.

An. Reg. 17.
1152.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie married Elianor duches of Guien or Aquitaine, latelie diuorsed from the French king, and so in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou; for she was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poictou, and by hir father created his sole and lawfull heire.

The duke of Normandie Fitzempress marieth the duchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king was nothing pleased with this mariage, in somuch that he made sore warre vpon duke Henrie, ioining himselfe in league with king Stephan, with his sonne Eustace, and with the lord Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, so that the said Henrie was constreined to defer his iournie into England, and applie his power to defend his countries and subiects on that side of the sea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to passe ouer into England, not long after midsummer, the French king, with

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie.

Eustace king Stephans sonne, Robert erle of Perch, Henrie erle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing assembled a mightie armie, came and besieged the castell of Newmarch, and sent fourth the lord Geffrey with a strong power to win the castell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertised hereof departing from the place where he sojourned, hasted fourth to succour his people that were besieged, but the castell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king through treason of those that had it in kéeping, before the duke could come to their rescue.

The castell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Wherevpon the said duke hauing knowledge by the waie that he should come too late thither, he encamped first vpon the side of the riuier of Andell, and wasted a great part of the countrie of Ueuxin or Ueulquesine, surnamed Le Normant, which lieth betwixt the riuier of Epte and Andell. This countrie belonged sometime to Normandie, but Geffrey earle of Aniou the dukes father had resigned it to the French king, to the end he should not aid king Stephan. The duke also burned the castels of Bascheruille, Chitrey, Stripiney, and the castell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Gourney, with diuerse other. About the end of August he left his townes in Normandie sufficientlie furnished with garisons of souldiers, and went into Aniou, where he besieged the castell de mount Sotelli, till he had taken it, and all those that were within it, amongst whome was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other side entring into Normandie, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or shortlie after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he tooke the towne and castell of Uernon.

Ueulquesine or Ueuxin.

[101]

The towne castell of Uernon. *Simon Dun.*

Whilest these things were thus a dooing in France, K. Stephan would haue caused the archbishop of Canturburie & diuerse other bishops, whom for that purpose he had assembled, to crowne, annoint, and confirme his sonne Eustace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbishops and bishops refused so to doo, bicause the pope by his letters sent to the archbishop, had commanded to the contrarie; namelie, that he should in no wise crowne the kings sonne, bicause his father king Stephan had got the possession of the land against his oth receiued in behalfe of the empresse. The father and sonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed most of his bishops to ward séeking by threats and menacinges to bring them to his purpose. The bishops also were in no small perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer seemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, bicause of their strength (as in former times by his rigor vsed against the bishops of Salisburie and Lincolne it plainelie appeared) and yet would not these men yéeld to his pleasure: wherevpon although they were set at libertie, they were neuertheless deprived of their temporall possessions, which notwithstanding afterwards vpon the kings owne motion were restored vnto them.

The Pope is against it.

The bishops are threatened.

Howbeit the archbishop of Canturburie persisting still in his oppinion, was forsaken of diuerse of the bishops, who throgh feare durst not stand against their princes pleasure. But the archbishop, when he perceiued how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and rest on his shoulders, he got himselfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with, spéed riding to Douer, passed the sea, to auoid both the fathers and sonnes reuengefull displeasure. Herevpon the king seized into his hands all the lands & possessions that belonged to the archbishop.

Ger. Dor.

The Archbishop of Canturburie flieth out of the realme.

This yeare queene Maud wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey castell, that belonged to earle Alberike de Uéer, about the third daie of Maie, and was buried in the abbeie of Feuersham, which she with hir husband king Stephan had latelie founded.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the summer, the growing of corne was so hindred, that a great death of people insued^[4].

This yeare also was the battell of Monadmorie fought in Ireland, where the flower and chieftest personages of Mounster and Leynister were slaine. Moreouer one John a moonke of Sagium, was made the second bishop of the Isle of Man: the first bishop that was there instituted hight Wimond a moonke of Sauinie, who for his importunate misdemeanour in some respects, had his eies put out, and was displaced.

The battell of Monadmorie *Matth. Paris.* The second & also the first bishops of Man.

John Papirio a cardinall, being sent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbishops there, one at Dublin, an other at Ardmach, the third at Cassels, and the fourth at Connach. The sée of Dublin he changed into an archbishops sée, one Gregorie at that time possessing the same: to whom he gaue the first and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the blessed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinall passed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan.

Hen. Marle.

The bishop of Dublin made archbishop.

The same yeare also king Stephan by siege and force of assault did win the

The castell of Newburie won. [102]

castell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This doone he went to Wallingford, and besieging the castell, he builded at the entring of the bridge a fortresse to stop them within from issuing out, and likewise from receiuing any reliefe or succour by their fréends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themselues so hardlie laid at, sent to the duke of Normandie (in whose name they kept that castell) desiring him either to succour them, or else giue them licence to yéeld vp the castell to the king. Herevpon duke Henrie hauing dispatched his businesse on the further side of the sea, began to be kindled with a feruent desire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouerie of that kingdome, and so with three thousand footmen, & 7 score horssemen, with all spéede possible sailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. daie in Christmasse. He was no sooner arriued, but a great number of such as tooke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: wherevpon being now furnished with a great and puissant armie, he marched foorth to Malmesburie, where in the castell was a great garison of soldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his siege about this castell the thirteenth daie of Januarie, and enforced himselfe to the vttermost of his power to win it.

Duke Henrie Fitzempresse returneth into England.
Ger. Dor.

He besiegeth the castell of Malmesburie. *Matth. Paris. Polydor.*

Now king Stephan hearing of his enimies arriuall, with all hast possible got his armie on foot, and comming suddenlie towards the place where is enimies were pitched, he caused duke Henrie to raise his siege, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enimies were far more in number than he was at that present, and also conceiuing with himselfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increase, abstained from fighting, and kept him within the closure of his campe. ¶ Thus haue some written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himselfe indeed within his campe, and refused to giue battell, but yet remoued not his siege, till the king departed from thence, after he saw he could not haue his purpose, and then did duke Henrie win the castell of Malmesburie, or rather the maister tower or chéefe dungeon of that castell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by assault the other parts and lims of the castell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

K. Stephan constraineth him to raise his siege.

Wil. Paru.

Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.

This tower that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capteine Jordan, who escaping foorth came to the king, informing him in what state he had left his men within the tower: wherevpon the king (making all the power that he was able) set forward, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purposing to raise the siege, or to fight with his enimies (if they would abide battell) marched foorth towards Malmesburie. But vpon his approach to the dukes campe, the daie following his comming thither, there rose such a hideous tempest of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephans people, that God seemed to fight for the duke, who in respect of the number of people was thought too weake to deale with the strong and puissant armie of the king: howbeit the storme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephans mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, in somuch that he perceiued he could not passe the riuier that ran betwixt the armies: wherevpon constrained in that sort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London full euill appaied, in that he could not satisfie his expectation at that present.

A sore storm.

The tower that duke Henrie had hardlie besieged immediatlie herewith was surrendred vnto him, & then making prouision for vittels and other things, to the reliefe of them that kept the castell of Wallingford, he hasted thither, and finding no resistance by the way, easily accomplished his enterprise. There were diuerse castels thereabouts in the countrie furnished with garisons of the kings souldiers, but they kept themselues close, and durst not come abroad to stop his passage. Shortlie after he besieged the castell of Cranemers, and cast a trench about it, so as his people within Wallingford castell might haue free libertie to come foorth at their pleasure: but as for those within the castell of Cranemers, they were so hardlie holden in, that there was no waie for them to start out.

The castell of Wallingford.

The castell of Cranemers.

The king aduertised hereof, got all his host together, and marched forward verie terrible toward duke Henries campe. But shewing no token of feare, he caused the trench wherewith he had inclosed his campe foorthwith to be cast downe, and leauing the siege, came into the fields with his armie set in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of sword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whose armie perceiuing their enimies to come in the face of them, were stricken with a sudden feare: neuerthelessse, he himselfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certeine Noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning sought to treat an agrément betwixt them, so that an intermission or cesing from war was granted, and by composition the castell which the king had built, and the

duke besieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke also came to an interview and communication together, a riuer running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan vndertaking to raze the castell of Cranemers himselfe, and so laieng armour aside for that time, they parted asunder.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor. Eustace king Stephans sonne.

But Eustace K. Stephans son was sore offended herewith, and reprouing his father for concluding such an agrément, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeshire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbeie of Burie, and vpon S. Laurence daie caused all the corne in the countrie about and namelie that which belonged to the said abbeie, to be spoiled and brought into a castell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he sat downe to meat the same daie vpon receiuing the first morsell he fell mad (as writers haue reported) and miserablie ended his life. The same weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like disease, and so two of the cheefest aduersaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Eustace was buried at Feuersham in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton.

Eustace king Stephans son and Simon earle of Northäpton depart this life both in one weeke.

About the same time also that noble and valiant earle of Chester called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that death could scarselie make him to yeeld, or shew any token of feare: he was poisoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him succeeded his sonne Hugh, a man likewise of passing strength and vertue. Now although earle Ranulfe faouored the part of duke Henrie, yet in these later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not so great a losse to the duke, as the deaths of Eustace, earle Simon, and other the kings fréends deceasing about the same time seemed to further him: so that his part became dailie stronger, and the kings weaker.

The earle of Chester deceaseth.

About the same time the castels of Reading and Béertwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the ladie Gundreda countesse of Warwike draue out the souldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duches Elenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempresse, was brought to bed of hir first borne son, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine.

Matth. Par. Rob. Mont.

Thus came things to passe in sundrie places with so good successe as duke Henrie could wish, wherevpon meaning to follow the steps of prosperous fortune, he marched foorth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his first comming laid siege to the castell. Now they that had it in keeping sent messengers to king Stephan, requiring rescue, but the same time he had laid siege to the castell of Gipswich, which Hugh Bigot kept against him: and because he wold not depart from that siege till he had the castell giuen vp into his hands (which came at last to passe) in the meane time the castell of Stamford was yéelded vp to duke Henrie, who immediatelie therevpon departed from Stamford eastward, meaning to come to the succour of his fréends besieged at Gipswich or Ipswich (as it is commonlie called) not vnderstanding as yet that they had surrendred the hold: but hauing knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched streight to Notingham, and got the towne easilie; for they within the castell had set it on fire, therefore he besieged the castell standing vpon the point of a stéepe craggie rocke, and was furnished with a strong garison of men, and all things necessarie for defense, so that it could not easilie be woone.

Stamford was taken. *Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.* Gipswich or Ipswich besieged.

N. Triuet.

[104]

Notingham.

When duke Henrie had assaied all the waies how to take it, and saw that he could not preuaile, he minded to loose no more time: but raising his siege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his possession, and finallie came to his mother, and laie at Wallingford. K. Stephan in the meane time being strong in the field, sought time and place to haue Henrie at some aduantage, who in his yoong yeares (as yet not hauing tasted any misfortune) he thought would rashlie attempt some vnaduised enterprise. ¶ But whereas the realme of England had béene now manie yeares miserablie turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue so detested, that they haue exclaimed against it with a kind of irksomnesse; as:

Duke Henrie raiseth his siege from Notingham. *Polydor.*

The miserie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

Eheu cicatricum & sceleris pudet,
Fratrúmque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefasti
Linquimus? vnde manus iuuentus
Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam litui strepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitúmque vultus)

Hor. lib. car. 1. ode. 35.

Idem. lib. car. 2. ode. 1.

Wherein (besides millions of extremities) honest matrones and mens wiues were violated, maids and virgins rauished, churches spoiled, townes and

villages robbed, whole flocks and heards of shéepe and beasts destroyed (wherein the substance of the realme cheeflie consisted) and men without number slaine and murthered, it pleased the goodnesse of almightie God at length to deliuer the land of these miseries, which were notified to all countries round about that sore lamented the same.

Now whereas king Stephan was the cause of all the troubles, in hauing vsurped an other mans rightfull inheritance, it pleased God to mooué his hart at length to desire peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cause that mooued him chéefelie to change his former purpose, was for that his sonne Eustace by speedie death was taken out of this world (as before ye haue heard) which losse séemed great not onelie to the father, but also to all those lords and others which had alwaies taken his part, bicause he was a yoong man so well liked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to much honour. But his wife Constance tooke his death verie sorowfullie, and the more indeed for that she had no issue by him, wherevpon shortlie after she was sent honourable home to hir father king Lewes with hir dower, and other rich and princelie gifts.

The ladie Constance wife to Eustace sent home.

King Stephan séeing himselfe thus deprived of his onelie sonne, vnto whome he minded to leaue the kingdome which he so earnestlie sought to confirme and assure vnto him by warlike endeour, and that againe the French kings aid would not be so readie as heretofore it had béene (wherevpon he much staid, now that the bonds of affinitie were abolished) he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon his sonnes deceasse) to withdraw his mind from war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which alteration being perceiued, those Nobles that were glad to sée the state of their countrie quieted, did their best to further it; & chéeflie Theobald archbishop of Canturburie trauelled earnestlie to bring the princes to some agrément, now talking with the king, now sending to the duke, and vsing all meanes possible to set them at vnitie. The bishop of Winchester also, who had caused all the trouble, vpon consideration of the great calamities wherewith the land was most miserable afflicted, began to wish an end thereof. Wherevpon the lords spirituall and temporall were called together at Winchester about the latter end of Nouember, that they with their consents also might confirme whatsoever the king and the duke should conclude vpon.

K. Stephan began to incline his mind to peace. *Matth. Paris.*

Ger. Dor.

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Thus was a publike assemblie made in the citie of Winchester, whither also duke Henrie came who being ioifullie receiued of the king in the bishops palace, they were made fréends, the king admitting the duke for his sonne, and the duke the king for his father, insomuch that the agreement, which (through the carefull sute of the archbishop of Canturburie) had béene laboured with such diligence to good effect, was now confirmed: the cheefe articles whereof were these.

An assemblie of lords at Winchester. A peace concluded betwixt the king and the duke.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life, should remaine king of England, and Henrie the empresse's sonne should enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and be proclaimed heire apparant to succéed in and haue the regiment of England, after the deceasse of Stephan.

Some writers haue recorded that duke Henrie should presentlie by this agrément enioy halfe the realme of England.

2 That such noble men, and other, which had held either with the one partie or the other, during the time of the ciuill warres, should be in no danger for the same but enioy their lands, possessions and liuings, according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king should resume and take into his hands againe, all such portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwise vsurped by any maner of person, and that all those possessions which by any intrusion had béene violentlie taken from the right owners, since the daies of king Henrie, should be restored to them that were rightlie possessed in the same by the daies of the said king.

4 That all those castels, which contrarie to all reason and good order had béene made and builded by any maner of person in the daies of king Stephan, should be ouerthrowne and cast downe, which were found to be eleuen hundred and fiftene.

Matth. Paris. Castels to be razed in number. 1115.

5 That the king should reforme all such disorders as warre had brought in; to restore farmers to their holdings, to repaire decayed buildings, to restore pastures and leassues with cattell, hils with sheepe, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enioy their due quietnesse, and not be oppressed with any vniust exactions.

7 That he should place shirifes where they had béene accustomed to beare rule, with instructions giuen them to deale vprightlie in causes, so as offenders might not escape through bribes, or any other respect of freendship; but that euerie man might receiue according to right and equitie.

8 That soldiours should conuert their swords (as Esaie saith) into culters & plough shares, their speares into mattocks, and so returne from the campe to the plough: and that such as were woont to keepe watch in the night season, might now sléepe and take their rest without any danger.

9 That the husbandman might be set frée from all trouble and vexation, by meanes wherof he might follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might enioy their trades and occupations to their aduancement.

11 That one kind and manner of siluer coine should run through the land, &c.

12 There was also consideration had of a sonne which king Stephan had, named William, who though he were verie yoong, was yet appointed to sweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to the crowne. The same William had the citie of Norwhich, and diuerse other lands assigned him for the maintenance of his estate, and that by the consent and agrément of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

These things being thus concluded at Winchester, and the warre that had continued, for the space of 17 yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king tooke the duke with him to London, dooing to him all the honour he could deuise. The newes whereof being spred abrode, euerie good man reioised thereat. Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was restored vnto the decaied state of this relme of England. Which things being thus accomplished with great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his new adopted sonne duke Henrie tooke leaue either of other, appointing shortlie after to méet againe at Oxenford, there to perfect euerie article of their agrément, which was thus accorded a little before Christmas.

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¶ But by the way, for the better vnderstanding of the said agreement, I haue thought good to set downe the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan, as I haue copied it out, and translated it into English out of an autentike booke conteining the old lawes of the Saxon and Danish kings, in the end whereof the same charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worshipfull William Fléetwood esquire, now recorder of London, and sargeant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie duke of Normandie.

Stephan king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, iusticers, sherifes, barons and all his faithfull subiects of England sendeth greeting. Know yee that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my successour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and so haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath doone homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath assured me, that he shall be faithfull and loiall to me, and shall to his power preserue my life and honour: and I on the other side shall maineteine and preserue him as my sonne and heire in all things to my power, and so far as by any waies or meanes I may.

And William my sonne hath doone his lawfull homage, and assured his fealtie vnto the said duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all those tenements and holdings which I held before I attained to the possession of the realme of England, wheresoeuer the same be in England, Normandie, or elsewhere, and whatsoever he receiued with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewise whatsoever apperteineth to those honoures. And the duke shall put my sonne William and his men that are of that honour in full possession and seizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke thereof now hath in his demaine,

William sonne to king Stephan.

Earle Warren.

and namelie of those that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer, so that Reginald de Warren shall haue the kéeping of the same castels of Bellencumber, and of Mortimer, if he will; and therevpon shall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of those castels, then other liege of men of the said erle Warren, whom it shall please the duke to appoint, shall be sure pledges and good suertie keepe the said castels.

The castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer.

Moreouer, the duke shall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleasure the other castels, which belong vnto the earledome of Mortaigne by safe custodie and pledges, so soone as he conuenientlie may, so as all the pledges are to be restored vnto my sonne free, so soone as the duke shall haue the realme of England in possession. The augmentation also which I haue giuen vnto my sonne William, he hath likewise granted the same to him; to wit, the castell and towne of Norwich, with seauen hundred pounds in lands, so as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the same seauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolk; the profits and rents which belong to churches, bishops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, also excepted: sauing also and reseruing the kings roiall iurisdiction for administration of iustice. Also the more to strengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my said sonne whatsoever Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuensey. And moreouer the castell and towne of Peuensey, and the seruice of Faremouth, beside the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoever apperteineth to the honour of Douer.

The erledome of Mortaigne.

Norwich.

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Hugh Bigot

Richer de Egle.

The duke hath also confirmed the church of Feuersham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or restored by me vnto other churches, he shall confirme by the counsell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that belong to the duke, which were neuer my leeges, for the honour which I haue done to their master, they haue now doone homage and sworne fealtie to me, the couenants betwixt me & the said duke alwaies saued. The other which had before doone homage to me, haue sworne fealtie to me as to their souereigne lord. And if the duke should breake and go from the premisses, then are they altogether to ceasse from dooing him any seruice, till he reforme his misdooings. And my sonne also is to constreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke shall chance to go from the couenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons also haue doone their leege and homage vnto the duke, sauing their faith to me so long as I liue, and shall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I doo breake and go from the premitted couenants, that then they may ceasse from dooing me any seruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue doone amisse.

The church of Feuersham.

The citizens also of cities, and those persons that dwell in castels, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue doone homage, and made assurance to the duke, sauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and so long as I shall hold the kingdome. They which keep the castle of Wallingford haue doone their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the observing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke such assurance of the castels and strengths which I hold by the counsell and aduice of holie church, that when I shall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any losse or impeachment, whereby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortresse of Windsor, by the counsell and aduice of holie church are deliuered vnto the lord Richard de Lucie, safelie to be kept, which Richard hath taken an oth, and hath deliuered his sonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and custodie of the archbishop of Canturburie, that after my decease he shall deliuer the same castels vnto the duke. Likewise by the counsell and aduise of holie church, Roger de Bussey keepeth the castell of Oxford, and Jordaine de Bussey the castell of Lincolne, which Roger & Jordaine haue sworne, and thereof haue deliuered pledges into the hands of the archbishop, that if I shall chance to leaue this life, they shal render the same castels to the duke without impeachment. The bishop of Winchester hath also giuen his faith in the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he shall render vp vnto the duke the castels of Winchester, and the fortresse of Hampton.

Wallingford castell.

The tower of London. Mota de Windsor.

Richard de Lucie.

Mota de Oxford.

The bishop of Winchester.

And if any of them, vnto whom the custodie of these fortresses shall

be committed, fortune to die, or otherwise to depart from his charge, an other shall be appointed to the keeping of the same fortresse, before he shall depart fourth thereof, by the counsell and aduice of holie church. And if any of those persons that haue any castels or fortresses belonging to me in their custodie shall be found disobediend and rebell, I and the duke shall constreine him to satisfie our will & pleasure, not leauing him in rest till he be so constreined. The archbishops and bishops of the realme of England, and the abbats also, haue by my commandement sworne fealtie vnto the duke; and the bishops and abbats that hereafter shall be made and aduanced here within the realme of England shall likewise sweare fealtie to him. The archbishops also and bishops on either part, haue vndertaken, that if either of vs shall go from the foresaid couenants, they shall so long chastise the partie offending with the ecclesiastical censures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obserue the said couenants. The mother also of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & subjects whom he may procure, shall likewise assure the premisses.

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In matters belonging to the state of the realme, I shall worke by the dukes aduice. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I shall see that roiall iustice be executed. These beeing witnesses, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, Hen. of Winchester, Robert of Excester, Rob. of Bath, Goceline of Salisburie, Robert of Lincolne, Hilarie of Cicester, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Migell of Elie, Gilbert of Hereford, John of Worcester, Walter of Chester, Walter of Rochester, Geffrey of S. Asaph, Bishops: Robert prior of Bermondsey, Othon knight of the temple, William earle of Cicester, Robert earle of Leicester, William earle of Glocester, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Toning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Salisburie, William de Albemarle, Earle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Humer, Reginald de Warren, Mahaser Biset, John de Port, Richard de Cameuille, Henrie de Essex. Geuen at Westminster.

1154.
An. Reg. 19.

Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the historie. Immediatlie after Christmase, euen in the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe Oxenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being assembled, sware fealtie vnto duke Henrie, their allegiance due vnto king Stephan, as to their souereigne lord and supreme gouernour so long as he liued, alwaies reserued. The forme of the peace was now also ingrossed and registered for a perpetuall witnesse of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Christmase, as about the feast of S. Hilarie in Januarie commonlie called the twentieth daie. Thus was Henrie the sonne of the empresse made the adopted sonne of king Stephan, and therevpon the said Henrie saluted him as king, and named him father. After conclusion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceased in such wise, that the state of the realme of England did maruelouslie for a time flourish, concord being mainteined on ech hand. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cause bound king Stephan to agrée to this attonement chiefelie, namelie for that the empresse (as they saie) was rather king Stephans paramour than his enimie: and therefore (when she saw the matter growne to this point, that they were readie to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the westerne parts called Egelaw heath) she came secretlie vnto king Stephan, & spake unto him on this wise: "What a mischieuous and vnnaturall thing go ye about? Is it méet that the father should destroe the sonne? Is it lawfull for the sonne to kill the father? For the loue of God (man) refraine thy displeasure, and cast thy weapons out of thy hand, sith that (as thou thy selfe knowest full well) Henrie is thine owne sonne." With these and the like words she put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to doo with hir a little before she was married vnto earle Geffrey.

Ger. Dor.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris. Egelaw heath.

The words of the empresse to K. Stephan.

The empresse confesseth hir selfe to be naught of hir bodie.

The king by such tokens as the empresse gaue him, tooke hir words to be true, and therevpon all his malice was streightwaies quenched: so that calling fourth the archbishop of Canturburie, he vttered to him the whole matter, and tooke therewith such direction, in sending to his aduersaries for auoiding battell at that present, that immediatlie the armies on both sides wrapped vp their ensignes, and euery man was commanded to kéepe the peace, that a communication might be had about the conclusion of some pacification, which afterwards ensued in maner aboue mentioned.

¶ But whether this or some other cause moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And surelie a man may thinke it

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good reason, that the report of such secret companie-keeping betwixt the king and the empress, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no ground of truth, but vpon some slanderous deuice of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to doo hir; yet is it like that both of them would doo for best to kéepe it secret, that no such reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate; or to his mother, whose honour thereby should not a little be stained.

Slanders deuised by malicious heads.

But now to the purpose. Shortlie after that the king and duke Henrie had béene togither at Oxenford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunstable, where some cloud of displeasure seemed to darken the bright sunshine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt those two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the castels which had béene built since the daies of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purposes, should be razed and throwne downe: contrarie therevnto (notwithstanding manie of them were ouerthrowne and destroyed to the accomplishment of that article) diuers through the kings permission were suffered to stand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redresse, which somewhat troubled him: but yet bicause he would not giue occasion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would seeme to yeeld all honour and due reuerence, he passeth it ouer.

Oxenford. *Ger. Dor.* The King and duke méet at Dunstable.

Articles not performed.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were solemnlie receiued of the couent of Christes church with procession. After this, in the Lent season they went to Douer, where they talked with Theodorike earle of Flanders, and with the countesse his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was bruted) the duke should haue béene murdered, through treason of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes person, and also that peace which he had concluded with the king. But sée the hap. As this feat should haue béene wrought on Berhamdowne, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his sonne, who was one of the chéefe conspirators, fell beside his horsse, and brake his leg, so that euerie man by that sudden chance was in a maze, & came wondering about him. ¶ This no doubt came to passe by the prouidence of God, though such accidents are commonlie imputed to casualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to preuent, or to intercept, or to recompense the vnnatural conspiracies of traitors and rebels with some notable plague: according to that of the poet;

The king and duke come to Canturburie.

The enuie of the Flemings.

Οἱ αὐτῶ κακὰ τευχεὶ ἀνὴς ἀλλῶ κακὰ τευχῶν,
Ἦ δὲ κακῆ βουλῆ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη,
[Greek: Hoi autô kaka teuchei anês allô kaka teuchôn,
Hê de kakê boulê tô bouleusanti kakistê],
Noxius ipse sibi est alij qui quærit obesse,
Consiliúmque; malum danti fert maxima damna.

Hesiod in lib, cui tit. op. & di.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treason intended against him, or at the least suspecting somewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and so auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rochester, and so to London, he got him a shipboord, and sailed by long seas into Normandie, where he arriued in safetie.

Duke Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

After his departure, king Stephan spent the summer season of this yeare, in going about the most part of the realme; shewing all the courtesie he could deuise to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious persons, as in Yorkshire, where Philip de Coleuille (in trust of his castell which he had stronglie fortified at a certeine place called Drax) shewed himselfe disobedient to the king, who assembling a power in the countrie, besieged that castell, and shortlie wanne it, without any great adoo.

Will Paru. Philip de Coleuille. The castell of Drax.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puissance was thought to be such, that he was able to mainteine warres with the mightiest prince that then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten possession of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Poictou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and looked to succéed in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Aniou, Thouraigne, and Maine. He also reuoked into his hands certeine parcels of his demeane lands, which his father had giuen away, and passing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie subdued certeine lords and barons there, that had rebelled against him.

The puissance of duke Hêrie.

About the same time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king restoring vnto the duke the townes of Newmarch and

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie. *Matth. West.*

Uernon, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. markes of siluer, for the harmes doone by him, within the realme of France.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. Yee shall vnderstand, that within a while after he had made his foresaid progresse almost about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement as well to consult of matters touching the state of the commonwealth, as to furnish the see of Yorke with a sufficient archbishop. Wherevpon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was chosen to that dignitie, and consecrated the tenth day of October, by archbishop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbishop of Canturburie. Then also was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the said Theobald. The new archbishop Roger first went to his see at Yorke, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and set his businesse there in order, he tooke his iournie towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne person.

Wil. Paru. Roger Archdeacon of Canturburie made archbishop of Yorke.

Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

King Stephan also after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to meet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certeine businesse. The earle was no sooner returned backe, but the king fell sicke, and was so gréeuouslie tormented with a paine in his bellie, and with an old disease also, wherewith (as should appear) he had beene often troubled, namelie, the emrods, that finallie he died in the abbey on the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the nine and fortith yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eighteene yeares, ten moneths, and od daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbeie of Feuersham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife also, and his sonne Eustace were buried before. ¶ Thus farre of the acts and deeds of Stephan; now a little of other breefe remembrances, and first touching the prosopographie or description of his person.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan departed this life.

Matth. Paris. N. Triuet.

1154.

He was comelie of stature, of a verie good complexion and disposition, of great strength, in qualities of mind verie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and verie liberall. For though he continued all his time in a maner in the maintenance of wars, yet he leuiud but few tributs, or almost none at all. Indéed he put diuers bishops to greeuous fines, and that not without the iust Judgement of Almighty God, that they might so be punished duellie for their periurie committed in helping him to the crowne. Vices wherewith he should be noted I find none, but that vpon an ambitious desire to reigne, he brake his oth which he made vnto the empresse Maud.

His stature.

In his daies, the abbeies of Tiltey, Fontneis, Rieuallie, Coggeshall in Essex, Newbourgh and Béeland, Meriuale in Warwikeshire, Garedon in Leicestershire, Kirkstéed in Yorkeshire, with diuers other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in so much that more abbeis were erected in his daies, than had béene within the space of an hundred yeares before, as William Paruus writeth.

Abbeies founded. Coggeshall he founded himselfe, and Fontneis in Lancashire, & Feuersham in Kent. *Wil. Paruus.*

A great number of castels also were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the Nobles of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuasions of forrenners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themselues when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking vpon their neighbours.

Diuerse learned men namelie historiographers liued in these daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmensis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwise called Monumetensis, Caradoc Lancarnauensis, William Reuellensis, among whom Thurstan archbishop of Yorke is not to be forgotten, besides many more who in diuerse sciences were verie expert and skilfull, as by treatises of their setting fóorth to the world hath sufficientlie appeared.

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Thus far Stephan of Bullongne.

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 'hauuiug'; corrected to 'hauiug'.
- [2] Original reads ' o'; corrected to 'to'.
- [3] Original reads 'strengthen'; corrected to 'strengthen'.
- [4] Original reads 'insused'; corrected to 'insued'.

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