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Title: Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (2 of 6): England (05 of 12)

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Release date: September 27, 2005 [EBook #16761]
Most recently updated: December 12, 2020

Language: English

Credits: Produced by Jonathan Ingram, Louise Pryor and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team at <https://www.pgdp.net>

*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (05 OF 12) ***

HENRIE THE SECOND,

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The Second Sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.

An. Reg. 1. Henrie the second of that name, a French man borne, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Aniou, begotten of Maud the empress, daughter to Henrie the first, began his reigne ouer England the fiue and twentieth of October, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, the second of pope Anastasius the fourth, the seuenteenth yeare of Lewes the seuenth king of France, and second of Malcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertised of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Ostreham about the seuenth day of December. After he had got his companies together, which by tempest were scattered in his passage, he came first to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the Nobles of the realme resorting vnto him. This doone he set forth towards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie the twentieth daie of December.

N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.

The archbishop of Rouen, with thrée of his suffragans, the archbishop of Yorke, and manie other bishops of England: Theodorus the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were present there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of three and twentie yeares, and to win the peoples loue, he spake manie comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they should find him a louing prince. He vsed the lords also verie courteouslie. And first of all, after his attéining to the crowne, he chose to him councellers of the grauest personages, and best learned in the lawes of the realme, with whose prudent aduice he perused those lawes, and amended them where he thought necessarie, commanding chieflie, that the lawes established by his grandfather Henrie the first should be obserued: and in manie things he relied vpon the aduice of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at whose sute he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancellor, which Becket the said archbishop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before.

N. Triuet. The archbishop of Rouen.

Polydor.

Councillers chosen.

Ran. Higd.

Thom. Becket lord chancellor

An. Reg. 2. 1155 Moreouer, by the sentence and doome of his councellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better maintained, he commanded by waie of publishing a proclamation, that all strangers (which to get somewhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill discord betweene him and king Stephan) shuld depart home without further delaie: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they

Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Wil. Paruus. Strangers appointed to depart the realme.

should auoid vpon perill that might insue. It was a worlds woonder to sée and marke how suddenlie these aliens were quite vanished, as though they had béene phantasmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the subiects of the realme, as they that were accustomed to attempt one shrewd turne vpon an others necke, and thought it lawfull for them so to doo. Amongst them was a great number of Flemings, whom the king hated more than the residue.

Aliens auoid the land.

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By vertue also of this edict, William of Ypres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was constreined with others to depart the realme, king Henrie seizing all his possessions into his owne hands. Diuerse castels were throwne downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephans permission had builded, or else for that they stood not in such places as was thought meet and expedient; yet some he caused to be fortified: and furthermore, tooke into his hands againe such lands and possessions as appertained to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of person, of what degré so euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would looke so néere to his owne commoditie, that nothing should be left for them that might any way be recouered and gotten to his vse.

William de Ypres.

Castels ouerthrowne. *Polydor. Matth. Paris.*

Wil. Paruus. Matth. Paris.

In this yere queene Elianor being then in the citie of London, on the last of Februarie was deliuered of hir second sonne named Henrie. About the same time also, William Peuerell of Notingham a noble man and of great possessions was disherited by the king for sorcerie and witchcraft^[1], which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester, as it was reuealed openlie, and brought to light. In accomplishing of which hainous crime and detestable act, many others were of counsell, and found giltie with him, which escaped not vnpunished.

N. Triuet. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. William Peuerell disherited.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie assembled the péeres & great lords of his realme together at Wallingford, and caused them to sweare allegiance vnto his eldest sonne William: prouiding, that if he chanced to die, then they should doo the like vnto his brother Henrie. Also whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fensed his castels against king Henrie, he besieged the same, and taking the castell of Cleberie, he destroyed it. Wherevpon, the foresaid Hugh shortlie after was at peace with the king, and surrendred to him the two castels of Wigmore and Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and Roger Fitz Miles of Gloucester (who was earle of Hereford) for the lands of Gloucester, that variance was also quenched: for after the same Roger was dead, his brother Walter succeeding him in the earldome of Hereford, was constreined to depart with the citie of Gloucester, which the king held and reteined in his owne hands.

Nic. Treuet.

Matth. Paris. Nic. Treuet. Hugh de Mortimer. The castell of Cleberie.

Roger Fitz Miles.

An. Reg. 2.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Henrie went to Yorke, and in that countrie tooke into his hands diuers castels which had béene long in possession of priuate men; namelie, the castell of Scarborough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and now was constreined to resign it vp, full sore against his will. This yere William the kings eldest sonne departed this life, and was buried at Reading. The realme of England was brought on all sides into verie good quiet; but yer long, word came to K. Henrie, that his brother Geoffrey had begun a rebellion on the other side of the sea. For their father Geoffrey (when he died) left thrée sonnes behind him, Henrie, Geoffrey, and William, ordeining by his testament, when Henrie should haue gotten possession of England and Normandie, that then the countrie of Aniou should remaine vnto Geoffrey, and in the meane time, he to haue these three townes, Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, to mainteine his estate; and when the time came that the whole heritage should fall vnto him, he might by possession of these three haue a readier meane to come by all the rest. Furthermore, fearing least his eldest sonne Henrie (who as then was absent) would not consent to the performance of this his will, he caused certeine bishops and other of the Nobles to sweare, that they should not suffer his bodie to be committed to buriall, till his sonnes had sworne to fulfill his last will and testament in all other things, but especially in this behalfe, wherin he iudged not amisse. For though Henrie was loth to take his oth, yet bicause his fathers bodie should not remaine vnburied, he was contented to sweare.

The king goeth into the north.

The castell of Scarborough.

Wil. Paruus. Nic. Treuet. The death of the kings son William. Geoffrey the kings brother rebelleth.

Wil. Paruus.

But after he had obtained the kingdome of England, his couetous desire, increasing still with abundance already obtained, found meanes to procure of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Englishman borne) a dispensation for that oth: wherevpon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he passed ouer into Normandie, and making war against his brother the said Geoffrey, easilie

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Pope Adrian an Englishman borne. A dispensatiō for an oth. *Nic. Treuet.*

expelled him out of those places, which were assigned him by bequest in his fathers testament, and so tooke the earledome of Aniou into his owne possession. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his said brother a pension of a thousand pounds English & two thousand pounds of the monie of Aniou, with the towne of Lodun, and certeine other lands to liue vpon; who neuerthelesse thinking himselfe euill vsed at the kings hands, rebelled and died.

¶ Here we haue to note the lacke of conscience and religion, not onlie in the pretended successor of Peter in giuing a dispensation for an oth, but also in his good ghostlie sonne, who was no lesse forward in reuolting from his oth, than the other was willing to acquite him from the force thereof. But if these men had beene profiting scholars in the vniuersitie of the pagans, as they were arrand truants and ranke dullards in the schoole of christians, they might haue learned by profane examples, that as oths are not to be rashlie taken, so they are not to be vnaduisedly broken. Herevnto alludeth Aristotle in his Metaphysikes, shewing the cause why poetrie hath feigned that the gods in old time vsed to sweare by water, as Jupiter is reported to haue doone in this manner;

— per flumina iuro
Infera sub terra Stygio labentia luco.

Ouid. Met. lib. 1. fab. 6.

To signifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie ancient and excellent element, and so necessarie that without it the life of man cannot consist; euen so we ought to esteeme of an oth, than the which we should thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie, nothing more christian. Herevnto also tendeth the fable of the transmutation of mariners into Dolphins for periurie: importing thus much for our instruction, that the breaking of an oth, in a case that may preiudice, procureth grieuous punishments from God against them that so lewdlie doo offend. But such is the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant dispensations onlie for oths, but for incest, for treason, and for any other sinne: which he may doo (as he boasteth) by vertue of his absolute and vniuersall iurisdiction: as we haue latelie in most lamentable sort séene exemplified. But to the course of our storie.

Ouid. Met. lib. 3. fab. 8, 9, 10.

1156.

Shortlie after, when king Henrie had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, and made an end of troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey, he returned into England, bicause he receiued aduertisement, that Malcolme king of Scotland began to make war against his subiects that bordered next vnto him, wherevpon he hasted northwards: and comming first into Cumberland, he tooke the citie of Carleil, seizing all that countrie into his hands; and going after into Northumberland, he wan the towne of Newcastle, with the castell of Bamburg, and tooke into his possession all that countrie which his mother the empresse had sometimes granted vnto king Dauid, as before ye haue heard: howbeit, bicause he would not séeme to offer too much wrong, and be esteemed vnmindfull of former benefites receiued, he suffered king Malcolme to enioy the earledome of Huntington, which king Stephan had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, sonne to king Dauid, as before is partlie touched.

King Henrie goeth against the Scots. He wan Carleil and Newcastle and others.

The earledome of Huntingtō.

William also the earle of Mortaigne, and Warren sonne of king Stephan, were compelled to surrender to king Henrie, the castell of Pemsey, the citie of Norwich, and other townes and castels which he held, apperteining to the demeane of the crowne: to whom the king in recompense restored those lands which his father king Stephan held in the daies of king Henrie the first.

William earle of Mortaigne
Matth. Paris. Nic. Treuet.

An. Reg. 3.
1157.

About this time Theodorike earle of Flanders (going with his wife vnto Jerusalem) committed his sonne Philip with all his lands, to the custodie of the king of England. Hugh Bigot also resigned his castels into the kings hands.

Theodorike earle of Flanders.

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But whilest king Henrie was about (as before ye haue heard) to recouer and get backe the portions of his kingdome made away and dismembred by his predecessors, he was informed that the Welshmen raised a rebellion against him; to repressse whose attempts, he hasted fourth with all diligence. Now at his first approach to their countrie, his souldiers being set vpon in the straits, were verie fiercelie put back by the enimies, in somuch that a rumor ran how king Henrie was slaine, which puffed vp the Welshmen with no small hope, and dawnted the Englishmen with great feare. In déed, diuerse of the English nobilitie were slaine, and (amongst others) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Curey, men of great honor and reputation.

Rebellion of Welshmen. The king inuadeth them.

Eustace Fitz John & Robert de Curey slaine.

Those which escaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king passed through the straits without danger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approaching to the said straits, that (so farre as they knew) the king and all the residue were lost. These newes so discomforted the companies,

Henrie of Essex.
Matth. West. Wil. Paruus.

that Henrie of Essex, which bare the kings standard by right of inheritance, threw downe the same, and fled: which dishonorable déed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by order taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the king qualifieng the rigor of the iudgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a shorne moonke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited: howbeit this combat was not tried till about the 9. yeare of this kings reigne.

A combat betwixt Henrie de Essex, and Robert de Mountfort. *Matth. West.*

Now the king, hearing that his armie was discomfited, came to his men, and shewing himselve to them with open visage, greatlie reuiued the whole multitude, and then procéding against the enimies, his people were afterwards more warie in looking to themselues, insomuch that at length (when the K. prepared to inuade the Welshmen both by water & land) they sought to him for peace, and wholie submitted themselues vnto his grace and mercie.

The Welshmen submit themselues.

About the same time, king Henrie builded the castell of Rutland, the castell of Basingwerke, and one house also of Templers. In the moneth of September also this yeare, the kings third sonne was borne at Oxenford, amp; named Richard. This yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the kings Chancellor. The king holding his Christmas at Worcester in great royaltie, sat in the church at seruice, with his crowne on his head, as the kings vsed in those daies to doo on solemne feasts: but as soone as masse was ended, he tooke his crowne from his head, and set it downe vpon the altar in signe of humblenes, so that he neuer after passed for the wearing of a crowne. The same yeare also the king altered his coine, abrogating certeine peeces called basels.

The castell of Rutland and Basingwerke built. *Matth. Paris.* Thomas Becket lord Chancellor.

Ann. Reg. 4.
1158.

Matth. Paris. The king laieth his crown on the altar.

Coine altered.

In the moneth of August he went ouer into Normandie, and came to an enteruiew with the French king neere to the riuier of Eata, where they intreated of a league, and of a marriage, which was after agréed vpon, betwixt Henrie the sonne of king Henrie; and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the kings chancellor) was sent to Paris in great araie to fetch hir: who among other furnitures had nine long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket the lord chancellor, and brought from Paris, she was appointed from thencefoorth to remaine in the house of Robert de Newburge, a Noble man of great honor, vntill such time as the mariage should be solemnized.

Additions to John Pike.

The lord chancellor Becket sent into France. *Matth. West.*

After the two kings were departed in sunder, K. Henrie prepared an armie against Conan duke of Britaine, who had seized the citie of Naunts into his hands, after the decease of Geffrey the kings brother, who was earle of Naunts. At length, the same Conan perceiuing himselve not able to resist the king of England, vpon the daie of the feast of saint Michael the archangell came to king Henrie, and surrendred the citie of Naunts into his hands, with all the whole countrie therevnto belonging. Soone after which resignation, and vpon the 24. of August, Geffrey the kings fourth sonne was borne of his wife queene Elianor.

Geffrey the kings fourth son born.

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In December following, Theobald earle of Blois was accorded with king Henrie, to deliuer to him two of his castels. Likewise Petroke earle of Perch surrendred two castels vnto king Henrie, which he had vsurped of the demeanes of Normandie in the daies of king Stephan: one of which castels the king gaue him againe, receiuing homage of him for the same.

Petroke earle of Perch.

Moreouer king Henrie and Raimond earle of Barzelone met together at Blaime, where they concluded a league by way of allegiance, so that Richard the sonne of king Henrie should take to wife the daughter of the said Raimond in time conuenient; and that the king of England should giue vnto the said Richard the duchie of Aquitane, & the countie of Poictow. This earle Raimond had married the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon.

Raimond erle of Barzelone. Richard the kings sonne offered to erle Raimonds daughter.

In the meane time, a secret grudge that had long depended betwéene king Henrie and king Lewes of France did still continue, and though there was a friendship agreed betweene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguished the same; yet was it but a fained friendship: for vpon euery new occasion they were readie to breake againe, as it came to passe shortlie after.

A fained friendship.

William duke of Aquitane, grandfather to queene Elianor, married the daughter and heire of the earle of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie land, he engaged that earledome vnto Raimond the earle of saint Giles, and died before he could returne. His sonne William, father to quéene Elianor, suffered his earledome to remaine still vnredéemed, either for want of sufficiencie, or through negligence and carelesnesse: so that the earle of

William duke of Aquitaine. Earle of saint Giles otherwise Tholouze.

saint Giles kéeping possession thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to his sonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewise. Now when king Lewes (hauing married the foresaid Elianor) demanded restitution as in the right of his wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the first denied to restore it, but after considering his lacke of power to resist the kings puissance, he plied the K. with humble petitions, and so preuailed by faire words; that in the end king Lewes granted him his sister Constance in marriage (which Constance, as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Eustace the sonne of king Stephan) & with hir granted him libertie to reteine the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie of endowment: whereto the other accorded. Howbeit king Henrie hauing married the foresaid quéene Elianor, after the diurse had betwixt hir and king Lewes, made claime to the said countie of Tholouze in the right of his wife. Herevpon earle Raimond, trusting now to the aid of his brother in law king Lewes, denied to restore it; so that king Henrie determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gascoine with an armie, he drew towards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to inuade the same with great force and courage.

An. Reg. 5.
1159.

Matth. Paris Matt. Westm.

Diurse great lords of those parties ioyned with king Henrie in his war which he attempted against the earle of saint Giles, as the earle of Barzelone, and the lord William Thencheuile, a man of great power in those quarters, hauing vnder his rule manie cities, castels and townes, notwithstanding that he had of late lost many of them by violence of the foresaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of king Henrie he recouered them all. Malcolme also king of Scotland came vnto king Henrie, whilest he was fourth in this iournie, to associate him in this businesse.

*Wil. Paruus. William
Trancheuille.*

N. Triuet.

The earle hearing of king Henries comming with an armie, was put in great feare, and therevpon wrote letters to his brother in law king Lewes, requiring him with all spéed possible to come vnto his aid. King Lewes vpon receipt of the letters, & vnderstanding the present danger of the earle, made such hast in continuing his iournie both daie and night, that he came to Tholouze, before king Henrie could arriue there. Which when king Henrie vnderstood, and perceiued how he was preuented, he changed his purpose of besieging the citie, and fell to spoiling of the countrie thereabouts: at which time he recouered certaine places that latelie before had reuolted from his gouernment, & (amongst the rest) the citie of Cahors, which he furnished with men, munition and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the custodie and keeping thereof: he fortified other places also which he had gotten, placing capteines and men of warre to looke vnto the defense of the same. Whilest the king was thus abrode on his iournie in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Mortaine the sonne of king Stephan, and Haimon earle of Glocester departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

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The citie of Cahors. *N. Triuet.*
The lord chancellor Becket.

*Rob. Houed. William earle of
Bullongne.*

Finallie, when he had set things at a staie in those parties, he returned towards Normandie, and comming to the citie of Toures, he gaued the order of knighthood vnto Malcolme king of Scotland, and so in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new supplies, entred into the countie of Beauuoisin, burned manie villages in the same, and destroyed the strong castell of Gerberie, except one turret, which his souldiers could not take, by reason of the fire and smoke which staid and kept them from it. Moreouer, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered vnto king Henrie such fortresses as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and such like, which was no small discommoditie and inconuenience to the French king, because the garisons placed in those fortresses impeached the passage betwixt Paris and Orleance. But shortlie after, a truce was taken to last from the moneth of December, vnto the feast of the holie Trinitie in the yeare next following.

The countie of Beauuoisin.

A truce taken.

An. Reg. 6.
1160.

In the moneth of Maie also insuing, a peace was concluded vpon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the mariage was solemnized betwixt Henrie the kings sonne being seuen yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not past three yeares old: as writers doo report. The mariage was celebrated at Newborough on the second daie of Nouember, by the authoritie of two legats of the apostolike sée, Henrie bishop of Pisa, and William bishop of Pauia, both preests and cardinals.

A peace concluded.
A mariage concluded.
Matth. Paris.
Legats.

About the same time came certeine Dutchmen of the sort called Ualdoies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which first spred the opinions which these men held, came from Gascoigne, and preuailed so greatlie in setting fourth their doctrine, that they mightilie increased through the large regions of Spaine, France,

*Wil. Paruus. Certeine of the
Ualdois came into England
being Dutchmè.*

Italie, and Germanie: simple men (God wote) they were for the most part, as is written of them, and of no quicke capacitie. Howbeit, those which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now also was a councell assembled at Oxford, whereat these dogmatists were examined vpon certeine points of their profession. The forsaid Gerard vndertaking to answer for them all, protested that they were good christians, and had the doctrine of the apostles in all reuerence. Moreouer, being examined what they thought of the substance of the godhead and the merits of Christ, they answered rightlie, and to the point; but being further examined vpon other articles of the religion then receiued, they swarued from the church, and namelie, in the vse of the diuine sacraments, derogating such grace from the same, as the church by hir authoritie had then ascribed thereto. To conclude, they would renounce their opinions, in somuch that they were condemned, burned in the forehead with an hot iron, and in the cold season of winter stripped naked from the girdle steed vpward, and so whipped out of the towne; with proclamation made, that no man should be so hardie as to receiue them into any house, relieue them with meat, drinke, or any other kind of meanes: wherevpon it fell out in fine that they were starued to death through cold and hunger: howbeit in this their affliction they séemed to reioise, in that they suffered for Gods cause, as they made account.

A councell at Oxford.

The professions of the Ualdoies.

Their examination & protestation. The Ualdois condemned.

They are forbidden meat and drinke. They are starued to death.

The same yeare, Matthew sonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbesse of Ramsie, daughter to king Stephan, and with hir had the countie of Bullongne. About this mariage grew the first falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket (as some haue written) but none more than the said Matthew was offended with the said chancellor, bicause he was so sore against the said contract.

N. Triuet.

The first falling out betwixt the K. & Thomas Becket.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

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An. Reg. 7.
1161.

King Henrie, shortlie after the marriage was consummate betwixt his sonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands the castell of Gisors, with two other castels, situate vpon the riuer of Eata in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage should be finished, king Henrie should haue those thrée castels, bicause they appertained to Normandie; in the meane time, the same castels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Poiron, Tostes de Saint Omer, and Robert Hastings, thrée knights templers, who vpon the consummation of the marriages before said, and according to the trust committed to them, surrendred the possession of the said castels into the hands of king Henrie.

Rog. Houed.

But the French king was not a little mooued, for that king Henrie had seized vpon them without his licence, in so much that he raised a power of armed men, and sent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict aboue the rest with the Normans, till the night parted them in sunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumont, and the Normans to Gisors. The next daie, as the Frenchmen came foorth againe, purposing to haue won Gisors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who issued out of the towne to skirmish with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt these two princes; and by setting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the English and French powers comming foorthwith into the field, and marching one against an other, they approached so neere together, that battell was presentlie looked for, first in Ueulgessine, and after in the teritorie of Dune; but yet in the end such order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake vp.

Gaguinus. The French & Normans fight.

Nic. Triuet.

The three Templers also ran in displeasure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the castels before they knew his mind, so that he banished them the realme of France for euermore: but king Henrie receiued them, and gaue them honorable enterteinment. Some write that there were but two castels, Gisors and Meall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned.

Thrée knights templers.
Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris.

About this time Theobald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that sée the space of 22. yeares, who at his going to Rome, and receipt of the pall of pope Innocent the second, was also created legat of the see apostolike, which office he exercised so diligentlie, and so much to the auaille of the church, that the dignitie of legatship remained euer after to the archbishop of Canturburie by a speciall decree, so that they were intituled Legati nati, that is to say Legats borne (as mine author dooth report.) This Theobald greatlie faouored Thomas Becket.

The death of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

The power legantine anexed to Cant. *Wil. Paru.*

This Becket was borne in London, his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Saracen: howbeit (no regard had of his parents) he grew so highlie in fauour with the king, and might doo so much in England, that he seemed to reigne as if he had bene associat with him also in the kingdome, and being Lord chancellor, the king sent him ouer into

The authoritie of Becket.

An. Reg. 6.

England (Richard Lucie being in his companie) with sundrie letters in his fauour, thereby to procure his election to that see: which was brought to passe according to the kings desire at Westminster. Afterward he was ordeined at Canturburie on saturday in Witsunwéeke, by Henrie bishop of Winchester (although there be that write how Walter bishop of Rochester did consecrate him) which consecration was in the 44. yeare of his age, and in the fift yere after his first aduancement to the office of Lord chancellor, so that he was the eight and thirtith archbishop which gouerned in that see.

He is consecrated archb.
Wil. Paru.

Quadrilogium ex vita eiusdem
Thomæ.

Toward the end of the same yeare, Henrie the kings sonne receiued homage of the barons, first in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare ensuing, the king his father committed him to archbishop Becket, that he might see him brought vp and trained in maners and courtlie behauiour, as appertained to his estate: wherevpon the archbishop in iest called him his sonne.

The archbishop a better courtier
than a preacher.

This yeare Quéene Elianor was brought to bed at Rohan of a daughter named Elianor.

The quéene brought to bed of a [118]
daughter.

An. Reg. 9.
1163.

In like maner the kings of England and France receiued pope Alexander the third at Cocie vpon Loire with all honor and reuerence, insomuch that they attended vpon his stirrup on foot like pages or lackies, the one vpon his right side, and the other on his left.

An enteruiew. *N. Triuet.*

¶ Note here the intollerable pride of this antichristian pope in assuming, and the basemindednesse of these two kings in ascribing vnto that man of sinne such dignitie as is vtterlie vnfit for his indignitie. But what will this monster of men, this Stupor mundi, this Diaboli primogenitus & hæres not arrogate for his owne aduancement; like yuie climbing aloft, & choking the trée by whose helpe it créepeth vp from the root to the top. But the end of this seauen horned beast so extolling and lifting it selfe vp to heauen, is

— Erebo miserè claudetur in imo
Atque illic miris cruciatibus afficietur.

In Januarie ensuing, the king returned into England, and the same yeare the king of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the yonger, and deliuered his yonger brother Daid to the king his father, with diuerse other the sonnes of his lords and barons in pledge, for assurance of a perpetuall peace to be kept betweene them, with some such castels as he required.

Homage of the K. of Scots.

In the meane time archbishop Thomas went to the councill holden by pope Alexander at Tours in the Octaues of Pentecost, where he resigned his bishoprike into the popes hands (as the fame went) being troubled in conscience for that he had receiued it by the kings preferment. The pope allowing his purpose, committed the same pastorlike dignitie to him againe by his ecclesiasticall power, whereby the archbishop was eased verie well of his greefe, and shortlie after his returne from his councill, seemed desirous to reduce & cause to be restored such rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canturburie, whereby he ran into the displeasure of manie, and namelie of the mightiest.

A councill at Tours.

Moreouer he required of the king the kéeping of Rochester castell, & the custodie of the tower of London. He alledged also that Saltwood & Hith belonged peculiarie to the seignorie of his see. He called Roger earle of Clare vnto Westminster, to doo his homage, vnto him for the castell of Tunbridge: but the earle denied it through the setting on of the king, alledging all the fee thereof to apperteine rather to the king than to the archbishop. Thus was the archbishop troubled, and he grew dailie more and more out of the kings fauour. For yee must vnderstand, that this was not the first nor the second, but the eight time that the king had shewed tokens of his displeasure against him.

The archbish. practiseth treason
secretlie. Homage for the castell
of Tunbridge.

An. Reg. 10.

After this, vpon the first day of Julie, Rice prince of Southwales, with diuerse other lords and nobles of Wales, did homage both to the king and to his sonne Henrie at Woodstocke. Hamline the kings bastard brother married the countesse of Warren, the widow of William earle of Mortaigne bastard sonne to king Stephan. This countesse was the sole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warren, which went with Lewes king of France into the holie land, and there died. Soone after, the Welshmen rebelling with their prince Rice and his vncler Owen, did manie mischéeses on the marshes: and by the death of Walter Gifford earle of Buckingham (who deceased this yeare without heire) that earledome came to the kings hands.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

1164.

Homage of the Welshmen.
N. Triuet.

On the 20. daie of September were three circles seene to compasse the sun, and so continued the space of thrée houres together: which when they vanished awaie, two sunnes appeared and sprang foorth after a maruellous maner. Which strange sight the common people imagined to be a signe or

Matth. Paris.

token of the controuersie then kindling betwixt the king and the archbishop.

About this time the king called a parlement at Westminster, to treat of matters concerning the commonwealth, wherein great discord arose betwixt the king & archbishop Becket, about certeine points touching the liberties of the church. For the king hauing an earnest zeale vnto iustice, and commanding the iudges to punish offenders without respect, vnderstood by their information, that manie things by them of the spiritualtie (against whome their authoritie might not be extended) were committed contrarie to common order: as theft, rapine, murther, and manslaughter; in so much that in his presence it was made notorious, that sith the beginning of his reigne, aboue an hundred manslaughters had béene committed within his realme of England by préests and men of religious orders. Herevpon being mooued in mind, he set forth lawes against the spiritualtie, wherein he shewed his zeale of iustice. For as the cause procéded from the bishops of that age, so did the fault also, sith contrarie to their owne canons they permitted préests to liue ouer licentiouslie without due correction, studieng onelie to mainteine the liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reforme the irregularitie of the regulars. Of this crew was one Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, who being arreigned before the kings iusticer for a murther, vttered disdainfull words against the same iusticer: which when he could not denie before the archbishop, he was depriued of his prebend, and banished the land for two yeares space.

Discord still kindleth betwixt [119]
the king and the archb.

Murthers committed by préests.

W. Paruus.
Matth. Paris.

These things troubled the king, who therefore hauing already set downe such orders as should bridle the spiritualtie from their wicked dooings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parlement by consent of the bishops and clergie, then the same should take place and be receiued for lawes. Wherefore he earnestlie required at this parlement that it might be enacted against all such of the spiritualtie, as should be taken and conuicted for any henious offense, they should loose the priuiledge of the church, and be deliuered vnto the ciuill magistrate, who should see them suffer execution for their offences, in like maner as he might any of the kings subiects being laie men. For otherwise the king alledged, that they would boldlie presume to doo much more mischiefe, if after ecclesiasticall discipline, no secular correction should follow. And likelie it was that they would passe but little for their disgrading and losse of their order, who in contempt of their calling would not absteine from committing most mischieuous abominations and hainous enormities.

The king meaneth to bridle the spiritualtie frō presumptuous dealing. The prelates against the king. *Ger. Dor.*

Unto these reasons thus proponed by the king (to haue his purpose take effect) the archbishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the bishops, answered verie pithilie, labouring to proue that it was more against the liberties of the church, than that they might with reason well allow. Wherevpon the king being moued exceedingly against them, demanded whether they would obserue his roiall lawes and customes, which the archbishops and bishops in the time of his grandfather did hold and obeie or not? Wherevpon they made answere, that they would obserue them, *Saluo ordine suo*, Their order in all things saued. But the king being highlie offended with such exceptions, vrged the matter so, that he would haue them to take their oth absolutely, & without all exceptions, but they would none of that. At length he departed from London in verie great displeasure with the bishops, hauing first taken from the archbishop Thomas all the offices and dignities which he enioied since his first being created chancellor.

Their order saued.

The king offended with the bishops.

Howbeit, after this, manie of the bishops séeing wherevnto this broile would grow, began to shrinke from the archbishop, and inclined to the king. But the archbishop stood stifflie in his opinion, and would not bend at all, till at length not onelie his suffragans the bishops, but also the bishop of Liseux (who came ouer to doo some good in the matter) and the abbat of Elemosina (who was sent from the pope) persuaded him to agree to the kings will, in so much that being overcome at last with the earnest suit of his freends, he came first to Woodstocke, and there promised the king to obserue his lawes, *Bona fide*, Faithfullie, and without all collusion or deceit.

R. Houed.

R. Houed.

1164.

Shortlie after, in the feast of S. Hilarie, a councill was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbishop, and in manner all the lords spirituall and temporall of the land made their repaire. Here the archbishop would haue willinglie started from his promise, if first the bishops, and after the earles of Leicester and Cornewall, Robert and Reignald (which Reignald was vnclie to the king) and lastlie two knights templers, had not mooued him to yéeld to the kings will. But (amongst the rest) these two knights, namelie Richard de Hastings, and Hosteus de Boloigne were verie earnest with him, & at length preuailed, though not for conscience of dutie, wherewith he should haue bene touched; yet with feare of danger, which (by refusing to satisfie the kings will) he

Ger. Dor. A councill at Clarendon.

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Ger. Dor.

should haue brought not onelie vpon himselfe, but also vpon the other bishops there present.

These knights séemed to lament his case, as if alreadie they had séene naked swords shaken about his eares. And indeed, certeine of the kings seruants that attended vpon his person after the manner of a gard, went to and fro, rushing vp and downe the chambers, shaking their bright battell axes readie appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run vpon the bishops. Wherevpon the archbishop being touched with remorse, and séeming to striue against his determinat purpose, consented to obey the kings pleasure, and so promised in the word of a préest, swering furthermore, that he would obserue the kings lawes and customes, without expressing these words, Saluo ordine meo, Mine order saued, which he had vsed before. The like oth did all the bishops take. But the archbishop refused at that time to seale to the writing that contained the articles of the oth which he should haue obserued, requiring as it were a time to consider of them, sith in so weightie a matter nothing ought to be doone without good and deliberate aduice, wherefore he tooke with him a copie thereof, and so did the archbishop of Yorke an other, and the third remained with the king.

Matth. Paris. The archbishop Becket receiueth an oth.

Shortlie after, the archbishop considering further of this oth which he had taken, repented himselfe greeuouslie therof, in so much that he abstained from saieng of masse, till he had by confession and fruits of penance (as saith *Matth. Paris*) obtined absolution of the pope. For addressing and sending out messengers with all spéed vnto the pope, with a certificat of the whole matter as it laie, he required to be assoiled of the bond which he had vnaduisedly entred into. This suit was soone granted, in so much that the pope directed his especiall letters vnto him, contening the same absolution in verie ample and large manner, as *Matth. Paris* dooth report. And thus began a new broile.

He repenteth him in that he had receiued an oth. *Matth. Paris.*

The archbishop in the meane time, perceiuing that the liberties of the church were now not onelie embezelled, but in maner extinguished, and being loth to make any further attempt against his former dealings, would now (without the kings knowledge) haue departed the realme, wherevpon comming to Romnie, he tooke shipping, to haue passed ouer into France, and so to haue gone to the popes court. But by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into England, and thereby fell further into the kings displeasure than before, in so much that, whereas an action was commensed against him of late for a manor, which the archbishops of Canturburie had of long time held: now the matter was so vsed that the archbishop lost the manor, and was moreouer condemned to paie the arrerages, and thus his troubles increased euen through his owne malapertnesse and brainesickness; whereas all these tumults might haue béene composed and laid asléepe, if he had béene wise, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

The archbishop Becket would haue fled out of the realme.

Vir bonus & sapiens quærit super omnia pacem,
Vúltque minora pati, metuens grauiora, cauétque,
Ne paruo ex igni scelerata incendia surgant.

M. Pal. in suo sag.

In the end, the archbishop was cited to appeere before the king at Northampton, where the king vsed him somewhat roughlie, placing his horses at his Inne, and laid disobedience to his charge, for that he did not personallie appeare at a certeine place before his highnesse, vpon summons giuen vnto him^[2] for the same purpose. Wherevnto though the archbishop alledged that he had sent thither a sufficient deputie to make answer for him; yet could he not be so excused, but was found giltye, and his goods confiscat to the kings pleasure.

The archbishop to appeare at Northampton. *R. Houed.*

Sentence giuen against the archbishop.

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Now when the archbishop heard that sentence was in suchwise pronounced against him; "What maner of iudgement (saith he) is this? Though I hold my peace, yet the age that shall hereafter follow, will not hide it in silence; for sithens the world began, it hath not beene heard, that any archbishop of Canturburie hath béene iudged in any of the king of Englands courts for any maner of cause; partlie in regard of the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie bicause he is spirituallie the father of the king and all his people. This is therefore a new forme and order of iudgement, that the archbishop should be iudged by his suffragans, or the father by his sons."

The next daie the king required of him the repaiment of fiue hundred marks, which he had lent him when he was chancellor. Now although he affirmed that he receiued the same by waie of gift, and not by waie of lone; yet bicause he confessed receipt, he was condemned in that debt, forsomuch as he could not prooue the title the gift.

The archbish. condemned in fiue hundred marks.

On the morrow after, the archbishop with his felow bishops being set in

An assemblie of bishops.

councill, by commandement of the king (& the doores fast locked that they should not get out) this was proponed against the archbishop, that whereas he held certeine bishops sées as then vacant, with abbeies, and other reuenues of his souereigne lord the king in his hands, and had made none account to him for the same of long time; the king required now to be answered at his hands, and that with all spéed, for he would haue no delaie. The summe amounted to thirtie thousand markes.

The archbish. called to an account.

When the archbishop had heard the variable sentences of the bishops in this case, he answered after this maner: "I would (said he) speake with two earles which are about the king," and named them. Who being called, and the doores set open, he said vnto them; "We haue not héere at this present to shew whereby the thing may be more manifest: therefore we aske respite for answer till to morrow." The councill therefore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came with the archbishop thither, being afraid of the kings displeasure, fell from him. Wherefore he caused his seruants to fetch a great number of poore and impotent people to his lodging, saieng that by the seruice of such men of warre, a more spéedie victorie in short space might be gotten, than by them which in time of temptation shamefullie drew backe. Herevpon his house was filled full, and the tables set with such as his seruants had brought in, out of the lanes and streets abroad.

Upon the tuesdaie, the bishops all amazed and full of care, came vnto him; and bicause of the displeasure which the king had conceiued against him, counselled him to submit himselfe to the kings will, or else in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iudged a periured person; bicause he had sworne vnto the king as to his earthlie souereigne, touching all temporall honor in life, lim, and member; and namelie to obserue all his roiall lawes and customes, which of late he had established.

The bishops persuade the archbishop to submit himself to the kings pleasure.

Wherevnto he answered: "My brethren, ye see how the world roreth against me, and the enimie riseth vp, but I more lament that the sonnes of my mother fight against me. If I should hold my peace, yet would the world come to declare how ye leaue me alone in the battell, and haue iudged against me now these two daies past, I being your father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I command you by virtue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your order, that you be not present in any place of iudgement, where my person may fortune to be adiudged: in testimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that temporall men laie their hands vpon me, I charge you likewise by vertue of your obedience, that ye exercise the censures of the church in the behalfe of your father the archbishop as it becommeth you. This one thing know ye well, that the world roreth, the flesh trembleth and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will not shrink, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me."

The archbish. answer to his brethren.

He appealeth to the church of Rome.

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After this he entred into the church, and celebrated the masse of saint Stephan (otherwise than he was accustomed to doo) with his pall: which being ended, he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope vpon them all, and so went to the court. Furthermore, bicause he was afraid, he receiued the sacrament secretlie with him, and bearing the crosse in his right hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops following him with great feare and trembling. Now being come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie haue taken the crosse, and haue borne it before him, but he would not suffer him, saieng: "It is most reason that I should beare it my selfe, vnder the defense whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding this ensigne, I néed not doubt vnder that prince I serue."

He goeth to the court.

At length, when the king had exhibited great complaints vnto them all generallie against him, they cried that he was a traitor, sith he had receiued so manie benefits at the kings hands, and now refused to doo him all earthlie honor as he had sworne to doo. To be short, when the bishops came to sit vpon the matter in councill, they appealed to the sée of Rome against the archbishop, accusing him of periurie: and in the word of truth bound themselues by promise, to doo what they might to depose him, if they king would pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged ouer the archbishops head. Then comming to the archbishop they said: "Thou wast sometime our archbishop, and we were bound to obeie thée: but sith thou hast sworne fealtie to the king, that is, life member, and earthlie honor, & to obserue his lawes and customes, and now goest about to destroie the same, we say that thou art guiltie of periurie, and we will not from hencefoorth obey a periured archbishop. Therefore we cite thée by appellation to appeare before the pope, there to answer thine accusors." Then they, appointed him a day, in which they ment to prosecute their appeale. "I heare you well" (said

He is reputed a traitour.

The bishops disallow their archbishop.

the archbishop).

The princes and péeres of the realme did also iudge him a periured person and a traitour. Among whome (manie then being present) the earle of Leicester accompanied with Reignald earle of Cornwall, came vnto him and said; "The king commanded thée to come and render an accompt of that which is obiected against thée, or else heare thy iudgement." "Judgement?" said the archbishop, [and wherewith rising vp said,] "Naie sonne earle, first heare thou: It is not vnknowne to thée how faithfull I haue béene to the king, in consideration whereof he aduanced me to the archbishops see against my will (as God can be my iudge:) for I knew mine owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his pleasure, than for Gods cause, and therefore dooth God both withdraw himselfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me fréé, and discharged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as touching those things from which I am fréé and deliuered, I am not bound to answer, neither will I. So much as the soule is more worth than the bodie, so much the more art thou bound to obeie God and me, rather than any earthlie creature. Neither will law nor reason permit, that the sonnes should iudge or condemne the father: and therefore I refuse to stand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (vnder God) I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto Gods protection and his, and vnder the defense of his authoritie I depart out of this place." Hauing thus spoken, went incontinent to take horsse.

Now as he passed on his waie, the kings seruants and others of the court did cast out manie reprochfull words against him, calling him traitor and false forsworne caitife. At which words turning himselfe, and looking backe with a sterne countenance he said; "That if it were not for his order of priesthood, and that it were lawfull for him, he would surelie cléere himselfe of periurie and treason, in defending and mainteining his cause against them with weapon in hand."

Ger. Dor. The stout courage of the archbishop.

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When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the same fast locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his seruants espieng where a bunch of keies tied to a clubs and were hanging on a pin, he tooke them down, & tried which was the right key, by proof whereof he found it at the last, opened the gate, and let the archbishop out, the porters standing still as men amazed, and speaking not one word against it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, saieng: "Blessed be God, which hath deliuered his seruant from the face of his enimie." Thus with a great rout or companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conueied to the abbie of S. Andrews: and looking behind and before him, as he passed thitherward, he said vnto those that went with him; "How glorious a procession dooth bring me from the face of the enimie? Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie together in the Lord." Hauing thus spoken the people had entrance, so that all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furnished with tables and stooles, they were conuenientlie placed, and serued with vittels to the full.

The verie same night before the cockcrowing he issued forth by a little posterne gate, and taking with him onelie two moonks of the Cisteaux order, the one named Robert Canne, and the other S. Cayman, with one of his owne seruants called Roger de Broc, he fled awaie disguised in a white vesture and a moonks coule, and changing his name, caused himselfe to be called Dereman, & iourneied still all the night, and by daie laie close in one fréends house or other; till at last he got to Sandwich, and there taking ship, he sailed ouer into Flanders, and so went to France, where at the citie of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whose bosome he emptied whole cart lodes of complaints and greeuances.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop Becket fled awaie in the night.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbishop was fled the realme, sent Gilbert Folloioth bishop of London, and William earle of Arundell in spéedie ambassage to, the king of France, to signifie vnto him the whole matter and circumstance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbishop, requiring him not to receiue the archbishop into his realme, but this request was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbishops cause was faoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, so that the archbishop found great grace with the French king, and no small faour at the hands of the pope.

Gilbert Folloioth bishop of London was sent to the French king.

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accused by the archbishop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbishop of Yorke, the aforesaid Gilbert bishop of London, Hilarius bishop of Chichester, Roger bishop of Worcester,

Additions to Iohn Pike. Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

Bartholomew bishop of Excester, with diuerse bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & other learned men of good accompt to the number of 15. to passe in ambassage vnto the pope, that they might excuse his dooings, and burden the archbishop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good prooffe.

Being admitted to declare their message in the consistorie before the pope, they opened the whole circumstance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie and the king there was a controuersie moued, and by both their consents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iustice should require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the chéefest lords of the realme both spirituall and temporall were assembled, to the end that the more generall the méeting should be, the more manifest might the discourie of the fraud and malice of the archbishop appéere.

Roger archbishop of Yorke with others are sent to the pope.

"At the daie appointed (saie they) there came before the catholike prince his presence, the Nobles of his realme: and amongst other, the archbishop the disquieter both of the kingdome & church, who (as one not well assured of the qualitie of his owne deseruings) blessed himselfe with the signe of the crosse at his comming into the court, as though he should haue come before some tyrant or schismaticall person. Notwithstanding all which contemptuous and ambitious behauour, the kings maiestie was nothing offended, but committed the iudgement of his cause to the faithfull order of the bishops, meaning so to deliuer himselfe of all suspicion of wrong dealing. Then it rested in the bishops hands to make an end of the controuersie, and to set a finall vnion and agréement betwixt them. But the archbishop would none of that, alleging how it should be a derogation to the sée apostolike and his metropolitically dignitie, to stand before the king in iudgement, or anie other temporall magistrate. And albeit (saie they) some diminution or eclipse might haue chanced to the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it had beene his part to haue dissembled the matter for the time, to the end that peace might haue béene restored to the church. He further obiected (ascribing to himselfe the name of father, which seemed to sauour somewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not to come together to iudge the fathers cause, but it had béene far more necessarie that the humblenesse of the sons should mitigate the pride and temper the ambition of the father."

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To conclude the kings ambassadors made earnest suit, that two legats might be sent from the pope, to haue the hearing & discussing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbishop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbishop hauing alreadie persuaded the pope to the contrarie. For comming to the pope he vttered his complaint as followeth:

The kings tale could not be heard.

The archbishop Becket.

"Most holie father, I doo here come for succour to your audience, lamenting that the state of the church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Wherefore when I thought to resist the disease approaching, I was suddenlie called before the king, to render accompts as a laie man about certeine wards, for whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had notwithstanding giuen accounts; and also, when I was made bishop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the archbishops sée, I was released and discharged of all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldest sonne, and by the cheefe iusticer of the realme: so that now, where I looked to haue found aid, I was destitute thereof, to my great hinderance and vexation. Consider furthermore (I praie you) how my lords and brethren the bishops are readie at the pleasure of the Noble men of the court to giue sentence against me, so that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almost oppressed: and therefore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, which dooth not forsake your children in their extreme necessitie, before whom I here stand, readie to declare and testifie that I am not to be iudged there, nor yet at all by them. For what other thing should that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church? What else then to submit spirituall things to temporall? This example therefore once sproong vp, might giue an occasion to manie enormities to follow. The bishops doo say, 'Those things that are Cesars, ought to be restored to Cesar.' But admit that in manie things the king is to be obeyed, is he therefore to be obeyed in things wherein he is no king? For those belong not to Cesar, but to a tyrant. Wherein if for my sake they would not, yet ought the bishops for their owne sakes to haue resisted him. For what should be the cause of such deadlie and vnnaturall hatred, that to destroye me, they should destroye themselues? Therefore whilest for temporall things they neglect spirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then most holie father, my fleeing awaie, and my persecution, and how for your sake I haue beene prouoked with iniuries, vse your rigour, constraine them to amendement, through whose motion this hath chanced; let them not be borne out by the king, who is rather the obstinate minister,

Matt. Paris.

than the finder out of this practise."

The pope hauing heard his words, tooke deliberation in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals, and therevpon answered the archbishop in effect as followeth: "That the lower power may not iudge the higher, and chéefelie him whome he is bound to obeie, all the lawes both of God and man doo witnesse, and the ordinances of the ancient fathers doo manifestlie declare: Herevpon we (to whome it apperteineth to reforme disorders) doo clearelie reuerse and make void the iudgement pronounced against you by the barons and bishops, whereby as well against the order of law, as against the customes of the church, your goods were adiudged forfeit, whereas the same goods were not yours, but the churches of Canturburie, ouer which you haue the onelie cure and charge. But if those that haue violentlie entred vpon the possessions and goods of your church, and haue thereby wronged either you or yours, will not vpon admonition giuen to them, make restitution with sufficient amends, then may you (if you shall thinke conuenient) exercise ecclesiasticall iustice vpon them, and we shall allow of that which you shall reasonable doo in that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himselfe we will not giue you any speciall commandement, neither yet doo we take from you any right belonging to your bishoprike office, which you receiued at your consecration. But the king onelie we will spare, and exempt from your excommunications and censures." After these and many by-matters were ouerpassed, the archbishop resigned his pall vnto the pope, but the pope gaue it him againe, and appointed him to remaine at Pountney an abbeie of moonks Cisteaux in the diocesse of Auxerre, till the variance were brought to some good end betwixt the king and him. This was doone in the yeare of our Lord 1164.

The popes answer to the archbishop.

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The archbish. resigneth his pall.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambassadors what answer the pope had made, became gréeuoslie offended in his mind, and therevpon confiscated all the goods that belonged to the archbishop and his complices, and seized their reuenues into his hands, appointing one Randall de Broc to haue the custodie of all that belonged to the see, which Broc was nothing fréendlie to the archbishop, being his knowne enimie of old, but faouored the moonkes, and would not suffer that they should take wrong or displeasure at any hand.

Ger. Dor.

1165.

In the yeare 1165. queene Elianor was deliuered of a daughter which was named Joane. Also on the 26. daie of Januarie, there chanced a maruellous earthquake in Northfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in Suffolke, so that men as they stood on the ground were ouerthrowne therewith, and buildings so shaken, that the belles in stéeples knolled: the like had also chanced in the Aduent season then last before passed.

Matth. West. Matt. Paris.

The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of those countries that bordered vpon them: wherewith the king being sore mooued, leuied an armie with all spéed as well of Englishmen as strangers, and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did go against the rebels, and finding them withdrawne into their starting holes (I meane the woods and strait passages) he compassed the same about in verie forceable maner. The Welshmen perceiuing themselues now to be brought into such ieopardie, as that they could not well deuise how to escape the same, consulted what was best to be doone. After consultation, casting awaie their weapons, they came forth to the king, asking mercie; which somewhat hardlie they obtained. Few of them were executed in comparison of the numbers that offended: but yet the capteines and chéefe authors of this rebellion were so punished, that it was thought they would neuer haue presumed so rashlie to offend him in like sort againe. For (as some writers affirme) he did iustice on the sonnes of Rice or Rees, & also on the sonnes and daughters of other noble men that were his complices verie rigorously: causing the eies of the yong striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off or slit: and the eares of the yong gentlewomen to be stuffed.

The Welshmen make war on the English marshes.

Wil. Paruus. Polydor.

The king inuadeth Wales.

Rog. Houed. The seuerer punishment vsed by king Henry against the Welshmen.

But yet I find in other authors, that in this iournie king Henrie did not greatlie preuaile against his enimies, but rather lost manie of his men of warre, both horssemen and footmen: for by his seuerer proceeding against them, he rather made them more eger to séeke reuenge, than quieted them in any tumult. They tooke the castell of Cardigan, and in besieging of Briges, the king was in no small danger of his life: for one of the enimies shooting directlie at him, had persed him through the bodie if Hubert de Saint Clere conestable of Colchester, perceiuing the arrow coming had not thrust himselfe betwixt the king and the same arrow, and so preseruing his maister, receiued the stripe himselfe, whereof he died presentlie after, beséeching the king to be good lord to one onelie daughter which he had, whome the king bestowed in mariage vpon William de Langualee, together with hir fathers inheritance, which William begat of hir a sonne that bare both his name and surname. ¶ A president of gratitude & thankfulnes is here committed to memorie. And

Ger. Dor. Ran. Cogge. Cardigan castell woonne by the Welshmen. Hubert de S. Clere conestable of Colchester.

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William de Langualee.

surelie the king could doo no lesse, than some way requite the venturous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who with the losse of his owne life preserued the king, if not from death, yet from some dangerous wound that might haue put him to extreame anguish and paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of benefits receiued, a virtue no lesse rare than the contrarie is common, and as one saith,

— inueniuntur
Quidam sed rari, acceptorum qui meritorum
Assiduè memores, &c.

But to conclude with this iourneie which king Henrie made at this time against the Welshmen, although by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of the places, he could not enter within the countrie so farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and constreined them to kéepe within the woods and mountains, that they durst not come abroad, insomuch that at the length they were glad to sue for peace.

W. Paruus.

William king of Scots, successor of Malcolme (who departed this life in the yeare last past) after he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about this present time into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predecessour Malcolme had doone before. He made suit also to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, which the king of Englands mother the emperesse had in times past giuen vnto king Dauid. But king Henrie gaue diuerse reasons to excuse himselfe whie he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that present, namelie, without consent of a parlement: wherevpon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his suit for that present, meaning (when occasion serued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, sith that by praier and suit he sawe well enough he should not obtaine it.

William king of Scots doth his homage to king Henrie.

Moreouer, the Scotish king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted so to doo: insomuch that king Henrie, hauing set all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following passed ouer into Normandie. But before he tooke his iourneie, he set foorth a decree consisting of these points in effect as followeth.

*N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.
Ger. Dor.*

1 That no man should bring any letters or commandement from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbishop of Canturburie into England, conteining an interdiction of the realme: vpon perill to be apprehended and punished as a traitour to the king, and an enimie to the realme.

An edict against the archbishop Becket.

2 That no religious person or préest should be permitted to passe the seas, or to come into the relme of England, except he had letters of safe conduct from the iusticers for passage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

3 That no man should appeale to the said pope or archbishop, nor by their appointment hold any plée: and if any person were found dooing the contrarie herevnto, he should be taken and committed to prison.

Appeales forbidden.

4 That if any maner of person, either spirituall or temporall, were obedient to the sentence of the interdiction, the same person should be banished the realme without delaie, and all his linage with him, so as they should not conueie with them any of their goods, the which together with their possessions should be seized into the kings hands.

5 That all spirituall persons, which had any benefices within England, should haue warning giuen to returne into England within foure moneths after the same summons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then should the king seize vpon their goods and possessions.

6 That the bishops of London and Norwich, should be (and by vertue hereof were) summoned to appeare before the kings iusticers, to make answer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

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7 That the Peter pence should be gathered and kept.

In the octaues of Easter king Henrie came to an enterview with the French king at Gisors, where they had conference together of sundrie matters.

The kings of England and France enteruiue. *Cro. Sigeb. Matth. Paris.*

This yeare the quéene was deliuered of a sonne named John, who afterward was king of this realme.

King John borne.

Moreouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his bishops and barons in

Ger. Dor. A contribution.

Normandie, caused and ordeined a collection (by their aduise) to be made through all his countries and dominions of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, iewels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166. and for the space of foure yeares next ensuing, one penie of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and those that were not worth twentie shillings in goods or lands (being housholders notwithstanding) or bare any office, should paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the releefe of the christians in the east parts, and those that warred against the miscreants there. The paiement thereof was appointed to be made in the feast daie of saint Remigius, or within fiftéene daies after. It was also ordeined, that all such as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) should giue the tenth part of the residue of all their goods vnto this so necessarie a contribution.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and vnderstanding that diuerse lords and barons of Maine, and the marshes of Britaine, would not in his absence shew themselues obedient vnto his wife quéene Elianor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an armie, and went against them, easilie subduing them whom he found obstinate: and besieging the castell of Foulgiers, tooke and vtterlie destroyed it.

The castell of Foulgiers.
Matth. Paris.

Soone after the archbishop of Canturburie came from Pountney to Uizeley, and there (on Ascension daie) when the church was most full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candell solemnelie accursed all the obseruers, defenders, and maintainers, with the promoters of such customs, as within the realme of England they terme the custome of their elders: amongst others that were accursed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poitiers, Jocelin de Bailleuille, Alane de Neuille, and manie other. But they being absent, & neither called nor conuincd (as they alleged notwithstanding they were thus excommunicated) sent their messengers vnto the archbishop, and appealed from him, and so feared not to enter into their churches.

Uizeley.
The archbishop Becket accursed those in England that maintained the customs of their elders.

He had before this also written certeine letters vnto his suffragans, denouncing some of these and other persons by expresse name accursed, not onelie for mainteining the matter against him, touching the ancient custome of the realme: but also for the schisme raised in Almaine by Reignald archbishop of Colein, for the which he accursed one John of Oxford. Moreouer, he accursed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S. Clere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie seizing vpon and deteining the goods and possessions belonging to his archbishoprike, without his consent or agréement therevnto.

R. Houe.

The king on the other part banished out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all those persons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbishop, both yoong and old: and furthermore sent aduertisement to the abbat of Pountney and to his moonks, with whom the archbishop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him stil in their house, he would not faile to banish all the moonks of their order out of England. Now the archbishop, after he had remained there scarce two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteouslie receiued him, and sent him to the abbeie of saint Columbes neere to the cite of Sens, where he remained a certeine season, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Pauia, and John of Naples both cardinals, came from the pope to Montmiriall, whom the archbishop suspected rather to fauour the kings cause than his: yet he was contented that they should haue the iudgment thereof committed vnto them: so that first (according to the rules of the church) restitution might be made both to him and his, of such goods as had beene taken from them. For being spoiled, as he was, he would not stand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled thervnto by any reason (as he said.) Now when the two legats saw that they could not bring any thing to passe, they departed without any thing concluded.

Matth. Paris.
Legats from the pope.

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About this time William Taiuan earle of Sagium (by the consent of his sons and nephues) deliuered into the hands of king Henrie the castels of Alerium, and Roch Laberie, with all the appurtenances to the castels belonging.

Comes Sagiensis. *N. Triuet.*
Alerium.

About this season also Conan the duke of Britaine departed this life, leauing behind him no issue, but one onelie daughter begot of his wife the dutchesse Constance, the daughter of the king of Scotland, which succéded him in the estate. Wherevpon king Henrie made earnest suit to procure a marriage betwixt hir and his sonne Geffrey, which at length he brought to passe, to the great comfourt and contentation of his mind, in that his sonne had by such good fortune attained to the dukedome of Britaine.

Conan duke of Britaine
deceasseth. *Matt. Paris.*

A mariage concluded betwixt
Geffrey the kings son and the
Duchesse of Britaine.
Wil. Paruus.

At that season in Britaine were certeine Noble men of such strength and power, that they disdained to acknowledge themselues subiect to any superior, in somuch that through ambitious desire of rule and preheminance, they warred continuallie one against an other, to the great destruction and vtter vndoing of their miserable countrie, so that the land sometime fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wildernes. Wherevpon, those that were the weaker, perceiuing themselues too much oppressed by the stronger, submitted themselues vnto king Henrie, and required his aid and succour. King Henrie reioising to haue so good an occasion and opportunitie to reduce them to reason, with all speed aided these supplicants and subdued the resistants, notwithstanding their great puissance, & the strength of the places which they kept.

An. Reg. 13.

1167.

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his father, and found him at Poictiers, from whence (shortlie after Easter) he removed, and with an armie entred into the lands of the earle of Aluergnes, which he wasted and spoiled, bicause the said earle had renounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made his resort to the French king, séeking to sow discord betwixt the foresaid two kings: which was kindled the more by a challenge pretended about the sending of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the French king claimed to send it, by reason that the church there appertained to his dominion: and the king of England would haue sent it, bicause it was gathered within the countrie that belonged to his gouernement.

N. Triuet. King Henrie inuadeth the erle of Aluergnes lands.

This yere a great preparation of ships was made by the earle of Bullongne, to haue inuaded England, but by the warlike prouision of Richard Lucie, lord gouernour of the realme, the sea-coasts were so prouided of sufficient defense, that the earles attempts came to nothing. The cause why he made this brag, was for that the king withheld from him certeine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, and therefore he ment to recouer them by force. The empresse Maud mother to the king of England (a woman in stoutnesse of stomach and warlike attempts more famous than commonlie any of that sex) deceased this yere the 10. of Septem.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Bolongne prepareth 600. ships to inuade England.

The deceasse of the empresse Maud. *Matth. West.*

Also Robert bishop of Lincolne departed this life, after whose deceasse the sée of Lincolne was vacant by the space of seuentéene yeares, the king in all that meane time receiuing the profits. The elect of Colein came ambassadour from the emperour vnto the king of England, requiring to haue one of his daughters giuen in marriage vnto the emperours sonne, and an other of them vnto Henrie duke of Saxonie: which request the K. did willinglie grant, and therevpon was the queene sent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring hir sonne the lord Richard and hir daughter the ladie Maud with hir: which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yere next insuing; and had issue by him three sons, Henrie, Otho, and William, of which the middlemost came to be emperour.

The sée of Lincolne void 17. yeares. An ambassage from the emperour.

An. Reg. 14.

1168.

The variance still depending betwixt the king and the archbishop of Canturburie: there was also about the same time a great debate betwixt the emperour Frederike the first and pope Alexander the third: whervpon king Henrie wrote to the emperor, and signified vnto him, that he would aid him if néed should require against the pope, who mainteined such a runnagate traitor as the archbishop Becket was. Moreouer at the same time the king caused all his subiects within the realme of England, from the child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged person, to forswear all obedience that might be pretended as due to the same pope Alexander. The king for the space of two yeares together, remaining still in Normandie, and in other places beyond the seas, subdued diuerse rebels, as the earle of Angoulesme, Aimerike de Lucignie, and his sonnes Robert and Hugh.

Debate betwixt the pope and the Emperour. K. Henrie offereth to aid the emperour.

Matth. West.

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Also he came to an enterview with the king of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of such iniuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poictouins had made their resort to the French king, and were confederate with him against their supreme lord king Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for assurance thereof, which pledges the French king would not restore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feast of S. John Baptist.

An enterview betwixt the king of England and king of France. The kings meet again to commen of peace.

A truce.

About the feast of Easter Patrike the earle of Salisburie was slaine by treason of the Poictouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whome his sonne William succeeded in the earledome.

Patrike earle of Salisburie slaine.

The Britons practised rebellions dailie: but king Henrie entring their countrie, wan diuerse strong townes and castels, and brought them at length vnder his subiection. Moreouer in this summer season the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without

concluding any agrément at all. For there were manie of the Poictouins and Britons, which tooke part with the king of France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hostages, had a promise made them, that the French king should not conclude an agrément with the king of England without their consent. Hervpon they made warres either vpon other, till finallie (about the feast of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt them: and then Henrie the king of Englands sonne made his homage vnto the French king for the countie of Aniou: and the French king granted him the office of the Seneschalcie of France, which ancientlie belonged vnto the earles of Aniou. Also Geffrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder brother the aforesaid Henrie, by commandement of his father, for the duchie of Britaine. And afterwards the same Geffrey went into Britaine, and at Rheines receiued the homage and fealtie of the lords and barons of that countrie.

Ger. Dor. N. Triuet.

Geffrey duke of Britaine.

King Henrie in the meane while subdued certeine rebels in Gascoine, and returning into Normandie, built a goodlie towne and fortresse neere to Haie de Malafrey, ycleped Beaver.

About the same time one Haruey de Yuon, who had married the daughter of one William Goieth, (that died in his iournie which he tooke into the holie land) deliuered certeine castels into the hands of king Henrie, bicause he was in despaire to keepe them against Theobald earle of Chartres, who through the French kings aid, sought to dispossesse him of the same castels: wherevpon the war was renewed betwixt the king of England and the said earle of Chartres. Neuerthelesse king Henrie making no great accompt of those wars, went into Britaine with his sonne Geffrey, where going about the countrie to visit the cities and townes, he reformed many disorders, laieng as it were a maner of a new foundation of things there, fortieng the castels, cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the lords and péeres of the countrie, sought to win their good wils: and so in such exercises he spent a great part of the time.

Haruey de Yuon.

He kept his Christmase at Nautes, whither all the great lords and barons of Britaine resorted to him. The solemnitie of which feast being past, he entred into the lands of earle Eudo, and wasted the same, till the said earle submitted himself. At length, after the king had taken order for the good gouvernement of Normandie, and his other countries on that side the sea, he returned into England in the first wéeke of March, but not without great danger, by reason of a tempest that tooke him on the seas, beginning about midnight, and not ceassing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portsmouth, not with many of his ships, the rest being tossed and driuen to séeke succour in sundrie créeks and hauens of the land, and one of them which was the cheefest and newest, was lost in the middle of the flouds, together with 400. persons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his sons, Gilbert Sullemuy, and Rafe Beumont the kings physician & houshold seruant.

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After this the king held his Easter at Winsor, whither William the Scotish king came with his brother Daid, to welcome him home, and to congratulat his happie successe in his businesse on the further side the seas. They were honorablie entertained, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, punished the shiriffes of the land very gréeuouly for their extortion, briberie, and rapine. After this, studieng how to assure the estate of the realme vnto his sons, vpon good consideration remembering that no liuing creature was more subiect to the vncerteintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingrafted such a feruent desire in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that so oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they haue no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in possession of their desired prey: he thought it not the worst point of wisdom to foresee that which might happen. For if he should chance to depart this life, and leaue his sons yoong, and not able to mainteine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of some to be defrauded and disappointed of their lawful inheritance. Therefore to preuent the chances of fortune, he determined whilest he was aliue to crowne his eldest sonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and so to inuest him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time: which deed turned him to much trouble, as after shall appeare.

Polydor. Daid was made knight by K. Henrie as *Houedon* hath.

A prudent consideration of the king.

Mans nature ambitious.

Being vpon this point resolued, he called together a parlement of the lords both spirituall and temporall at London, and there (on S. Bartholomews daie) proclaimed his said sonne Henrie fellow with him in the kingdome, whom after this on the sundaie following, being the fouretéenth daie of June 1170. Roger archbishop of Yorke did crowne according to the manner, being commanded so to doo by the king. This office appertained vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, but bicause he was banished the realme, the king

R. Houed.

Henrie the son crowned the 18. of Julie saith *Matth. Paris.*

appointed the archbishop of Yorke to doo it, which he ought not to haue doone without licence of the archbishop of Canturburie within the precinct of his prouince (as was alledged by archbishop Becket) who complained thereof vnto pope Alexander, and so incensed the pope, that he being highly moued by his letters, forbad not onelie the archbishop of Yorke, but also Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie (who were present at the coronation) the vse of the sacraments, which made king Henrie far more displeased with the archbishop Thomas than he was before.

W. Paruus.

The archb. of Yorke is forbidden the vse of the sacraments.

Upon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father serued his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing vp the bores head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Whervpon (according to the old adage,

Matt. Paris. Polydor. The king became seruitor to his sonne.

Immutant mores homines cùm dantur honores)

Honours change manners.

the yoong man conceiuing a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more statly countenance than he had béen woont. The archbishop of Yorke, who sat by him, marking his behaiour, turned vnto him, & said; "Be glad my good sonne, there is not an other prince in the world that hath such a sewer at his table." To this the new king answered, as it were disdainfullie, thus: "Why doost thou maruell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie blood onlie on the mothers side, serueth me that am a king borne hauing both a king to my father, and a queene to my mother." Thus the yoong man of an euill and peruerse nature, was puffed vp in pride by his fathers vnseemelie dooings.

Yong men set vp in dignitie easilie forget themselues.

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But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie sorrowfull in his mind, and said to the archbishop softlie in his eare: "It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I haue thus aduanced the boy." For he gessed hereby what a one he would prouue afterward, that shewed himselfe so disobedient and froward already. But although he was displeased with himselfe in that he had doone vndiscreetlie, yet now when that which was doone could not be vndoone, he caused all the Nobles and lords of the realme together with the king of Scots and his brother Daud, to doo homage vnto his said sonne thus made fellow with him in the kingdome: but he would not release them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they stood bound to obeie him the father, so long as he liued.

¶ Howbeit some write that he renounced his estate, first before all the lords of the land, and after caused his sonne to be crowned: but in such vncerteine points set foorth by parciall writers, that is to be receiued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and sequele of things after doone and put in practise. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (so long as his sonne liued) did shew himselfe sometime as fellow with his sonne in gouernement, and sometime as absolute king: and after his sons decease, he continued in the entier gouernment, so long as he liued. But to procéed.

The French king hearing that his sonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie the sonne, was highlie offended therewith, and threatned to make war against king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receiue the crowne also as quéene immediatlie.

The French king offended.

The cause why she was not crowned, was by reason of hir yoong yeares, and for that she had not as yet accompanied with hir husband. But K. Henrie the father vnderstanding the French kings threats, sailed ouer into Normandie, where whilest they prepared for war on both sides, by the earnest diligence of Theobald earle of Blois, both the kings came to an enteruiew at Uendosme, where at length they were accorded, vpon promise made by king Henrie, that he would cause his sonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the said Margaret the French kings daughter as quéene.

An enteruiew of the kings.
R. Houed.

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards, and king Henrie returning came to Uernon, where he fell into so great a sicknesse, that anon it was noised ouer all the countrie. Insomuch that he was in such despaire of life, that he made his testament: wherein he assigned his sonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all those lands which came by quéene Elianor the mother of the same Richard. And to his sonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchased to his vse of the French king. And to his sonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Normandie, and all those lands which came by his father Geffrey earle of Aniou. And to his yoongest sonne John he bequeathed the earledome of Mortaine. And finally appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried.

He made his testament.
Rog. Houed.

In the meane time Henrie the sonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of measure kéeping, and gaue himselfe to all excessiue riot, spending and wasting his reuenues inordinatlie. Of which behaiour his father being aduertised, returned into England, where he taried not long, but

Polydor. King Henrie the sonne his misorder.

passed ouer againe into Normandie, hauing his said sonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of those that were verie like to corrupt this nature, and frame the same to all lewdnesse: for he knew that

— commercia turpia sanctos
Corrumpunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facilè ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie remained in exile almost six yeares, and could not be restored, till partlie by swelling threats of the pope, and partlie at the earnest suit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others king Henrie began somewhat to shew himselfe conformable towards an agréement.

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Wherevpon the two kings met diuerse times, and the archbishop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himselfe so to the king of England, that knéeling downe at his féet, he said: "My souereigne liege lord, I commit the whole cause of the controuersie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maiesties order, Gods honour onlie reserued."

Ex Quadrilagio. The king and the arch. Becket met together in the presence of the French king.

The king offended with that ambiguous exception, said to the king of France: "Whatsoever displeaseth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contrarie to Gods honour, and so by that shift will he chalenge to himselfe all that belongeth vnto me. But bicause you shall not thinke that I go about to resist Gods honour, or him, in any reasonable order, looke what the greatest and most holie of all his ancestors haue doone vnto the meanest of mine ancestours, let him doo the same vnto me, and I am contented therewith."

All the companie present cried, "that the king humbled himselfe enough." "My lord archbishop (said the French king) will you be greater than saints, and better than saint Peter? Wherof stand you in doubt? Behold, your peace is at hand." The archbishop made answer in commendation of the present state of holie church, as thus: "My holie predecessours in their time, although they cut not all things away that extolled it selfe against God, yet did they cut off diuers: but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which might offend, who should now haue raised the fire of temptation against vs? We are in much better case (thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their lot and number, so are we partakers of their labour and reward. What if any of them had béene defectiue or excessiue in any point, are we bound to follow the example of their defection or excesse? We blame Peter for his denieng of Christ, but we praise him in reproouing of Neros violence with danger of his life. The church hath risen and increased out of manie dangerous oppressions, our fathers haue suffered manie things, bicause they would not forsake the name of Christ; and ought I to suppress his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God forbid."

The present state of the church in Becket daies.

When the Noble men present heard this answer of a subiect against his souereigne, they all held against him, imputing the fault to the archbishops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betweene the king and him, insomuch that there was an erle which openlie said; "Sith he resisteth the will of both the realmes, he is not worthie to be succoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being cast out of England, let not France receiue him."

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

The councill then being broken vp, the kings departed without bidding the archbishop farewell, and such as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this meeting, spake manie reprochfull words to him, alledging that he had béene euer stout and wise in his owne conceit, and a folower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderance to the church, that he was ordeined archbishop, and that by him the church was alreadie in part destroied, and would shortlie be altogether brought to vtter ruine.

Archb. Becket wilfull in his owne opinion.

But the archbishop setting a watch before his mouth, kept silence (as though he had not heard) and folowed the French king with his people. Manie said by the waie as they iournied, "Behold the archbishop yonder, which in talke the last night would not for the pleasure of the king denie God, nor kéepe his honor in silence."

After this, when the archbishop was come to Sens, and aduised with himselfe whether it should be best for him to go, at length he said, "God is able in the last point of miserie and distresse, to helpe those that be his." Herewith came a messenger from the French king to bring him to the court, for the French king (as one that had béene better instructed in the matter) repented himselfe that he had iudged euill of his answers at the last meeting, and herevpon receiued him againe into his fauour, and rested not to trauell so much in his cause, that at length another méeting was assigned at a certeine

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The French K. receiue the

place neere the confines of Normandie, whither king Henrie came, and there found Lewes, the archbishop of Rouen, and diuerse other bishops together, with the foresaid archbishop, who after they had reasoned of the matter throughlie as they saw cause, king Henrie receiued the archbishop into his fauour againe, and promised to redresse all that had béene doone amisse, and pardon all those that had followed him out of the realme. Wherevpon the king and the archbishop being reconciled, the archbishop the same day came before the king, and talked with him.

archbishop Becket againe into fauour.

The archb. is reconciled to the king.

Now among other things he required of the K. that it might be lawfull for him (without offending of his maiestie) to punish (according to the censures of the church) the iniurie doone vnto him by the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops in the coronation of his sonne. The king granted this, and shewed himselfe so courteous at that time, that (as it is said) he held his stirrup whiles he mounted on horssebacke.

¶ Notwithstanding which obsequiousnes of the king, it is to be presumed that all inward repining could not be so abolished, as that no fragments remained: but that the archbishop for his part, for the maintenance of his great title, & the K. for the supportation of his souereigntie, when opportunitie serued, sought to get aduantage one of another, & acquit their harts with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for

Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus.

Iuuen. sat. 15.

But whereas twise within a few daies after, the king and the said archbishop met at masse, the king refused to kisse the pax with him. This was marked as a signe of a fained reconciliation, though in déed he afterwards interteined him verie courteouslie, and at his departure ouer into England, tooke leaue of him in fréendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his sele to his sonne the new king in forme as followeth.

The king would not kisse the pax with the archbishop.

Matt. Paris.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.

Know ye that Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleasure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may remaine in peace; and that he and al those which for his cause departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods restored, and in such quiet estate be now possessed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cause to come before vs of the best and most ancient knights of the honor of Saltwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbishop ought to haue within that honor, and that which shall appeare to apperteine vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the same. And thus farewell.

The honor of Saltwood.

The archbishop (before he tooke his iournie into England) went to visit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell sustained in his cause, who aduised him in no wise as yet to commit himselfe to present danger amongst his new reconciled enimies, but rather to staie till their malice were somewhat assuaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance such a deepe rooted displeasure in his hart, that he agréed to receiue him into fauour rather by compulsion and against his will than otherwise.

The French kings aduise to the archbish. Becket.

But when the archbishop would needs depart & go ouer into England, the French K. suffered him so to doo, dooing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. Then the archbishop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the first of December, in the seuenth yeare after his first departure out of the realme. Shortlie after his arriuall, Roger the archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie, with diuerse other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might please him to restore them to the ministration of their offices againe; whose request be granted, but yet vpon condition, that they should vndertake to stand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counsell of the archbishop of Yorke) they vtterlie refused.

Matth. Paris. The archbishop Becket returneth into England.

¶ Here authors agréed not (as Polydor trulie saith) for some write that archbishop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbishop of Yorke with the bishops of Salisburie and London accursed, whereas before they were depriued of the vse and administration of the sacraments. Some others write, that now at his comming ouer into England from his exile, he depriued them onlie of the ministration of the sacraments, together with the bishops of Excester, Chester, Rochester, S. Asaph, & Landaff, which had personallie béene present at the coronation of king

Henrie the sonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their primat the archbishop of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It shuld seeme yet by Ger. Dorober. that the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham were suspended, and the bishops of London, Salisburie, and diuerse other excommunicated.

But how soeuer he vsed them, the archbishop of Yorke, the two bishops London and Salisburie, being offended with his dooings, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries doone to them by archbishop Thomas, gréeuouslie accusing him that he went about to take awaie their libertie of priesthood, to destroie, corrupt, and finallie to abolish both the lawes of God and man, togither with the ancient décrées and statutes of their elders; in somuch that he tooke vpon him to exclude bishops at his pleasure from the companie of christian men, and so being excluded, to banish them for euer: to derogat things meerelie preiudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finallie to take awaie from all men the equitie of laws and ciuill orders.

The archbish. of Yorke and other go ouer to the king to complaine of the archbishop Becket. *Ger. Dor.*

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was so displeased in his mind against archbishop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he said these or the like words: "In what miserable state am I, that can not be in rest within mine owne realme, by reason of one onelie préest? Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of such troubles."

The occasion of the kings words that cost bish. Becket his life.

There were some that stood about the king, which gessed by these words, that his mind was to signifie how he would haue some man to dispatch the archbishop out of the waie. The kings displeasure against the archbishop was knowne well inough, which caused men to haue him in no reuerence at all, so that (as it was said) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to doo somewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and despised of the world, cut off his horsse's taile.

There were some also of the kings seruants, that thought after an other maner of sort to reuenge the displeasure doone to the kings maiestie, as sir Hugh Moreuille, sir William Tracie, sir Richard Britaine, and sir Reignold Fitz Urse, knights, who taking aduice togither, and agréeing in one mind and will, tooke shipping, & sailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs hauen, néere Douer.

The knights that slue the archbishop Becket.

Now the first night they lodged in the castell of Saltwood, which Randulfe de Broc had in keeping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and fift daie of Christmasse, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tuesdaie) hauing gotten togither certeine souldiers in the countrie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and first entring into the court of the abbeie of S. Augustine, they talked with Clarenbald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they proceeded in their businesse as followeth.

The first knight sir Reignold Fitz Urse came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbishop sat in his chamber, and sitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of greeting or salutation, at length began with him thus: "Being sent of our souereigne lord the king from beyond the seas, we doo here present vnto you his Graces commandements, to wit, that you should go to his sonne the king, to doo vnto him that which apperteineth vnto you to doo vnto your souereigne lord, and to do your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maiestie." Wherevnto the archbishop answered: "For what cause ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by oth? or wherein am I gilty in offending the kings Maiestie?" Sir Reignold said: "For your baronie, fealtie is demanded of you with an oth, and an other oth is required of those clerkes, which you haue brought with you, if they meane to continue within the land." The archbishop answered: "For my baronie I am readie to do to the king whatsoever law or reason shall allow: but let him for certeine hold, that he shall not get any oth either of me or of my clerks." "We knew that (said the knight) that you would not doo any of these things which we proponed vnto you. Moreouer the king commandeth you to absolue those bishops that are excommunicated by you without his licence." Wherevnto he said: "The bishops are excommunicated not by me, but by the pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lord. If in déed he hath reuenged the inurie doone to my church, I confesse that I am not displeased therewith." Then said the knight: "Sith that such things in despite of the king doo please you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and be called and taken for king your selfe, but you shall misse of your purpose surelie therein." The archbishop answered: "I do not aspire to the name of a king, rather would I knit three crownes vnto his crowne if it lay in my power."

Reignold Fitz Urse. That is betwéene 4. and 5. in the euening.

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An oth required of him for his baronie.

At length after these and such words, the knights turning them to the moonks, said: "In the behalfe of our souereigne lord the king, we command you, that in any wise ye keepe this man safe, and present him to the king when it shall please his grace to send for him." The archbishop said: "Doo ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men." "Truelie (said they) you shall not runne away," and herewith went out with noise and threatnings. Then maister John of Salisburie his chancellor said vnto him: "My lord, this is a woonderfull matter that you will take no mans counsell: had it not beene méet to haue giuen them a more méeke and gentle answer?" But the archbishop said: "Surelie I haue already taken all the counsell that I will take, I know what I ought to doo." Then said Salisburie, "I pray God it may be good." Now the knights departing out of the place, and going about to put on their armour, certeine came to the archbishop, & said; "My lord, they arme themselues." "What forceth it? said he, let them arme themselues."

The knights command the moonks to see the archbishop kept safe.

John de Salisburie the archb. Becketts chancellor.

The archbishops resolution.

The knights put on their armor.

Now when they were armed, and manie other about them, they entred into the archbishops palace. Those that were about the archbishop cried vpon him to flée; but he sat still and would not once remoue, till the moonks brought him euen by force & against his will into the church. The comming of the armed men being knowne; some of the moonks continued singing of euensong, and some sought places where to hide themselues, other came to the archbishop, who was loth to haue entred into the church, and when he was within, he would not yet suffer them to make fast the doores, so that there was a great stur among them, but cheeflie when they perceiued that the armed men went about to seeke for the archbishop, by meane whereof their euensong was left vnfinished.

The moonks with force bring the archbishop into the church.

At length the knights with their seruants hauing sought the palace, came rushing into the church by the cloister doore with their swords drawne, some of them asking for the traitor, and some of them for the archbishop, who came and met them, saieng; "Here am I, no traitor, but the archbishop." The formost of the knights said vnto him: "Flee; thou art but dead," To whome the archbishop said, "I will not flée." The knight stept to him taking him by the sléeue, and with his sword cast his cap besides his head, and said, "Come hither, for thou art a prisoner." "I will not (said the archbishop) doo with me here what thou wilt:" and plucked his sleue with a mightie strength out of the knights hand. Wherewith the knight stepped backe two or thrée paces. Then the archbishop turning to one of the knights, said to him, "What meaneth this, Reignold? I haue doone vnto thée manie great pleasures, and comest thou now vnto me into the church armed?" Unto whome the knight presentlie answered and said; "Thou shalt know anon what is ment, thou art but dead: it is not possible for thee any longer to liue." Unto whom the archbishop answered: "I am readie to die for my God, and for the defense of his iustice and the libertie of the church; gladlie doo I imbrace death, so that the church may purchase peace and libertie by the shedding of my blood." And herewith taking on other of the knights by the habergeon, he floong him from him with such violence, that he had almost throwne him downe to the ground. This was sir Will. Tracie, as he after confessed.

The knights enter the church.

As though archbishops can be no traitors.

The courage of the archb.

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Then the archbishop inclined his head after the maner of one that would praie, pronouncing these his last words: "To God, to saint Marie, and to the saints that are patrones of this church, and to saint Denise, I commend my selfe and the churches cause." Therewith sir Reignold FitzUrse striking a full blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who cast vp his arme to saue the archbishop: but when he was not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked his arme backe, and so the stroke staid vpon the archbishops head, in such wise that the blood ran downe by his face. Then they stroke at him one after an other, and though he fell to the ground at the second blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and pashed out his braines, and dashed them about vpon the church pauement. All this being doone, they rifled his house, spoiled his goods, and tooke them to their owne vses, supposing it lawfull for them being the kings seruants so to doo.

Edward of Cambridge.

The archbish. is slaine.

But doubting how the matter would be taken, after they had wrought their feat, they got them into the bishoprike of Duresme, there to remaine till they might heare how the king would take this their vnlawfull enterprise: though (as they alledged) they had lustilie defended his cause, and reuenged his quarell as faithfull seruants ought to doo. Howbeit, it chanced otherwise than they looked it should haue doone: for king Henrie gaue them so litle thanks for their presumptuous act, sounding to the euill example of other in breach of his lawes, that they despairing vtterlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another into another, so that within foure yeares they all died an euill death (as it hath béene reported.) Some write, that they went to Rome by the

The murtherers come to an euill end. *Matth. Paris. W. Paruus.*

kings commandement, and there presented themselves before the pope, to receive such penance for their wicked act as he should enioine them. Herevpon the pope appointed them to go vnto Jerusalem, their to do their penance, where they remained certeine yeares, applieng themselves verie diligentlie to performe the satisfaction of their offense, according to the maner prescribed to them by the pope, and so at length died.

An. Reg. 17.
1171.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into that see eight yeares and six moneths, in the yeare after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Christmas day before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridaie, he preached a sermon to the people, and when he had made an end thereof, he accursed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violent incumbent of the church of Berges, and Robert de Broc, both which had (vpon spite) curtailed the horsse of the said archbishop: and as the same day whilest he was at the altar, according to his custome, altogether in teares and lamentation; so at dinner he shewed himselfe verie pleasant & merrie, insomuch that when those that were at the table séemed somewhat doubtfull to eat of the flesh that was set before them, bicause it was friday; "Why do ye abhorre (saith he) to eat flesh? This day flesh hath a great priuilege, for this same day the word was made flesh, and came into light, and appeared vnto vs." These his words greatlie contented all the companie.

After their account that begin the yere on Christmas day.

Robert de Broc.

¶ Thus you haue heard the tragical discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the beneuolence of so gracious a souereigne by his insolencie and presumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnseemelie a thing it was for him, being called to so sacred a function, to lead so secular and prophane a life, as if he had professed open hostilitie to the vocation which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are also taught, that promotions atchiued by ambition are not permanent, and are so farre from procuring fame and renoune to the obtainers, that they turne them in the end to shame, infamie and reproch, after losse of life and effusion of bloud. The issue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the prouidence and counsell of almightie God, as one writeth verie agréablie to this purpose, saieing,

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Nam facilè extollit facilè elatúmque; refrænât,
Et clarum obscurans, obscuri nomen adauget.
Ergit & miserum facilè extinguitque superbum
Iuppiter altifremus, cui celsum regia cœlum.

Hesi. in lib. cui tit. op. & dies.

But to let this matter passe. King Henrie doubtlesse was right pensiue for his death, bicause he wist well inough that it would be iudged, that he himselfe was priuie to the thing: and euen so it came to passe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbishops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him most deerelie were most sorrowfull for it, and iudging straightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderstand both of the slaughter, and how king Henrie had caused it to be put in execution, requiring most instantlie, that such an iniurie doone to the Christian religion, might spéedilie be punished. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter throughlie considered and ordered, so as might stand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous state of the case required. King Henrie whilest these things were a dooing, lay certein daies at Argenton, so much displeased in his mind, that he would suffer no man once to speake to him about any maner of businesse.

King Henrie sorie for the archb. Becket's death. *Polydor.*

At length, he sent his ambassadors to Rome, partlie to purge himselfe of the archbishops death, partlie to excuse his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered words against the archbishop, which had giuen occasion to naughtie men to contriue his death, & partlie to require the pope to send his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbishop, and also of the state of the clergie. The kings ambassadors found the pope at Tiouli, and there were heard to declare their message: but little credit was giuen to their words, in so much that the pope plainelie told them, that he vnderstood the matter to be much otherwise than they had declared. Yet according to the kings request, he sent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might vnderstand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as appertained.

King Henrie sendeth ambassadours to the pope.

There be that write, that the king sent ambassadours twice vnto the pope, for the first that went, could not come to his presence, nor be suffered to declare their message: those that were sent the second time, were receiued of some of the cardinals, but yet onelie with words without anie other way of freendlie interteinement. At length, when the feast of Easter drew néere, on the which either absolution or excommunication was to be denounced against euerie man, there were certeine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the

Matth. Paris.

English ambassadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the thursdaie before Easter daie to declare the sentence of interdiction against the king of England, and against all his dominions, and to confirme that which had beene alreadie pronounced against Richard the archbishop of Yorke, and the other bishops his complices.

The ambassadours being brought to a streict issue herewith, by helpe of some of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the English ambassadours had commission to vndertake, that the king of England should obeie in all things what order soeuer it pleased the pope and his court to award him. Herevpon they tooke their oth, that it should so be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The messengers of the archbishop of Yorke & the other bishops vsed the like shift, but yet the same daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murdered the archbishop Thomas, and all those that had procured, aided, succoured, or abetted them therein. Some write, that those ambassadours which the king sent to the court of Rome, could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, till according to the fashion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and so at length were admitted to his presence.

Ger. Dor. The ambassadours were glad to vse a shift by briberie.

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Howsoeuer that matter passed, the king stood in great feare least his land should be interdicted, in so much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this side the sea and beyond, to take good héed, least any cōming with letters of interdiction should passe into England; but if any such came, that the bringer should be arrested and committed to prison. Also he commanded, that no clearke were suffered to come ouer into England, except he first tooke an oth that he came about no businesse that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he set forth, at what time he transported ouer into England himselfe, where he landed this yeare at Portesmouth the third daie of August. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conquest of Ireland vpon this occasion.

It chanced, whereas diuerse rulers or (as we may call them) petie kings reigned the same seson in that Iland (which was diuided into seuerall estates or kingdomes) that continuall strife and dissention remained amongst them, so that oftentimes they made sore war after the manner of their countrie one against an other, (for

Sundrie rulers in Ireland.

Nulla fides regni socijs, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.)

Luc. lib. 1.

Herevpon it fortunéd, that one of those kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was sore afflicted and oppressed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might best doo for remedie in that case, at length he sent his son into England to reteine souldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & such commodities as he assured them of.

Matth. Paris. W. Paruus. Sée more hereof in Ireland.

Now it came to passe, that by the assistance of such Englishmen as then came ouer, the foresaid Irish king began to recouer his losses, and in the end waxed so strong, that he subdued all his enimies. When he had thus obtained the victorie, he did not onelie not send backe his aiders, but so liberallie reteined them still with him, that they had no hast to returne home, but settled themselues in that countrie, where they liued a pleasant and verie licentious life. For this cause also the stoutest lords and rulers of the Irish nation began sore to stomach the matter against him that had thus brought the English nation into their countrie, in so much that the Englishmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing some feare of themselues, bicause of their small number, they sent ouer into England for such as wanted liuing, and were willing to seeke for it in other countries, of which sort, great numbers went ouer thither within a short space, whereby the multitude of the English greatlie increased: but for as much as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Struguille, aliàs Chepstow in Wales to come ouer thither, and to receiue the souereigne gouernement, with such honorable prouision for maintenance of his estate, as should séeme requisit.

Earle Strangbow. *N. Triuet.*

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being also earle Marshall of England) for a rebellion moued against king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more sumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made awaie and consumed the most part of his liuing, and was run so far in debt, that he knew not how to satisfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their request, which made labour vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of such English people, as had alreadie planted themselues there to inhabit & remaine. Herevpon he prepared a nauie, and assembled together a great

N. Triuet. Wil. Paruus.

Strangbow countermanded.

number of such as lacked liuing, and shortlie determined to passe ouer into Ireland. But euen as he was readie to set forward, there came vnto him messengers from king Henrie, commanding him to staie, and not to take that iournie in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England whereof to make anie great accompt, notwithstanding the kings commandement, tooke the sea, and passed ouer into that countrie, where he greatlie delited such Englishmen as dailie had looked for his repaire and comming thither.

Shortlie after, ioining those which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke some feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cause the Irishmen to haue him in feare. Wherevpon he first assailed the citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewise wan Waterford, & diuerse other townes neere vnto the sea side. Also to haue some freendship amongst those barbarous people, he married the daughter of the confederate king, and so grew into verie great estimation in that countrie and region.

Dublin won. Additions to *John Pike*.

Strangbow marrieth Dermutius his daughter.

Howbeit, with these and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie tooke such displeasure (but chéeflie for disobeieng his commandement) that he confined him the realme, seized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation restrained all his subiects from passing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, prouision of vittels, or other commodities whatsoever. By reason whereof, earle Strangbow, partlie by constreint, and partlie in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other respects as may be coniectured, aduertised him of the whole state of the countrie of Ireland, promising him, that if it would please his grace to come ouer thither, he would so worke that he should be admitted souereigne lord of all the land. Heerevpon king Henrie pardoned him of all former trespasses, and restored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Normandie: and further, confirmed to him such liuings abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held already in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he should be high steward of Ireland vnder him.

Strangbow confined.

He séeketh to procure the kings fauour.

The king pardoneth him. *N. Triuet.*[3]

King Henrie then returning out of Normandie into England about the sixth day of August (as is aforesaid) caused a nauie of 400. ships to be made readie, and to assemble at Milford hauen in Penbrokshire, with all such prouision and furniture as was thought necessarie for such a iournie. Herewith also he leuied a great armie both of horssemen and footmen, and came forward with the same vnto Penbroke, and so when all his prouision and ships were readie, he entred the sea at Milford hauen aforesaid the sixtéenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crowch, not past seauen miles from Waterford the day next folowing, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the euangelists day, he with all his armie marched forth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldelme his sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had sent thither before him for such purposes as he thought most conuenient. He remained at Waterford fiftéene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Corke, the king of Limerike, the king of Ossorie, the king of Méeth, Reignald de Waterford, and diuerse other great princes of Ireland. At his first arriual, the foresaid earle Richard surrendred into his hands all those townes and places which he had subdued in that countrie.

Rog. Houed.

Milford hauen. King Henrie landeth in Ireland. Crowch.

The surrender made by erle Strangbow.

Herewithall the whole land began to tremble, so that the rulers of townes and countries sent vnto him messengers; offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hostages: for whilest euerie of those rulers which had the government of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne estate, and mistrusted their owne powers, they all in maner submitted themselues, so that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing forth of his sword, and in such wise, that he could not haue wished for better or more speedie successe therein. For whereas the whole lland was diuided into sundrie dominions, and ruled by sundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie studies one enuieng an others wealth (for

Sundrie rulers in a land what weakenes it causeth.

Non bene cum socijs regna venúsque manent,
— Socijsq; comes discordia regnis)

Ouid. li. 3. de art. Stat. 1. Th.

nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making resistance, than that they could not agrée to take councell together for defending of their liberties, and entier state of the commonwelth. Whervpon, whilest euerie of them apart by himselfe was in doubt to attempt the hazard of war against so mightie a king, they were all ouercome, as were the Britons likewise in the time of Cesar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladlie receiued their humble submission, and they doing homage vnto him, sware to be his liege and faithfull subiects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refused to submit himselfe.

This Roderike pretended to be the chéefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept

Roderike K. of Connagh.

continuall war with the other rulers, which was partlie the cause wherefore they submitted themselues so soone vnto king Henrie. The said Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the west, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, closed also with waters and marishes, so that it should be verie hard, and speciallie in the winter season, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cause whie king Henrie attempted nothing against Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plant garisons of souldiers in places conuenient to kéepe the land in quiet, which he had woone already, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole estate of the countrie to his behoofe and commoditie. Hervpon going to Dublin, which is the cheefest citie of all Ireland, he assembled all the rulers and lords as well spirituall as temporall together in councell, consulting with them for the assurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. The nature of the countrie of Connagh.

The Irishmen alleged for themselues, that his devise therin could not be compassed, vnles the popes authoritie were therein first obtained: for they affirmed, that immediatlie vpon receiuing the christian faith, they did submit themselues, & all that they had, vnto the see of Rome, so that they could not acknowledge any for their souereigne lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion some of them (although vanelie) haue holden vnto these our daies. King Henrie then vnderstanding this matter, dispatched ambassadours to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to ioine the countrie of Ireland vnto the realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge.

The allegation of the Irishmen.

And certeinlie, these ambassadors whom the king sent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better spéed in their message, than did the other whom he had sent to him out of Normandie, to excuse him of the death of the archbishop Thomas. For the pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (considering that he had now no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Irish people being wild and rude, were far off from all good order of christianitie in diuerse points) thought it would be a meane to bring some gaine to his cofers, and the people more easilie from their naughtie customes, if they were once made subiect vnto some christian prince of puissance able to tame them, and constreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable. In consideration wherof, he was content to grant vnto the king all that herein he required.

Herevpon, king Henrie considering in what respect the pope was so readie to accomplish his request, called a councell of the bishops to assemble at Cassill, where manie things were décréd and ordeined for the reforming of diuerse customes vsed before amongst the Irish men, and méerelie repugnant to the lawes of the christian religion. There were also appointed as solicitors in these matters, and to sit as assistants with the Irish bishops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Rafe the archdeacon of Landaf.

A councell at Cassill.

R. Houed.

The archdeacon of Landaf.

1 Amongst other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children shuld be brought to the church, there to receiue baptisme in faire water, with thrée dippings into the same, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and that by the préests hands, except in case where danger of death was feared, which then might be doone by any other person, and in any other place.

2 Also it was ordeined, that tithes should be paid to churches, and that such laie men as would kéepe wiues, should keepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwise.

3 The Peter pence also that Adrian reserued in his buls, sent to the king touching the same matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerse other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, so that nothing was omitted that might pleasure the pope, or recouer his gracious fauour already lost in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue already heard. Thus you heare what successe our ambassadours had in this voiage. ¶ Now will I tell you (yer I procéed any further) what strange things did happen in England whilest the king was thus occupied in Ireland, and within the compasse of that yeare, and first of all, in the night before Christmas day last passed, there chanced such a tempest of lightning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of, which tempest was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but also in other foreine parts néere adioining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Christmas daie following, to so great terror of the people, that they looked for present death.

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An. Reg. 18.
1172.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. A sore tempest.

The same night at Andeuer in Hamshire, a préest being in his praier before the altar, was striken with the tempest, so that he died yer it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Also, a temporall man that was there the same time,

Lightning.

was burned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being present, ran to him to haue succoured him, he likewise was caught with the fire, and in like maner consumed. In Ireland also, euill diet in eating of fresh flesh and drinking of water, contrarie to the custome of the Englishmen, brought the flix and other diseases in the kings armie, so that manie died thereof, for

Polydor.

Grauissimum est imperium consuetudinis.

Pub. Mim.

Wherefore, about the beginning of Lent, the king remoued from Dublin, & went vnto the citie of Wexford, where he remained till toward Easter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he tooke the sea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Meeth, with the appurtenances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights seruice, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them) for euermore. He gaue also vnto the same Hugh, the kéeping of the citie of Dublin, and made him chéefe iusticer of Ireland. Unto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford and Wesseford, that he should kéepe the same to his vse, and build in them castels, for a more sure defense against the enimies.

Rog. Houed.

The kings gift vnto Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted garisons of souldiers in those & other places also where was thought néedfull; and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, so far as he had conquered; he first sent ouer his houshold seruants, which tooke the water on Easter daie, and landed at Milleford, but he himselve and other of the Nobles staid there all that daie, by reason of the high solemnitie of that feast: howbeit the daie next after they tooke the sea together, and landed néere to S. Davids in south Wales, from thence (without delaie) he hasted foorth to Douer, and hauing his sonne the yoong king with him, he sailed ouer into Normandie in the crosse weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he vnderstood to be alreadie come thither. At his méeting with them there, he gaue them verie good countenance, and right honorable entertainment, omitting nothing that might doo them pleasure.

The king returneth into England. *Ger. Dor.* The popes legats.

Here when the matter came to be discussed touching the death of archbishop Thomas, bicause it could not be certeinlie tried out in whom the fault rested, much reasoning to and fro passed, about obiections and excuses laid (as in doubtfull cases it often happeneth) so that welneere the space of foure moneths was spent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to auoid all contention and strife betwixt him and king Lewes, sent his son Henrie together with his wife ouer into England there eftsoones to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Eureux, Roger bishop of Worcester, and diuerse others.

Ger. Dor. R. Houed.

Herevpon the yoong king being arriued in England, called an assemblie of the lords spirituall and temporall at Winchester, where both he and his said wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all solemnitie, by the hands of the said Rotrod archbishop of Rouen vpon the twentie one of August.

Rog. Houed.

In the meane time (saith one writer) his father king Henrie might haue foreséene and found means to haue auoided the discord, which euen now began to spring vp betwixt him and his children, causing a sore and ciuill warre, if he had not beene a man that vtterlie did detest all superstitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to minister iustice, which is a vertue that conteineth in it selfe all other vertues; it would come to passe, that within short time he should fall into great and manifold calamities.

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"In his returne also out of Ireland (saith an other) vpon the sundaie next after the feast of Easter, commonlie called Lowsundie, as he should take his horse at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefooted, and in a white kirtell, who boldlie in the Dutch language spake vnto him, and admonished him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the sabboth daie (commonlie called the sundaie) might be more duellie kept and obserued, so that no markets nor bodilie workes be holden, vsed, or doone vpon that day within the bounds of his dominions, except that which apperteineth to dressing of meats. And if thou doo (saith he) after this commandement, I assure thée that all things which thou dooest enterprise of good intent and purpose, shall sort to good effect and verie luckie end.

A strange apparition.

"But the king was not greatlie pleased with these words, and in French said to the knight that held his bridle; 'Aske of this churle, whether he had dreamed all this that he telleth or not.' When the knight had expounded it in English, the man answered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my sleepe or not, take thou héed to my words, & marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and doo as I haue aduertised thée, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou shalt heare such tidings as will make thee sorowfull all the daies

of thy life after." The man hauing thus spoken, vanished awaie suddenlie, and the king tooke his words but in sport: howbeit he woondered that he was so suddenlie gone, as he did likewise at his sudden appearing. Manie other warnings the king had (saith mine author) but he set little thereby.

The second warning he receiued of an Irishman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindsey, called Philip de Chesterby, passing the sea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him seauen articles, which he should amend, which if he did, then he should reigne seauen yeares in great honor, and subdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redresse those points, then should he come to death with dishonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The first article or point was, that he should séeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The second, that he should cause rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he should condemne no man without lawfull processe.

4 The fourth, that he should restore the lands, goods and heritages to those rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull meanes.

5 The fift, that he should cause euerie man to haue right, without bribing and giuing of méed.

6 The sixt, that he should paie his debts as well due to any of his subiects, for any stufte taken vp of them to his vse, as to his seruants and souldiers, who bicause they could not haue their wages truelie paid them, fell to robbing and spoiling of true labouring men.

7 The seauenth and last article was, that he should cause the Jewes to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were sore impouerished with such vnmercifull vsurie as they exercised.

The king (notwithstanding these and other like warnings) tooke no regard to the amendment of his sinfull life, wherevpon (as is thought) the troubles which ensued did light vpon him by Gods iust appointment.

¶ Howsoever this may séeeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore esteemed as the chaffe of summer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aesop many good morals are comprised, so the scope whereto this apparition tendeth being necessarie, maketh the argument it selfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you sée) to reuoke the king from woorse to better, from the swines-stie of vice to the statelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of sinne to the riuers of sanctitie, proueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their drift manie times to honest purpose, and therefore bring with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the scope of this tale being the same that Dauid pointeth at in the second psalme, when he saith,

(At vos in populos quibus est permissa potestas,
Et ius ab alta sede plebi dicitis,
Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum, &c.)

Ex G. Buch. paraph. in psal. 2.

maketh the narration it selfe (though otherwise séeming méere fabulous) to be somewhat authentically. But to returne to the course of our storie, and now to saie somewhat of this Henrie the seconds sonne the yoong king, by whom the troubles were moued, (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne together with his said wife, they both passed the seas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the seauen and twentieth of September, at a generall assemblee holden within the citie of Auranthes in the church of the apostle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the the popes legats, and a great number of bishops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie reliques of the saints, and vpon the sacred euangelists, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbishop Thomas to be murdered, and that when he heard of it, he was sorie for it. But bicause he could not apprehend them that slue the archbishop, and for that he feared in his conscience least they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a presumptuous boldnesse, bicause they had perceiued him to be offended with the archbishop, he sware to make satisfaction (for giuing such occasion) in this maner.

R. Houed. Ger. Dor. King Henrie purgeth him selfe of the archbishop Becketts death.

1 In primis, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike successours, so long as they should repute him for a catholike king.

O vile subiection vnbeséeming a king!

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeales, nor suffer them to be impeached, but that they might freelie be made within the realme vnto the pope, in causes ecclesiasticall; yet so, that if the king haue the parties suspected, they shall find him suerties that they shall not procure harme or hinderance whatsoever to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within thrée yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next ensuing, he should take vpon him the crosse, and personallie passe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his successours tooke other order with him.

4 Prouided, that if vpon any vrgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that iournie, he might deferre his going into the east parts.

5 Item, he bound himselfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defense of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceiued against those which were in exile for the archbishop Thomas his cause, so that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to restore all the lands and possessions which had béene taken awaie from the sée of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbishop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he sware to take awaie and abolish all those customes, which in his time had béene brought in against the church, as preiudiciall thereto.

All these articles faithfullie, and without male-ingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degré, he receiued a solemne oth, and caused his sonne the yong king being there present, to receiue the same for performance of all those articles, such as touched his owne person onelie excepted. And to the intent the same should remaine in the popes consistorie as matter of record, he put his seale vnto the writing wherein the same articles were ingrossed, together with the seales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

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Shortlie after king Henrie the father suffered the yong king his son to go into France, together with his wife, to visit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iournie verelie bred the cause of the dissention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes most louinglie receiued them (as reason was) and caused diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and pastimes to be shewed for the honour and delectation of his sonne in law and daughter.

Neuerthelesse, whilst this yong prince soiourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the rash and headstrong disposition of the yong king did first of all inuegle him to consider of his estate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduised him so shortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: wherevnto he furthermore promised all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The French king séeketh to sow sedition betwixt the father and the sonne.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vnquietnesse, but also to follow his father in lawes counsell (as he that was apt of nature to aspire to the sole gouernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie (according to that of the tragedie-writer,

Nec regna socium ferre nec tedæ sciunt)

Sen. in Agam.

and namelie such one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie set him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeie, and therefore it became not his highnesse to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernement fréelie in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permission. Herevpon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to wax of a contrarie mind to his father: who suspecting indéed that which chanced; to wit (least his sonnes yong yeares not able yet to discern good and wholesome counsell from euill, might easilie be infected with some sinister practise) thought it not good to suffer him to be long absent from him, and therefore sent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feast of Christmas drew

Rog. Houed.

néere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the towne of Chinon, he solemnized that feast, hauing left his sonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but sending for him after the feast was ended, they went both into Auvergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Morienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldest daughter Alice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the summe of fiue thousand markes, that he might bestow hir in marriage vpon his yongest sonne John with the heritage of the countie of Morienne, if hir father died without other issue, or at the leastwise the said Hubert chanced to haue any sonne lawfullie begotten, that then he should leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Russellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the same, Pierre castell with the appurtenances, the vallie of Noualleise, also Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aiz, Aspermont, Rochet, mont Magor, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this side the mountaines with their appurtenances, the said Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauoreth with the appurtenances, and all the fées which the earles of Canaues held of him, together with the fealties and seruices. And also, the fees, fealties, and seruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the vallie called Vale Dosta; and in like maner, the towne of Castellone.

Hubert earle of Morienne.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellensis.

All the forenamed places the said earle gaue and granted to the said John, sonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, so fréelie, wholie and quietlie (in men and cities, castels, fortressess, or other places of defense, in medowes, leassewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, vallies and mountaines, in customes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the same. And furthermore, the said earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleased the king of England) his people should doo homage and fealtie to the king of Englands sonne, reseruing the fealtie due to him so long as he liued. Moreouer, the said earle Hubert granted to the said John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatsoever might be got and euicted in the same countie. It was also couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the said John should marrie the yonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he should haue enioied with the first.

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The countie of Granople.

Finallie, that these couenants, grants and agréments should be performed on the part and behalfe of the said earle Hubert, both he, the said earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of those countries receiued an oth, and vndertooke to come and offer themselues as hostages to remaine with the king of England, in case the said earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforesaid articles, till he framed himselfe to satisfie the kings pleasure in such behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbishop of Tarensasia, and Ardune the bishop of Geneua, and also William the bishop of Morienne, with the abbat of S. Michell promised vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the censures of the church the said earle and his lands, refusing to performe the foresaid couenants, and so to kéepe him and the said lands bound, till he had satisfied the king of England therein.

William earle of Mandeuill, and William earle of Arundell sware on the part of king Henrie, that he should performe the articles, couenants and agréments on his part, as first to make paiement immediatlie vnto the said Hubert of one thousand markes, and as soone as he should receiue his daughter, he should paie him an other thousand markes at the least, and the residue then remaining of the said sum of fiue thousand markes, should be paid when the mariage was consummate.

The earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

It was prouided also, that the said earle Hubert might marrie his yonger daughter where he would, without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first mariage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the mariage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Montferrat & one Geffrey de Plozac with his sonne Miles and other Noble men came to the king as ambassadors from the earle of Morienne, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the couenants and agréments concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as séemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid mariage, the king the father, and the king the sonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles

The earle of S. Giles.

came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guien, concerning the controuersie that had béene moued for the countie of Tholouze, dooing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further couenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable maner. Moreouer, the said earle condescended & agreed to give yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horses with 10. marks a péece. Now also, whilest the king sojourned at Limoges, the earle of Morienne came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne John. Wherevpon the king resolved to allot vnto him the chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabell, whereby he offended his eldest sonne the yoong king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets faine to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Nic. Triuet.

Tribute for Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

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Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceiued purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vsing the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best aduantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

This yeere the moonks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Douer, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life as he well shewed, in that he wasted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellouin was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulnes and idlenes (as some take it) than for modestie or wisdom: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they eb or flow in profit and gaine.

Matth. West. N. Triuet.

Matth. Paris.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (Saluo semper ordine suo, His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was doone at Westminster in the chappel of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his assent therevnto, where a councill was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, conteining amongst other things this that followeth.

A councill holden at Westminster.

A breefe extract or clause of a letter which the pope sent to the clergie of England, &c. for the making of a new holie daie.

We admonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemne sort, & that with deuout praiers ye endeuour your selues to purchase forgiuenes of sins: that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdome in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithfull people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarslie read, but euerie man with a lowd voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, Te Deum laudamus. Furthermore because his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their errour and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: "Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen."

A collect deuised in honor of the archbishop Becket.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdome. Thus

— cæca superstitionis
Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sæclis.

¶ Notwithstanding all which honor of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memoriall in all ages, succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shrines that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are

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they not all ruined? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such ikons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series & fuga temporum,

Yet is he growne not into renowne, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Romish rakehels ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Naie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Becketts) that he is growne in obliuion euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the pope's calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whome he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his sworne children, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratefull, and not worthie of the dutifulnesse wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their hellish (holie I would saie) father.

M. Vaghan at Spittle the
tuesdaie in Easter weeke 1565.

This yeare the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbesse of Berking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find that comming to Canturburie on the saturday after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was disappointed by letters that came from king Henrie the sonne, in forme as followeth.

Ger. Dor. The archbishops
consecratiō disturbed by the
yong king.

A letter of yong king Henrie touching the disappointment of archbishop Richards consecration.

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and earle of Aniou, sonne of king Henrie; to our deere and faithfull freend Odo, prior of the Church of Canturburie, and to all the conuent there, sendeth greeting. By the assured report of some we vnderstand, that in your church and in other churches also, my father goeth about to institute certein persons not verie meet for such calling: and bicause (without our consent) it ought not so to be doone, who by reason of our kingly anointing haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: hervpon we haue in the presence of many persons appealed to the see of Rome, and haue signified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals and legats of the apostolike see, by our writing and messenger, who like wise and discreet personages haue assented therevnto. We haue likewise signified the same our appeale to our faithfull freends the bishops of London, Excester, and Worcester, and as we haue appealed, so likewise we do appeale vnder your testimonie.

After the perusall of this letter, and the due consideration of the substance and summe of the same, (albeit no such afterclaps were suspected before) the bishops were altogether driuen to their shifts, some of them desiring to go forward with the consecration, and some supposing it better to yéeld vnto the appeale. The elect archbishop therefore first sent messengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie by himselfe, but also by all the bishops and conuent of Canturburie. After this he followed himselfe in person, and comming to the popes court, found there diuers aduersaries to his cause. For some were there that tooke part with the king the father, and some with the king the sonne, and so his businesse could haue no spéedie dispatch. In the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the sonne had concerned against his father was so ripened, that it could not but burst out, and shew itselfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a sonne towards his father.

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You haue heard how king Henrie promised the earledome of Morienne, when the marriage was concluded betwixt his son John and the said earles daughter, to giue vnto the said John certeine townes in Normandie, for the better mainteining of his estate and his wiues. This gift of the fathers caused his eldest sonne the yong king Henrie, the sooner to powre out his poison which he had sucked before at his being with his father in law king Lewes. For conceiuing an offense, that his father should giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condescend to any such gifts, but alledged that sithens he was king of England, and that all belonged to him, his father could not now haue any title to giue awaie that which did in no wise apperteine vnto him.

Wil. Paruus.

There was another cause that troubled his mind also, and mooued him to grudge at his father, which was; for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houshold and port was verie slender, and yet more slenderlie paied. Also his father remooued from him certeine of his seruants, as Astulfe de S. Hilarie, and other whome he suspected to giue him euill counsell. Wherefore those that were procurers of him to attempt the seizing of the gouernement into his hands, vpon this occasion slept not, but put into his head such matter, that at length he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he saw would not be obtained of his father by quiet meanes, he fled secretlie awaie vnto his father in law king Lewes, requiring aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniustlie deteined from him.

Astulfe de S. Hilarie a counsellor, or rather corrupter of king Henrie the sonne. *Polydor.*

King Henrie the sonne fled to the French king.

The French king comforted him, and bad him be of good cheare, for he ment to doo for him all that in him laie. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Normandie, and receiued homage of him for the same. King Henrie the father vnderstanding that his sonne was thus tied to the French king, sent ambassadours foorthwith to the same king, requiring him to giue his son some good & wholesome counsell, that he might repent, and not follow such wilfulnesse of mind in swaruing from his fathers freendship, but rather with speed to returne home againe; & to promise in his name, that if any thing were otherwise than well, he would be contented the same should be reformed by his order and correction. But so farre was king Lewes from meaning to set a quietnesse betwixt the father and the sonne, that he would not heare the ambassadors declare their message, because they named the father, king, to the derogation of the sonnes right, to whome he said he offered manifest wrong in vsurping the gouernement, which he had alreadie giuen ouer and resigned. Insomuch that when the ambassadours had declared some part of their message, he asked them what he was that willed such things of him: and when they answered that the king of England had sent them with that message, "That is a false lie (saith he) for behold here is the king of England, who hath giuen you no commission to declare any message from him vnto me at all."

W. Paruus.

¶ Here we see philautie or selfe-loue, which rageth in men so preposterouslie, that euen naturall dutie and affection quite forgotten, they vndertake what mischéefe soeuer commeth next to hand; without exception of place or person; and all for the maintenance of statelie titles, of loftie stiles, of honorable names, and such like vanities more light than thistle downe that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath beene noted to reigne in all ages, among all péeres and people of all nations, both at home and abroad, as one verie well noteth and giueth his verdict therevpon, saieng,

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— proh dij, mine nomina tantùm
Magnifica, & claros titulos sibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, sequitur, rapit; vt meritò iam
Et se asinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illustres præclaráq; nomina prosunt?
Quæ citò mors rapit, & lethæas mergit in vndas.

M. Pal. in virg. & sag.

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that warres would follow, prepared the best he could for his owne defense: but he was in great doubt on euerie side, not knowing whome he might trust. And to increase this mischéefe, his wife quéene Elianor studied to mainteine the strife betwixt hir sonnes. The yong king then getting an armie together entred into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whome he may trust. *Polydor.*

King Henrie was not hastie to go against him, but sought rather with gentlenesse and all courteous meanes to reconcile him: insomuch that whereas diuerse graue personages being of the yong kings counsell, and doubting to runne into the displeasure of his father, reuolted from the sonne to the father, and brought with them the sonnes seale, which he vsed in sealing of letters. Howbeit, the father receiued them not, but sent them backe againe to his sonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in seruing him as he should appoint them, and herewith he sent ambassadours vnto his sonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Richard Bart chancellor to the young king, also his chaplaine, Sir Walter Ailward with others. *Rog. Houed.*

Now whilst the father went about to assuage the sonnes displeasure, the mother quéene Elianor did what she could to pricke him forward in his disobedient attempts. For she being enraged against hir husband because he kept sundrie concubines, and therefore delited the lesse in hir companie, cared not what mischéefe she procured against him. Herevpon she made hir complaint so greeuouslie vnto hir sons Richard and Geffrey, that they ioined with their brother against their father, & came to him into Guien, to aid him to the vttermost of their powers.

¶ This may well seeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his

incontinent, vnchast and libidinous life; who hauing Chara coniugij pignora, a notable motiue to kindle and to continue honest loue in wedlocke, did not notwithstanding most inordinatelie abandon his bodie to beastlie and vnlawfull companie kéeping with strange flesh. Note heere how God stirreth vp the wife of his owne bosome, & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eies and godes in his sides for profaning so diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did so honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obseruation thereof, but denounced vndoubted vengeance for the violation of the same, as appeareth in this old testimonie,

Patrat & ingraditur quicunq; cubilia fratris
 Vxorem maculans, & sancta cubilia stupro
 Hunc pater ipse deum Saturnius odit, & ipsi
 Hunc malè dij vexant, &c.

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

But we will remit this to the readers consideration, and note the issue of this mischéefe now broched. The yoong king reioicing that he had his brethren thus on his side, readie to take his part, became more stout than before, and for answeere vnto the messengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer vp the whole gouernment into his hands, he would be content to breake vp his armie. As for such souldiers as would willinglie take his part in this quarell, he caused them to sweare that they should faithfullie serue him against his aduersaries: and those that had rather serue on the other side, he licensed them fréelie to depart and go to his father.

King Henrie the father receiuing such a rebellious answer from his sonne, much lamented the matter, and so much the more, for that he saw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuersie decided by the sword. Therefore least he should be taken vnprouided, he kept his armie in a readinesse about him, hauing retained certaine bands of Brabanders called the Rowts.

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Twêtie thousand Brabanders were retained by king Henrie the father as saith *R. Houed. Wil. Paruus. N. Triuet. Polydor.*

The lords that tooke part with his sonne, being aduertised by espials of the doings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were constreined) to defend himselfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his sons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they tooke great care how to cause his sons to persist in their enterprise, till the father were compelled by force to resigne the gouernment vnto them. But none more than the French king coueted to mainteine the discord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therefore sent vnto king Henrie the sonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he caused a councill to be called, & there made a league betwixt the said Henrie and himselfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Chester, William Patrike the elder, the thrée sons of Robert earle of Mellent, whose castels king Henrie the elder had in possession, Roger Moubray, Hugh Bigot, and diuerse other complices of the conspiracie, Flabella seditionum, that tooke part with Heurie the sonne.

N. Triuet. Polydor.

Here after they had consulted of the maner how to mainteine warre, because they would assure the yoong king that they ment not to forsake him, first king Lewes, and after that all the residue tooke an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father should either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agréee with him at his will and pleasure. On the other part, he sware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their consent and good will. He also promised vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his scale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thousand pounds of yearlie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the castles of Douer and Rochester. And to Matthew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewise promised and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earledome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Also to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted fiue hundred marks of yearlie reuenue in Aniou with the castell of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countrie of Touraine, and surrendred to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the K. of Scots (for his assistance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tine. And to his brother Daid (to haue his seruice) he granted the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge. To Hugh Bigot (for his seruice) he gaue the castell of Norwhich. All these gifts and grants (with diuerse other to other persons) promised & granted, he confirmed with his new seale, which the king of France had caused him to make. These things being thus ordered at Paris, euerie man resorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all spéed conuenient.

The French king taketh an oth to aid Henrie the sonne. *Rog. Houed. Ger. Dor.*

Philip earle of Flanders.

Matthew earle of Bullongne.

Chateau Reignold.

Earle Daid.
 Hugh Bigot.

Polydor.[4]

King Henrie the father aduertised of this new league of the conspirators against him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he saw himselfe in danger, not onelie of outward enimies, but also of his owne subiects at home.

Yet because the winter season was already at hand, taking away all convenient occasions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compass some agreement with his sons yet the spring of the yeare should returne, and therefore he made not so great provision for his defense, as had beene necessarie in so dangerous a case. But the Frenchmen who were bent to set forward this war with all diligence, were ready in the field immediatly upon the coming of the spring with king Henrie the sonne, and even at one instant made their invasions upon the lands of king Henrie the father in three severall parties; namely, in Normandie, Guien, and Britaine, which (against the will of his sonne Geffrey duke thereof) king Henrie the father did hold and retaine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus invading the foresaid countries, did much hurt with robbing and spoiling, and also tooke diverse castles and townes.

The confederats invade the dominions of king Henrie the father.

Moreover about the same time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, first into Cumberland, and besieged Carleil: but hearing that an armie was prepared against him in the south parties of the realme, and ready to set forward, he raised his siege, and entred into Northumberland (which province king Henrie the sonne had given him in the last assemblie holden at Paris) endeavouring to bring it into his possession. But the more earnestly he went about to enforce the people to his will, the more stiffly did they withstand his purpose, hating him so much, that in no condition they were willing to come under his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great losse. The kings power also coming into the countrie followed them, and passing over the water of Tweed, which divided then (as it dooth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like spoile in the land of the enimies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland.

The king of Scots invade Cumberland.

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Wil. Parvus.

But in Normandie, whilest others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enimies countrie, king Lewes besieged Vernueil, which towne being strong of it selfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valiently defended, so that the French^[5] king was a moneth before it, yet he could win any part thereof. This towne of Vernueil was in those daies divided into three portions, beside the castell, euerie of them apart from other with mightie wals and deepe ditches full of water. One of these parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitched his field & planted his engines. About a moneth after whose coming thither, vittels began to faile them within, so that at length they required a truce onely for three daies, & if no succour came within those three daies, they promised to yeeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the vigill or eue of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hostages deliuered by the burgesses unto the French king. Now it was agreed that if they yielded the towne at the daie appointed for want of succor, king Henrie the son, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earles of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbish. of Sens, undertooke upon their othes that the hostages should then be restored free & without any hurt or damage.

Vernueil besieged. *R. Houed.* Hugh Beauchampe.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the composition thus made, was driven to a verie hard shift: for he doubted nothing lesse than that any such thing should haue chanced. Yet considering with himselfe, that the saving of the towne stood in his speedie coming to the rescue, he hasted thither without any staie, and came to the place the daie before the third and last daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiuing him to be come, doubting least he should loose the preie which he looked for, sent unto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next daie, touching some means of agreement to be had betwixt him and his sons. This did he of policie, to feed him with hope of some end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his sons, till he had gotten possession of the towne.

The French king requireth to talke.

Now as he forecast that matter, even so it came to passe, for whilest a great peece of the next daie was spent in feined talke about an agreement; K. Lewes appointed a great part of his host to close the towne about, and to declare unto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Vernueil beleueing, yielded the towne & themselves to the Frenchmen. Soone after, king Lewes mistrusting least he should not be able to keepe it, set it on fire, and so burnt it, contrarie to the composition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded upon. He kept also the souldiers that had yielded it into his hands, together with the hostages as prisoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went away in the night with as still noise as was possible. Which euill dealing had not invaded his hart, but that euill meaning had possessed it before, even at the composition making: but he neuer learned that,

Rog. Houed. The ninth of August being thursdaie saieeth *R. Houed.* king Lewes fleeth away in the night.

Fidem qui perdit nihil potest vltra perdere.

Pub. Mim.

King Henrie at length perceiuing the fraud, sent certeine bands of his horssemen after to persue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was already gotten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, those which were sent, turned vpon those that were left in the hindermost ward, of whome they slue a great number both horssemen and footmen.

K. Henrie following his men, came to Vernueil, and staieng there that night, tooke order for the repairing and new fortifieng of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the castell of Danuille, and wan it, taking diuerse knights and yeomen within it: this castell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to passe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Vernueil, as in some authors we find reported. ¶ Other write otherwise of the mater, as thus, the French K. being summoned by K. Henrie the father, either to depart from the seige of Vernueil or to looke for battell; & hearing also that in performance of the message K. Hearie approched with his power, he sent a bishop & an abbat vnto him to vnderstand if he meant to giue battell in deed. The messengers met king Henrie as he was aduanced before his host vpon some occasion with a small companie about him, vnto whome they declared that their maister the French king, required to be assured whether he should haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this short answere; "Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand." The messengers returning to their maister, declared what they had séene and heard. Wherevpon (without longer staie) he raised his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great dishonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the same author it should appeere.

About the same time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats besieged the towne of Albemarle, and the earle therof within it, which earle was thought to betraie the towne, bicause it was so easilie woone, and both he himselfe, and those which king Henrie the father had sent thither to defend the towne were taken prisoners. Diuerse other places which belonged to the same earle were also immediatlie deliuered into the enimies hands, which increased the suspicion.

After this towne of Newcastell (otherwise called Drincourt) in those frontiers was besieged, and finallie woone by surrender, by the said earle of Flanders, who reioised nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew; the earle of Bullongne who should haue béene his heire, was shot into the knée with an arrow, as he approched to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was so pensife for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iournie and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war against his coosen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had doone him manie great and singular pleasures from time to time.

¶ Good cause had the earle to giue ouer the prosecuting of violence against^[6] his souereigne, being dawnted with so heauie a chance, & griped also with the grudge of conscience, in so vnkindlie rewarding his welwiller, at whose hands he confessed himselfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth anie so much as him or them in whom it is nestled. And hereto alludeth the comedie-writer, when he saith verie neatlie,

— morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt
Dum id impetrāt, boni sunt: sed id vbi iam pene se habet,
Ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.

Moreouer Henrie the elder (after the iournie of Vernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderstanding that Hugh earle of Chester, and Rafe de Foulgiers, men of singular prowesse (who long before were reuolted to his sonne Henrie) had taken the castell of Dole in Britaine, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, he sent foorth streightwaies certeine of his capteines with the Brabanders to aid his people in those parts who on the twentieth day of August (being monday) encountring with the enimies, discomfited them in battell, tooke seauenteene knights, beside diuerse others both horssemen and footmen, slue aboue fiteene hundred of the enimies being Britaines, and pursuing the residue, entred the towne which they wan, and droue their aduersaries into the castell, where they besieged them, and with all spéed aduertised the king of that enterprise, who immediatlie with all possible hast came thither, applieng his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them which were within the same at his commandement.

To be short, it was not long yer he had his desire, for being such a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within so streict a roome, for want of

Danuille. Gilbert de Tileres.

Wil. Paruus.

K. Henrie his short answere to the French kings messengers.

Albemarle woon by the earle of Flanders.

R. Houed. Ia. Meir. Ger. Dor.
The earle of Bullongne wounded, and dieth.

Plaut. in Ca.

Rog. Houed.

vittell they fell to a composition, yeelding the castell vnto the king, their bodies, liues, and lims saued, on the 25. day of August. There were within this castell 80. knights, besides yeomen and other common souldiers. In like maner, and with the semblable good fortune, about the same time, his capteins in England ouercame his enimies: for whereas Robert earle of Leicester that tooke part with king Henrie the sonne, had assembled at the towne of Leicester a great host of men, in purpose to set vpon Reignold earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie capteines on the side of king Henrie the father: they vnderstanding his meaning, marched streight towards Leicester, and by the waie met with their enimie earle Robert, whome they so fiercelie assailed, that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it surrendered vnto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the castell (which in those daies was of great strength by reason of the situation) they could not win.

The earle of Leicester put to flight.

Howbeit some write, that by vndermining, the walles of the towne were subuerted and throwne downe, so that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew themselues into the castell and other strong houses, which they defended for a time, till at length they surrendered all, one parcell of the castell excepted, for the which by composition they paid by way of a fine the sum of thrée hundred pounds to the vse of K. Henrie the father. The siege began the seauenth day of Julie, and on the 28. day of the same moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to those that still defended a certeine tower of the castell into the which they were withdrawne.

Matth. Paris. Leicester won by force.

William also the Scottish king, with an armie of Scots and Gallowaimen inuaded Northumberland, and passing by the confines of the bishoprike of Durham, did much hurt by slaughter, burning and spoiling the countrie. Neuerthelesse, hearing of a power raised by the English lords in those parts to resist him, he withdrew into his countrie. The English armie folowing him, wasted the countrie of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to indure till the feast of S. Hilarie. For the which truce happilie some rewards went betwixt, and so the English lords with spoiles and gaines returned homewards.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberland.

He retireth.

The English spoile Louthian. A truce.

A few daies after these luckie chances thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceiuing fortune to be on that side, determind to assaie whether he could obtaine his purpose by some means of treatie, or at the least put king Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather suffer all discommodities whatsoever, than once to trie the matter by battell with his sonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gisors and Trie, shewing bread in the one hand (as they say) and hiding a stone in the other.

Rog. Houed. A treatie of peace.

King Henrie was easilie intreated to heare of anie talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on tuesdaie the fiftéenth daie of September, made so large offers, that he had almost conuerted the yoong mens minds vnto concord. First he offered to his sonne Henrie the yoong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and four conuenient castels within the same. Or if his sonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that dutchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers pertaining to the earledome of Aniou, with certeine castels in Normandie, one castell in Aniou, one in Maine, and one in Towraine. To his sonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues of Guien, and foure conuenient castels in the same. And to his sonne Geffrey he offered all those lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan earle of Britaine, if he might by the popes good licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yeelded himselfe to stand to the order of the archbishop of Tharent and other the popes legats, not refusing to giue his sonnes what rents and reuenues soeuer they should say were reasonable, reseruing onelie to himselfe the administration of iustice, and the power roiall.

Rog. Houed. The offer of K. Henrie the father to his sonnes.

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These séemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine sonnes of Beliall, set vpon nothing but mischéefe, troublers of common peace and quietnesse, wrought so with them, that no conditions of peace (were the same neuer so reasonable) could content them, so that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious words passed betwixt the parties, insomuch that the earle of Leicester (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchase aid at his hands) could not refraine but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus suum est cùm irascitur,

Pub. Mim.

after many opprobrious words vttered against king Henrie the father, laid

The earle of Leicester offred to

hand on his sword to haue striken him but the standers by would not suffer him and so they, departed; which rash attempt or rather disloiall enterprise,

strike the king.

Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes.

On the morrow after, the French and English skirmished together betwixt Curseils and Gisors, in which conflict Enguerane Chastillone de Trie was taken prisoner by earle William de Mandeuille, who presented him to the king of England. King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preserue his sonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing lesse than to ioin battell with the English at that present. But within a few daies after, he sent Robert earle of Leicester into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to ioine with Hugh Bigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promises and gentle persuasions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the sonne.

The earle of Leicester therefore landing at Walton the 21. of September, passed through the countrie vnto Fremingham, where he was receiued of Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other fléet of Flemings were arriued for their aid, they went vnto Gipswich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Bigot, they went to the castell of Hagenet (that belonged vnto Ranulph Broc) which they tooke, spoiled & burned, & then returned to Fremingham.

Additions to *Iohn Pike*.

Rog. Houed.

After this, hearing that the countesse of Leicester was arriued at Orreford with an other power of Flemings, they went to méet hir: and so the earle of Leicester, hauing now a strong armie about him, tooke leaue of earle Bigot, and ment to passe through the countrie into Leicestershire, there to succour his freends, and to worke some feat for the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

In the meane time the arriual of the earle of Leicester being knowne, the people of the countrie were assembled together. Also Richard Lucie lord cheefe iustice, and Humfrey de Boun high conestable of England, with the kings power of horssemen which latelie before had béene in Scotland, and made inrodes there (as before is mentioned) came with all spéed to saue the countrie from spoile, hauing first taken a truce (as before is said) with the king of Scots, till the feast of Saint Hilarie next ensuing (or rather Ester) hostages being deliuered on both sides. Vpon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to doo, the said Richard Lucie & Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundsburie, whither Reignold earle of Cornwall the kings vnclé, Robert earle of Glocester, and William erle of Arundell resorted.

Rog. Houed.

Rog. Houed.

In the meane while, the earle of Leicester passed forward on his waie so farre as Fornham a little village beside S. Edmundsburie. The lord chéefe iustice & the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongst others the said Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundsburie, hauing the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, & in a marish ground betwixt Fornham & Edmunsburie, they encountred with the said earle of Leicester, and after long and cruell fight discomfited his people, and tooke him prisoner, together with his wife the countesse Petronill, after he had doone all that belonged to a valiant capteine.

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The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thousand [and almost as manie taken] verelie [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thousand were either taken or slaine:] the residue that escaped fled towards Leicester, that they might both defend the towne & themselues from the danger of their foes.

Rog. Houed. Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

¶ But here is to be noted, that it séemeth by the report of some writers, how the earle of Leicester had not so great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number slaine and taken it should appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bigot, he tooke vpon him to passe through the countrie (as some write) partlie vpon trust that he had of the force and number of his souldiers, being about foure or fiue thousand stout and valiant footmen, besides 80 chosen and well appointed horssemen; and partlie in hope that manie of those which were in his aduersaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight against him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indéed presumed much vpon their owne strength, so that they made account of some great conquest, in such wise, that when they came into any large plaine where they might rest, they would take ech others by the hand, and leading a danse, sing in their countrie language,

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine.

Matth. Paris.

King Henrie receiuing aduertisement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was maruellous ioifull, and commanded that the prisoners should be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: which being doone, he went into Aniou, and there fortified the towns and castels of the countrie with sure garrisons of men, to resist all sudden inuasion, secret practises, and other attempts of the enimies. On the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, he tooke the towne of Vandosme by force, which Buchard de Lauerdin held against him, hauing first expelled his father the earle of Vandosme.

R. Houed. The towne of Vandosme woone.

About this season, or rather somewhat before, king Henrie the father, (contrarie to the prohibition of the king his sonne and after the appeale made vnto the pope) gaue not onelie vnto Richard prior of Douer, the archbishoprike of Canturburie; but also to Reignold Fitz-Joceline the bishoprike of Bath; to Richard de Worcester archdeacon of Poitiers the bishoprike of Winchester; to Robert Foliot the bishoprike of Hereford; to Geoffrey Ridell archdeacon of Canturburie he gaue the bishoprike of Elie, and to John de Oxenford the bishoprike of Chichister.

Sée [his letter](#) before in page [147.](#)^[7]

But now to our purpose. The nobles of the realme of England (after the * battell of of S. Edmundsburie) with an infinit number of men went against Hugh Bigot in purpose to abate his pride. But whereas they might easilie haue had him at their pleasure, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Whitsuntide, within which time hauing gotten together fourteene thousand Flemings, he passed through Essex, and so getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he tooke ship and transported ouer into France.

Matth. Paris. * Which was fought on the 17. of October

An. Reg. 20.
1174.

King Henrie the father held his Christmase this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Easter, or (as others write) for the terme of six moneths. For ye haue to vnderstand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father against the earle of Leicester (being not onlie spred through England, but also blown ouer into France) put those that tooke part with him in great feare; but speciallie king Lewes mistrusting the matter began to wax wearie that he had attempted so far, and susteined so great trauell and expenses in another mans cause.

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Whilest this truce indured, the archbishop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in dispaire of his businesse, vpon a feigned rumor spred that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and sonne, he was called backe and consecrated by the pope the sundaie after Easter: and then furnished with the dignities of primat and legat of England, and other priuileges according, he tooke his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid fourth great summes of monie to disappoint the purposes of his aduersaries.

Ger. Dor.

This yeare in June, the lord Geoffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings sonne besieged the castell which Roger de Mowbry had repaired at Kinard Ferie, within the Isle of Oxholme, and compelling the souldiers within to yéeld, he beat downe and raced the same castell vnto the verie ground. Robert Mowbray conestable of that castell, as he passed thorough^[8] the countrie towards Leicester, there to procure some aid, was taken by the men of Claie, and kept as prisoner. Moreouer, the said elect of Lincolne tooke the castell of Malesert that belonged to the said Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the keeping of the archbishop of Yorke. The said elect also fortified a castell at Topclife, and tooke it to the kéeping of William Stuteuille. In this meane while the king tooke the strengths, and fortresses which his sonne Richard had fortified at Xanctes, and in the same forts and church (which was also fortified against him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archbalisters, that is, the best of them that bare crossebowes.

Philip earle of Flanders in the presence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laieng his hand vpon the holie relikes, sware that within 15. daies next insuing the feast of S. John then instant to enter England with an armie, and to doo his best to subdue the same to king Henrie the son. Vpon trust whereof the yoong king the more presuming came downe to Whitsand, the 14. daie of Julie, that he might from thence send ouer into England Rafe de la Haie with certeine bands of souldiers. Before this the earle of Flanders had sent ouer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call them. But after their arriual at Orwell, which chanced the 14. of June, by reason that there associats were dispersed, and for the more part subdued, they tooke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, assaulted the citie and

The oth of the earle of Flanders.

Additions to *Iohn Pike*.

wan it, gaining there great riches, and speciallie in readie monie, and led awaie a great sort of prisoners whome they ransomed at their pleasure. This chanced the 18. of June.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

¶ I remember that William Paruus writeth, that the citie of Norwich was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the earle of Leicester in the yeare last past, by the conduct of the said earle before he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie, being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led those Flemings also vnto Dunwich, purposing to win and sacke that towne also: but the inhabitants being better prouided against the comming of their enimies than they of Norwich were, shewed such countenance of defense, that they preserued their towne from that danger, so that the two earles with Flemings were constreined to depart without atchiuing their purpose. But whether that this attempt against Dunwich was made by the earle of Leicester (before his taking) in companie of earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verilie for the winning of Norwich, I suppose that William Paruus mistaketh the time, except we shall saie that it was twice taken, as first by the earle of Leicester in the yeare 1173. For it is certeine by consent of most writers, and especiallie those that haue recorded particularlie the incidents that chanced here in this land during these troubles betwixt the king and his sons that it was taken now this yeare, 1174 by earle Bigot (as before we haue shewed.)

But now to procéed. The lords that had the rule of the land for king Henrie the father, perceiuing earle Bigots procéedings, sent knowledge thereof with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in the parties beyond the seas. Whilest these things were a dooing, although the minds of manie of the conspirators against king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot (by reason of his new supplie of men got out of Flanders) ceased not to attempt fresh exploits: and chéeflie they solicted the matter in such wise with William king of Scotland, that whilest they in other quarters of the realme plaid their parts, he entred into the confines of Cumberland, and first besieged the citie of Carleil, but perceiuing he could not win it in any short time, he left one part of his armie to keepe siege before it, and with the residue marched into the countrie alongst by the riuer of Eden, taking by force the castels of Bourgh and Applebie, with diuerse other. This doone, he passed ouer the riuer, and came through Northumberland (wasting the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place he attempted to win, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

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Additions to Iohn Pike.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Castels woon by the Scots.

This enterprise which he made into Northumberland, he tooke in hand chéeflie at the suit and request of Roger Mowbray, from whome Geffrey (who after was bishop of Lincolne) K. Henries eldest base son had taken two of his castels, so that he kept the third with much adoo. He had giuen his eldest sonne in hostage vnto the said king of Scots for assurance of such couenants to be kept on his behalfe as were passed betwixt them. In the meane time one Duncane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scottish armie entred into Kendall, and wasted that countrie in most cruell wise, neither sparing age nor sex, insomuch that he brake into the churches, slue those that were fled into the same for safegard of their liues as well preests as other. The English power of horssemen which passed not the number of 400. was assembled at Newcastle, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Rafe Glanuille, William Ursie, Bernard Balliolle [and Odonet de Umfreiulle.]

Polydor. Duncane a Scottish capteine wasteth Kendall.

Will. Paruus. Rog. Houed.

These capteines hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one side of the countrie, and king William in another, determinned to issue forth and trie the chance of warre, (which is doubtfull and vncerteine, according to the old saieing,

Fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est)

Sen. in The.

against the enimies, sith it should be a great rebuke to them to suffer the countrie to be wasted after that sort without reuengement. Herevpon riding forth one morning, there arose such a thicke fog and mist that they could not discerne any waie about them, so that doubting to fall within the laps of their enimies at vnwares, they staid a while to take aduise what should be best for them to doo. Now when they were almost fullie resolued to haue turned backe againe, by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of Bernard Balliolle, they changed their purpose, and rode forward, till at length the northerne wind began to waken, and droue awaie the mist, so that the countrie was discouered vnto them, and perceiuing where Alnewike stood, not knowing as yet whether the Scots had woone it or not, they staid their pace, and riding softlie, at length learning by the inhabitants of the countrie, that the Scottish king desparing to win Alnewike, had raised his siege from thence the same day, they turned streight thither, and lodging there all night, in the morning got to their horsse verie earelie, riding forth towards the enimies that were spred abroad in the countrie to forey the same. They had anon espied where the king was, and incontientlie compassed him about on

Bernard de Balliolle.

euerie side, who perceiuing the English horssemen readie thus to assaile him with all diligence called backe his men from the spoile; but the more part of them being straied far off through the swéetnes they found in getting of preies, could not heare the sound of the trumpets, yet notwithstanding with those his horssemen which he could get together, he encountred the English men which came vpon him verie hastilie.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the first, and well fought for a time, but the Scottish horssemen being toiled before in foreieng the countrie, could not long continue against the fierce assault of the English, but were either beaten downe, or else constreined to saue themselues by flight. The king with a few other (who at the first had begun the battell) was taken. Also manie of the Scots that being far off, and yet hearing of the skirmish, came running toward the place, & were taken yer they could vnderstand how the matter had passed. This taking of the king of Scots was on a saturdaye, being the seuenth^[9] of Julie.

The king of Scots taken.

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Ger. Dor.

The English capteines hauing thus taken the Scottish king in the midst of his armie, contening the number of 80000 men, returned to Newcastle, greatlie reioising of their good successe, aduertising king Henrie the father hereof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scottish king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after shall appéere.)

Wil. Paruus.

*Matt. Paris. Matth. West.
Wil. Paruus. Ger. Dor.*

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketille Malorie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, tooke two hundred prisoners, and slue or wounded néere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterprise returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set foorth. The kings horssemen herevpon came streight waies to Northampton, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

Polydor.

This chanced a little after Whitsuntide.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staid not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of horssemen, suddenlie made to Notingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in kéeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning tooke it, droue out the kings souldiers that laie there in garison, burned the towne, slue the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselues vnto him.

Rob. Ferreis.

*Polydor. Reg. Houed.
Notingham taken.*

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his fréends here in England, eftsoones conceiued some good hope to obteine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Herevpon he purchased aid of king Lewes, who (bicause the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterprise so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staid till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine horssemen, and of a number of Brabanders.

W. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the dooings in England, with all possible spéed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboord, among whome were certeine bands of Brabanders: and so soone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoised vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting least the bloud of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and tooke order for the placing of capteines with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Julie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yéelded themselues to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saued.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Huntington castell woone.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agréed with the king to haue peace, paieng him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agrément was concluded the 25. of Julie.

R. Houed.

*Matth. Paris. Earle Bigot is
accorded with the K.*

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Herevpon a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Rafe de la Haie departed without impediment by the kings sufferance.

The Flemings sent home.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Northampton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his féet bound vnder the horsse bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Norham, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Mowbraie, and surrendred to him the castell of Treske, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vp into his hands the castels of Tutburie, and Duffield, and Anketill Mallorie, and William de Diue constables to the earle of Leicester yeelded to the king the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsorell, to the intent that he should deale more courteously with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Glocester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselues to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished; so that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enimies returned to London.

R. Houed.
The king of Scots presented to the King of England.

The earle of Glocester. The earle Richard of Clare.

¶ All this hurlye burlie and bloudie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did deiect and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obtaine the monarchie, and the old king doo him homage: and partlie to the quéenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had béene (notwithstanding such dishonour doone hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes that she should rather haue lulled the contention asléepe, and doone what she possiblie could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath béene said long ago,

Mulier nihil nouit nisi quod vult,
Et plenum malorum est onus.

Pub. Mim.

But what insued herevpon euen by waie of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namelie, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie? For the king after this happie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quéene Elinor had prooued hirselle to be) should still annoie his eies, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, bicause she had procured his sons Richard and Geffrey to ioine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Quéene Elinor is committed to close prison.

But to procéed, king Lewes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streitlie. Shortlie after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obtaine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they stood, without out faint harts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue ouer their citie for any threats or menaces of their enimies. Now whilst they within were busie in deuising how to repell the assault, and to defend themselues, the aduersaries about midnight came forth of their campe, and approaching the walles with their ladders, raised them vp, and began to scale the citie. But the citizens being aduised thereof, boldlie got them to the loops and towers, ouerthrew the ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, stones and darts beat them backe, to their great losse and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the enimies could not preuaile thus to get the citie by this assault, yet they continued the siege, and suffered not them with it to be in quiet, but daie and night assailed them by one meanes or other.

Polydor.

Rouen besieged by the Frêch king. *Wil. Paruus.*

King Henrie the father being aduertised héereof, after he had set his businesse in order, touching the suertie and safe defense of the English estate, he returned into Normandie and landed at Harfleet on a thursdaie being the eight daie of August, bringing backe againe with him his Brabanders, and a thousand Welshmen. In this meane while, king Lewes continued still his siege before Rouen, constreining them within by all meanes he could deuise to yeeld vp their citie. At length came the feast of Saint Laurence, on which daie the French king commanded that no man

Rog. Houed. King Henrie returneth into Normandie.

should attempt any enterprise against the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in worship of that saint. This truce was so acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themselves, without all respect to the danger wherein the citie stood, threw off their armour, and gaue themselves to sléepe and rest. Some also fell to banketting and other pastimes in verie dissolute maner.

¶ But through this their remisse vsage and loose behaiour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is no safe warrant of securitie and peace, they deriued danger and destruction to themselves; which it had beene their parts prouidentlie to haue preuented, and not through their carelesnesse to set open a gap of aduantage to their enimies, who pursued them with professed hostilitie, notwithstanding they reposed confidence in the truce that was granted. Héerein they are to be resembled to the cooks of whome Plautus speaketh verie neatlie, saieng,

— coquos equidem nimis

Demiror, qui tot vtuntur condimentis, eos eo

Condimento non vtier quod præstat omnibus,

Meaning sobrietie: so these delighting more in their dishes, than mistrusting their enimies, remembred to take the vse of any pleasure that the conuenientnesse of this present time might proffer; onelie as cookes among all their sawces doo mind nothing lesse than sobernesse: so these in the abundance of their ioies, thought nothing of after claps, which afterwards made them (like fooles) to sing an vnhappie had I wist. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this their negligence, required licence of the French king to giue assault to the citie, declaring in what state the matter presentlie stood; who not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promised faith, with any such vnlawfull attempt, commanded his men of warre that made the request in no wise to stirre. Howbeit the souldiers vpon couetousnesse of the spoile, raised the ladders to that part of the wall which they iudged to be most without warders, so that some of them mounting aloft, got vp, and were about to help vp their fellowes.

The Frenchmen assault the citie, without commandement of their king.

Now it happened (as God would haue it) that two préests being gone vp into the steeple of the cheefe church, to looke about them for their pleasures, fortunéd to sée where the French men were about to enter the citie, and streightwaies gaue knowledge to the citizens beneath. Wherevpon the alarum rose, insomuch that with all spéed the people ran to the place, and with such violence came vpon their enimies which were entred vpon the walles, that streightwaies they slue manie of them, and chased the residue out of the ditches, so that they returned with bleeding wounds to their campe, repenting them of their vnhappie enterprise, that turned them to such wo and greeuance.

Two préests.

The Frenchmen are repelled.

The same day a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the citie with great ioy and gladnesse: for he came thither by chance, euen about the time that the citie had thus like to haue bin surpriséd & taken at vnwares.

Polydor.

¶ There be that write, how the French king (immediatlie vpon the arriual of king Henrie) left his field and departed, greatlie to his dishonor, burning vp his engines of warre, and not staieng till his men might haue leisure to charge their wagons with their armor and other stuffe, which they were glad to leaue behind for a prey to the English men issuing foorth vpon them. But other declare, that the French king being nothing abashed of king Henries comming, continued the siege, in hope to win the citie.

Matt. Paris.

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The next day earlie in the morning (or as other say in the night season) the king did send foorth a certeine number of Welshmen to passe ouer the riuier of Saine, which they did, and by force made themselves waie through the French campe, getting without losse or danger vnto a great wood, and slue that day of their aduersaries aboue an hundred men. After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they skirmished dailie with the French horssemen, and oft times cut of such prouision of vittels as came to nourish the campe. The king himselfe on the other side remaining within the citie, caused his people to issue out at the gates, and to kéepe the enimies occupied with skirmishes afore the citie. And moreouer, where there was a great trench cast betwixt the French campe and the walles of the citie, he caused the same to be filled vp with fagots, stores, and earth. But although the French men sawe this the kings deed well enough, yet none of them issued foorth of their tents to hinder the English of their purpose.

R. Houed. The Welshmens good seruice.

Nic. Triuet.

Rog. Houed.

Now king Lewes being sore vexed with his enimies on ech side, and perceiuing the citie would not be woone within any short time, began to wax wearie, and to repent himselfe (as afore) for taking in hand so chargeable and

great a warre for another mans quarell. Wherevpon he caused William bishop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to king Henrie, and to promise vpon forbearance from warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and his sonnes, betweene whom vnnaturall variance rested. Whereof K. Henrie being most desirous, and taking a truce, appointed to come to Gisors [in the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and bring it to some good end.

The French king maketh an ouerture for peace.

N. Triuet. A truce.

The French king, so soone as he knew that truce was taken, raised his siege, and returning home, within a few daies after (according to the appointment) came to Gisors, and there communed with king Henrie: but bicause he could not make any agrément betwixt him and his sonnes at that time, he appointed another time to meet about it. King Henrie the father (whilest the truce continued with the French king) and his sonne Henrie went to Poictou, where his sonne Richard (whilest his father had beene occupied in other places) had gotten the most part of the countrie into his possession. But now hearing of his comming, and that a truce was taken with the French king and with his brother, he considered with himselfe, that without their assistance he was not able to withstand his fathers power. Howbeit at length choosing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie to yéeld, he prepared for defense, furnishing diuerse townes and castels with garisons of men: and assembling together all the other power that he was able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents not far off from his father. In the meane while, which way soeuer his father passed, the townes and castels submitted themselues vnto him, so that Richard began to despaire of the matter, insomuch that he durst not approach néere his father, but kept aloofe, doubting to be entrapped.

The French king leaueth his siege.

Richard the kings sonne prepareth to resist his father.

He beginneth to dispaire of good successe.

At length when he had considered his owne state, and weied how vnthankfullie the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no consideration of him at such time as they tooke truce, he determined to alter his purpose, and hauing some good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought best to trie it, which he found to be the best waie that he could haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter thoughts are better aduised than the first, as the old saieng is,

Polydor.

Δευτερα φροντιδες σοφωτεραι.

Herevpon Richard laieng armour aside, came of his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of September, and asked pardon. His father most courteously receiuing him, made so much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of courtesie preuailed much to the alluring of his other sons to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to speedie effect, he sent this Richard vnto king Lewes, and to his other sonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did so effectuallie his message, that he brought them both in good forwardnesse to agree to his fathers purpose, so that there was a daie appointed for them to meet with their father, betwixt Towres in Touraine and Ambois.

The sonn submitteth himselfe to the father.

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King Henrie reioising hereat, kept his daie (being the morrow after the feast of S. Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two sonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finallie the father and the sonnes were accorded; he promising to receiue them into fauour vpon these conditions.

Ger. Dor. The father & sonnes are accorded.

1 First the prisoners to be released fréelie without ransome on both sides, and their offenses, which had taken either the one part or the other, to be likewise pardoned.

The conditions of the agrément.

2 Out of this article were excepted all those which before the concluding of this peace had already compounded for their raunsomes, as the king of Scots, the earles of Leicester and Chester, and Rafe Fulgiers, with their pledges.

R. Houed.

3 It was also agréed that all those castels which had beene builded in time of this warre, should be raced and throwne downe, and all such cities, townes, castels, countries and places, as had beene woone by either part during these wars, should be restored vnto those persons that held the same, and were in possession of them 15. daies before the departure of the sonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father should assigne to his sons more large reuenues for maintenance of their estates, with a caution included, that they should not spend the same riotouslie in any prodigall sort or maner.

5 To the king his sonne, he gaue two castels in Normandie, with an increase of yearelie reuenues, to the summe of 15. thousand pounds

R. Houed.

Aniouin.

6 To his sonne Richard he gaue two houses in Poictou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of the countie of Poictou to be receiued and taken in readie monie.

Richard.

7 And to his sonne Geffrey he granted in monie, the moietie of that which he should haue by the mariage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had married hir by licence purchased of the pope, he should enjoy all the whole liuings and reuenues that descended to hir, as in hir fathers writing thereof more at large was conteined.

Geffrey.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the son couenanted to & with the king his father, that he would performe and confirme all those gifts, which his father should grant out of his lands, & also all those gifts of lands which he either had made and assured, or hereafter should make and assure vnto any of his men for any of their seruices: & likewise those gifts which he had made vnto his sonne John the brother of king Henrie the sonne; namelie, a thousand pounds in lands by yeare in England of his demaine and excheats with the appurtenances, and the castell and countie of Notingham, with the castell of Marlebrough, and the appurtenances. Also a thousand pounds Aniouin of yearelie reuenues in Normandie, and two castells there. And in Aniou a thousand pounds Aniouin, of such lands as belonged to the earle of Aniou, with one castell in Aniou, and one in Touraine, and another in Maine.

John.

Thus were the father and sons agréed and made freends, the sonnes couenancing neuer to withdraw their seruices and bounden dueties from their father, but to obeie him in all things from that day forward. Herewith also the peace was renewed betwixt king Henrie and king Lewes, and for the further confirmation, a new alliance was accorded betwixt them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes should be giuen in mariage vnto earle Richard the sonne of king Henrie, who bicause she was not yet of age able to marie, she was conueied into England to be vnder the guiding of king Henrie, till she came to lawfull yeares.

A marriage concluded.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all iniuries passed, brought home his sons in maner aforesaid, who being well pleased with the agreement, attended their father into Normandie, where Richard and Geffrey did homage to him, receiuing their othes of allegiance according to the maner in that case required. But king Henrie the sonne did no homage, for his father (in respect that he was a king) would not suffer him, and therefore tooke onelie sureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient.

Wil. Paruus.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus. saieth [163]
that he did homage also.

¶ All this dissention and strife was kindled (no doubt) by the meanes of certeine sowers of discord, sycophants, parasits, flatterers, clawbacks, & pickethanks, who had learned their lesson, that

Principibus placuisse viris non vltima laus est,

and thinking by their embossed spéech to tickle the eares and harts of the yoong princes, who by reason of their yoong yeares and nakednesse of experience in the course of worldlie maters, sought their owne aduancement, euen by flinging firie faggots of dissention betweene them, whose harts naturall affection had vnited. For by the tenor of the storie (marke it who will) we shall see that no attempt of the sons against the father but had originall from the suggestions of euill disposed persons, who (like eeles that fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie motes and ponds) sought honour in hurlie burlies, & reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones impouerishment. This to be true, the finall euent and issue prooueth; namelie, the mutuall attonement and reconciliation wouen betweene the father and the sonnes; their remorse for their vndutifulnes, his louing fauour and graciousnesse; their promptnesse to yéeld to conditions of agreement, his forwardnes to giue consent to couenants required; their readinesse to do the old king homage, his acceptable admission of their preferred seruice; with other circumstances to be collected out of the storie, all which doo prooue that this their disloiall resistance sprang rather by others incitement, than of their owne seeking. Thus we see what alterations happen in the actions of men, and that euill things manie times (though naturallie bad) doo inferre their contraries, as one aptlie saith,

Discordia fit charior concordia.

At length king Henrie went to Faleise, and there deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scotland, Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh earle of Chester, with diuerse other Noble men which were kept there as prisoners, putting

Willi. king of Scots deliuered out of prison with other.

them to their ransomes, and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of allegiance. This king Henrie the father released for his part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men of armes (if yée list so to terme them) which had beene taken since the beginning of these passed warres.

Matth. Paris. Prisoners released.

As for king Henrie the sonne he also set at libertie aboue an hundred, and that without ransome paieng, according to the articles of the peace (as before you haue heard.) But yet some (as is already specified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotland, who being not able to paie his ransome in present monie, deliuered vp in gage foure of the strongest castels within his realme into king Henries hands; namelie, Barwike, Edenborough, Roxborough, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and paid not the monie behind due for his raunsome, king Henrie and his successours should enioy for euer the same castels. He also couenanted, not to receiue any English rebels into his realme. Other write that the king of Scots did not onelie become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to doo homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and all other his lands, but also deliuered the castels of Barwike, and Roxborough to be possessed of the same king of England and his heires for euer, without any couenant mentioned of morgage.

Castels deliuered by the K. of Scots.

N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.

Things being settled thus in good order, king Henrie leauing his sonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Argenton, and there held his Christmasse, and afterwards, namelie in the feast of the purification of our ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the sonne) were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, came to a communication with the French king at Gisors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the sonne (to put the father out of all doubt and mistrust of any euill meaning in him) sware fealtie to him against all persons, and so became his liegeman in the presence of Rothrod archbishop of Rouen, Henrie bishop of Baieux, William earle of Mandeuille Richard de Humez his conestable, and manie other.

Rog. Houed.

The kings of England and France méet at Gisors.

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After this they kept their easter at Chireborough, from whence they came to Caen, where they met with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before taken on him the crosse, to go to the holie land: where king Henrie the father required him to release all such couenants as king Henrie the sonne had made vnto him in time of his last warres, which he fréelie did, and deliuered vp the writing that he had of the same king concerning those couenants, and so they confirmed vnto him the yearelie rent which he was woont to receiue out of England, before the said warres.

Philip earle of Flanders.

Finallie, when king Henrie had visited the most part of the countrie, he came to Harflew, and caused his nauie to be decked and rigged, that he might saile ouer into England. Whilest he tarried heere till his ships were readie, he sent letters to his sonne king Henrie, willing him to repaire vnto him, and meaning that he should accompanie him into England. Who at the first was loth to obeie his fathers will and pleasure herein, bicause some enuious persons about him had put in his head a doubt, least his father had not altogether forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into England to commit him to prison. Which was a surmize altogether void of likeliehood, considering that the father, in the whole processe of his actions betweene himselfe and his sonnes, was so farre from the desire of inflicting any corporall punishment, or leuieng anie fine vpon them for their misdemenour, that he alwaies sought meanes of reconcilment and pacification. And though this Henrie the sonne for his part deserved to be roughlie dealt withall; yet the father handled him so gentlie with courteous letters & messages, that shortlie after he came of his owne accord vnto Harflew, from whence shortlie after they sailed both together ouer into England, landing at Portsmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maie, from thence they tooke their iournie streight to London, all the waies being full of people that came to see them, and to shew themselues glad and ioifull of their concord and happie arriuall. At their comming to the citie they were receiued with great reioising of the people, beseeching God long to preserue them both in health and honour.

Polydor.

Enuious persons readie to forge matters of suspicion.

The two kings the father and the sonne returne into England.

The same yeare William de Breause hauing got a great number of Welshmen into the castell of Abergauennie, vnder a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be receiued of them with a corporall oth; That no traueller by the waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refused to take, bicause they would not stand to that ordinance he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vsed towards them in reuenge of the death of his vnclie Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon easter euen before, they had through treason murthered, and were now acquitted with the like againe.

William de Breause.

The Welshmē not well dealt withall.

The same yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall, bastard sonne to king Henrie the first without heirs male, by reason whereof the king tooke into his

N. Triuet. Reignold erle of Cornwall departed this life.

hands all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held within England, Normandie and Wales, except certeine portions which the daughters of the same earle had by assignement allotted to them. Also Richard erle of Glocester deceased this yeare, and his sonne Philip succeeded him.

The same yeare was a synod of the cleargie kept at Westminster, wherein many things were decreéd for the conseruation of religion. Amongst other things it was prouided, that those abbeies and churches which were void of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, should now be committed vnto men worthie to enioy the same, for the reformation of disorders growne and plentifulle sproong vp in time of the vacations.

Matth. West. A synod held at London.

The realme now brought into good order and deliuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abroad, the king being at good leisure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Yorke, sent for the king of Scots to come and doo his homage. Now the king of Scots (according to couenants before concluded) came vnto Yorke in the moneth of August, where dooing his homage about the twentieth day of the same moneth in S. Peters church, the king granted further by his letters patents, that he and his successours kings of Scotland, should doo homage and fealtie to the kings of England, so often as they should be necessarilie required therevnto. In signe and token of which subiection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his saddle vpon the altar of S. Peter in Yorke, which for a remembrance hereof was kept there many yeares after that day.

W. Paruus. The king of Scots dooth homage to the king of England.

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The charter conteining the articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings, which was read in S. Peters church at the same time, exemplified as followeth.

Wilhelmus rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, et fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis salua fide domini regis patris sui.

R. Houed.

2 Omnes vero episc. abbates & clerus terræ Scotiæ & successores sui facient domino regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & Daud & hæredibus eorum.

3 Concessit autem rex Scotiæ, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines sui domino regi, quòd ecclesia Scotiæ talem subiectionem amodò faciet ecclesiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & solebat tempore regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum.

4 Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus episcopus Dunkelden. & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin. & Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt, vt ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat ius in ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ. Et de hac concessione sicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde assecrauerint.

5 Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regem Scotiæ & Daud fratrem suum & barones suos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent, & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis salua fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum suorum homagium & ligiantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

6 Præterea rex Scotiæ et homines sui nullū amodò fugituum de terra domini regis pro feloniam receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & stare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines sui quàm citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iusticiarijs suis aut balliuis suis in Anglia.

7 Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro feloniam in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis Scotiæ & stare iudicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit.

8 Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conuentione & fine firmiter obseruando domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus suis, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi castellum de Roxburgh, & castellum Puellarum, & castellum de Striueling, in manu domini regis, & ad custodienda castella assignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu suo mesurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

9 Præterea pro prædicta conuentione & fine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Daudid fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Waldenum, similiter alios comites et barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando castella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotiæ & Daudid frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnusquisq; postquam liberauerit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes suos vel propinquiores sibi hæredes, & castellis vt dictum est redditis liberabuntur.

10 Præterea rex Scotiæ & barones sui prænominati assecrauerunt, quod ipsa bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione facient vt episcopi & barones & cæteri homines terræ suæ, qui non affuerunt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit: eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio suo quam ipsi fecerunt, & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obsides, Liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

11 Præterea episc. comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio suo, quòd si rex Scotiæ aliquo casu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt sicut cum ligio domino suo contra regem Scotiæ, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

12 Prædictam itaq; conuentionem firmiter obseruandam bona fide, & sine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suos à Wilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Daudid fratre suo & baronibus suis prædictis, & hæredibus eorum assecravit ipse rex Scotiæ, & Daudid frater eius, & omnes barones sui prænominati sicut ligij homines domino regis contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij sui (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Abrincensi, et Iohanne Salisburie decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburie, & Radulpho abbate Mundesburg, hec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs suis scilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things being recited in the church of S. Peters in Yorke, in the presence of the said kings, & of Daudid the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the bishops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland sware fealtie to the king of England and to Henrie his sonne, and to their heires against all men, as to their liege and souereigne lords.

King Henrie hauing ended his businesse at Yorke with the king of Scots and others, which likewise did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaues of S. Michaell, and he called a parlement at Windsor, whereat were present king Henrie the sonne, Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the same time the archbishop of Tuamon, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancellor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambassadours from the said Roderike, vnto king Henrie, who willinglie heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those sauage people by some freendlie order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seeme to fish with an hooke of gold. Therefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the request of the said ambassadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie vnto him in token of subiection, a tribute of ox hides.

A parlement at Windsor.

Ambassadors from K. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides

The charter of the agreement was written and subscribed in forme as followeth.

Haec est finis & concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windshore in octauis

The tenor of the charter of the agreement.

sancti Michaelis an. Gratiae 1175. inter dominum regem Angliæ Henr. secundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per catholicum Tuamensem archiep. & abbatem C. sancti Brandani, & magistrum L. cancellarium regis Conaciæ.

1 Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini suo regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter seruiet, vt sit rex sub eo, paratus ad seruicium suum sicut homo suus, & vt teneat terram suam ita bene & in pace sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat sub se, & iusticiet vt tributum regi Angliæ integrè persoluant, & per manum eius sua iura sibi conseruent. Et illi qui modò tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè persoluerint tributum & alia iura sua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, saluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & suo.

2 Et si qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius soluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos iusticiet & amoueat. Et si eos per se iusticiare non poterit, constabularius regis Angliæ, & familia sua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quòd necesse fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra sua, quàm de aliena.

3 Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet, scilicet Duuelina cum pertinentijs suis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs suis sicut vnquam Marchat Wamailethlachlin earn meliùs & pleniùs tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wesefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, scilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ est à Waterford vsq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnam sit cum omnibus pertinentijs suis infra terram illam.

4 Et si Hibernenses qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua seruicia quæ facere solebant pro terris suis. Et hoc sit in arbitrio dominorum suorum. Et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obsides ab omnibus quos ei commisit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & suam. Et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipsi seruiet domino de canibus & auibus suis singulis annis de præsentis suis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Duuelinensi archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao & Rogero capellanis regis, Guilhelmo comite de Essex, alijs multis.

Moreouer, at this parlement the king gaue an Irishman named Augustine, the bishoprike of Waterford, which see was then void, and sent him into Ireland with Laurence the archbishop of Dubline to be consecrated of Donat the archbishop of Cassels. The same yeare, both England and the countries adioining were sore vexed with a great mortalitie of people, and immediatlie after followed a sore dearth and famine.

A great derth.

An. Reg. 22.
1176.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, and about the feast of the conuersion of saint Paule he came to Northampton, & after the mortalitie was well ceased, he called a Parlement, whereat was present a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being sent into England as a legat from the pope, to take order in the controuersies betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie^[10] and Yorke. This cardinall whose name was Hugh Petro Lion, assembled in the same place a conuocation or synod of the bishops and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation, after the ceassing of certeine strifes and décrées made as well concerning the state of common-wealth, as for the honest behaiour of mans life, the cardinall consented that (according as by the kings lawes it was already ordeined) all maner of persons within the sacred orders of the cleargie, which should hunt within the kings grounds and kill any of his deare, should be conuented and punished before a temporall iudge. Which libertie granted to the king, did so infringe the immunitie which the cleargie pretended to haue within this realme, that afterwards in manie points, préests were called before temporall

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A parlement at Northampton.
Matth. Paris.

An act against préests that were hunters.

iudges, and punished for their offenses as well as the laitie, though they haue grudged indéed and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempted and iudged by none, except by those of their owne order.

Polydor.

Moreouer, in this councell the matter came in question touching the obedience which the church of the bishops of Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbishop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome had constituted and ordeined to be primat of all Scotland, and of the Iles belonging to that realme, as well of the Orkeneis as all the other. Which constitution was obserued by the bishops of those parts manie yeares together, though after they renounced their obedience. Whervpon the archbishops of Yorke (for the time being) continuallie complained, so that these popes, Paschall the second, Calyxt the second, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and Adrian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and with often sending their letters, went about to reduce them to the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots still withstanding this ordinance, at length the matter thus in controuersie was referred to pope Alexander, who sent the foresaid cardinall Hugh as well to make an end of that contention, as of diuerse other: but yet he left it vndecided.

Obedience of the Church of Scotland to the Church of England.

William king of Scotland came personallie vnto this parlement at Northampton, by commandement of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard bishop of S. Andrew, and Josseline bishop of Glascow, with other bishops and abbats of Scotland, the which being commanded by king Henrie to shew such subiection to the church of England as they were bound to doo by the faith which they owght to him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to him, they made this answer, that they had neuer shewed any subiection to the church of England, nor ought. Against which deniall, the archbishop of Yorke replied, and brought foorth sufficient priuileges granted by the forenamed popes, to prooue the subiection of the Scottish bishops, and naimelie Glascow and Whiterne vnto the see of Yorke. But bicause the archbishop of Canturburie meant to bring the Scottish bishops vnder subiection to his see, he wrought so for that time with the king, that he suffered them to depart home, without yéelding any subiection to the church of England. The letters which the foresaid popes did send touching this matter, were remaining safe and sound amongst other writings in the colledge at Yorke, when Polydor Virgil wrote the histories of England, the copies whereof in an old ancient booke he confesseth to haue séene and read.

Rog. Houed. The king of the Scots commeth to the parlement.

But to speake further of things ordered and doone at this parlement holden at Northampton, the king by common consent of his Nobles and other states, diuided his realme into six parts, appointing thrée iustices itinerants in euerie of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Cressie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantell, were deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Hertfordshire: Hugh de Gundeuille, William Fitz Rafe, and William Basset were appointed to Lincolnshire, Notinghamshire, Derbshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire: Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Gifford, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were assigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire and Oxfordshire: William Fitz Stephan, Berthram de Verdon, Thurstan Fitz Simon were ordeined to Herefordshire, Glocestershire, Worcestershire, and Salopshire: Rafe Fitz Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wilshire, Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, Deuonshire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Yorkeshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, Copeland, Westmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

Rog. Houed. Diuision of the circuits for iustices itinerants.

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The king caused these iustices to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that they should kéepe his assises which he first had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & also caused all his subiects within the relme of England to kéepe and obserue the same.

The oth of the iustices.

Moreouer at this councell, king Henrie restored vnto Robert earle of Leicester all his lands, both on this side the sea, and beyond, in maner as he held the same fiftéene daies before the warre. To William de Albenie earle of Arundell, he gaue the earledome of Sussex. About midlent, the king with his sonne and the legat came to London, where at Westminster a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was set, and the archbishop of Canturburie on his right hand as primat of the realme, the archbishop of Yorke comming in, and disdainig to sit on the left, where he might séeme to giue preheminance vnto the archbishop of Canturburie (vnmanerlie inough indeed) swasht him downe, meaning to thrust himselfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And where belike the said archbishop of Canturburie was loth to remooue, he set his buttocks iust in his lap, but he scarslie touched the archbishops skirt with his bum, when the bishops and

Ger. Dor.

The presumptuous demeanor of y^e archbishop of Yorke.

other chapleins with their seruants stept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the archbishop of Canturburie yeelding good for euill, sought to saue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence,

Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur.

Pub. Mim.

The archbishop of Yorke with his rent rochet got vp, and awaie he went to the king with a great complaint against the archbishop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and "that was all the remedie he got. As he departed so bebuffeted foorth of the conuocation house towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that diddest betray that holy man Thomas, go get thee hence, thy hands yet stinke of bloud." The assemblie was by this meanes dispersed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with shame enough, which is the common panion and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well said,

Citò ignominia fit superbi gloria.

Pub. Mim.

After this, followed appealing, the archbishop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the legat also for his owne safegard appealed the archbishop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbishop submitting himselfe and his cause vnder the popes protection, made a like solemne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwise than he wished, and séeing little remedie to be had at that present, gaue ouer his legatship as it had béene of his owne accord, though greatlie against his will, and prepared himselfe to depart. Neuerthelesse, through mediation of fréends that tooke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either side, and dissembled the displeasures which they had conceiued either against other, but yet the conuocation was dissolued for that time, and the two archbishops presented their complaints to the king, who kept his Easter this yeare at Winchester, and about the same time or shortlie after, licenced his sonne Henrie to saile ouer into Normandie, meaning shortlie after to go vnto Compostella in Spaine, to visit the bodie of saint James the apostle, but beeing otherwise aduised by his fathers letters, he discontinued his purpose and staid at home.

Appeales made.

The conuocation dissolued.

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The same yeare, the ladie Johan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Also the same yeare died the lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwise Chepstow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord cheefe iustice in his place, who seized into the kings hands all those fortresses which the said earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Irishmen also paied to the king a tribute of twelue pence yearelie for euerie house, or else for euerie yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died also this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wimondham.

N. Triuet.

R. Houed. N. Triuet.

A tribut grāted by the Irish.

This yeare, when it might haue beene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made against king Henrie the father by his sons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he caused the wals both of the towne and castell of Leicester to be raced and all such castels and places of strength as had béene kept against him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewise ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the castels of Huntington, Waleton, Growby, Hey, Stutesbirrie or Sterdesbirrie, Malasert, the new castell of Allerton, the castels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the castels of Pascie, and Mountsorell he reteined in his owne hands as his of right, being so found by a iurie of fréeholders impanelled there in the countrie; further he seized into his hands all the other castels of bishops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, appointing keepers in them at his pleasure. This yeare also he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alfonse king of Castile.

R. Houed.

The wals of the towne and castell of Leicester raced.

Elinor the kings daughter married to the king of Castile.

Moreouer, Gilbert the sonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had slaine his brother Uthred coosen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, swearing fealtie to him against all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thousand marks of siluer, and deliuered into his hands his son Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred also, that in this yeare Richard earle of Poictow sonne to king Henrie, fought with certeine Brabanders his enimies betwixt S. Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame them.

Gilbert Fitz Fergus.

Richard earle of Poictow.

¶ Here I haue thought good to aduertise the reader, that these men of war, whom we haue generallie in this part of our booke named Brabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerslie, as Brebazones, Brebanceni, and Brebationes, the which for so much as I haue found them by the learned translated Brabanders, and that the French word somewhat yeeldeth thereto, I haue likewise so named them: wherein whether I haue erred or not, I must

submit mine opinion to the learned & skilfull searchers of such points of antiquities. For to confesse in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnresolved doubt herein, I can not satisfie my selfe with any thing that I haue read, whereby to assure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihood is great, that the Brabanders in those daies for their trained skill and vsuall practise in warlike feats, wan themselues a name, whereby not onelie those that were naturallie borne in Brabant, but such also as serued amongst them, or else vsed the same warlike furniture, order, trade and discipline, which was in vse among them, passed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders. Or else I must thinke, that by reason of some od kind of habit or other speciall cause, a certeine sort of souldiers purchased to themselues the priuilege of that name, so to be called Brabanceni or Brebationes (whether ye will) as hath chanced to the Lansquenetz and Reisters in our time, and likewise to the companions Arminae and Escorchers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewise it hath fortunèd amongst men of warre. Which if it so chanced to these Brabanceni, I know not then what countriemen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of such souldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye shall heare) is reported by some authors to be a Prouancois.

It should séeme also that they were called by other names, as the Routs (in Latine Ruptarij) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would say some vnruilie and headstrong companie, or of the Dutch word Rutters, that signifieth a rider, I cannot say. But it may suffice for the course of the historie to vnderstand that they were a kind of hired souldiers, in those daies highlie estéemed, and no lesse feared, in so much that against them and others there was an article contained among the decreés of the Laterane councill holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all those were to be denounced accursed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nourish those Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Basques and Coterelles, which did so much hurt in the christian world in those daies.

Wil. Paruus. lib. 3. cap. 3.

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beside the aboue mentioned victorie against those Brabanders, if we shall so take them; he also vanquished Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angolesme, with the vicounts of Ventadore and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion against him, whome earle Richard subdued, and tooke prisoners, with diuerse castels and strong holds which they had fortified.

About the feast of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find that as he granted to the king some liberties against the priuileges which the cleargie pretended to haue a right vnto: so he obtained of the king certeine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

The departure of the legat
foorth of the Realme.

1 First, that for no offense, crime or transgression any spirituall person should be brought before a temporall iudge personallie, except for hunting, or for some laie fee, or that for which some temporall seruice was due to be yéelded, either to the king, or some other that was cheefe lord thereof.

Liberties obtained for
churchmen.

2 Secondlie, that no archbishops see, nor bishops sée, nor any abbaie should be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except vpon some euident cause or necessitie constreining.

3 Thirdlie, that such as slue any spirituall person, and were of such offense conuicted, either by euidence or confession before the iustice of the realme in presence of the bishop, should be punished as the temporall law in such cases required.

4 Fourthlie, that spirituall men should not be compelled to fight in lists for the triall of any matter or cause whatsoever.

It should appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbishop of Canturburie procured the bishops of Winchester, Elie, and Norwich, thrée prelates highlie at that present in the kings fauour, to further these grants; namelie, that such as slue any préest or spirituall person might haue the law for it: where before, there was no punishment for a season vsed against such offenders but onelie excommunication. But now to leaue preests, we will passe to other matters.

N. Triuet.

In this meane time, king Henrie the sonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuise new practises how to remooue his father from the gouernment and to take it to himselfe; but one of his seruants named Adam de Cherehedune being of his secret counsell, aduertised king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maister king Henrie the sonne

The yoong K. beginneth new
practises against his father.

(Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper)

put him to great shame and rebuke, causing him to be stripped naked, and whipped round about the streets of the cite of Poictiers, where he then was vpon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whome he had beene to aid him against his enimies. King Henrie the father perceiuing the naughtie mind of his sonne, and that he ceased not from his wilfull maliciousnesse, thought to dissemble all things, sith he saw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be provided against his wicked attempts, he furnished all his fortresses both in England & in Normandie with strong garisons of men, and all necessarie munition.

R. Houed.

About this time, the sea rose on such a heighth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Also a great snow fell this yeare, which by reason of the hard frost that chanced therewith, continued long without wasting away, so that fishes both in the sea and fresh water died through sharpenesse and vehemencie of that frost, neither could husbandmen till the ground. A sore eclipse of the sunne chanced also the sixt ides of Januarie. The monasterie of Westwood or Lesnos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord chéefe iustice. The same yeare also at Woodstocke the king made his sonne the lord Geffrey knight.

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1177.

In the yeare 1177. king Henrie held his Christmas at Northampton, with his two sonnes Geffrey and John, his other two sonnes the yoong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poictou, were in the parts beyond the seas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gascoigne, where he besieged the cite of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Bigorre had fortified against him, but he wan it within ten daies after his comming thither. Within the like terme also he wan the cite of Baion, which Arnold Berthram had fortified against him, and cōming to the vttermost frontiers of that countrie adioining to Spaine, he tooke a castell called saint Piero which he destroyed, and constreined the Basques and Nauarrois to receiue an oth, that from thencefoorth they should suffer passengers quietlie to come and go through their countrie, and that they should liue in quiet and keepe peace one with an other, and so he reformed the state of that countrie, and caused them to renounce manie euill customes which they before that time had vnlawfullie vsed.

Rog. Houed.

The cite of Aques or Aigues.

An. Reg. 23.

Moreouer, king Henrie, to auoid further slander, placed for bishop in the see of Lincolne a bastard son which he had named Geffrey, after he had kept that bishoprike in his hands so long till he had almost cleerelie destroyed it. And his sonne that was now made bishop to helpe the matter for his part, made hauocke in wasting and spending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forsooke his miter, and left the sée againe in the kings hands to make his best of it.

Polydor. Geoffrey the kings base sonne made bishop of Lincolne.

Furthermore, the king in times past made a vow to build a new monasterie in satisfaction of his offenses committed against Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie: wherefore he required of the bishops and other spirituall fathers, to haue some place by them assigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whilest they should haue taken aduise herein, he secretlie practised with the cardinals, and with diuerse other bishops, that he might remoue the secular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, so to saue monie in his cofers, planting in another mans vineyard. Howbeit, bicause it should not be thought he did this of such a couetous meaning, he promised to giue great possessions to that house, which he after but slenderlie performed, though vpon licence obtained at the bishops hands, he displaced the preests, and brought their roomes the canons as it were by waie of exchange.

Preests displaced, & canons regular put in their roomes.

The same yeare also he thrust the nunnes of Amesburie out of their house, bicause of their incontinent liuing, in abusing their bodies greatlie to their reproch, and bestowed them in other monasteries to be kept in more streightlie. And their house was committed vnto the abbesse and couent of Founteuered, who sent ouer certeine of their number to furnish the house of Amesburie, wherein they were placed by the archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of the king and a great number of others.

R. Houed. Nunnes of Amesburie.

Philip earle of Flanders by sending ouer ambassadours to king Henrie, promised that he would not bestow his two néeces, daughters to his brother Matthew earle of Bullongne, without consent of the same king: but shortlie after he forgot his promise, & married the elder of them to the duke of Zaringes, & the yoonger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

Philip earle of Flanders.

John de Curcie lord cheefe iustice of Ireland discomfiting a power of Irishmen, wan the cite of Dun in Ulnestre, where the bodies of S. Patrike and

John de Curcie.
The cite of Dun taken.
Roderike K. of Ulnestre

S. Colme confessors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of which citie, Roderike king of Ulneſtre being ſore offended, raiſed a mightie hoſt, and coming into the field, fought with the lord cheefe iuſtice, and in the end receiued & tooke the ouerthrow at his hands, although the lord cheefe iuſtice at that encounter loſt no ſmall number of his men. Amongſt priſoners that were taken, the biſhop of Dun was one, whom yet the lord chéeſe Juſtice releaſed and ſet at libertie, in reſpect of a requeſt and ſuit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that was there in Ireland at that time.

vanquiſhed.

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This cardinals name was Viuiano, intituled the cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was ſent from the pope the yeare before, and coming into England, though without licence, was pardoned vpon knowledging his fault for his entring without the kings leaue firſt obtayned, and ſo permitted to go into Scotland, whither (as alſo into other the northweſt regions) he was ſent as legat, authoriſed from the pope. Now when he had ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, he paſſed ouer into Man, and there held his Chriſtmaſſe with Euthred king of Man, and after the feaſt of the Epiphanie, ſailed from thence into Ireland, and chanced (the ſame time that the Engliſhmen inuaded that cuntry) to be in the citie of Dun, where he was receiued of the king & biſhops of that land with great reuerence.

Viuiano a cardinall.

Wil. Paruus.

The inuaſion then of the Engliſhmen being ſignified to them of the cuntry aforehand they aſked counſell of the legat what he thought beſt to be doone in that matter; who ſtreightwaies told them, that they ought to fight in defence of their cuntry, and at their ſetting forward, he gaue them his benediction in waie of their good ſpeed. But they coming (as ye haue heard) to encounter with the Engliſhmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the citie, which was herewith alſo woone by the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Romane legat was glad to get him into the church for his more ſafegard, and like a wiſe fellow had prouided afore hand for ſuch haps if they chanced, hauing there with him the king of Englands letters directed to the capteins in Ireland in the legats fauour, ſo that by the aſſiſtance and authoritie of the ſame, he went to Dublin, and there (in the name of the pope and the king of England) held a counsell.

The legat holdeth a counsell at Dublin.

But when he began to practiſe, after the manner of legats in thoſe daies, ſomewhat largelie for his owne aduantage, in the churches of that ſimple rude cuntry, the Engliſh capteins commanded him either to depart, or elſe to go forth to the wars with them: wherupon he returned into Scotland, hauing his bags well ſtuffed with Iriſh gold, for the which it ſeemed he greatlie thiſted.

¶ Where we haue to note the drift of the pope and all popelings to be far otherwiſe than they pretend. For who (vnleſſe he will be wilfullie ignorant) knoweth not, that he and his neuer attempt any thing, but the ſame beareth the hew and colour of holinneſſe and honeſtie? Hereto tend the ſendings out of his legats and cardinals to make pacifications, to redreſſe diſorders, to appeaſe tumults, & I wot not what infinit enormities (for he muſt haue his ore in euerie mans bote, his ſpoone in euerie mans diſh, and his fingers in euerie mans purſſe) but the end and ſcope of all his doings conſiſteth in this; namelie, to ſet himſelfe aboue all ſouereigntie, to purchaſe and aſſure to himſelfe an abſolute and ſupereminent iuriſdiction, to rob Chriſtian kingdomes, to impouerish churches, chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are full of theſe his pranks, and here we haue one practiſed by a lim of his, who (as you ſée) verie impudentlie and licentiouslie preied vpon the church-goods, and conuerted the ſame to his owne profit and commoditie: which he had if not trembled, yet bluſhed to doo, conſidering that the goods of the church are the treaſurie of Chriſt (or at leaſtwiſe ought to be) and that none ought to alienate or change the propertie of ſuch goods, as the canon law hath prouided. Beſides, the wretch ought to haue remembred that which euen the verie pagans did not forget; namelie,

Haud vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad vndas,
Nudus ad infernas ſtulte vehere rates.

Prop. lib.

But now to the doings of John de Curcie, and of thoſe Engliſhmen that were with him, who did not onelie defend ſuch places as they had woone out of the Iriſhmens hands againſt thoſe kings and their powers, but alſo enlarged dailie more and more their frontiers, and wan the towne of Armach (wherein is the metropolitane ſee of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

About the ſame time came ambadaours vnto king Henrie from Alfonſe king of Caſtile and Garsias king of Nauarre, to aduertise him, that in a controuerſie riſen betwixt the ſaid two kings touching the poſſeſſion of

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

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certeine grounds néere vnto the confines of their realms, they had chosen him for iudge by compromise, promising vpon their oths to stand vnto & abide his order and decree therein. Therefore they required him to end the matter, by his authoritie, sith they had wholie put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, either king had sent a most able and valiant knight furnished with horse and armour readie in their princes cause to fight the combat, if king Henrie should happilie commit the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battell. King Henrie gladlie accepted their request, so that thervpon calling his councillors together, he consulted with them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opinion, at length he gaue iudgement so with the one, that the other was contented to be agreeable therevnto.

R. Houed.

Polydor.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders came ouer into England to doo his deuotions at the toome of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, of whome the most part of men then had conceiued an opinion of such holinesse, that they reputed him for a saint. The king met him there, and verie fréendlie entertained him, and bicause he was appointed shortlie after to go ouer into the holie land to war against Gods enimies, the king gaue him fiue hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Mandeuille earle of Essex to go in that iourneie with other lords, knights and men of warre of sundrie nations that were of his dominions.

The king then returning vnto London, tooke order for the establishing of things touching the suertie of the realme, and his owne estate. And first he appointed the custodie of such castels as were of most importance by their situation, vnto the kéeping of certeine worthie capteins. To sir William de Stuteuille he assigned the custodie of Rockesburgh castell, to sir Roger de Stuteuille the castell of Edenburgh, to sir William Neuille the castell of Norham, to sir Geffrie Neuille the castell of Berwike, and to the archbishop of Yorke he deliuered the castell of Scarborough, and sir Roger Coniers he made capteine of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the bishop, bicause he had shewed himselfe an vnstedfast man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therefore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thousand marks, with condition that his castels might stand, and that his sonne Henrie de Putsey aliàs Pudsey, might enioy one of the kings manor places called Wighton.

R. Houed.

Durham tower.

Henrie de Pudsey

After this, the king went to Oxenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he created his sonne John king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the same time it rained bloud in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies together, so that linen clothes that hoong on the hedges were coloured therewith: which vnvsed woonder caused the people, as the manner is, to suspect some euill of the said Johns gouvernement.

A parlement at Oxford.
John the kings sonne created king of Ireland.
Polydor.
It rained blood.

Moreouer, to this parlement holden at Oxenford, all the chéefe rulers and gouernours of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, swearing fealtie to him against all men. Héerevpon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin^[11] prince of Southwales the land of Merionith, and to Daid ap Owen he gaue the lands of Ellesmare. Also at the same time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is said) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the seruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his sonne John by a charter which he made thereof. Also he diuided there the lands and possessions of Ireland with the seruices to his subjects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing some to hold by seruice to find fortie knights or men of armes, and some thirtie, and so fourth.

R. Houed.

Vnto two Irish lords he granted the kingdome of Corke for the seruice of fortie knights, and to other three lords he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his sonne John, reseruing to himselfe & to his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adeline his sewer, he gaue the citie of Wesseford with the appurtenances and seruices: and to Robert de Poer his marshall, he gaue the citie of Waterford; and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the safe keeping of the citie of Diueline. And these persons, to whome such gifts and assignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his sonne for those lands and possessions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requisite.

William Fitz Adeline. Robert de ^[175]
Poer. Hugh Lacie.

The cardinall Viuian hauing dispatched his businesse in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings safe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a councill holden at Edenburgh, he suspended the bishop of Whiterne, bicause he did refuse to come to that councill: but the bishop made no account of that suspension, hauing a defense good inough by the

bishop of Yorke, whose suffragane he was.

After the king had dissolved and broken vp his parlement at Oxenford, he came to Marleborrough, and there granted vnto Philip de Breause all the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and William the brethren of Reignold earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pumeray their nephue, refused the gift thereof, bicause it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, surnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie slaine, one of his kinsemen got possession of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any subiection to king Henrie, nor would obeie his officers, bicause of the losses and damages which they did practise against the Irish people, without occasion (as they alleadged) by reason whereof the king of Corke also rebelled against the king of England and his people, and so that realme was full of trouble.

Philip de Breause.

Matth. Paris.

The same season, quéene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the sonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not past thrée daies. In that time there was also through all England a great multitude of Jewes, and bicause they had no place appointed them were to burie those that died, but onelie at London, they were constrained to bring all their dead corpses thither from all parts of the realme. To ease them therfore of that inconuenience, they obtained of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place assigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The same yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was instructor to saint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S. Albones, and there in the monasterie of that towne buried with great and solemne ceremonies.

Polychr.

Jewes in England.

In the meane time, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Lewes began to be renewed vpon this occasion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promised in mariage vnto his sonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till she were able to companie with hir husband, king Henrie being of a dissolute life, and giuen much to the pleasure of the bodie (a vice which was grafted in the bone and therefore like to sticke fast in the flesh, for as it is said,

Quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit)

at least wise (as the French king suspected) began to fantasie the yong ladie, and by such wanton talke and companie-keeping as he vsed with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to consent to his fleshlie lust, which was the cause wherefore he would not suffer his sonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (vpon consideration of the other kings former loose life) what an inconuenience & infamie might redound to him and his, bethought himselfe that

R. Houed.

Turpe senex miles turpe senilis amor,

and therefore déemed iustlie that such a vile reproch wrought against him in his bloud, was in no wise to be suffered, but rather preuented, resisted & withstood. Herevpon he complained to the pope, who for redresse thereof, sent one Peter a préest, & cardinall intituled of saint Grisogone as legat from him into France, with commission to put Normandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder inderdiction, if he would not suffer the mariage to be solemnized without delaie betwixt his sonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertised hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Yurie, vpon the 21. of September, and there offered to cause the mariage to be solemnised out of hand, if the French king would giue in marriage with his daughter the citie of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and also vnto his sonne king Henrie the countrie of Veulgesine, that is to say, all the land betwixt Gisors and Pussie, as he had likewise couenanted.

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The kings méet at Yurie.

But bicause the French king refused so to doo, king Henrie would not suffer his sonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice: howbeit at this enteruew of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other Noble men on both sides, they agreed to be freends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuersies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auuergne and Berrie, and for the fée of Chateau Raoul; then should the matter be put to twelue persons, six on the one side, and six on the other, authorising them to compound and finish that controuersie and all other which might rise betwixt them. For the French king these were named, the bishops of Claremount, Neuers, and Trois; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtneie, the kings bretheren. For the king of England were named the bishops of Mauns, Peregort, and Naunts; with three barons also, Maurice de Croume, William Maigot and Peter de

Mountrabell.

At the same time also, both these kings promised and vndertooke to ioine their powers together, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Jerusalem, whome the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did sore oppresse with continuall and most cruell war. This doone, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Vernueil, where he made this ordinance, that no man should trouble the vassall or tenant, as we may call them, for his lords debt.

R. Houed. A law.

After this king Henrie went into Berrie, and tooke Chateau Roux or Raoul, and marching towards Castre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, surrendring into his hands the daughter of Rafe de Dolis latelie before deceased, whome the king gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honor of Chateau Roux or Raoul. Then went he vnto Graundemont, where Audebert earle of March came vnto him, and sold to him the whole countrie of March for the summe of fifteene thousand pounds Anioun, twentie mules, and twentie palfreis. The charters of this grant and sale made and giuen vnder the seale of the said earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countrie of March, after he had satisfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the couenants.

The purchase of the erldome of March.

An. Reg. 24.

1178.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Angiers, and meaning shortlie after to returne into England, he sent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and sent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings letters of protection.

Lvdouicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos praesentes literae peruenerint salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra quod nos recipimus in protectione & custodia nostra totam terram Henrici regis Angliae charissimi fratris nostri, in cismarinis partibus sitam, si contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficisci. Ita planè, vt quâdo balliui sui de terra transmarina nos requisierint, bona fide & sine malo ingenio eis consilium & auxilium praestabimus, ad eiusdem terras defensionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The English whereof is thus.

"Lewes king of France, to all those to whom these present letters shall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & custodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this side the sea, if it chance him to passe ouer into England, or to go any waie foorth from home, so that when the balliues of his lands on this hither side the sea shall require vs, we shall helpe them and counsell them faithfullie and without male-engine for defense and protection of the same lands. Giuen at Nicens."

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Shortlie after, king Henrie returned into England from Normandie, and at Woodstocke made his sonne Geffrey knight. This yeare pope Alexander sent into all parts legats to summon the bishops and prelates to a generall councill to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Whereabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in comission to summon them of England and Normandie: and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to summon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about the same: wherevpon obtaining licence to passe through the king of Englands dominions, he was constreined to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that he should not attempt any thing in his legatship that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he should come and visit the king againe as he returned homewards.

A generall councill summoned at Rome.

This yeare on the sundaie before the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, being the 18 of June, after the setting of the sunne, there appeared a maruellous sight in the aire, vnto certeine persons that beheld the same. For whereas the new moone shone foorth verie faire with his hornes towardes the east, streightwais the vpper horne was diuided into two, out of the the mids of which diuision a burning brand sprang vp, casting from it a farre off coles and sparks, as it had beene of fire. The bodie of the moone in the meane time that was beneath, séemed to wrest and writh in resemblance like to an adder or snake that had béene beaten, and anon after it came to the old state againe. This chanced aboue a dozen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke.

Ger. Dor.

A strange sight about the moone.

In September following, the moone being about 27. daies hold, at six of the clocke, a partile eclipse of the sunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned shooting the hornes towards the west as the moone dooth: being twentie daies old. The residue of the compasse of it was covered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightnesse that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either side to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwards, the homes at length were turned towards the west, and so the blacknesse passing awaie, the sunne receiued his brightnesse againe. In the meane time the aire being full of clouds of diuerse colours, as red, yellow, green, and pale, holpe the peoples sight with more ease to discerne the maner of it.

A strange eclipse of the sunne.

An. Reg. 25.
1179.

The king this yeare held his Christmasse at Winchester, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Oxenhale, within the lordship of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted itselfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie tower, and so it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noise, so that as such as were thereabout, were put in a great feare. That péece of earth with the fall was swallowed vp, leauing a great déepe pit in the place, as was to be seene many yeares after.

R. Houed.

A strange wonder of the earth.

¶ Touching these celestiaall apparitions, the common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be méere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipses, as well such as are proper to the sunne, as also those that are peculiar to the moone, the position is not so generallie deliuered, as it is constantlie beléueed. For the philosophers giue this reason of eclipses.

— radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec sinit in terras claram descendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non est quàm terræ atque æquoris vmbra,
Quæ si fortè ferit nocturnæ corpora lunæ,
Eclipsin facit.

M. Pal. in. Aquar.

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In somuch as obseruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpassed and nothing regarded. Howbeit Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipses, and of other strange sights précéeding the bloudie battels betweene Pompeie and Cesar; intimating hereby, that prodigious woonders, and other rare and vnaccustomed accidents are significations of some notable euent insuing, either to some great personage, to the common-wealth, or to the state of the church. And therefore it is a matter woorth the marking, to compare effects following with signes and woonders before going; since they haue a doctrine in them of no small importance. For not manie yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall state tooke end; a prediction whereof might be imported by the extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the skie.

Luc. lib. 1.

Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus the archbishop of Tuamon, with fiue or six other Irish bishops, and diuerse both bishops and abbats of Scotland, passed through England towards the generall councill, and withall tooke their oth, that they shuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure bishops out of England, to wit, Hugh Putsey, or Pudsey bishop of Durham, John bishop of Norwich, Reignold bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Hereford, beside abbats: for the English bishops firmelie stood in it, that there ought but foure bish. onelie to go fourth of England to any generall councill called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbeie of Westwood or Lesnos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Julie after he died there.

Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England deceasseth.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windsore, at the which was present king Henrie the sonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, so that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine sage personages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the same, but not by the name of iustices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkeshire, & authorised iustice there, as he that best vnderstood in those daies the ancient lawes and customes of the realme. The same yeare, Geffrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leuiued an armie, and passing ouer into Britaine, wasted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and constreined him to submit himselfe vnto him.

A parlement at Windsore.

Ranulfe de Glanuille.

Geffrey earle of Britaine son to king Henrie. Guidomer de Leons.

The 18. day of August, the moone was eclipsed, which was séene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to méet the French king, who was comming towards England to visit the toome

The moone eclipsed.
The French K. commeth a madding to visit the archbishop Becketts toome.

of archbishop Thomas Becket as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of August. There came ouer with him Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Mandeuille, and diuerse other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water side, and the morow after brought them with great honor to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnspeakeable ioy receiued of archbishop Richard, and diuerse other bishops there assembled together with the couent of Christes-church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the toome of the said archbishop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the moonks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued yearelie of his gift for euer at Poissie in France. Further he granted to the same moonks, that whatsoeuer was bought in his dominions of France to their vse, should be free from toll, tallage, and paieng any maner of excise for the same. These grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Putsey, son to the bishop of Duresme that was his chancellor. King Lewes hauing performed his vow, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and shortlie after causing his sonne to be crowned king, resigned the gouernment to him (as by some writers appeareth.) About the same time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his answer to diuerse accusations exhibited against him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings safe conduct, was laid for by his enimies, and slaine, to the kings great slander, though he were not giltie in the matter. After this, King Henrie the father held his Christmasse at Notingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

The French word is Muis.

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Polydor.

Matth. Paris. Cadwallon prince of Wales.

R. Houed.

An. Reg. 26.
1180.

The same yeare fell discord betwixt the yoong king of France, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themselues not well vsed, procured king Henrie the sonne to ioine with them in fréndship, and to go ouer into England to purchase his fathers assistance in their behalfe against their nephue. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole mater, and did so much by his earnest suit therin, that before the feast of Easter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arriual in those parts, the old French quéene, mother to the yoong king Philip, with their brethren the said earles, and manie other Noble men of France came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hostages into his hands, and re-ceiued an oth to follow his counsell and aduice in all things.

Discord betwixt the French K. and his nobles.

Herevpon king Henrie assembled a great armie, in purpose after Easter to inuade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an enteruew with the new king of France, betwixt Gisors and Treodsunt, where partlie by gentle words, and partlie by threatnings which king Henrie vsed for persuasion, the French king released all his indignation concerned against his mother and vncles, and receiued them againe into his fauour, couenanting to allow his mother for euerie day towards hir expenses seven pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, she should enioy all hir dower, except the castels which king Philip might reteine still in his hands. Also at this assemblie, king Henrie the father in the presence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the same a thousand markes of siluer, to be receiued yearelie out of the checker at London, so that in consideration thereof he should find fiue hundred knights or men of armes, to serue the king of England for the space of 40. daies, when soeuer he should haue warning giuen vnto him.

R. Houed.

The earle of Flanders does homage to the king of England.

Moreouer, the two kings at this assemblie concluded a league together, and whereas certeine lands were in controuersie betwixt them, as the fée of Chateau Raoul, and other small fees, if they could not agree among themselues concerning the same, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuersies betwixt them vnto six bishops, to be chosen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to choose thrée, and the other thrée.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine say) in the yeare last passed, Richard earle of Poictou subdued the strong fortresse of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time, inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppressed them that kept it so sore with streight siege, that first in a desperate mood they issued foorth, and assailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet neuertheless they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortresse, which finallie they surrendred into the hands of earle Richard, who caused the wals thereof to be rased. The like fortune chanced to diuers other castels and fortresses that stood in rebellion against him within a moneth space.

Matth. Paris. Tailbourg woone.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, who of a proud and loftie

Matth. Paris.

stomach practising rebellion against duke Richard, tooke this enterprise in hand, and when he had atchiued the same to his owne contentation, he passed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

About the same time, the forme of the kings coine was altered and changed, bicause manie naughtie and wicked persons had deuised waies to counterfeit the same, so that the alteration thereof was verie necessarie, but yet gréuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

W. Paruus. The forme of the kings coine changed. [180]

An. Reg. 27.
1181.

King Henrie the father, whilest he was at Mauns after Christmasse made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Aniouin, should keepe one horsse able for seruice in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Also that such as had goods woorth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the same monie, should at the least haue in his house for his furniture an habergeon, a cap of stéele, a speare, and a sword, or bowe and arrowes. Furthermore he ordeined, that no man might sell or laie to gage his armour and weapon, but should be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertised that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongst his subiects, they gaue commandement that their people should be armed after the like manner.

R. Houed.

This yeare after Candlemasse, Laurence archbishop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie and brought with him the son of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenants passed betwixt them, as the paiement of tribute and such like. The said archbishop died there in Normandie, wherevpon the king sent Geffrey de Haie one of his chapleins, and chapleine also to Alexius the popes legat into Ireland, to seize that archbishops sée into his hands. He also sent John Lacie conestable of Chester, and Richard de Peake, to haue the citie of Dublin in kéeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before and now was discharged, bicause the king tooke displeasure with him, for that without his licence he had married a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare also, Geffrey the kings bastard sonne, who was the elect of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that bishoprike, by the space of seuen years, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feast of the Epiphanie at Marlebridge, in presence of the king and bishops renounced that preferment, of his owne free will. Within a while after the pope sent a streit commandement vnto Richard archbishop of Canturburie, either to cause the same Geffrey by the censure of the church to renounce his miter, or else to take vpon him the order of préesthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his especiall fréends, iudging himselfe insufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and therevpon wrote letters vnto the said archbishop of Canturburie, in forme as followeth.

R. Houed.

A letter of Geffrey the kings base sonne elect of Lincolne to Richard archbishop of Canturburie,

Venerabili patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apostolicæ sedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius salutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maiestati apostolicæ vestræ iniungere sanctitati, vt me certo temore vocaretis ad suscipendum ordinem sacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò considerans quamplures episcopos maturiores ac prouectiones prudentia & ætate vix tantæ administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum suarum sui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus sum onus importabile senioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nō ex leuitate animi, sed ob reuerentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super eo cum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meisque rege & Pictauiensi & Britannorum comitibus: episcopis etiam Henrico Baiocensi, Frogerio Sagiensi, Reginaldo Batoniensi, Sefrido Cicestrensi, qui præsentibus aderant, aliter de vita & statu meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequijs militare ad tempus, & ab episcopalibus abstinere: omne it que ius electionis inde & Lincolnensem episcopatum spontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu vestra pater sancte resigno, tam electionem quam episcopatus absolutionem postulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apostolica sede specialiter delegate. Bene vale.

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The king for his maintenance, now after he had resigned his bishoprike, gaue

him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreouer lord chancellor.

This yeare also after Easter, the kings of England and France came to an enteruew together, at a place in the confines of their countries called by some writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaie being the 17. of April, in which assemblie of those two princes, the knights templers and hospitallers presented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all christian princes, aduertising them of the danger wherein the holie land stood at that present, if spéedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. Wherefore he exhorted them to addresse their helping hand towards the releefe thereof, granting vnto all such as would enterprise to go thither in person (to remaine there vpon defense of the countrie against the infidels) great pardon, as to those that did continue there the space of two yéeres, pardon of penance for all their sins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and vsurie; in which cases restitution was to be made, if the partie were able to doo it; if not, then he should he absolved as well for those things as for other. And those that remained one yeare in those parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their sinnes. And to those that went to visit the holie sepulchre, he also granted great pardon, as remission of their sinnes, whether they came thither or peradventure died by the waie. He also granted his frée indulgence vnto those that went to warre against the common, the professed and open enimies of our religion in the holie land, as his predecessors the popes Vrbanus and Eugenius had granted in time past: and he receiued likewise their wiues, their children, their goods and possessions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome.

The danger of the holie land.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letters read, and taken good aduice thereof, promised by Gods fauour shortlie to provide conuenient aid for reléefe of the holie land, and of the christians as yet remaining in the same. This was the end of their communication for that time, and so they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two bishops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whome he had latelie before banished, and driuen out of his realme. Moreouer, as king Henrie laie at Harfléet readie to saile ouer into England, discord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, so that the king of England at desire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Gisors, where the French king met him, and so did the earle of Flanders, betwixt whome vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuersie, he made a concord, and then comming downe, to Chirburge he and the king of Scots in his companie passed ouer into England, landing at Portesmouth the 26. of Julie.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a statute for armour and weapon to be had amongst his subiects heere in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights féé should be bound to haue a paire of curasses, an helmet, with shield and speare; and euerie knight or man of arms should haue as manie curasses, helmets, shields and speares as he held knights féés in demaine. Euerie man of the laitie hauing goods or reuenues to the value of sixteene marks, should haue one paire of curasses, an helmet, a speare, and a shield. And euerie free man of the laitie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, should haue an habergeon, a steele cap, & a speare; and all burgesses, and the whole communaltie of frée men should haue a wambais, a cap of steele, and a speare.

An ordinance for armour.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, should be sworne to haue the same before the feast of S. Hilarie, and to be true vnto king Henrie Fitz-empres, in defense of whome and of his realme they should kéepe with them such armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furnished with such armour, should sell, pledge, or otherwise alien the same, neither may his lord by any means take the same from him, either by waie of forfeiture, by destresse or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing such armour, he shall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the custodie of his bodie shall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

If any burgesse of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this statute, he shall sell it or giue it to some man that may weare it in the kings seruice. No Jew might haue armour by this statute: but those that had anie, were appointed to sell the same to such as were inhabitants within the realme, for no man might sell or transport anie armour ouer the sea, without

Jewes might haue no armour.

the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inquests should be taken by sufficient iurors, what they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Also the K. would, that none should be sworne to haue armour, except he were a frée man of birth and bloud.

The same yeare, the king being at Waltham, assigned an aid to the maintenance of the christian souldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thousand marks of siluer, and fiue hundred marks of gold. Hugh Bosun otherwise called Keuelocke the sonne of Ranulfe the second of that name earle of Chester, died this yeare, and was buried at Léeke. He left behind him issue by his wife, the countesse Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iustice of England, a sonne named Ranulfe, who succéded him, being the first erle of Chester, & third of that name after the conquest. Besides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his said wife; to wit, Maud married to Dauid earle of Angus, Huntington and Galloway; Mabell coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derby, and Hauise ioined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne.

Matt Paris.

The decease of Hugh earle of Chester. *Ran. Higd.*

The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbishop of Yorke died, who (when he perceiued himselfe in danger of death by force of that his last sicknesse) deliuered great summes of monie vnto certeine bishops and other graue personages to be distributed amongst poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and seized it to his vse, alleading a sentence giuen by the same archbishop in his life time, that no ecclesiasticall person might giue any thing by will, except he deuised the same whilest he was in perfect health: yet the bishop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to destribute amongst the poore, alledging that he dealt the same awaie before the archbishops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, must go gather it vp of them to whom he had distributed it, which he himselfe would in no wise doo. But the king tooke no small displeasure with this vndiscreet answer, insomuch that he seized the castell of Durham into his hands, and sought means to disquiet the said bishop by diuerse maner of waies.

The archbish. of Yorke deceaseth.

1182.

The king held his Christmase this yeare at Winchester, and afterwards sailed ouer into Normandie, bicause he heard that the king his sonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practise eftsoones new trouble, which was true indéed: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforth he would neuer swarue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Aniuin by the daie, and ten pounds a day of the same monie for his wife. His father granted this, and also couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the seruices of an hundred knights. Neuerthelesse all this did little amend the matter, for though he set a new copie of countenance therevpon, yet he retained his old peruerse purpose in his discontented mind, hauing learned that

The K. passeth ouer into Normandie.

The K. & his sonne eftsoones reconciled.

Qui nescit fingere nescit regere.

After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the earle of Flanders touching controuersies betwixt them did so much in the matter, that he set them at one for that time.

About the same season, king Henrie the father sent William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and other ambassadors vnto the emperour Frederike, to intreat for his sonne in law the duke of Saxonie, that he might be againe restored into his fauor, which could not be obtained: for he was alreadie condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleasure the king of England the emperour granted, that so manie as went with him out of their countrie, might returne againe at their pleasure, and that his wife the dutches Maud the K. of Englands daughter, should inioy hir dowrie, and be at libertie, whether she would remaine vpon it, or follow hir husband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he must depart out of his countrie, he set forward with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finallie came into Normandie, where he was right ioifullie receiued of his father in law king Henrie.

Rog. Houed.

The duke of Saxonie.

Shortlie after his comming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himselfe went into Spaine to visit the bodie of S. James the apostle. His wife being great with child, remained with hir father in Normandie, and at Argenton she was deliuered of a sonne. This yeare the Welshmen slue Ranulfe Poer shirife of Glocestershire. King Henrie held his Christmase at Caen, with his thrée sons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. There was also Henrie duke of Saxonie, with his wife and their children, besides the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other bishops earles

The duchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne. Ranulfe Poer slaine.

An. Reg. 29.
1183.

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and barons in great number.

Here would king Henrie the father, that his son the king should receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not staie at the matter, but the earle of Poictow refused, alledging that it was not conuenient so long as their father liued, to acknowledge any superioritie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldest sonne, so he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall so much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue doone homage, he would not receiue it, wherypon Richard departed from the court in great displeasure, & comming into Poictow, began to fortifie his castels & townes, that he might be in readinesse to stand vpon his safegard, if his father or brethren should come to pursue him. King Henrie the sonne followed him, set on by the earles and barons of Poictow, which for the sharpe and cruell gouernement of earle Richard, hated him mortallie. Againe on the other side, the fauourable courtesie, séemelie personage, and other noble qualities which they saw in the yoong king, moued them to take part with him against Richard, and shortlie after their brother Geffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in so much that earle Richard not knowing how to shift off the present danger, sent to his father for aid, who being verie sorie in his mind to see such vnnaturall dealing among his sonnes, gathered an armie and set forward.

Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. War betwixt the brethren.

He had a little before trauelled to set them at one, in somuch that where earle Richard held a castell named Clareualx, which after the fathers deceasse ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the son, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did so much with the earle, that he surrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the three sonnes came to Angers, and there sware to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to serue him against all men: wherypon he appointed them a daie to meet at Mirabell, where the barons of Guien should also be, vnto whom king Henrie the sonne had sworne to aid them against earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geffrey sent vnto them to persuade them to peace and quietnesse, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in stéed of persuading them to peace (contrarie to his oth so oftentimes receiued) he procured them to pursue the warre both against his father and his brother earle Richard: and no maruell, for

The father séeketh to appease the quarell betwixt his sonnes.

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Earle Geffrey dealeth vnfaithfullie.

Malè sarta gratia nunquam benè coalescit.

King Henrie the sonne remaining with his father, shewed outwardlie that he wished for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and so obtained licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietnesse. But such dissembling was put in practise by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in stéed of receiuing him with honor, as it had béene their duties to haue doone, they shot at him, and pearsed through his vppermost armor, so that both he and his sonne Richard were constrained to depart. Howbeit afterwards he entered that citie, and comming foorth of it againe to talke with his sonnes, those within Limoges eftsoones rebelled, so that certeine of them within, shot the horsse whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had so chanced, that the horsse in casting vp his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings brest, to the great danger & perill of his person. Neither did his sonnes the king and his brother Geffrey go about to see such an heinous attempt punished, but rather séemed to like well of it, and to mainteine those most malicious enimies of their souereigne lord and father, for they ioined with them against him, although king Henrie the sonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of some agrément: but his double dealing was too manifest, although indeed he abused his fathers patience for a while, who was desirous of nothing more than to win his sonnes by some courteous meanes, and therefore diuerse times offered to pardon all offenses committed by his enimies, at the suit of his sonne the king, who in déed offered himselfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with such Brabanders and other souldiers as he had with him in aid, beside the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more mischéeffe against their father and their brother earle Richard, in wasting and destroyeng their countries that stood stedfast on their side.

The disloiall dissembling of the yoong king.

In the meane time Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other bishops and abbats both of England and Normandie assembled together at Caen, and in the abbeie church of S. Stephan pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all those that did hinder and impeach their purpose, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king

and his sonnes, the same sonnes onlie out of the said sentence excepted.

Diuerse shiftes were made by king Henrie the sonne, and his brother earle Geffrey also to get monie for the paiment of their souldiers, as spoiling of shrines, and such like. But at length when things framed not to their purpose, and that the harme which they could doo against their father was much lesse than they wished, if power had béene answerable to their willes, king Henrie the sonne through indignation and displeasure (as some write) fell into a gréeuous sicknesse in a village called Mertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father laie at siege.

King Henrie the sonne falleth sicke.

At the first he was taken with an extreame feuer, and after followed a sore flixe. Now perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, and that the physicians had giuen him ouer, he sent to his father (better late than neuer) confessing his trespasse committed against him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come & see him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himselfe into the hands of such vngratious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing, and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings against him. The son receiuing it with great humilitie, kissed it, and so ended his life in the presence of the archbishop of Burdeaux and others, on the day of saint Barnabie the apostle. He died (as some write) verie penitent and sorowfull.

He sendeth to his father.

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And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a iourneie into the holie land against Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the crosse for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar freend William Marshall to go thither with it in his stead. Moreouer when he perceiued present death at hand, he first confessed his sinnes secretlie, and after openly before sundrie bishops and men of religion, and receiued absolution in most humble wise. After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tieng a cord about his necke, he said vnto the bishops and other that stood by him; "I deliuer my selfe an vnworthie and greuous sinner vnto you the ministers of God by this cord, beséeching our Lord Jesus Christ, which pardoned the théefe confessing his faults on the crosse, that through your praier and for his great mercies sake it may please him to be mercifull vnto my soule;" wherevnto they all answered, "Amen." Then he said vnto them, "Draw me out of this bed with this cord, and laie me on that bed strawed with ashes" (which he had of purpose prepared) and as he commanded so they did: and they laid at his feet and at his head two great square stones. Thus being prepared to die, he willed his bodie after his deceasse to be conueied into Normandie, and buried at Rouen. And so after he had receiued the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, he departed this life as afore is said, about the 28. yeare of his age.

His repentance before his death.

A strange kind of superstitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true.

He is drawne out of his bed, a thing vnlike to be true.

His death.

His bodie after his death was conueied towards Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had willed: but when those that had charge to conueie it thither were come vnto the citie of Mauns, the bishop there and the cleargie would not suffer them to go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in honourable wise within the church of saint Julian. Whereof when the citizens of Rouen were aduertised, they were sore offended with that dooing, and streightwaies sent vnto them of Mauns, requiring to haue the corps deliuered, threatening otherwise with manie earnest oths to fetch it from them by force. Wherefore king Henrie, to set order in this matter, commanded that the corps of his sonne the king should be deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buried in their citie, as he himselfe had willed before his death. And so it was taken vp and conueied to Rouen, where it was eftsoones buried in the church of our ladie.

N. Triuet.

The bodie of the yong king lastlie buried at Rouen.

¶ Thus ended this yong king in his flourishing youth, to whome through his owne iust deserts long life was iustlie denied, sith he delighted to begin his gouvernement with vnlawfull attempts, as an other Absolon against his owne naturall father, seeking by wrongfull violence to pull the scepter out of his hand. He is not put in the number of kings, bicause he remained for the more part vnder the gouernance of his father, so that he rather bare the name of king as appointed to reigne, than that he may be said to haue reigned in déed. So that héere by the waie a notable obseruation dooth occurre and offer it selfe to be noted of vs; namelie, that euen princes children, though borne to great excellencie, and in high degree of dignitie, are to consider with themselues, that notwithstanding their statelie titles of souereigntie, they haue a dutie to discharge vnto their parents, which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof disobedience is substituted, God himselfe (when politike lawes prouide not to punish such offenses) will take the cause in hand, & will powre vengeance vpon such vngratious children. For he will be true of his word both in blessing and curssing, in blessing the dutifull child with long life and happie daies, and in curssing the obstinate and froward

with short life and vnfortunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If this man had liued in the old Romans time, when aged persons were so reuerenced and honoured (much more parents) he had beene cut off in the prime of his disobedience, and present death had beene inflicted vpon him as a due and deserued reward; which Iuuenal noteth excellentlie well in these words,

Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum,
Si iuuenis vetulo non assurrexerat, & si
Barbato cuicumq; puer, licèt ipse videret
Plura domi farra, & maioris glandis aceruos,
Tam venerabile erat præcedere quattuor annis,
Primáq; par adeò sacræ lanugo senectæ.

Iuuen. sat 13.

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King Henrie (after his sonne the king was thus dead) inforced his power more earnestlie than before to winne the citie and castell of Limoges which he had besieged, and at length had them both surrendered into his hands, with all other castels and places of strength kept by his enimies in those parts, of the which some he furnished with garisons, and some he caused to be laied flat with the ground.

Limoges rendred to king Henrie.

There rose about the same time occasion of strife and variance betwixt King Henrie and the French king, about the enioieng of the countrie lieng vpon Gisors, called Veulquesine, on this side the riuer of Hept, which was giuen vnto king Henrie the sonne, in consideration of the marriage betwixt him and queene Margaret the French kings sister. For the French king now after the death of his brother in law king Henrie the sonne, required to haue the same restored vnto the crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length they met betwixt Trie and Gisors to talke of the matter, where they agréed that quéene Margaret the widow of the late deceased king Henrie the son, should receiue yearelie^[12] during hir life 1750 pounds of Aniouin monie at Paris, of king Henrie the father and his heires; in consideration whereof she should release and quit claime all hir right to those lands that were demanded, as Veulquesine and others. Shortlie after, Geffrey erle of Britaine came to his father, and submitting himselfe, was reconciled to him, and also to his brother Richard earle of Poictow. Also I find that king Henrie at an enteruiew had betwixt him and the French king at their accustomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Gisors on saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the same French king for the lands which he held of him on that side the sea, which to doo till then he had refused. The same yeare king Henrie held his Christmas at the citie of Mauns.

Veulquesine.

The kings of England and France talke together.

An. Reg. 30.

1184.

When the king had set the French king and the earle of Flanders at agrément for the controuersie that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Vermendois, he passed through the earle of Flanders countrie, and comming to Wisand, tooke ship and sailed ouer into England, landing at Douer the tenth day of June, with his daughter the dutches of Saxonie, who was afterwards deliuered of a sonne at Winchester, and hir husband the duke of Saxonie came also this yeare into England, and was ioifullie receiued and honourable interteined of the king his father in law.

The duchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne.

And whereas the archbishop of Colen came ouer into England this yeare to visit the toome of Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie, the king trauelled to make an agrément betwixt him and the Saxonish duke touching a certeine variance depending betwixt them, wherin the king did so much, that the archbishop forgaue all iniuries past, and so they were made fréends. Also by the counsell of the same archbishop the king sent Hugh Nouant archdeacon of Liseux and others, ambassadours from him vnto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made some waie to obtaine a pardon for the said duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Those that were sent demeaned themselues so discrétely in dooing their message, that the emperour comming where the pope then was, that is to say, at Verona in Italie, at the earnest suit of the said pope was contented to release all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things past, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being cléerlie reuoked.

The archbish. of Colen.

Hugh Nouant.

The duke of Saxonie pardoned and reuoked out of exile.

There died this yeare sundrie honorable personages, as Simon earle of Huntington son to Simon earle of Northampton, after whose decease the king gaue his earledome vnto his brother Daud, or (as Radulfus de Diceto saith) because the said Simon died without issue, the king gaue the earledome of Huntington vnto William king of Scots sonne to earle Henrie that was sonne to king Daud. Also the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chéefe iustice of the forests, which roome Alaine de Neuill had inioied before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his forests into sundrie quarters, and to euerie quarter he appointed

Death of Noble men.

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The gouernement of the forests diuided.

four iustices, two of the spiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beside two generall wardens that were of his owne seruants, to be as surueiers aboue all other foresters of vert and venison, whose office was to see that no disorder nor spoile were committed within any grounds of warren contrarie to the assises of forests. Diuerse prelates died this yeare also, as foure bishops, to wit, Gerald surnamed la Pucelle bishop of Chester, Walran bishop of Rochester, Joceline of Salisburie, and Bartholomew of Excester.

Besides these, diuerse abbats, & on the 16. of Februarie died Richard archbishop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of that see. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and wasted the goods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a vision, which said; "Thou hast wasted the goods of the church, and I shall root thee out of the earth." Wherevpon he tooke such a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was bishop of Worcester succeeded him, he was the 40. archbishop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and bishops procured his election not without much adoo: for the moonks pretending a right thereto, were sore against it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white moonke, he neuer eat flesh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and asked him if it were true that he neuer eat any maner of flesh; "It is true said he." "It is false quoth she, for I had but one cow to find me with, and thy seruants haue taken hir from me." Wherevnto he answered, "that if it so were, she should haue as good a cow restored to hir by Gods grace, as hir owne was." The same time also Margaret the wife of the late deceased king Henrie the son, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioined in marriage with Bela king of Hungarie.

But after long digression to returne againe to our purpose. The king being aduertised of the destruction and spoile which the Welshmen dailie did practise against his subiects, both in their persons and substance, assembled a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto Worcester, meaning to inuade the enimies countries. But Rées ap Griffin fearing his puissance thus bent against him and other the leaders of the Welshmen, came by safeconduct vnto Worcester, and there submitting himselfe, sware fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promising to bring his sonne and nephues vnto him as pledges. But when (according to his promise) he would haue brought them, they refused to go with him, and so the matter rested for a time.

After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Windsore, and the same yeare Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger master of the house of S. Johns of Jerusalem came into England, to make suit vnto king Henrie for aid against the Saracens that dailie wan from the christians, townes and holds in the holie land, taking and killing the people most miserablie, as in the description of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the dooings of Saladine the Saracen are touched. The patriarch made earnest request vnto the king, proffering him the keies of the cite of Jerusalem, and of the holie sepulchre (with the letters of Lucius the third then pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iournie, and to haue mind of the oth which before time he had made.

Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem.

The king deferred his answer for a time, and calling a councell of his lords together at Clerkenwell, on the 15. of Aprill, asked their aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they tooke it, he might not well depart so far out of his realme and other dominions, leauing the same as a prey to his enimies. And whereas it was thought by some, that he might appoint one of his sonnes to take vpon that iournie, yet bicause they were not as then within the realme, it was iudged that in their absence there was no why it should be so decreed.

A councell at Clerkenwell.

Howbeit in the meane time vpon licence granted by the king, that so manie might go as would, Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon him the crosse so effectualle, that a great number receiuing it, fullie purposed to go on in that iournie. At length the king gaue answer to the patriarch, excusing himselfe in that he could go, for he declared that he might not leaue his land without keeping, being in danger to remaine as a prey to the robberie and spoile of the French men: but he offered to giue large summes of gold and siluer to such as would take vpon them that voiage. With this answer the cardinall was nothing pleased, and therefore said: "We seeke a man and not monie: euerie christian region well neere sendeth vs monie, but no countrie sendeth vs a prince; and therefore we require a prince that needeth monie, and not monie that needeth a prince." But the king still alledged matter for his excuse, so that the patriarch departed from him comfortlesse, and greatlie discontented in his mind: whereof the king hauing knowledge, and intending somewhat to recomfort

Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie exhortheth men to go to warre against the Saracens.

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Five thousand marks saith Geru. Dor. Ran. Higd.

him with sweet and pleasant words, followed him to the sea side. But the more the king thought to satisfie the patriarch with words, the more wroth and discontented he shewed himselfe to be; in so much that at the last he said vnto him, "Hitherto hast thou reigned gloriouslie, but hereafter shall thou be forsaken of him, whom thou at this time forsakest. Consider of him, and remember what he hath giuen thée, and what thou hast yéelded to him againe, how first thou wast false to the king of France, and after sluedst archbishop Becket, and now lastlie thou forsakest the protection of Christes faith."

The words of the patriarch to the king.

The king was stirred with these words, and said vnto the patriarch, "Though all the men of the land were one bodie, and spake with one mouth, they durst not vtter such words against me." "No woonder (said the patriarch) for they loue thine and not thée; that is to say, they loue thy temporall goods, and stand in feare of thée for losse of promotion, but thy soule they loue not." And when he had so said, he offered his head to the king; saieng, "Doo by me euen as thou diddest by archbishop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be slaine heere in Europe of a wicked christian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art woorse than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and spoile and not a man." The king kept his patience, and said, "I may not go out of my land, for if I should, mine owne sonnes would rise and rebell against me." "No maruell (said the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they shall." And thus he departed from the king in great displeasure. ¶ Thus haue some written: but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himselfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went also (as after shall appear.)

Rash iudgement in an holie father.

This yeare the last of March, king Henrie made his sonne John knight, and shortlie after sent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his comming into Ireland, he was honourablie receiued of the archbishop of Diueline, and other noble men that had béene sent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treasure, but he hauing learned that

R. Houed. John the kings sonne made king of Ireland. *Ger. Dor.*

Non minor est virtus quàm quærere parta tueri,

keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a strange place, and not knowing what he shuld want) would not depart with it so fréelie amongst his souldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reason whereof their seruice was such, that in diuerse conflicts he lost manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and souldiers to remaine in places most expedient for the defense of that countrie. ¶ But héereof yée may read more at large in the historie of Ireland.

On the mondaie in the wéeke before Easter, chanced a sore earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, such a one as the like had not beene heard of in England sithens the beginning of the world. For stones that laie couched fast in the earth, were remooued out of their places, stone houses were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwards.

An earthquake.

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The day next after this terrible woonder, the king and the patriarch with the bishop of Durham and a great sort of other Noble men of this realme, passed the seas from Douer to Wissand, and so rode fourth towards Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his comming thither he raised a power, and sent word to his sonne Richard earle of Poictou (which had fortified the townes and castels of Poictou against him, and taken his brother Geffrey prisoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poictou, he would surelie come to chastise him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience smallie to his ease. Vpon this message earle Richard being somewhat better aduised, obeied his fathers commandements in all points, rendring vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient sonne, shewed himselfe readie to serue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Soone after this, and about the seauenth houre of the day, the sunne suffered a generall eclipse, so that no part of it appeared, and therewith followed great thunder with lightning and sore tempest, with the violence whereof both men and beasts were destroyed, and manie houses burned.

The king and the patriarch passe ouer into France.

The kings message to his sonne earle Richard.

Erle Richard obeieth his father.

Rog. Houed. Particular and not generall, saith *Ger. Dor.*

Shortlie after this the kings of England and France met and communed together for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promised indéed to send thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made small account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to passe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his sonnes, or some other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but bicause that would not be, he departed from the court verie sorrowfull

and sore displeased, so that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he spake his mind so plainlie vnto the king (as before yee haue heard.)

An. Reg. 32. Moreouer, about this time king Henrie obtained of pope Vrbane the third, that he might crowne which of his sonnes it should please him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the said pope sent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner wouen in with gold.

1186. This yeare the king held his Christmasse at Danfrount, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he tooke a solemne oth that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings sister (whome he had as yet in his custodie) vnto his sonne Richard erle of Poictou in mariage. For the which mariage to be had and solemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the said Richard the towne of Gisors, with all that which his father king Lewes promised vnto king Henrie the sonne (latelie deceased) in marriage with quéene Margaret the wife of the same Henrie, receiuing an oth thereto, neuer to make anie claime or chalenge to the same towne and lands.

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finished his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maie, and then was Hugh prior of Witham instituted bishop of Lincolne after that the see there had béene void and without any lawfull gouernour almost the space of seauenteene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Constance was nominated to that sée, but bicause he was made archbishop of Rouen before he was inuested in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the bishops of Lincolne.

King Henrie returneth into England. *Ger. Dor.* Hugh prior of Witham made bishop of Lincolne.

Moreouer king Henrie shortlie after his returne at this time into England, assembled a great armie, and went with the same to Caerleill, in purpose to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chastised Rouland lord of that countrie, who was sonne to Uthred the sonne of Fergus, for the iniuries doone to his coosine germains, namelie to Duncane sonne to Gilbert, who was sonne to the same Fergus, in spoiling him and the residue (after the deceasse of the said Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, vsurping the whole to himselfe. But as the king was now readie to inuade his countrie, Rouland came to him, and vsed such meanes vnder pretense of satisfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who therevpon brought backe his armie, and did no more at that time.

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About the same time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was slaine in Ireland by an Irish gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Irish historie you may read) whereof the king was nothing sorie, bicause the same Hugh was growne to so high degré of puissance in that countrie, that he refused to obeie the kings commandement when he sent for him.

Hugh Lacie slaine.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the most part of Ireland, and set the countrie in some good order, and after his comming from thence, such capteines as he left there behind him, were not idle, but still did what they could to inlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernance: but amongst them all this Hugh Lacie was the chéefest, in somuch that after the death of Richard earle of Striguile, the king made him gouernour of the countrie in place of the said earle, by reason whereof he so inlarged his possessions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onelie to the enimies, but also to his associats, as to such English capteins as were abiding in Ireland vpon gard of the English frontiers. For if any of them disobeyed his commandement, he would not sticke to chastise them at his pleasure, so that by such meanes he seemed rather to conquer the countrie to his owne vse, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not so directlie or discrétlie as he might; for,

Hugh Lacies diligence to inlarge his possessions in Ireland.

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had also ioined himselfe in mariage with a daughter of the king of Unlester, not making king Henrie priuie to the same. Wherevpon the king hauing sundrie informations presented to him of such his presumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his presence, which to doo (as before I haue said) he refused, by reason whereof he confirmed the suspicion which was conceiued of him, to rise vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euill that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good cause was highlie offended towards him for the contempts and considerations aforesaid.

King Henrie not sorie for the death of Lacie.

This yeare Geffrey the kings son who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the same citie, leauing behind him (besides two daughters) one

The death of Geffrey the kings sonne.

onlie sonne as then in his mothers wombe, of whom she was deliuered in the night of the feast of Easter next insuing hir husband's death: he was named Arthur, and succeeded his father in the earledome of Britaine. His fathers death was occasioned (as men iudge) by a fall which he caught at a iournie, for he was sore bruised therewith, and neuer had his health, but finallie fell into a flix and so died.

About this season pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, granting him licence to build a church at Alkinton, in honour of S. Stephan and Thomas Becket now reputed a martyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which came to the box of Thomas the martyr should be assigned to the vse of the moonks, & an other fourth part to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the poore, and the other fourth part remaining he might reserue to himselfe to bestow at his pleasure. But within a while after, at the suit and supplication of the prior and couent of Canturburie (who liked nothing of the former partition) the pope sent letters of prohibition to the said archbishop, that he should ceasse from building of the fore mentioned church, bicause the building thereof would be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

About the same time also king Henrie gaue his coosen the ladie Ermengard (who was daughter to Richard Vicount Beaumont) in marriage vnto Willam king of Scotland, causing the archbishop of Canturburie to ioine them together in the bond of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodstocke, where he kept great cheere in honour of that marriage for the space of foure daies together. And further he gaue at the same time vnto the king of Scots the castell of Edenbourgh: and the king of Scots streitwaies gaue it vnto his wife the forsaid Ermingard, as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hundred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights fées.

The ladie Ermengard the vicount Beaumonts daughter, married to William king of Scots.

Castell of Edenbourgh.

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The French king required to haue the custodie of the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Britaine: but king Henrie would in no wise grant thereto. Wherefore he sent Walter archbishop of Rouen, William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glandeuille lord cheefe iustice of England to the French court, to talke with king Philip about that matter, so that king Philip hauing heard them, was contented to staie from attempting force till the feast of S. Hilarie. But in the meane time it chanced, that one sir Richard de Walles a knight of the realme of France went about to fortifie a castell in a village that belonged to him called Walles, situated betwixt Trie & Gisors. Wherevpon Henrie Vere (constable of Gisors vnder William earle of Albemarle) was nothing content therewith, and therefore got a companie together, & went foorth to disturbe the worke. Vpon this occasion the seruants of the said sir Richard de Walles came foorth, and encountred with him in the field, in somuch that Rafe the sonne of sir Richard de Walles was slaine, and the residue that were with him fled, many of them being sore beaten and wounded.

Ambassadors sent to the French king.

Sir William de Walles.

When the French king was informed hereof, he caused all the kings of England his subiects, that could be found within his countries and dominion of France to be apprehended, and their goods seized. The stewards, bailifes, & officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings subiects that chanced to be at that present within the king of Englands countries, on that further side of the sea. But within a little while after, the French king set the English subiects at libertie, and so likewise did the K. of Englands officers release the French subiects.

The king of Englands subiects arested in Frâce.

The French subiects arested in Normandie.

An. Reg. 33.
1187.

At this time king Henrie held his Christmasse at Gilford, and shortlie after came one Octavianus a subdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Nouant from the court of Rome, sent as legats from pope Vrbane into Ireland, that they might crowne earle John the kings sonne king of that land. But king Henrie made a delaie therein, taking the legats with him into Normandie, whither he sailed at the same time, and landing at Wissand, he went from thence into Normandie, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at a place called Vadum Sancti Remigij where after much talke they could not agréé, by reason the French king demanded things vnreasonable, and so they departed without any thing concluded [sauing a truce] till after Whitsuntide.

Octavianus a cardinall.

King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

Ger. Dor.

About the same time, the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Saladine the chéefe prince of the Saracens. Wherevpon much conference was had among the christian princes for the succoring of those christians, which as yet held and defended other péeces in the holie land, so that by publishing of the popes buls, manie tooke on them the crosse: and amongst other Richard the sonne of king Henrie (without anie licence obtained of his father) receiued the same, vowing to go thither out of hand, and to fight against Gods enimies to the vttermost of his power.

Jerusalem taken.

In the meane time the grudge still increased betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partlie for one cause, and partlie for an other, but speciallie one cheefe occasion was for that earle Richard deferred the doings of his homage vnto king Philip for the dutchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appointment he now inioied and held. The French king to preuent his enimies, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce raised a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, wasted the countrie till he came vnto Chateu Raoul: about which castell also he fourthwith planted his siege.

Out of the annales of France
written by Nicoll Gallis.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he raised his power also, and together with his sonne earle Richard came with all speed to succour his people, and to saue his castell from the hands of his enimies. Now when he approached néere vnto the place, he pitcht downe his tents ouer against the one side of the French campe, and earle Richard on the other, so that they were readie to assaile the French king on both sides at once, but before they came to ioine battell, by the mediation of a cardinall (as some write) or (as other saie) through meanes made by the earle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For earle Richard through persuasion of the said earle of Flanders came to the French king, and agréed with him, before that his father king Henrie was resolued of any such matter for his part, so that he was now in a maruellous perplexitie, & almost to séeke what was best to doo, as a man fearing his owne suertie, by reason of mistrust which he had in his sonne Richard; but yet at the length through humble suit made by his said sonne vnto the French king, a truce was granted by the space of two yeares.

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Ger. Dor.

A truce granted.

Earle Richard, after the matter was thus taken vp, went into France with the French king, of whom he was so honoured whilest he was there, that they kept one table at dinner and supper in the daie time, and was (as was said) one bed serued them both to sléepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all this, fell into great suspicion whereto this great familiaritie betwixt the French king and his sonne would tend, and doubting the likeliest, sent for him to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing his father to mistrust his loialtie, gaue faire words, and promised to returne with all conuenient speed. Howbeit he ment an other matter, and so departing from the French court, came to Chinon, where he got into his hands a great portion of his fathers treasure that was kept there, against the will of him that had the custodie of it, and taking it thus awaie with him, he began to fortifie his castels and townes within his countrie of Poictou, and clearlie refused to come backe to his father for a time, although at length forsaking the counsell of naughtie men, he turned home vnto him, and humblie submitted himselfe, in such wise as to his dutie apperteined. And for the more assurance therof, he renewed his fealtie, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangelists. Which doone, king Henrie went into Britaine with an armie, and woone the castell of Mountreleis by siege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Guinemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after the deceasse of Geffrey earle of Britaine.

Erle Richard giueth his father
faire words.

He seizeth vpon his fathers
treasure.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of Chichester was almost wholie consumed to ashes by mischance of fire. The head church with the bishops palace, and the houses of the canons were burnt euen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie held his Christmase at Caen, from whence he went to Harfleet, and there taking the sea passed ouer into England. The French king hearing by and by of his departure, assembled a great armie, and threatned to destroie the countrie of Normandie, and other lands on that side the sea, except king Henrie would deliuer into his hands the towne of Gisors, with the appurtenances, or cause his sonne Richard earle of Poictou to take to wife his sister Alice, according to his promise.

An. Reg. 34.
1188.

King Henrie returneth into
England.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he turned with all speed into Normandie, that he might prouide for timelie resistance, if the French king came forward to inuade his dominions. About the selfe same time came newes out of the holie land, that Saladine after the winning of Jerusalem, pursued his victorie with such successe, that he had taken from the christians the more part of all other towns and strengths within the land. These newes were nothing pleasant to the christian princes, and namelie the two kings Henrie and Philip seemed sorowfull for the same, and therefore came to an interview together on the 21. day of Januarie betwixt Trie and Gisors, where the archbishop of Tire was present through whose earnest exhortation the two kings were made freends, and the same day receiued the crosse at his hands in purpose to make a iourneie together against those Saracens that had doone such iniuries to the christian name. And for a difference that one nation might be knowne from an other, the French king and his people tooke vpon them to weare read crosses, the king of England and his subjects white

King Henrie passeth againe into
Normandie.
Polydor.
Heaue newes from the east
parts.

An enteruiew betwixt the two
kings.

The two kings receiue the
crosse. The French wear red
crosses, The English white, The
Flemings gréene.

crosses: but the earle of Flanders and his men ware gréene.

Herewith they departed asunder, each one repairing to their countries to prouide their armies, and make them in readinesse to set forward by a day towards this necessarie iournie. King Henrie comming to Chinon, by aduise of his councell, ordeined that euerie one of his subiects should yeeld a tenth part of his reuenues and moouable goods for that yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land (corne of that yeares growth excepted, and also all armour, horsse, bookes, apparell, ornaments of chappels, and pretious stones, which should not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this paiement.) Moreouer those knights and men of warre that were appointed to go in this iourneie paid nothing, but had that monie also towards their furniture, which were gathered of their tenants and farmers, howbeit burgesses and others that tooke vpon them the crosse without license of their lords, paid his tenth, so that none of them went free.

An aid granted to them in the [193]
Holie Land. *Wil. Paruus.*

There were also good orders deuised, both for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and the releefe of the common-wealth, as that no man should sweare in any outragious maner, that no man should plaie at cards, dice or tables, and that no maner of person after Easter should weare any costlie furs or cloth of scarlet, nor that men should vse to haue their tables serued with more than two dishes of meat at one meale, nor should haue their apparell cut, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them should take any women forth with them in this iourneie, except such a landresse, of whome there might not growe anie suspicion of wanton life. It was also ordeined, that the monie of such as died in this iournie, should go towards the finding and maintenance of their seruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of the christians in the holie land. Moreouer, the pope granted that all those that went forth in this iournie, repenting and confessing their sinnes, should be absolued and pardoned of the same. The king hauing thus taken for his businesse in the parts on the further side the sea, came now ouer into England againe, landing at Winchelsey on a Saturday the thirtieth day of Januarie, and calling a councell together at Gaitington, which is eight or nine miles from Northampton, he there declared what orders he had taken for his iournie into the holie land. Wherevpon the bishops of Norwich and Lincolne, and a great number of other people tooke vpon them the crosse at the preaching of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester.

Good orders and discipline instituted.

The king returneth into England.

A council holden at Gaitington. *Ger. Dor.*

This doone, king Henrie tooke order also for the leuieng of the tenth, as well here in England, as he had doone in the parts subiect to him on the further side the sea. He also sent Hugh bishop of Durham, and other both spirituall and temporall persons, vnto William king of Scots, to gather the tenth likewise within his countrie, but he met them betwixt Wark and Brightham, and would not suffer them to enter into Scotland, but he offered to giue vnto the king of England in recompense of the tenths, and for to haue againe his castels, the summe of 5000. marks of siluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewise gathered the tenths in his countrie towards this intended iournie. But by the working of some wicked spirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the aduancement or the christian common-wealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and disappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long vniuolated.

A tenth leuiued.

The king of Scots.

The good meaning of the two kings disappointed. *Polydor.*

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto English men, and the English writers laie it to French men. The French writers say, that earle Richard the son of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The English writers reprove the French king as a wicked man, in that he should of purpose breake the peace and moue warre against king Heurie, to withdraw him from going to make warre against the Saracens, to the which enterprise, he was wholie bent and inclined. Such is the maner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countrie than to the truth, doo not obserue the law of histories in their writings, but rather inuieie one against another in a bralling and reprouing maner.

Reimond earle of Tholouze.

¶ Examples hereof are more than by any possibilitie may be remembered, and namelie for breuitie sake George Buchanan in the 8. booke of his Scottish historie verie reprochfullie speaketh of Richard Grafton (a right reuerend man whiles he liued and of entier name also being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a shamelesse lier. Whose case, bicause it is not so conuenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remit to the reigne of* Edward the third, in whose time John Balioll was king of Scots, cleere him (as well as we can) from a Scottish slander. Another example also we haue, and that most notorious, of Gabriel Prateolus the Jesuit, who hauing neuer beene in England, nor yet vnderstanding the English toong, blusheth not to say that the translation of the English bible hath in it a thousand faults. O singular and insufferable impudencie, when men passe not what they vomit

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* Where he shall be fellie & sufficientlie answered.

and cast vp out of a full gorge surfetting with malice and rancour! But what shall we say,

Omne superuacuum pleno de pectore manat.

Horat. in art. poet.

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other doo witnes) the foresaid earle Reimond, and also Aimer earle of Angolesme, Geffrey de Racon, and Geffrey de Lusignan, with the most part of all the nobles of Poictou, made warre against earle Richard, and he held tacke against them all, and in the end ouercame them. Amongst other of earle Reimonds part whom he tooke, was one Peter Seille, by whose counsell earle Reimond had taken diuerse merchants of Poictou that were subiects to earle Richard, & doone manie other displeasures to him and to his countrie, wherefore earle Richard kept this Peter in verie close prison, and would not put him to his ransome: in somuch that earle Reimond tooke two of the king of Englands knights, sir Robert Poer, and sir Richard Fraser, as they were returning from Compostella, where they had béene to visit the bodie of S. James, but they were quicklie set at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whose pilgrims they were.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poictou rebell against earle Richard.

Peter Seille

After this, earle Richard entred with a great armie into the lands of earle Reimond, wasted the same, and tooke by siege a castell of his situate néere vnto Tholouze, called Moisac: whereof the French king hearing, sent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages doone by his sonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were doone by his commandement, for the which he demanded restitution. Herevnto the king of England answered, that his sonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had signified to him by the archbishop of Dublin, what soeuer he did therin, was doone by the counsell of the French king himselfe.

Erle Richard inuadeth the earle Tholouze lands.

Howsoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a sudden entred into Berrie, and tooke from king Henrie Chateau Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountrichard, Mountresor, Vandosme, Leprose, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Molognon. Wherefore king Henrie (who was at this^[13] time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all spéed he sent Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and Hugh bishop of Durham ouer into France, to appease the French kings displeasure with courteous words and reasonable persuasions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to passe, he sailed ouer into Normandie himselfe, with an armie of Englishmen and Welshmen, landing with the same at Herflue the 10. daie of Julie, after he had beene sore tossed by a cruell tempest that rose as he was on the sea, to the great danger of his person, & all that were with him.

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Chester, saith *Ger. Dor.*

Ger. Dor.

Now after his comming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increasing his power by gathering vp souldiers and men of warre out of Normandie and other his countries on that side the sea. In the meane time his sonne Richard earle of Poictou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoull vnto the keeping of sir William de Berres returned into France, so that earle Richard spoiled and wasted the lands of those earls and barons which tooke the French part exceedinglie. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durst not come foorth now after the ariual of king Henrie, but manie enterprises were atchiued by the capteines on both sides. Philip bishop of Beauuois inuading the frontiers of Normandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the earle of Augi, and the castell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the title of earle) and wasted the countrie round about. The French king also came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke 40. men of armes there, but the castell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poictou tooke a strong place called Les Roches, beyond Trow towards Vandosme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. yeomen.

Chateau Roux it is called in the French annales: but y^e chronicles of Aniou name it Chateau Raoul, and rightlie as I thinke.

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Sergeants.

About this time king Henrie sent ambassadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbishop of Rouen, John bishop of Eureux, and William Marshall, to require restitution for the damages doone to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refused to make restitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance against him. Wherevnto the French king answered, that he would not giue ouer to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countrie of Veuxin or Veulgesine wholie in his possession. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the tuesdaie after the feast of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie townes and villages, approaching the same day néere to the towne of Maunt, where the French king was thought to be. Now as it chanced, William de Berres and Drogo de Merlo encountred with Richard earle of Poictou and William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, so that William de Berres was

taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that should haue taken heed to him, escaped awaie vpon his pages horsse. The morrow after also, earle Richard departed from his father towards Berrie, and vpon the thursdaie the Welshmen burned manie villages, with the castell of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, and tooke manie rich preies and booties. Also William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle burned a place called saint Clare, that was belonging vnto the demaine of the French king.

The Welshmen.

But see, when the English were fullie bent to prosecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came messengers vnto king Henrie from the French king, requiring him that he would grant a peace to be had betwixt them, with promise that if he would condescend therevnto, that he should receiue by waie of restitution all that the French king had now taken from him in Berrie. Herevpon they came to a communication betwixt Trie & Gisors, and when they could not agrée, the French king caused a great elme standing betwixt those two places to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and France were accustomed to méet when they treated of matters in controuersie betwixt them, swearing that from thencefoorth there should neuer be anie more méetings holden at that place.

The two kings come to a treatie.

An elme cut downe.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the earle of Blois with diuerse other earles and barons of the Realme of France, laid their armor aside, protesting openlie that they would not put on the same againe to make warre against any christian, till they should returne from their iournie which they had vowed into the holie land, the French king destitute of men to serue him, made sute once againe to king Henrie, that they might méet and talke of peace, which was hardlie granted, and so they met on the morrow after saint Faithes daie, or the seauenth of October, at Chattellon, where they entreated of a forme of peace, so that the French king should haue restored all that he had taken within the countries belonging to king Henrie, and likewise Richard earle of Poictou should deliuer vp vnto the earle of saint Giles (otherwise called earle of Tholouse) all that he had taken from him since the breach of the last truce. But when king Henrie would not deliuer the castell of Pascie in pledge to the French king, they departed in sunder (as before) without any thing concluded. The king of France after this tooke the castell of Paluell.

A commendable protestation and worthie to be noted.

Castellium.

Vpon the eighteenth day of August the two kings came againe together about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonsemblance and Sukennie, where the French king offered king Henrie, to restore to him all that he had taken by his last warres if his sister Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle of Poictou, now eldest sonne aliue to king Henrie, and that all king Henries subiects might doo homage and sweare fealtie to the same Richard. But king Henrie after the old prouerbe, Ictus piscator sapit, hauing bought his experience with the féeling of smart, & bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his sonne Henrie, after such his aduancement to kinglie degré, would not grant the French kings request herein. Wherevpon a further mischeefe happened, for his sonne earle Richard (taking displeasure that his father should denie him that honour, which made altogither for his more assurance to succeed him as king) fell from his said father manifestlie, and became the French kings man, dooing homage to him also without consent of king Henrie, for all those lands that belonged to his said father on that further side the sea. The French king for his homage and fealtie gaue him Chateau Raoull and Ysoldun, with all the honour thereto belonging.

An other treatie betwixt the two kings.

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Erle Richard reuolteth from his father to serue the French king.

¶ Some write, that the cheefest cause which moued king Henrie to refuse to ioine his sonne earle Richard and the ladie Alice, daughter vnto the French king in marriage together, was, for that he was linked in the cumbersome chaine of hot burning loue with the same ladie, and therefore he sought all the shifts of excuses & delaies that might be imagined; so that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir. The truth was (as writers affirme) he had already persuaded hir to satisfie his lust, insomuch that he liked hir so well, that he ment to be diuorsed from his wife quéene Elianor, and to marrie this yong ladie, which if he might bring to passe, and haue children by hir, he purposed to disherit those which he had by Elianor, and to make the other which he should haue by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. And Henrie bishop of Alba a cardinall that was sent from the pope to end this controuersie betwixt these two mightie princes, accursed Richard earle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles rose and were continued betwixt them.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

The towne of Beuerley, with the church of saint John the archbishop, was in maner wholie consumed with fire, on the 20. of September. Also the same yeare died William of Sempringham, the author and first founder of the

Beuerley burnt.
William de Sempringham
decesseth.
Gilbert de Ogerstan.

religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerstan a knight templer put in trust by king Henrie, with others, to gather the tenths towards the reléefe of the holie land, was prooued to vse falshood in the receipt, and so was deliuered vnto the maister of the temple at London to be punished according to the statutes of his order. Also this yere in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was séene at Dunstable by diuerse persons a figure of the crosse verie long and large in the aire, with the shape of a crucifix thereon, and streames of bloud to their sight seemed to run out of the wounds of the feet, hands and sides. This strange appearance continued in sight from noone till almost night.

A strange apperance in the aire.

¶ Some will deeme this a meere fable, and saie it sauoureth of grosse superstition and idolatrie, wherevpon they will conclude that no such fragments powdered with papistrie should be inserted into a chronicle. But (to auoid all suspicion of iustifieng the fansies of men) note you this, that in the ecclesiasticall historie, no small number of things no lesse strange and true than this seemeth vaine and false, are recorded; yea euen touching the verie crosse. But considering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in making choise of matter pleasing their owne humor we will not wade too farre in this kind of argument, which we know may as soone offend as it is taken, as a thorne may pricke, or a netle sting when it is touched. Neuerthelesse, we would not wish that the forme of a thing should be quite condemned for some scandalous peoples pleasures, whome nothing will please, vnlesse it come out of their owne drieuat or casket of conceits.

An. Reg. 35.
1189.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Saumur in Aniou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon from him, and tooke part with the French king, and with his sonne Richard earle of Poictou. Now when the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of couenants of the French king and earle Richard, that if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Britain should be partakers in the same) entred into the confines of those countries which still continued their due obedience towards king Henrie; spoiling and wasting the same on each side with barbarous crueltie. At which time also a legat came from the pope named John de Anagnia, who assaied both by courteous meanes and also by threats and menacings to reduce the parties vnto peace and concord: insomuch that by his procurement they met this yere after Easter néere vnto Fiert Bernard, twice within a few daies together, to trie if by talke they might sort to some reasonable conditions of agreement.

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A legat.

The last time of those their meetings was in the Whitsunwéeke, at what time the French king required not onelie to haue his sister Alice deliuered vnto earle Richard for wife, according to the former couenants, but also some assurance giuen vnto the same earle Richard, that he should inherit his fathers lands after his deceasse. Also he required that earle John might take vpon him the crosse to passe ouer into the holie land also; for otherwise earle Richard would not go. Howbeit king Henrie would in no wise consent to any of these demands: but yet as some write, he offered thus much vnto king Philip, that if he could be so content, his sonne John should marrie his sister Alice, and inioy with hir all such things as he demanded in preferment of his sonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requested the same; But king Philip would none of that.

Matth. Paris.

R. Houed.

Thus how soeuer it was, whilst the one demanded that which the other thought no reason to grant, they departed without concluding any agrément, so that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occasion to further his enterprises, with all his whole puissance entred into Maine, where he destroyed a great part of that countrie, and approched to the citie of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpose to besiege it; But king Henrie being warned of his comming set the suburbs on fire, bicause his enimies should haue no succour in them. Howbeit the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driuen so directlie into the citie, that what with heat and assault of the enimie, the king being without any store of souldiers to defend it longer, was constrained to forsake it. Herewith he was so mooued that in departing from the citie, he said these words of his sonne Richard to himselfe: "Sith thou hast taken from me this daie the thing that I most loued in this world, I will requite thee, for after this daie, I shall depriue thee of that thing which in me should most please thee, euen mine owne hart."

King Phillip entereth into the countrie of Maine.

The words of king Henrie in his displeasure towards earle Richard.

Being thus driuen to leaue the defaced citie of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens whereof being left destitute of aid, yéelded themselues to the French king, who taking a great pride in his doings for that victorie, passed ouer Loire, and wan the citie of Towrs, wherein he placed a garison, and so hauing sped his businesse with good successe, brought home his armie laden with preies & booties. King Henrie being thus put to the worsse,

Mauns yéelded to the French king. Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recouer his losses, began to despaire in himselfe, and therefore of necessitie thought it best to séeke for peace, but his suit was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agrée vpon any reasonable conditions.

The earle of Flanders séeketh to agrée the parties. *Matth. Paris.*

At the last Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbishop of Reimes, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agrément, and to conclude the same betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Britaines and them of Poictou confederate with him vnder such conditions, as he might not agrée with his father, vnlesse they might be comprised in the agrément. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogether aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chateau Raoul was restored to king Henrie with all that had béene taken from him since the time that the French king & he tooke vpon them the crosse: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which, in the beginning of this warre he had surrendred and renounced. He was bound also to paie to the French king 20. thousand markes for the aid which earle Richard had receiued of him: moreouer to resigne and acquite vnto the French king, all that which either he or his predecessours held or possessed within Aluergue. Other articles there were which king Henrie agréed vnto some against his will, as the deliuerie of the ladie Alice or Adela, and such other, which (as not much materiall) we passe ouer.

A peace concluded.

Thirtie thousand to the K. and twentie to the barons of France.^[198] saith *Ger. Dor.*

This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to méet in, about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enteruiew and talke together, so that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithstanding such thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted a sunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which moued king Henrie the sooner to condescend to the agreement.

Rog. Houed. At Gisors saith *Ger. Dor.*

Strange thunder & lightning.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongst them, King Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promised to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was presented vnto him, he found his sonne John the first person that was named in that register, wherewith he was so troubled and disquieted in his mind, that comming to Chinon he felt such gréeffe hereof, that he curssed euen the verie daie in which he was borne, and as was said, gaue to his sonnes Gods curse and his, the which he would neuer release, although he was admonished to doo it both of sundrie bishops and other religious and godlie men. Thus saith Houeden.

Howbeit, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother John to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather because earle Richard had some suspicion, leasr his father would make John his heire and successour in the kingdome, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the said John.

¶ These euils were estéemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iust iudgement of God, for that being admonished diuerse waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholesome aduise of graue men, as Hugh bishop of Lincolne and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping vp sinne vpon sinne, but still wallowed therein to his owne destruction. Wherevpon being brought to such an extremitie as ye haue heard, he was taken with a greeuous sicknesse, which bringing him to vtter desperation of recouering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguish and gréeffe of his late losse and troubles susteined, than by the force of his bodilie disease (as writers haue affirmed.) But howsoeuer it was, he ended his life the sixt of Julie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our sauour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at Founteuerard, which is an abbeie situate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanson.

King Henrie departeth this life.

1189.

Immediatlie vpon his death, those that were about him, applied their market so busilie in catching and filching awaie things that laie readie for them, that the kings corps laie naked a longtime, till a child couered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, and then it séemed that his surname was fulfilled that he had from his childhood, which was Shortmantell, being so called, because he was the first that brought short clothes out of Aniou into England. As his sonne Richard met the corps going towards the buriall, suddenlie there issued bloud out of the dead bodies nostrilles, which was taken for a

His surname whereof it came.

signification that it abhorred the presence of so wicked a son, which in his life time had so persecuted the father. His death was signified by a marvellous strange woonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certeine méere or poole in Normandie, leapt foorth on land in the night season, and fought together with such a noise, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the woonder, and could not find on fish aliue in the meere.

A strange maner of fight betwixt fishes.

[199]

He had issue by his wife quéene Elianor (as may appeare by that which already is rehearsed) foure sonnes, Henrie, Richard, Geffrey, and John, besides two other that died yoong, as some authors haue recorded: also three daughters, Maud, married vnto Henrie the duke of Saxonie; Elianor the wife of Alfonse the eight of that name king of Castile, and Joane giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. He had also two bastard sonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Geffrey. He was of bodie fleshie and strong, and could abide verie patientlie the displeasures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad breast, a broken voice, and was furthermore verie spare of diet, cheefelie bicause he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exercise himselfe in hunting or traueilling abroad. He was of a good stature and verie well-formed, of a comelie countenance, partlie red heard, with graie eies, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, so that he would long remember those things which he had either read, heard, or seene. He was stout of stomach, and more constant in time of aduersitie than in time of prosperitie, except at the time of his death, when being destitute in maner of all his fréends, he shewed himselfe almost in despaire. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his souldiers ouer and besides their wages.

The issue of Henrie the second. His sonnes. His daughters.

His base sons.

The constitution of his bodie.

His stature.

His qualities and conditions of mind.

Moreouer, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerse his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176. there was a great dearth & scarsitie of bread in the parts of Aniou & Maine, he fed euerie daie with sufficient sustenance ten thousand persons, from the begining of Aprill, till the time that new corne was inned: and what prouision soeuer was laid vp in garners, cellers and storehouses, for the kings necessarie vses, he caused the same to be imploied towards the reléefe of religious houses, and poore people. He tooke of his subiects but sildome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praised his capteins and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their losse more than he shewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of policie, that they might vnderstand that they should be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the lesse. He was somewhat learned, and also knowne to be wise.

Radulphus de Diceto.

His care to haue iustice duly ministred in his realme was exceeding great, insomuch that finding how the shirifes were rather inclined to seeke their owne gaine, than to deale vprightlie with his subiects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their dooings, as if they had béene controllors, that they knowing how there were such appointed to haue a sound ouersight in their dealings, might be the more circumspect in their duties. He ordeined also punishments for hunters in forrests and grounds of warren, either by fining them, or by imprisonment.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, he ordeined that murtherers should suffer death by hanging: and so for other transgressours he appointed other kinds of punishments, as some to be condemned to exile, and other to losse of lims, &c.: according to the qualitie of the offense committed. And to haue the lawes duly executed, and iustice vprightlie ministred on all hands, he was so carefull that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in roomes of iustice. And lastlie, trusting to find among the cleargie such as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for respect of feare or freendship decline from right iudgement, he chose foorth the bishops of Winchester, Elie and Norwich to be principall iustices of the relme, so as they might end and determine all matters, except in certeine cases reserued to the hearing of the prince himselfe.

Bishops chosen principall iustices.

His vices were these, as they are remembred. In time of aduerse fortune no man could shew himselfe more courteous, gentle, méeke, and promising more largelie than he would. But when fortune once began to smile, no man was more sharpe, hard to deale with, nor more redie to breake his promise and faith. He was also partlie noted of couetousnesse: for although he was liberall towards souldiers and strangers, yet was he streict inough towards his owne people, and namelie towards his sonnes, which caused them to estrange themselues and their good wils from him. He was not so zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuat commoditie.

The vices of K. Henrie.

[200]

He was out of measure giuen to fleshlie lust, and satisfieng of his inordinate concupiscence. For not contented with the vse of his wife, he kept manie concubines, but namelie he delited most in the companie of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose of the world (the common people named hir Rosamund) for hir passing beautie, propernesse of person, and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and péerlesse péce in those daies. He made for hir an house at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, like a labyrinth, with such turnings and windings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, except he were instructed by the king, or such as were secret with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the quéene in the end found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had drawne after him out of hir chamber with his foot, and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that she liued not long after. She was buried in the nunrie of Goodstow beside Oxford, with these verses vpon hir toome:

Hic iacet in tumulo, Rosa mundi non Rosa munda,
Non redolet sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an English septenarie.

Long time after the death of this damsell, in the said abbeie was shewed a cofer, that sometimes was hers, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, startling of beasts, swimming of fishes, and flieng of foules, so liuelie, that a man might woonder at the fine deuise thereof.

Moreouer, king Henrie was noted not to be so faourable to the liberties & frédoms of the church as he might haue béene. For besides the persecuting of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, he would not suffer the legats sent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had sworne that they should doo nothing preiudiciall to the customes of his kingdome, neither by prescribing orders, nor any other maner of act or meanes. He was thought to be negligent in aiding the christian commonwealth in the holie land. For though he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in person, yet being letted by light occasions, he staid at home, and sent small reléefe thither, though he was earnestlie called vpon for the same. His estimation was such amongst forren princes, that Philip king of France being newlie entred into the gouernement of that realme after his fathers deceasse, committed^[14] himselfe and his kingdome to the disposition and order of king Henrie, as if he had béene regent of his realme, and gouernour of his person.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the second, diuerse honourable personages and capteins of great fame, for their approued valiancie and experience in warlike enterprises, as Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh bigot earle of Northfolke, Reignold earle of Cornewall, Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, Richard Lacie, Roger Mowbray, Rafe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun conestable of England, Ranulfe Glandeuille, William Vesey, & Bernard de Ballioll. Also there flourished in his time here in this land, men of singular learning in arts and sciences, as Nicholas Breakespeare, Serlo surnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualensis, Adam de Euesham, Thomas of Munmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Geruasius Cicestrensis, Odo Cantianus, Ealred Rhieuellensis, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Clemens Lanthoniensis, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought aliàs Camtus, Robert Foliath, William Ramsey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremouth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Douer, William of Peterborough, Cicerciensis, Bartholomew Iscanus, and Gilbert de Sempringham, with others.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and mightie prince Henrie the second, I haue thought good to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we find in Matthew Paris and others written of him as followeth.

Epitaphium in Henricum secundum regem mortuum & híc sepultum

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multipliciq; modo dúxq; comésq; fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modò sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hæc, pensa discrimina mortis, & indè
Humanæ specula conditionis habe.
Quod potes instanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Transit, & incautos mors inopina rapit

Aliud.

His incontinencie.

Rosamund his concubine.

Ran. Higd.

His negligēce in aiding the
Christians against the Saracens.

Bale.

Tvmuli regis superscriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis,
Res breuis est ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

An epitaph vpon king Henrie the second dead and heere intoomed.

Of late king Henrie was my name,
which conquerd manie a land,
And diuerse dukedoms did possesse,
and earledoms held in hand.
And yet while all the earth could scarce
my greedie mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serues,
wherein my carcasse lies.
Now thou that readest this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that serue to shew the state
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doo good then here, foreslowe no time,
cast off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full soone dooth faile,
and death dooth strike vnwares.

An other.

[202]

Small epitaph now serues, to decke
this toome of statelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could scarce his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that serues now life is spent.

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England tooke end, a hundred twentie two yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour; for those that reigned after this Henrie the second, we may rightlie estéeme to be Englishmen, because they were borne in England, and vsed the English toonge customes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the countrie.

Thus farre the succession and regiment of the
Frenchmen ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of
Bullongne and Henrie the second.

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 'withcraft'; corrected to 'witchcraft'.

[2] Original reads 'vpon summons giuen vnto him him'; corrected to 'vpon summons giuen vnto him'.

[3] Original reads 'M. Triuet.'; corrected to 'N. Triuet.'.

[4] Original reads 'Poloydr'; corrected to 'Polydor'.

[5] Original reads 'Fench'; corrected to 'French'.

[6] Original reads 'againt'; corrected to 'against'.

[7] The passage referred to is in this reign, An. Reg. 19, 1173.

[8] Original reads 'thorough'; corrected to 'thorough'.

- [9] Original reads 'euenth'; corrected to 'seuenth'.
- [10]Original reads 'Cauturburie'; corrected to 'Canturburie'.
- [11]Original reads 'Griffiin'; corrected to 'Griffin'.
- [12]Original reads 'yearelelie'; corrected to 'yearelie'.
- [13]Original reads 'at this this'; corrected to 'at this'.
- [14]Original reads 'commmitted'; corrected to 'committed'.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (05 OF 12) ***

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