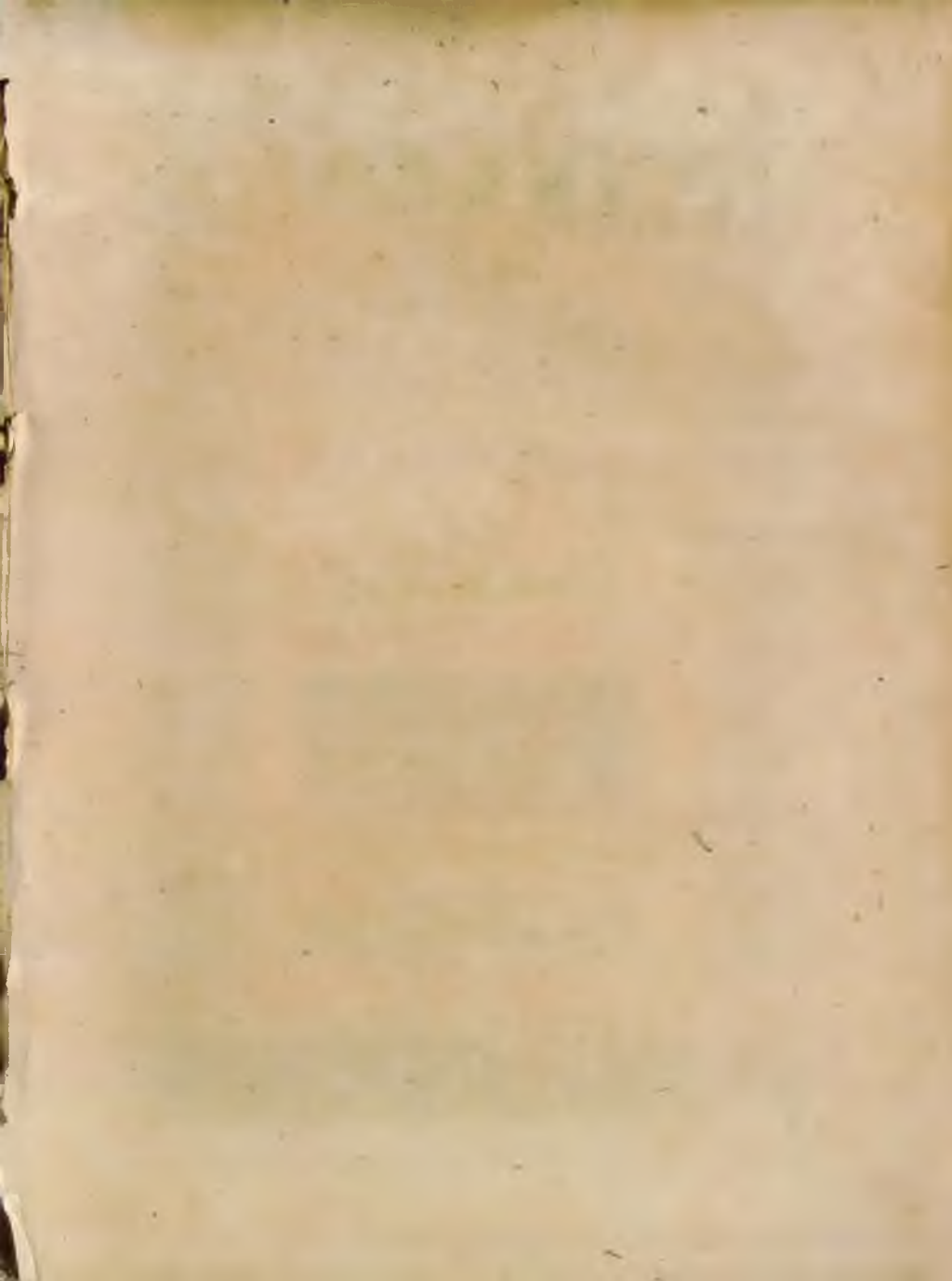




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THE
FIRST PART
OF THE HISTO-
RIE OF ENGLAND.

BY
SAMVEL DANYEL.



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TO THE RIGHT HO
NOVRABLE SIR ROBERT
CARR VISCOVNT ROCHE-

*ster, Knight of the most Noble Order of
the Garter, and one of his Maiesties*

*most Honourable Prisie
Councell.*

TO give a reason of my work,
is in my part as wel as to do
it. And therefore my Noble
Lord, why I undertooke to
write this Historie of Eng-
land, I alleage, that hauing
spent much time of my best
vnderstanding, in this part of humane Learning,
Historie, both in forraine countries where especi-
ally I took those notions, as made most for the con-
duct of businesse in this kinde, and also at home,
where it hath beene in my fortune (besides confe-
rence with men of good experience) to haue seene
many of the best discourses, negotiations, instru-
ctions and relations of the generall affaires of the
World:

The Epistle Dedicatory.

World: I resolved to make tryall of my forces in the contexture of our owne History, which for that it lay dispersed in confused peeces, hath beene much desired of many; and held to be some blemish to the honor of our Country, to come behinde other Nations in this kinde, when neyther in magnificence of State, glory of action, or abilities of nature, we are any way inferior to them. Nor is there any Natiõ, whose Ancestors have done more worthy things, both at home and abroad; especially for matter of war. For since the Romans, no one people hath fought so many battailes prosperously. And therefore out of the tender remorse, to see these men much defrauded of their glory so deerly bought, and their affaires confusedly deliuered, I was drawne (though the least able for such a worke) to make this aduventure: which howsoeuer it proue, will yet shew the willingnesse I haue to doe my Countrey the best seruice I could; and perhaps, by my example induce others of better abilities, to vndergoe the same. In the meane time, to draw out a small substance of so huge a masse, as might haue something of the vertue of the whole, could not be, but an extraction worthy the paines, seeing it concernes them most to know the generall affaires of England, who haue least leasure to read them.

And the better to fit their vse, I haue made choyce to deliuer only those affaires of action, that most concern the gouernment: diuiding my worke into

The Epistle Dedicatory.

into three Sections, according to the Periods of those Ages that brought forth the most remarkable Changes: And every Section into three Bookes. Whereof the first, briefly relates the various mutations of State, plantation and supplantation of the inhabitants in the chiefest part of this Isle, before the coming of the Norman. The second booke contains the life and Raigne of William the first. The third, the succession of William the second, Henry the first, and Stephan. And this part I have here done.

The second Section begins with Henry the second, the first of the royall family of Plantagenet, contains the lues of foureteene Princes of that Line, and takes up 339.yeares. A space of time that yeelds vs a view of a wider extent of Dominion, by the accession of a third part of France to the Crowne of England: more matter of action, with a greater magnificence, and glory of State then euer: intermixt with strange varieties and turnes of Fortune: the inflammation of three ciuill warres, besides popular insurrections: the deposing of foure Kings, and five usurpations: which, in the end, so rent the State, as all the glory of foraine greatnesse, which that line brought, expired with it selfe.

The third Section contains the succession of five Soueraigne Princes of the Line of Tewdor, and the space of 129.yeares. A time not of that virilitie as the former, but more subtile, and let

The Epistle Dedicatory.

out into wider notions, and bolder discoveries of what lay hidden before. A time wherein began a greater improvment of the Soueraigntie, and more came to be effected by wit then the sword: Equall and iust incounters, of State, and State in forces, and of Prince, and Prince in sufficiency. The opening of a new world, which strangely altered the manner of this, inhancing both the rate of all things, by the induction of infinite Treasure, & opened a wider way to corruptiō, wherby Princes got much without their swords: Protectiōs, & Confederations to counterpoysse, and preuent ouer-growing powers, came to bee maintained with larger pensions. Leidger Ambassadors first inployed abroad for intelligences. Common Banks erected to retorne and furnish moneys for these busineses. Besides strange alterations in the State Ecclesiasticall: Religion brought forth to bee an Actōr in the greatest Designes of Ambition and Faction. To conclude, a time stored with all varietie of accidents fit for example, and instruction. This is the scope of my designe.

And this I addresse to you, my Noble Lord, not onely as a testimony of my gratitude for the honorable regard you haue taken of mee: but also in respect you being now a publike person, and thereby ingaged in the State of England, as well as incorporated into the Body thereof, may here learne, by the obseruance of affaires past (for that,

Reason

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Reason is strengthened by the successe of example (to iudge the righter of things present: And with-all, that heerein, you, seeing many precedents of such as haue runne euen and direct courses, like your owne (howsoeuer the successe was) neuer wanted glory, may therby be comforted to continue this way of integrity, and of being a iust seruant both to the King and the Kingdome: nor can there bee a better testimonie to the world of your owne worth, then that you loue and cherish the same, (wheresoeuer you finde it) in others.

*And if by your hand it may come to the sight of his Royall Maiestie, whose abilities of nature are such, as whatsoeuer comes within his knowledge is presently vnder the dominion of his iudgement, I shall thinke it happy: and though in it selfe, it shall not be worthy his leasure, yet will it bee much to the glorie of his Reigne, that in his daies there was a true History written: a liberty properly to Common-wealths, and neuer permitted to Kingdomes, but vnder good Princes. Vpon which libertie notwithstanding I will not vsurpe, but tread as tenderlie on the graues of his magnificent Progenitors, as possibly I can: Knowing there may (in a kind) be *Læsa Maiestas*, euen against dead Princes. And as in reuerence to them, I will deliuer nothing but what is fit for the world to know, so through the whole work, I will make conscience that it shall know nothing but (as faithfully as I can gather it) Truth: protesting herein*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*heerein to haue no other passion, then the zeale
thereof, nor to hold any stubborne opinion,
but lyable to submission and
better information.*

Your Lordships to command,

SAMVEL DANYEL.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE History of ENGLAND.

CONTAYNING
A BRIEF RELATION OF THE
State of this Land, from the first knowledge
we haue thereof, to the comming of
WILLIAM the Norman.

Intend by the helpe of
God, and your furthe-
rance my Noble Lord,
Viscount Rochester, to write
a brieft History of the
principall affaires tempo-
rall of England, especially
from the comming of the *Norman*, to the end
of the line of *Tewdor*. A worke I know great,
and difficult, being to be raised of many scatter-
red peeces, variable and vncertaine relations of
times, diuersly affected: wherein, notwithstanding,

B

ding, I vow to bee of no other side, then of Truth, or as neere truth-likelnesse as I possibly can get. Nor will produce any thing, but out of the best approved Monuments domesticall and forraine. Holding it an impietie to misfashion the memorie of times past, and sute them to our present liking, and discourse: or to misleade the credulitie of men, by making vp the opinion of Antiquitie, with improbabilities, considering we are not so tyed to stand to the same of things, as to suffer our vnderstanding to bee abused: nor yet so freed, to traffique, all vpon our owne coniectures, without custome of tradition: or so to vnderualew the discretion of former times, as if ours were of a greater dimension: and peremptorily to censure those actions, whose causes, and counsels we know not, hauing nothing but the euents, as dead carcasses, to shew vs what their lining motions were.

And though I had a desire to haue deduced this Breuiarie, from the beginning of the first British Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue, yet finding no authentick warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne, was more then ynough for my abilitie: and it was but our curiositie to search further backe into times past, then wee might well discerne, and whereof

whereof wee could neyther haue prooffe nor profit: how the beginnings of all people, and states were as vncertaine as the heads of great Riuer: and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering how commonly they rise from the springs of pouertie, pyracie, robbery, and violence, how soeuer fabulous Writers, to glorifie their Nations, strue to abuse the credulitie of after ages with heroycall or miraculous beginnings: Seeing States, as men, are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides, it seemes, God in his prouidence, to checke our presumption, wraps vp all things in vncertaintie, barres vs out from long antiquitie, and boundes our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction, to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all Nations, it might more stusse, but not better our vnderstanding. Wee shall find still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Virtues and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weakenesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike: and the trayne of affaires, carried by precedent, in a course of Succession vnder like coulors.

But yet for that the chaine of this businesse hath a linke of dependancie with those former times, wee shall shew the passage of things the better, if we take but a superficiall view, of that wide, and vncertainly related State of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Caesar*, being but on the other side, in *Gaule*, could not attaine to any particular information of the State of *Britayne*, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom hee got together as many as he could) who tolde him something of the coast-townes, but of the state and condition of the in-dwellers, they could say nothing, eyther so incurious were they of further knowledge then what concern'd their trade, or the people heere so wary, to keepe their state reserved, and vnknown to strangers. And yet *Caesar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gaules* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof he onely subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it, to the *Roman* Empire.

But now what was the State and forme of Gouvernement among the *Britaines* before this subiection? The first certaine notice wee haue

is

is also by the same *Cæsar*, who tels vs how they were devided into many severall States: nominates foure Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Casseuillaunus*, by the common countell was elected, in this their publicque daunger, to haue the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward how the Cities sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby we perceiue it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gaules*, with whom it was then, one in Religion, and much alike in fashion and language, devided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any intire rule, or combination. As now, we see all the West world (lately discovered) to bee, and generally all other countries are, in their first and naturall free nakednes, before they come to be taken in, either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to a head, within themselves, of strength and vnderstanding, to ouermaister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shal beget. And such was then the State of *Britayne*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and all the West partes of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouergrowing first the people of *Italy*, in like manner devided) did by strength, and cunning vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then termed Kings, were but as

*Cæs Comment.
lib. 5.*

*Complures sunt
apud eos domi-
nationes Strabo.
lib 4.*

their Generals in warre, without any other great iurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land, (before that time,) as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations, is to giue enterainment to those narrow conceits as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankind, and onely the inuention of such as take all their reason from the example and *idea* of the present Customs they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue affronted the Romans, with the power of a well-vnited State, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to do euen with some poore Prince of a small territory) to haue circumuented or confounded, with all their stratagems, and iniustice, the peace and libertie of the world, in such sort as they did. And though the Britaynes were then simple and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more iust and honest, and brought forth on the Stage of action, men as magnanimous, and toucht with as true a sence of honour and worthinesse, as themselves. But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loole to the aduantage of the common enemy, working vpon the factions, and emulation, vsuall to such diuisions, and were made the

the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilst euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the account of about a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Cassellianus*, in a line of absolute Kings, can bee cleared, I doe not see, and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon, least being but to report, I might seeme to contend, if I make this inquiry: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserved and deliuered to posterity, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probabilities they had not) before they were introduced by the Romans, who sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof, had they found them heere at their comming, and especialty of Schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue beene planted heere for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druides*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especial men of knowledge, committed not their mysteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memory of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which had they had letters and bookes, could neuer

*Cic. in Ep. ad Att.
ticum ubi belli
Britannici exitū
expectari, scribit,
nullius ex ea
spem praeferre, nisi
ex mancipijs, ait.
ex quibus nullos
puto esse, literis,
aut mensis eru-
ditos expectare.*

*Et lib. de Nat.
Deorum Paris
eorum Scitulis
barbaries insin-
nulat.*

*Ingenio Gallorū
partim similem
fuisse partim sim-
pliciores & mi-
gis barbari Stra-
bo lib. 4.*

neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene so vtterly extinct, but that wee should haue heard something more of them.

Besides, it is strange how the *Greeke* tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophy, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone, seeing it was late, as *Liuy* saith, before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land: by Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world, many ages after for passing that way. If by Land, *Germanie*, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing: but *Germanie* then, wee finde had no letters at all. Onely *Merseilles*, a *Colonic* of the *Greekes* being in the mid-way, might be a gate to let it into *Gaule*, and so hither: but they say the *Merseillans* vsed onely *Greeke* Characters at first but for their priuate accoumpts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise: So that it seemes then, the *Britaynes* receiued first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romans*, and *Agriкола* Præfect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian* caused them heere to be taught, as *Cornelius Tacitus* (his sonne in lawe) reports vpon this "occasion. *Aduice was taken* (saith he) *that the* "people dispersed, rude, and so, apt to rebellion, "should be inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures."

And it was after the subiection of *Gaule* that they intertayned Philosophers, and Physitions for publique Readings, and became a schoole for those parts, as we may perceiue by *Strabo* lib. 2.

“sures : and therefore they exhorted privately, &
“aided them publikely to the building of Temples,
“Bourses, Palaces ; commending whome they
“found forward, and correcting the unwilling,
“so that the emulation of honour was for ne-
“cessitie : then they caused the principall mens
“sonnes to be taught the liberall Sciences, extol-
“ling their wits for learning, about the Gaules,
“in so much that they, who lately scorned the Ro-
“man tongue, now desired eloquence. Hereupon
“grew our habits in honor, the Gowne frequent,
“and by degrees a generall collapssion into those
“softnings of vices ; faire houses, bathes and
“delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant,
“was termed humanitie, when it was a part of
“seruitude. Thus farre he acquaints vs with the
introduction, and cause of the *Roman* learning
in this Land: Which had it had the *Greeke*
tongue, so many hundred yeares before, would
haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences,
as the *Romans*, and not needed this emolli-
tion by learning. Philosophy would haue pre-
pared them to a sufferance of subiection, that
they could not haue beene so vniuersally rude,
and Barbarous as they are reported to haue
been. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond
this time, we can haue no other intelligence,
but by tradition. Which how wee may credit
for so long past (when letters, for all the assu-
rance they can make, breake faith with vs, in

the information of things euen present) let it be iudged.

And now for the time since (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Britaine*) we find it, during the domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Prefects : and if they had Kings of the British nation, they were tributarie, and had their whole authoritie depending on that Empire; which as the same *Tacitus*, (that free-tongued *Roman*) saith; made it now their custome to haue Kings the instruments of seruitude : speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gaue certaine Cities in *Britaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, & made tributarie so much, as he subdued, the rest could not long hold out, against that all-incompassing State of *Rome* : although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected the space of 20. yeares: yet after *Augustus* had settled the soueraigntie, and possessed all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Cities of *Britaine*, fearing to be enforced, came in of their owne accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to indure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Au-*

gustus

Nostre ætate in-
quit Strabo. lib.
4. Regulorum
quidem Britani-
corum, legatio-
nibus et officijs
amicitiam Au-
gusti Cæsar.
consecuti, dona-
ria in Capitolio
dedicarunt: sa-
mi iaremque Ro-
manis totam pe-
ninsulam redi-
gerunt. And

gustus time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Britaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Roman* commanders, remayned in an vncertayne obedience till the time of *Claudius* the Emperor; who hauing much of the fume of glorie, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especial eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph, and to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, fore-sends *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warriour, *Pro-prator* into *Britaine*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be ledde: yet as one who well knew his mistier; and how the first euent is those which incusset a dauntingesse, or daring, imployed all meanes to make his expeditions sodaine, and his executions cruell. Notwithstanding did *Carodocus*, one of the *British* Kings, hold these great *Romans* worke for 9. yeares together, and could not be surpris'd, till, betrayed by his owne nation, hee was deliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glorie was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Britaine*, to the *Romane* Em-

at that time it
seemes by *Strabo*,
held it not
worth the gar-
ding, for that it
would not quite
the charge.

pire which though thus wonne, was not, till a long time after, overcome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the miserie of their dis-sociation : how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselves, against the *Romans*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person, and State of Queene *Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, a great and rich Prince; who at his death had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniurie : but it fell out contrarie : for no sooner was hee dead, but his Kingdome was spoyled by the *Centurions*, his house ransack't by slaues, his wife beaten, and his daughters rauished. Besides the chiefe men of the *Iceni* (as if all the region had beene giuen in prey) rest of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues, with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others not yet inured to seruitude, to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeated the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword 70. thousand *Romans* & associats, inhabiting their municipall townes, *London*, *Virolame*, and *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Gouvernour of the Prouince could

Camolodunum
now *Maldon*.

could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Armie consisting of 12000. *Britaines*, conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to moue compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manlie worke of libertie: which to recouer shee protests to hold her selfe there, but as one of the vulgar, without weighing her great honour and birth, resolu'd either to win or die. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and encouragers of their husbands valour, but in the end *Suetonius* got the victorie with the slaughter of 80. thousand *Brytaines*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons herselfe, and the miserable country with their heauie losse, had also more weights layd vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely struggled with the *Romans*, vpon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mightie Empire, were such, as the *Britaines*, hauing no meanes, but their owne swordes, in an vncomposed State layde allopen to inuasion, & spent their blood in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as loosing their vertue with their libertie) became vtterly quayled, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powrefull hand of 14. Garnisons, disposed in

Noticia.

seuerall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computed in all to be 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse, besides 37. companies containing 23. thousand foote, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that, which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Roman* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raised by *Agri- cola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others.

And in this sort continued the State of *Britaine*, whilst the *Romans* held it; induring all the calamities that a dejected nation could doe, vnder the domination of strangers, proud, greedy and cruell. Which not onelie content, by all tyrannicall meanes, to extort their substance, but also constrain their bodies to serue vnder their ensignes, when, or where-soeuer their quarrelous ambition would expose them. And besides the being at the will of their rulers, in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to be commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaymed *Casars*, & put for the whole Empire. As first *Carausius*, & after him *Alectus*, whome *Constantius* (the associate of *Maximianus*, in the Empire) at his first comming into

into *Britaine*, by *Asclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect, vanquished, with all such as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts*, made eruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Britaines*: whom to repress, *Constantius*, (then sole Emperour of the west) came the second time into this Land; and in an expedition to the north parts, died at *Yorke*; whither his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illiria*, escaping a traine, laid for him by *Galerius*, Emperour of the East, with whom hee was in warres against the *Sarmatians*, when his father came first into *Britaine*, against *Alectus*; and heere was he now first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes hee much esteemed the Countrey, as that which gaue birth to his dignitie. And reordring the gouernment therof, for a future security, diuides it into 5. Prouinces, to bee ruled by one vice-gerent; 5. Rectors, 2. Consulars, and 3. Presidents. After whose time, we haue no certaine nor important marke to direct vs, which way the State went, till the raigne of *Valentinian* the elder; who sendes *Theodosius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Britaine*, against the irruptions of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones* & *Franci*, which of all sides inuaded and spoiled the Countrey: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Bataui*, and *Heruli*, cleared

cleered it, *Ciuis* was sent to gouerne the Province, and *Dulcitius* the Army: Men of faire names for such offices.

In these warres with *Theodosius*, was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the Armie, was heere proclaymed *Cesar*, and to subuert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of *Britaine*: and first in his way subdues *Gaule*, and there furnishes euery place of defence with *British* souldiers; and they saie, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica*, (now called *Britaine* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kinde, to this day. And hauing spread one arme to *Spaine*, the other to *Germanie*, imbraced so great a part of the Empire, as hee draue *Valentinian* to seeke aid of *Theodosius*, Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lions*. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land, hee dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All those great forces hee tooke with him, either left in *Gaule*, or perishing with him at *Aquileia*, where hee was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the *Colony* of the *Veteran* souldiers, fearing

fearing the inuasion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarily proclaimed Emperour, one *Marcus*, whom shortly after they slue, then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure moneths being murdered, they gaue the title to one *Constantine*, not so much for his merit, as the omission of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did, whatsoeuer strength was left, or lately in any sort recovered, he emptied it wholly, and made himselfe of that power, as hee subdued many of the Westerne Prouinces: gaue his son *Constantins* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius* came vanquished, and executed at *Arles*. Where also perished the whole power he brought out of *Britayne*. And so the State hauing all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*, lay open to the rapine and spoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the aduantage of this disfurnishment, neuer left till they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, Praefect of *Gaule* vnder *Valentinian* 3. and that in so lamentable manner, their Embassadors inorne garments (-with sand on their heads to stir compassion) as *Aetius* was moued to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raysed vpon the trench (formerly made by

D *Adrian*)



Adrian) from Sea to Sea of eight foote thicke, and twelue high inter-set with Bulwarks, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinit number of *Britaynes* (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe, once more freed and defended from their enemies, aduising them from thenceforth, to inure and imploy their owne forces, without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who ouer-wrought with other businesse could not attend affaires that lay so farre off.

No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came, (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to *Aetius*, vsing these wordes: To *Aetius* thrice Consull, the sighes of the *Britaynes*, and after thus complaine: *The Barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: between these two kind of deathes, wee are eyther murdered or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to doe, to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now indured the last convulsions of a dying State, hauing all the parts and Prouinces thereof, miserably rent and torne with

with the violencies of strange nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Britayne* to be first made knowne; to perish by, and with the *Roman* State. Which neuer suffering the people of this Land, to haue any vse or knowledge of armes, within their owne country, left them (vpon their dissolution) naked and exposed to all that would assaile them.

And so ended the *Roman* Gouvernement in *Britayne*, which from their first inuasion by *Iulius Caesar* to this *Valentinianus* 3. had continued the space of 500. yeares. In all which time, we find but these 7. *Brittish* Kings, nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marinus*, *Coelus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honor for planting Christian religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succedes this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernors.

This is briefly so much of especiall note as, I can collect out of the *Roman* historie, concerning the State and gouernment of *Britayne*: finding els-where little certaintie, and from hence forth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse: Whereof *Gildas*, the *Britayne* complaines, laying the cause on the barbarisme of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments and memoriall of times past. And though himselve wrote, about forty

The end of the
Roman Gouver-
nement in Bri-
taine, Anno 447

*Gildas de exci-
dio Britaniz.*

yeares after the inuasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof as wee discern very little thereby. Nor hath the *Britaynes* any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouerblacks them with such vgly deformities as wee can see no part cleere: accusing them to be neyther strong in peace, nor faithfull in warre, and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if hee laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though, no doubt, there was, as euer is, in these periods of States, a concurrence of disorder, and a generall loosenesse of disposition, that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there, no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, where-with after-times, would haue bene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale (in that respect) wider then his charity, took vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Such was the State of *Britayne*, left without armes or order, when *Vortigern*, cyther by vsurpation or faction, became King, and is said to bee the author of the first calling in, or employing, being in, the *Saxens*, to make good his owne establisment, and the safety of

of his Kingdom, against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The *Saxons* at this time, possesse the third part of *Germany*, holding all the countrey betwene the Rivers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the *Ocean*: on the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and diuided by the river *Visurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election of a soueraigne leader for the busines of war. This being so spacious, populous, and neere a countrey, well furnisht with shipping (which the *Britaynes* had not) yeelded euer plentifull meanes to supply the vndertakers of this action, which were first two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, with all necessary prouisions vpon euery fit occasion. After they had beene heere a while, as stipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince and people, their number soone encreased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite: then the whole countrey of *Kent*, was made ouer to *Hengist* by transaction, vnder covenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And vpon the marriage of *Vortigern*, with the daughter or neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Ladie, (brought ouer of purpose to worke on the dotage of a dissolute Prince) larger priuileges were graunted: so that, by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in, so many of this popu-

The State of
the *Saxons*.

Vortigern is deposed.

Vortimer elected King of *Brittayne*.

lous and military Nation, that *Kent*, in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist*, to distend their power into other parts, advised *Vortigern*, to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to bee a continuall guard against all inuasions that way. Which being graunted, hee sends for *Otha*, his brother, and sonne *Ebusa*, with great supplies out of *Saxony*, to furnish that deseigne. And so came the *Saxons* to haue first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which conteyned all the countrey from *Humber* to *Scotland*. And now beganne of seruants, Masters; to contemne their entertainors, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* Nobilitie combine themselves, depose *Vortigern* (the author of this improuident admision) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilst hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce incounters: but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* being possesse of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne countrey, to receiue all supplies without resistance; had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And beside force, they are said to haue vsed treacherie in murdering 300. of the *Brittish* Nobilitie at an Assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but vpon the graunt of three Provinces

vinces more. Allo the long life of *Hengist*, a politique leader (of almost forty yeares continuance) made much for the settling heere of their estate: which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effusion of bloud. For the *Britaynes*, now made martiall, by long practice, and often battailes, grew in the end so intraged, to see their countrey surprized from vnder their feete; as they sold the inheritance thereof at a very deere rate. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthines of their leaders (whence the spirit of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions, were especially *Ambrosius* the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur*, the noblest of *Britaynes*: A man in force and courage aboue man, and worthy to haue beene a subiect of truth to posteritie, and not of fiction, as legendary writers haue made him: for whilst he stood, he bare vp the sinking State of his country, and is said to haue incoun-tered with the *Saxons*, in twelue set battailes: wherein hee had eyther victory, or equall re- uenge. In the end, himselfe ouerthrowne by treason; the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest vnable to resist, fledde into the mountaines, and remote desarts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the inuadors, daily growing more and more vpon them.

For many principall men of *Saxony*, seeing the happy succeffe and plantation heere of

Hengist,

King *Arthur*.

The seuerall
entries made
by the Saxons.

Hengist, entred likewise on diuers coastes, to get Estates for themselues, with such multitudes of people, as the *Britaynes* making head in one place, were assaulted in another, and euerywhere ouerwhelmed with new encreasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the dominion of *Kent*, (which from him became to be a Kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuse* posselt of all the North countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the *South-Easte* parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the South Saxons, contayning *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic* and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, inuaded the *South*, and *West* parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the *West Saxons*, which after contayned the countries of *Hampshire*, *Berkesheire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*; *Somersetshire*, and *Deuonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa*, inuaded the North East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the East Angles, conteyning *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Eley*: *Erkinwin*, beganne the Kingdome of the East Saxons, contayning *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hertfordshire*.

Hauing thus, in a manner, surrounded the best of the whole State of *Britayne*; they after inuaded the inner, and middle part. And *Crida* began the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle

middle Angles, conteyning *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Chesbire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with part of the shires of *Hereford*, & *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Gloucestershire*.

And with all these Princes, and leaders, before they could establish their dominions, the *Britaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon destruction, and desolation of the whole cuntry, whereof in the end they extinguished, both the religion, lawes, language, and all, with the people and name of *Britaine*. Which hauing bene so long a Prouince of great honour and benefit to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaductes, High wayes, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: which all came to bee so vtterly razed and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines, to point vs where they were: for they, being a people of a rough breeding, that would not be taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field, would build their fortunes onely there. VVitnesse so manie Intrenchments, Mounts and *Borroughs* raised for tombes and defences vpon all the wide cham-

pions and eminent hills of this Isle, remaining yet as the characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our country, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State, is very seeldome scene : Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixtion of their owne, with the generation of the inuadors. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerable populacie of that nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme and Christianitie, with the immens blood shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romans*, was not to extirpate the nation; but to maister it. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made onelie at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselves. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the subuersion, but a community, and in the end, a soueraigntie of the State; matching with the women they heere found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nuesbria* in *France*: and after they had the dominion, and what the victorie would

would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people heere, to haue their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their bodie. But this was an absolute subuersion, and concurred with the vniuersall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one country, or Prouince, but chaunged boundes, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner all their names.

For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange nations to fortifie their sides; were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North East boundes of that Empire; as there burst out infinite streames of strange people, that ouer-ranne, and laide open the world againe to libertie, other formes and lymits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations and shiftings of people, from one countrey to another. The *Frances* and *Burgognons* dispossessed the *Gaules*, and gaue the names of *France* and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* transplanted themselves on some coastes of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had *Gallicia* and *Portugall* their names. The *Hunnes* and *Anari* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gaue the name of *Hungarie*. The *Long-*

The absolute
subuersion of
Brittain.

beardes, a people of *Germany*, bordering vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italie*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall Prouince, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandales*, miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possessed *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Britaine* alone, to be vndone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which hapned about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now heere to beginne with a new Bodie of people, with a new State, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that, of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, Riuer, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Britaine* it selfe was now no more *Britaine*, but *New Saxonie*, and shortly after either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the innadors) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist-Land*, or *England*. The distance, made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and conquered people, that nothing either of liues, rites and customes, came to passe ouer vnto vs from the *Britaines*: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their countrie: which they first diuided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the last extermination of
the

the *Britaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whome they were driuen ouer *Seuerne*, 136. yeeres after the first entertainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each others parts, or States (which neuer held certaine boundes) and the stronger vsurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seauen Kingdomes; that of the *Northanimbrians*, being made one of two: and then to sixe (the west *Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Sussex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250. yeeres.

At the first, by the space of 150. yeeres, they were meerlie gouerned by their owne lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with 40. others, by Pope *Gregorie*, had conuerred *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortlie after receiued the Christian faith, and had their lawes and rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperitie grew molified by humilitie of the religion, beganne to raise presently so many and great monuments of their piety, in all parts of the Land, as if they strived who should exceede therein, and had no other glorie: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for *Spiritual* solitude, and became Monkes; as *Ætheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa* King of the East

Saxons; *Kadwalla*, and *Ina*, Kings of the west *Saxons*; *Eadberte* King of the *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-land* and west *Sax*, so farre ouergrew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, gouerning the west *Saxons*, first aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to haue subdued *Mercna-land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire possibilitie to haue swallowed vp both the west *Saxons*, and all the rest of the Kingdomes. For whilst he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (vvith whom hee held league and amitie) hee was esteemed as the especiall King of the Land. But the manie wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his house, vpon *Æthelbert*, King of the East Angles, comming to him vnder publique faith, and a suitor to his daughter, were iustlie reuenged vpon his posteritie; which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert*, discended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attayning the Kingdome of the west *Saxons*, beganne the way to bring all the rest into subiection. And being a Prince, who from a priuate fortune, wherein hee liued below, with, and not aboue other men, had learned sufferance and moderation,

and

and by the Estate of an exile, experience, grew to haue great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great vnclē, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that those foure Kings of the west *Saxons*, vvhose seuerallie succeeded him, *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kinulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then by right of discent. And *Britric* knowing the weaknesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnes of *Egbert*; with his propinquitie in blood, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which hee perceiuing, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little securitie, in regard *Britric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of that King, hee escaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; subdues *Cornwall*, inhabited by the *Britaynes*; and after sets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inuested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State by the rupture of the Royall lyne, likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enioyed but 4. moneths, the inheritance of his fathers immanitie: whereby
that

Egbert obtey-
ned the King-
dome, which
by him was
named Eng-
land. Anno 802

The discriptiō
of the Danes.

that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kenulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe after murdered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kenulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares raigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the vest *Saxons*, as he did after that of the South, and East *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes, in a manner, attained to a souerainty of the whole. But the *Danes* imbroyling his peace in the end of his raigne, held him backe from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome, nor yet any of his successors so long as the *Danes* continued vnsubiected. For they hauing first made irruptions into the State, in the raigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) cuer after held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attayned the absolute soueraigntie to themselves.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germanie*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different, possessing besides *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*, A mightie, rough, and martiall nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracie, and

and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing heere the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part, the coaste lying open to inuasion, and the many diuisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereunto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Britaynes*, and drew to settling of a Monarchie, the *Danes*, as if ordain'd to reuenge their slaughters, beganne to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters between these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinit spoyles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordred and troublous memory, that what with their asperous names, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the Reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

After the death of *Egbert*, *A Ethelwolph*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the west *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may bee seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God:

F

besides,

besides, an annuities of 300. markes, to be bestowed in pious vices at *Rome*; whither hee went twice in person, with his yongest sonne *Alfred*, whom hee especially loued; and whom Pope *Leo 4.* annointed a King at eleuen yeares of age, as if deuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last iourney, and whole yeares stay at *Rome*; *Æthelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the *West Saxons*, to keepe him out, and depriue him vtterly of his gouernement, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the *West Saxons*, to *Æthelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignitie) to himselfe. After which, raigning but two yeares, *Æthelbald* succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Indith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauue*, King of *Fraunce*, enioyed it but two years and a halfe; when *Æthelred*, the second sonne of *Æthelulph*, cntred to the gouernement, which he held five yeares in continuall conflict, with the *Danes*.

Alfred. 878.

After whome, *Alfred*, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before hee had a Kingdome) at 22. yeares of his age, and in a yeare wherein eight seuerall battailes had beene giuen to the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*; began his troublous raigne, wherein hee was perpetually

in

in warre, either against his enimies, or else against vices.

First after a great danger to lose all, hee was forced to yeelde vp a part of the Kingdome (which was that of the East Angles and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrun*, leader of the *Danes*, whome vpon his baptization, he made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vsurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toile he indured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, hee performed all noble actions of peace: collecting first the lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons*, (as of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Æthelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduise, and consent of his States assembled, he makes choice of the fittest; antiquates those of no vse, and addes other according to the necessity of the time.

And for that the wildenesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land, to vnlawfull riots and rapine; that no man could trauaile without conuoy: hee ordained the diuisions of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings: that euery Englishman (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) living legally, might be of a certaine Hundred or Tithing, out of which hee was not to remoue without secu-

ritie: and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour, which if hee could not finde, hee was to indure the punishment of the law. If any malefactor, before or after hee had put in sureties escaped; all the Tithing or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured trauailers, and the peace of his countrey.

The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof: imputing it amongst his greatest infortunes to haue beene bred without it, and to haue his Kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselves) held them in great veneration: rarenes then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after, plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, hee drew out of *France*: *Affer* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*; others from other parts: he was the first lettered Prince we had in *England*; by whose meanes and incouragement publique schooles had here, eyther their reuiuing, or beginning.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater

greater care for the education of his sonnes, with whome were bred, vnder most diligent Masters, almost all the children of the Nobilitie within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleere from other businesse, hee bestowed in studie, and did himselfe, and caused others, to translate many things in the vulgar tongue: which he laboured, it seemes, much to adorne, and especially affected the *Saxon* meeters: wherby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of Poet.

Mat. Westm.

The naturall day, consisting of twentie four howers, he cast into three parts: whereof eight he spent in prayer, studie, and writing: eight in the seruice of his body, and eight in the affairs of his States. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee measured by a great waxe light, diuided into so many parts, re-eeauing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall howers passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences: whereof to make the current runne more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a generall suruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his estate registred in a booke which hee kept in his treasure at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, hee held him in

The first suruay
of the King-
dome.

*Edwardus Seni-
or. 900.*

that irregularitie of fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and raigned seuen and twenty yeares, leauing his sonne *Edward*, a worthy successor, to maintaine the line of Noblenesse thus begun by him.

E*Edward*, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for hee had all the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, in possession: whereof *Alfred* had but the homage, and some write, held souerainity ouer the East Angles, and *Northumbrians*: though wee finde in the ioynt lawes that hee and *Guthrun* made together, they held the same confederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. Hee also subdued the *Britaynes* in *Wales*: fortified and furnished with Garisons diuers townes in *England*, that lay fit to preuent the incursions of the *Danes*; and was all his raigne of twentie three yeares, in continuall action, and euer before hand with fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded, during this *Danicque* warre, though they lost their ease, wonne much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as hauing little out-lets, or leisure, for ease and luxury, they were made the more pious, iust and carefull in their gouernement: otherwise it had beene impossible to haue held out against the *Danes*, as they did: a people of that power and

and vndauntable stomacke , as no fortune could deterre , nor make to giue ouer their holde. And the imbecillitie of some vnactiue Prince at that time , had beene inough to haue let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause , that in the succelssion of some of these Kings , were certaine ruptures made out of course , in respect of their ablenesse. As first after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior* , his sonne *Athelstan* of full yeares , and spirit , was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate sonne *Edmond* , vnder age : Nor did *Athelstan* disappoint the Kingdome in this worke ; but performed all noble partes of Religion , Iustice , and Magnanimitic , after sixteen yeares raigne , dying without issue , *Edmond* his brother succeeded him. A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his predecessors , had hee not vntimely perished by the hand of a base outlaw in his owne house , at a festiuall , amidst his people , that deerely loued and honoured him. And though he left two sonnes , yet was *Edred* his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them : who making no variation from the lynce of virtue , continued by his auncestors , was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* , during the whole time of his raigne , which was of ten yeares.

Edwin , his nephew , the eldest sonne of *Edmond* ,

Anno 924.

Edmond. 940.

Edred or Eldred. 946.

Edwin.

959.

Edmond, succeeded him, an irregular youth, who interrupting the course of goodnesse, liued dissolutely, and died wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other sonne of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill.

Edgar, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the graue aduile of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts and affections of men) put and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernement, hee prouided a mightie Nauie, to secure his coasts from inuasion; which now he found (though late) was the onely meane to keepe out these miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the land, euer before negligent, or not inured to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping, but a few small vessels made of wicker, and couered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes*, both mightie (as those times gaue) in shipping, found that easie footing they had: Yet *Egbert* is said to haue prouided a strong Nauie, about the yeare 840. And *Alfrid* 30. or 40. yeares after did the like. But cyther now dis-vsed, or consumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edifies, and sets forth a Fleet consisting

consisting (as some write) of 1600 saile, others a farre greater number, and those he deuides and places in foure parts of the Realme, making his progresse yearly, with part of this mightie Naue, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it all to one name and Monarchie, hee was intituled, King of all *Albion*; as testifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of *Maldesmesburie*, in these words: *Ego Edgarrus totius Albionis Basileus nec non Maritimarum seu insularum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For hee hauing first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet cohabitation through all his dominions; had the soueraigntie ouer them: And *Kenneth*, king of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father, or for his whole kingdomes; I cannot say. And fise Kings of *Wales* did the like for their countrey, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that he seemes the first and most absolute Monarch of this land that hitherto wee find: The generall peace that held all his time, honored his name with the title of *Pacificus*: and rendred his Kingdome, neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse, very flourishing.

But as if the same had been giuen to shew,

G

and

Saint Edward.

975.

Elfred his step-mother is said to haue murdered him, hunting in the Isle of *Purbeck*

Ethelred.

978.

and not to vse, like a short calme betwixt stormes, it lasted but little beyond his raigne of sixteene yeares : being too short to close the disseuered ioynts of a commixed Kingdom; which was onelie to haue beene the worke of Time : and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to haue aduanced and confirm'd the State of a Monarchie,) were ordeined to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths : as was this glorious young Prince, in the 32. yeare of his age: leauing his sonne *Edward*, a childe, to vndergoe the miseries of nonage, to be made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; vwho to aduance her owne sonne *Ethelred*, brake in, ouer the bounds of nature and right, to make his way : and is said, her selfe to haue murdered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied.

B V T *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground : the entrance to whose raigne was bloud; the middle, miserie; and the end, confusion. They write, Saint *Dunstan* preaching at his Coronation, prophetically foretold him of these calamities would follow
 “ this transgression : saying : *For that thou hast*
aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother,

“ *ther, murdered by thy mother; thus saith*
“ *the Lord: the sword shal neuer depart from thy*
“ *house, raging against thee all the dayes of*
“ *thy life, slaying those of thy seede, till the*
“ *Kingdome be transferred to another, whose*
“ *fashion and language thy people shall not*
“ *knowe. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of*
“ *thy ignominious mother, with her counsellors,*
“ *be expiated, but by long auengement. And*
this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified
in the euent. For either their vniust disordering
the succession, or the concurrency of hidden
causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this
late begunne Monarchie fell quite asunder,
and begat the occasion of two conquests, by
forraine nations, within the space of 50.
yeares.

For the *Danes*, hauing now beene so long
inmates with the English, disspread ouer all
partes by intermatching with them, and mul-
tiplying with the late peace and confederati-
ons, had their partie, (though not their rule)
greater then euer: so that this opportunitie of
a yong and vssettled Prince, in a new and bran-
ded State, drew ouer such multitudes of other
of the same nation: as euery coast and part of
the Land, were miserablie made the open
rodes of spoile and saccage: in such sort, as the
State knew not where to make any certaine
head against them: for if incountred in one

The original
of *Dane gelt*
the first im-
position laid
vpon the King-
dome.

place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were raised, as nothing could bee effected auaylable to quail them; Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing hee could not preuaile with the sword, to assaile them with money, and bought a peace for ten thousand pounds: vvhich God wot, proued after, a very deer penny-worth to the common wealth, shewing the teller thereof, how much was in his power, and the buyar, at how hard a rate his necessitie was to be serued; and yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the contractor would. Who hauing found the benefite of this market, raised the price thereof almost every yeare. And yet had not *Ethelred* what hee paid for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from spoile and inuasion, but rather the more now opprest, both by the war, and this taxation. Vvhich was the first we find in our annales laid vpon the Kingdome, (and with heauie greeuance raised in a poore distressed State,) continuing many ages after the occasion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vsuall supplyment in the dangers of the Kingdom, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both enlarged the meanes and desire of the enemy, so that at length came *Swayn*, King of *Denmarke*, and
Aulase,

Aulase, King of *Norway*, in person, as if likewise to receive hire for committing outrage, and were both returned with great sums, and *Aulase* of a milder disposition, with baptism.

These calamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home: faith and respect (being seldom found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men employed in the defence. *Ælfrie*, Admirall of the Navy, is said to have given intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and disappointed that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Frithigist*, *Godwyn*, and *Turkettle*, descended of *Danicke* progeny, and of greatest command, deceived the armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they ledde. *Edric* Earle of *Mare-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with everlasting ignominie, and the title of *Falze*, for his barbarous disloyaltie, frustrating all attempts wherein he was employed.

Wolnod, a Nobleman, for his misdemeanor outlawed, made depredations on the coastes, with 20. ships, and was the cause that 80. more sent, to take him in, were utterly consumed.

This defection of his Nobilitie, howsoever it might be by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affection, is laid to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet wee finde more unfortunate then weake. howsoever they have

set his marke : and neglected no occasion to make resistance and reparations against all e-uents, bringing often his affaires to the verie point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to doe woorthily : which howsoeuer it were (besides the miserie to loose) hee must haue (that vvhich accompanies infelicitie) *Blame*, and *Reproch*. Though the many and desperate battailes hee made ; the good constitutions for the gouernment ; the prouisions to supply all important occasions, shew, that hee was not much behind the best Princes, but only in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his father, hee procured a mightie Nauie, causing of euery 3 10. hide or plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a ship to be built, and of euery eighth, a Corslet to be found : Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quasht with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made vnusefull by neglect, or ignorance : whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappointed. Famine, and mortalitie, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destruction, and all concurr'd to make a dismall season.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* king of *Danes* returned to raise againe new summes by

by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then ever; receiues a fee for bloud-shed, to the summe of 48000 pounds; granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*, and a peace, or rather paction of seruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vse of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two nations, confirmed by oaths of either part, and Hostages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare. When the occasion of greater mischiefes was given by a vniuersall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the suggestion of *Hune*, a great Commander, and a violent warriour of that time. Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughtie with this peace; Committed many outrages, violating the wiues and daughters of great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the Kingdome; at one instant, as shewed the concurrence of an inueterate rankor, and incomparability of these two nations, impossible to be conioyned. So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of aliance, were auailable to saue them from slaughter. Wherein to incense the more their King,
Gunild,

The massacre
of the *Danes*.

1002.

Gunild, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before receiued Christendom, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing first her husband and sonne slaine in her sight, rather with a threatning, then appalled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

Soone was the notice of this enormous act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as soone armed with rage and power, reentred he the Kingdome, hauing now a fairer shew to doe sowly, then cuer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not so forward to maintaine their act, as to commit it, rather were content to giue him the possession of their country, then that he should win it: the greatest part of the Kingdome submitting themselues vnto him; onely the citie of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified made noble resistance till hee left them; and, conueyed himselfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandie*, whither hee had sent *Emma* his Queene, with their 2. sonnes, *Alfrid* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempest. But within 2. moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly: leauing

leauing his sonne *Knute* to succcede his fortunes, and accomplish what he intended.

Ethelred returning, was soone furnisht with an Army, sets vpon *Knute* in *Lindsey*, where he lay with his fathers shipping, and Hostages, and draue him to take the seas: wherewith enraged, making about to *Sandwich*, he miserably mangled, and dismembred those Hostages, and so sent them home: himselve, with the spoiles his father and he had gotten, returned to his countrey, to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose.

Ethelred in the meane time, to increase the summe of reuengement with more wrath, at a generall Assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danicque* Nobilitie to be murdered: Among which were *Sigisfrith*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand on each side for mischief) inuiting them to his lodging, vnder pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slaine: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselves and their maisters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same burnt. *Knute* armed with the greatest of his owne & neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeere, at *Sandwich*, & without resistance, had all the VVest parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience,

H

and

and furnishment with horse and armor. Here the false *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vs 40. ships, and his periur'd faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and bodie, *Edmond* his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found faith, had made it so, and deliuered his country at that turne, from the worst of miseries; the conquest by strangers.

BVt now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37. yeares raigne, shewes that infelicitie shall haue time too much, and happinesse too little.) *Knute* was by most of the Clergie and Nobilitie chosen King: onely the City of *London*, with some of the Nobility thereabout, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) he had the better in three imminent battels, within 3. moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at *Essendon* (likely to haue been the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, seeing *Edmonds* part in possibility to preuaile) againe betray'd his trust, & withdrew himselfe, and the charge hee had, to the enemy. This fatall battell lost *England*: here peri-

Edmond Ironside sonne to *Ethelred*, by his first wife *Ethelgina*.

1016.

perished the best flower of honour it then had : Here amongst the rest was slaine, *Vlkill*, an Earle of *Essex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long stood vp for the Kingdom, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the first that shewed there was hope and possibilitie to quaille the enemy, had there beene an vnion in loyalty.

From this bloudie worke, *Edmond* escapes to *Glocester*, to recollect new forces, nor was hee so forsaken with his fortune, but that hee soone recouered another armie, to re-assaile the enemy, that might be idle vpon this victorie. But *Knute*, as prouident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after : Heere when both Armies vvere at the point to incounter, a motion of peace vvas propounded : Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all : and that in an Isle of the riuer *Seuern* (their Armies on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the maistery for the prize of a Kingdome : After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they cast away their weapons, imbraced and concluded the peace : But howsoeuer, it seemes both sides tyred with the miserie of a consuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the viter extirpation of the one, and considering the danger of either, and incertaintie of the future, were easily

The death of
King Edmond
Ironside at Ox-
ford.

perswaded to imbrace a present agreement: which was made by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirm'd by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremonie to expresse the attone-ment of their mindes, as if they made transac-tion of their persons each to other. *Knute* be-came *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*. A fatall ex-change for so free and magnanimous a Prince as *Edmond*: vvho indeede was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, vvvas in so few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously giuen him at *Oxford*; somesay by the sonne of *Edric* (as if to shew hee would be the heire of his fa-ther also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vtterly lost, as determinable with his raigne: which (with all we haue else of his magnanimous actions) took vp scarce the circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that been space enough for glorie (whose measure is to be taken rather by the pro-funditie, then the length, which seldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere, and better for his renowne to haue died at the battraile of *Essendon* with *England*, then dis-cended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

But

BVt by this meanes *Knute* attayned the absolute dominion of the whole kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iustice then hee got, conforming his natiue roughnes, to a more ciuile and regular fashon of life: And to haue *England* see that now he was hers; hee sends away his Nauie, and stipendarie soldiers, home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly, vpon this people, taking the way of mildnesse, a better meanes for his establishment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this euacuation of Strangers, 83000. pounds of siluer; which it rather consented to do at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to pester the State for euer.

At his first comming to the Crowne, hee sought to ridde himselfe, as well of his friends as of those might proue his enemies. *Edric* who came first to salute him sole King of *England* (as if to tell, that hee made him so) hee caused his head to bee set on the highest part of the Towre of *London*, therein performing his promise of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt, which though hee should haue paid, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered: giuing a generall satisfaction to the people, that reioyced to see Treason so iustly rewarded. Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles *Turkil*, and *Erick*, who being

Knute the first
Danic King.

1018.

banished the Land, were executed vpon their arriuell in *Denmarke*.

But the loue, and high opinion of Iustice hee got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein hee tooke counsell onelie of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall bloud of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward*, the sonnes of the late King *Edmond* (to whome appertained the moyetic of the Kingdom by contract) & of *Edwin* his brother; which three, he sent to be murdered abroad, to beguile the rumor at home: But, which is strange, those times, though rough, afforded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserved and conueyed out of danger by those vvho should haue made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (suruiuing his brother) married *Agatha*, sister to that Queene. (And some write, daughter to the Emperour *Henry 3.*) by whom hee had two sonnes, *Edmond* and *Edgar*, daughters, *Margaret* and *Christina*.

Alfred, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserved by *Richard* Duke of *Normandie* their Vnkle, and so lay out of his way.

This priuate iniustice (vvhich often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) hee sought to recompence vvith all publike satisf-

satisfactions : repairing the naufrage of the common-wealth (made by therage of warre) both in ornament and order : erecting Churches and Monasteries, with large patents of prouisions, both for the expiation of his inmanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankfulnessse to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, diuulged in the language of that time, testifie his tender piety, and care of Iustice : and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes, he held the best meanes to haue lawes obserued, was to haue them first enacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuerer he was, but not cruell : few of his lawes sanguinarie, as being not the custome of the time : which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique order, without the luctuall remedie of bloud. No punishments capitall, vnless conspiracies : the rest were all pecuniarie mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment.

To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example : there was a law, that whosoever had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his familie were made bond, euen to the childe in the cradle : This
he

he antiquates as most vniust, and ordaines, that onely the malefactor, and such as could aide him, should endure the punishment: and that the wife, vnlesse the thing stolne, were found vnder her lock, should not be guiltie of her husbands offence.

Thus was he to his people, with whom, hee is said to haue so well cleered himselfe (how-soeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their countrie. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did manie popular acts: as first all rites of honour and reucrence to the memorie of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides: the executing all such as could bee found to haue had anie hand in that murther. Then married he heere at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had beene the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandie* from attempting any thing for his nephewes, in regard his sister might haue other by him.

Hauiug thus established this mightie Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon hee fastens; and with the great forces he brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high estimation

tion of his worthinesse, so preuailed, as hee soone obteyned that kingdome; and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intituled, King of *England, Denmarke, and Norway.*

Herewithall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which he laboured most to gratifie, eyther for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to poure out his immense bounty here within the land, seekes to make *Rome* also feeble the fulnesse thereof; whither he went in person, and performed many famous workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. He freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predeceffors of *England* had founded, from all imposition: as hee did likewise all streights and passages, where trauellers were with rigor constrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade* the Emperour, and diuerse other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an especiall regard to the due administration of Iustice, to all his subiects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, hauing no
I need

neede to aduance his reuenuē by sinne: And also charges them to see all *Chirchscot* and *Romescot* fully cleered before his returne.

The actiue vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of a cloze, and first of a new Gouvernement, is such; as shewes hee strived by all worthy wayes, to lay the ground-worke of a State: which according to his frame, was eyther to hold good to his posterity, or not. And as likely was hee, to haue beene the roote of a succession, spreading into many discentes, as was afterward the *Norman*; hauing as plentiful an issue masculine, as hee: besides, hee reigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of disposition more bountifull, and of power larger to doe good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscaried in the succession: and all this great worke fell in a manner with himselfe.

Harald.

1038.

Harald, the eldest sonne of *Knute* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danicque* Nobilitie, in an assembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwyn* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of *England*, would haue chosen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or else *Alfride*, the sonne of *Ethelred*, who is said to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute*, to claime the

the Crowne; But *Harald* being at hand, caried it; The first act of whose raigne, was the banishment, and surprizing all the Treasure of his step-mother *Queene Emme*: Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfrid* her sonne, his competitor: and committing him to a loathsome prison, where he died. For which deed, the Earle *Godwyn* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. *Queene Emme* repaires to *Baldouin* Earle of *Flanders*, her kinsman; where shee remained during the raigne of *Harald*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her sonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it seemes prepared for something else, then to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

THIS *Hardiknute* inuested in the Gouvernement, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him: and first in like sort began with that degenerous act of reuenge (wherein none are said so much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late King to be vntomb'd, the head cut off, and thrown into *Thames*; Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother: whereof Earle *Godwyn* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused: The Bishop is dispossessed his Sea; and the Earle with a rich and rare deuised present, in forme of a ship of gold, appeased that furie;

making publicke protestation of his innocencie before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, hee stood firme, and all the blame was laide to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Besides, the offending these great men, hee added a generall grievance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giuing to euery Mariner of his Nauie eight Markes, and to euery Maister ten, which hee imposed to bee paid by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe-brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his raigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greatest iolity, not without suspicion of poyson.

AND with him ended the gouernment of the *Danes* in *England*, hauing only continued 26. yeares vnder these three last Kings: and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the Nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeare of *Knute*, and no great admission of others after: and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the English, as they made onebody: and most of them planted in the remote

The reason of
the extinction
of the *Danes* in
England.
Anno 1043.

remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer against *Denmarke*: whereby, that which with all the strugling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leauing *England* to a King of her owne, and *Denmarke* to ciuilediscord about the succession, *Norwey* likewise returning obedience to a sonne of *Olau*, recouered quietnesse, and a home borne King.

BY which occasion, *Edward*, the sonne of *Ethelred*, succeeding in the gouernement, raigned twenty foure years in peace (which besides a few monethes, was all the space that lay betwixt, the two gulphes of strangers domination) and was a Prince more necessarrie then profitable: fit for no other then the calme time he had. For hauing beene so long brought vp with the *Nunnes* at *Iumieges*, in *Normandie*, he scarce knew to be a man when hee came into *England*. And to shew how little hee vnderstood himselfe; they note how in a great anger hee said to a base fellow that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee were I able*. And as if hee had vowed their continencie with whom hee was bred, was so farre from knowing other women (eyther thorow conscience or debility) as his owne wife, after his death, protested herselfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued hee with

Edward the
Confessor.

1043.

her in all formall shew of marriage.

The soft simplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatnesse of the Earle *Godwyn*, and his children, who, for that hee would seeme the especiall man in his preferment to the Crown, and by matching his daughter *Edith* to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time; and yet not without opposition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford*, men of as great State and spirit, seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation but much conduce to the present benefite both of the King and State; For the Earle *Syward*, would not bee behinde hand in effecting as braue-deedes in the North, as *Harald*, Earle of *Westsex*, the sonne of the Earle *Godwyn* performed against the Welsh in the West: For the first depriued of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vsurper, and inuested *Malcolm*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the other defeited *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and subdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Besides, the Earle *Godwyn* had to struggle with an Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, *Robert*, a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, first to *London*; and after to that Sea by the King, inwardly affecting most that Nation, as being part of their blood, and bred amongst them.

Of

Of whom it seemed hee had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoeuer they did, could not auoyde to be thought to doe ill offices against the Earle, and the English in generall: whereby, what went not right in the lyne of menn's desires: was thought to bee their cause. And in stomacks full charged, this occasion gaue more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogue*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, hauing beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Herbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Douer*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen slaine: the Earle arriuing with all his traine, pursues, and slew the homicide, with eightene other. The Citie seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost two and twenty of his men; wherupon, backe he hasts to the King, aggrauates the insolency of the Citizens so farre, that the Earle *Godwyn* is sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the Citie of *Douer*, to chastice the people. The Earle considering it was vpon the information of one side; aduised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the Citie, to vnderstand what they could say for themselves, and accordingly to proceede; which being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of fauour to his countrey-men, gaue the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection. Shortly after,

after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at *Gloucester*, where neyther hee, nor any of his sonnes would appeare; and suspecting some practice against him by his enimies, raises forces, pretending to suppress the *Welsh*, who were not found to offend, wherevpon the Assembly remoues to *London*, summons him againe to make his apparance, to dismisse his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue persons. Hee sends them word, to dismisse his forces hee was content; or any thing else the King would command him, so it were with the safetie of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was he commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which hee did, and with *Toustayne* and *Swayne* his sonnes, gets him into *Flaunders*, where *Toustayne* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldouin* 5. *Harald* his eldest sonne, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the *Queene*, to bee partaker of the disgrace, and miserie of her house. The Earle *Godwyn* in this desperate fortune, whilst the *French* and his enimies posselt the King, fell to piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his owne peace with power; in such sort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forsook both the Court and Kingdome.

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This (as fore-pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the *French* nation : which thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome , and factions of great men , wrought on those aduantages , and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weaknesse of the King , and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle *Godwyn* , being risen vp from so great a fall (learning thereby , to looke better to his feete , and make his side strong) increased these discontentments , and partialities in the State : wherein many acts of iniustice , by the sway of power and passion , were committed , which did much blacken that time of peace , and made a good man (not by doing , but induring ill) held to be a bad King.

And it is said , that *Emme* the Queene mother , had her part of much affliction in his raigne , suffering both in her goods and fame : and how to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* , Bishop of *Winchester* , shee vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold , with bare feete , ouer certaine Plough-shares , made redde hot , and laide an vneuen distance one before the other) which shee safely performed. And the reason why , both her sonne and the State so little respected this great Lady (whose many yeares

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had

had made her an actor in diuerſe fortunes) was, for that ſhe neuer affected king *Ethelred*, nor the children ſhe had by him : and for her marriage with *Knut*, the great enemy and ſubduer of the Kingdome, whom ſhee euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

It ſeemed theſe priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held theſe times ſo buſied, that the publicke was neglected, and an iſſueleſſe King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practiſes vpon : though for his owne part hee ſhewed to haue had a care for the ſucceſſion, in ſending for his nephew *Edward*, intituled the Out-law, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, ſhortly after his arriual died, and *Edgar* his ſonne (ſurnamed *Atheling*; to ſay, the noble *Edgar*) eyther by reaſon of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a ſtranger, little knowing, or known to the Kingdome, had his claime neglected vpon the death of this pious King.

Harald the ſecond.

1066.

AND *Harald*, ſonne to the Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne; whether by any title hee might pretend from the *Danieque* Kings, as diſcended from that Nation (and, as ſome report, ſonne to *Githa*, ſiſter to *Swayne*) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobilitie, we cannot ſay,

say: but it seemes, the pressing necessitie of the time, that required a more man, to vndergoe the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made both by the *Dane* and *Norman*, cast it suddenly vpon him, as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deseruings, and the strength of his alliance. Neither did he faile but in fortune, to make good this election, taking all the best courses both for the well-ordering of the State, and all prouisions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could do. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disioyned, or dasht with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as vsually is seene) in these publicke feares, both in their diligence and courage to withstand it, soone found more then enough to do.

And the first man, which began to disturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother *Toustayne*, who in the time of the late king *Edward*, hauing the gouernment of *Northumberland*, was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome, and now by reason of his former conceiued hatred against his brother, easily set on, by the Duke of *Normandie*, and *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders* (whose two daughters the

Duke and hee had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets vpon the coast of *Kent*, whence hee was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts, and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwyn* (whose sister *Harald* had married.) Then craues he ayde of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald* surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the Orchades, and exercising piracie in those parts, whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant armie; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Toussaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

But from hence was he called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy*, pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the testament of the late King *Edward* his kinsman, vpon the advantage of a busie time, and the disfurnishment of those parts, landed at *Pemssey*, not farre from *Hastings* in *Sussex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Asize of Gods iudgement in battell, the right of power, betweene
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the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battaile the most memorable of all other: and howsoever miserably lost, yet most nobly fought, on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with the heapes of thousands of the *English*, shew, how much was wrought to haue sau'd their countrey, from the calamity of forraigne seruitude.

And yet, how so great a kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow be subdued by so small a prouince as *Normandy*; in such sort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour, might seeme strange, did not the circumstances fore-noted, and other concurrent causes, in the next booke to be declared, giue vs faire and probable reason thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time (as it is described by such as liued neere it) may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this kingdome, were, by their being secure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace (which had held in a manner from the death of king *Edmond Ironside*, almost 50. yeares) growne neglectiue of armes, and generally debaushed with luxurie, and idlenesse: the Cleargie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuary learning: The Nobilitie giuen to gluttony, venery and oppression: the common sort to

drunkenness, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the bravest men perished, and himselfe growing insolent vpon the victorie, retayning the spoyle, without distribution to his souldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall discipline, made them discontent and vnruely: and comming to this battell with many mercenary men, and a discontented Armie, gaue great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether vnacquainted) were especially overthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine battallion of the *English*, consisting of Billes (their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolue them; till the *Normans*, fayning to fly, drew them to a disordered pursue. And so they excuse the fortune of the day.

And thus my noble Lord, haue I, in the straightest course, the vneuen compasse of Antiquitie could direct mee, got ouer the wide and intricate passage of those times, that lay beyond the worke I purpose more particularly to deliuer.

The end of the first Booke.

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THE
SECOND BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
ENGLAND.

The life of WILLIAM. I.



Come now (my Noble Lord of *Rocheſter*) to write of a time wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of lawes, cuſtomes, faſhion, manner of liuing, language, writing, with new formes of fights, fortifications, buildings, and generally an innouation in moſt things but Religion. So that from this mutation, which was the greateſt it euer had, wee are to beginne with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State and abilitie at home, and of more honour and name in the world then heretofore: which by being thus vndone, was made, as if it were in her face to get more by her loſſes, then her

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better fortunes. For as first the conquest of the *Danes* brought her to the intyrest Gouvernement shee euer possesse at home, and made her most redoubted of all the kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Norman* by coming in vpon her, make a way to let her out, and stretch her mightie armes ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South. For before these times, the English nation frō their first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, neuer made any sally out of the Isle, vpon any other part of the worlde, but busied at home in a deuided State, held a broken gouernment with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other nations, till *Knute* lead them foorth into the kingdome of *Norwey*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would bee, were they imployed.

But the *Normans* hauing more of the sunne, and ciuilitie by their commixtion with the *English*, begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions. And being a nation free from that dull disease of drinke, wherewith their former conquerours were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For whereas before, the *English* liued loose, in little homely cottages, where they spent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little
other

other gaitie at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them stately houses, prouide furnishments, erect Castles, after the architecture of *France*, which before were otherwise. They inclose parkes for their priuate pleasure, being debarred the general libertie of hunting, which heretofore they enioied : whereupon all the terms of building, hunting, tooles of workmen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the delights and adornements of life, came all to bee in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and fashion of liuing, became generally assumed, both in regard of nouelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on in this change.

And though the body of our language remained the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the apparraile of the *French* tongue, as now wee hardly know it in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the *Roman*, and *French* now vsed.

But to the end wee may the better know the man, and the nation that thus subdued vs; wee must take our course vp to the head of their originals.

The *Normans*, wee finde to haue issued out of *Norway* and *Denmarke*, and were of like manners, as the rest of those Northerne Countries : which by reason of the apt mixture of

Malmesbury.

The originall
of the *Normans*.

their phlegmaticque and sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall surchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themselues on other Countries, wheresoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancye, *Roul*, or *Roy*, a great Commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power in the time of King *Alfrid*, and first landed in *England*, (that cuer lay in the Roade to all these inuaders) where finding no roome emptye, nor any imploiment, was content (vpon some releefe receiued) to vse his forces otherwise; which hee did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom hee had many violent encounters, and committed great spoiles in their Countries. Which done, hee passed along the coast of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Country vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting*, (another inuader of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishoppe of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that Citie, and the Countrie about, on condition hee would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the lawes of CHRIST, and the Customes

Customes of the Countrie. For *Charles* the *Simples*, then King of *France*, yeelding no present succour, being otherwise imbroiled about the right of his Crowne, gaue him the opportunitie to plant him in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the conquest of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeats to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buy his peace with the price of an ailliance, and the whole Country of *Nuestria* (or *Westrisb*) which of the *Normans* was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes*, late King of *France*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the *Simples*, and is said to haue vnder-aided *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designs; though after hee vrged it an Article against *Charles*, the giuing away his Country, and the fauouring of strangers.

And thus came *Roul* to establish a State to his posteritie, ordering the same with that Iudgement and equitie, as hee left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his successours a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, descended six Dukes of *Normandie* in the space of 120. yeeres: *William*, the first, *Richard* 1. *Richard* 2. who had two sonnes, *Richard* and *Robert*, that successiuelie

inherited the Dukedome.

Robert after hauing gouerned eight yeeres, (eith^r meerely for deuotion,) which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, wherewith his conscience might stand charged, about his brothers death (which because it was vntimely, might bee thought vnnaturall) resolues to visite the holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewithall, was by them much dissuaded, in regard hee had no issue: and that already they said, *Alain*, Earle of *Britaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in contestation, who should succede him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their strife, the Countrie was like to become a prey to the Souldier, from which in conscience hee was bound by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to bee content. I haue (said hee) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse, I haue great hope, and I doubt not but he is of my begetting: him will I inuest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from hence forth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Britaine* (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I haue in him, I will constitute his gouernor, and Seneschall of *Normandy*; the King of *France* shall be his Guardian, and so I will leaue him to God and your loialties.

Shortly after, the Bishops and Barons did
their

their homage to this base sonne, named *William*, who was the sixth Duke of *Normandie* after *Roul*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaise*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliuers the child with his own hand, to *Henrie* 1. King of *France*, whom before hee had mainely aided in preseruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance*, which with a great side of Nobilitie, stood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the custome of *France*: and therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much as their selfe-respects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire discharge of his trust; and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to bee so. And causing the childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandy*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *Asia*. Whereupon his successour, but 9. yeeres of age, became obnoxious to all the miseries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: besides the reproach of his birth; which though his honour and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way and hindred his standing cleere, stood he neuer so high.

The Nobles of *Normandy* soone after his fathers death, by much intreatie, got him out
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of the *French* Kings hands, thinking the hauing him amongst them, would adde more grace to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But soone they found, the hauing his person without his power, was but to put them out into more discord and faction.

For presently followed the murthering and poisoning of *Gouernors*, displacing Officers, intrusion, supplantation, surprisings, and recovering of his person by a Nobilitie, stubborn, haughtie, and incompatible of each others precedencie or neernesse. But this was the least, as being done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous practises against it. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in discent) was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roul*, and much prooffe of his owne worth, by hauing gotten great experience in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great and especiall men of worth, hee was growen powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: insomuch that at length, measuring his owne height, hee vrges what wrong it was that a Bastard and a childe should bee preferred before him in the succession of that Duchie his Ancestors had noblie gotten: and what a shame

shame the *Normans*, a people of that worth, would endure to be so gouerned ; seeing they had others of the renowned race of *Roule*, *William* and *Richard*, Dukes of *Normandie*, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him v^r-worthie to inherite the State : and impatient (as is ambition that euer rides without raines) of anie long delay ; brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumont*, was vtterly defeated, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare, that way, was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much aduanced, as the King of *France*, (notwithstanding his tutelarie charge) tooke from him the Castle of *Thuilliers*, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, vpon his subiects : and makes shew as yet, only to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere he plainly bewraied his minde ; aiding in person *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and sonne to *Richard* 2. making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mightie armie to succour *Arques*, assieged by Cont *Guiffard* the Dukes Generall ; who by a stratageme so trayned the *French* into an ambush, as he ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great losse and dishonor : leauing *Arques* the first Arch of triumph to

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this conquerour (not yet arrined to 17. yeeres of age) and the discomfited competitor, to seeke his fortunes with *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court, where fortune euer alters credite, and few regard men ouerthrowne.

This storme ouerpast, another succedes more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeeres, named *Guy*, sonne to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Borgogne*, and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard* 2. who comming to bee sensible of his interest, was aduised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Dutchie, which they said appertained to him in right, and was wrongfully vsurped by the Bastard: And to aduance his purpose, happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of *Normandie*, *Vicont Neele*, and the Earle of *Bessin*, whose debate Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie: This *Guy* (latelie made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interposed himselfe to compose this discord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Plessis* (a principall mouer in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the point of their malice vpon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neither, made both to hate him; and easilie conspire with *Guy* to murder him at vnawares: which they had done, had not a certaine Foole whome, for being held a naturall they suspected

pected not) noting their preparations , got away in the dead of the night to *Valagne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till he was admitted to the Dukes presence, whome he willed in all hast to flie, or he would be murdered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, though dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the reporter, but by their likelihood ; and knowing his fortune was liable vnto all suddaine assassinations ; instantly takes horse, and all alone postes to *Fallaise* , his especiall place of strength : on the way, his horse being tired , about breake of day, hee comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good fortune , the gentleman of the place, was standing at his dore readie to goe abroad ; of whom the Duke enquires the next way to *Fallaise* : The gentleman perceiuing who he was (though as then verie vnwilling to be knowne) humblie craues the cause of his so strange and vntimely riding alone : The Duke seeing himselfe discovered , tels the occasion : the gentleman whose name was *Robert de Rye*, furnishes him with a fresh horse, and sendes two of his sonnes to conduct him the neereest way to *Fallaise* : No sooner was he gone out of his sight, but after post the conspirators, enquiring of the same gentleman, whether he saw the Duke ; who answered, that hee was gone a little before,

such a way (shewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his seruice to Conte *Bessin*; of whom hee held that Village vnder the Duke: And so long hee led them about, that the Duke had recouered *Fallaise*. Whereupon, disappointed of their purpose, they returned into the Countries of *Constantine*, and *Bessin*, where they made themselues so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his aide, putting him in mind of the faithfull seruice his father had done him: how hee was his homager, vnder his tute-larie charge, and had no other sanctuarie of succour to flie vnto, in this case of his mutinous and turbulent nobilitie, the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne. And so farre vrged the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too strong, and peraduenture rather him then his competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) aided him in person with a puissant Armie against these competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes*, with as great power and resolution to bid them battell, as they to assaile them. Heere one *Guillefon*, Vncle to *Viconte Neel* by the mother, forced his horse into the battallion of the *French*, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: which Conte
Saint

Saint *Paul* perceiuing, haltes to encounter him with that violence, as both fell to the earth. But *Guillefon* soone gets vp, and though his horse was slaine vnder him by *Chastillon*, hee escapes out of the presse, and after fled into *Apulia*, with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his person, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most vpon) shewed effects of an all-daring and magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralfe de Tesson* been false to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as hee did) the victorie. After which, diuers of the conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the mountaines into *Italie*, to *Robert Guiscard* their countryman, (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Cicile*, within the space of twelue yeeres) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especiallie *Guillefon*, for hauing encountred with a King in the midst of his battell, which made him of wider note.

But the better to know what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of those times, it shall not lie out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italie* vpon this occasion. There happened a debate betweene one *osmund Drengot*, and *William*

Repostel, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great parentage in *Normandie*, who as they hunted in the forrest of *Rouuerie* (ncere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*, *Drengot* slew *Repostel* in his presence; and fearing the furie of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where hee, with his small companie of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke *de Beneuento*, to serue him against the *Sarasins* and *Africans*, which miserablie infested *Apulia* and *Calabria* at that time. The bruit of which entertainment was no sooner spread in *Normandie*, but diuers valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good fortune, passed the *Alpes*, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chased and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselves rid of their enemies, would haue been glad likewise (their turne serued) to be rid of their friends, and either vsing them more vnkindly then of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords vpon their entertainers. And first got a little place, which they fortified for their *Rendeuous*, and receit of bootie; and so augmenting still their winnings, obtained Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. After the death of *Drengo*, succeeded other gallant Leaders; and at length

Tancred

Tancred Signor de Hauteville, in Constantine, with his 12. sonnes, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third sonne *Robert*, surnamed *Guis-card*, attained the commaund, and was a man of a faire stature, cleere iudgement, and indefatigable courage. He conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Cicile*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; relieued *Michaell Diocrisius*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, defeated *Nicephorus* that vsurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like: and in one yeere vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germanie*: Swaied the whole estate of *Italie*, and was in a faire way to haue attained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had he not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest sonne, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holie warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the States of *Italie*, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a succession of Kings, and Princes after him, and died the same yeere as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune.

And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans*, during these ciuill warres

warres the Duke had with so many competitors : and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiscards* forces in *Italie* ; and especially this battell of *Dunes* ; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgogne* escaping the fight , fortified the Castles of *Briorn* and *Verneuille*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselve, to the Dukes mercie , and became his pencioner, who was his competitor; which act of clemencie in the Duke, brought in manie other to submit themselues ; whereby they reobtained their segnories, but had their Castles demolished;

Hauiug ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffrey Martle*, Earle of *Aniou*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached also vpon his neighbours States, and vsurped *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Passais*, members of the *Duchie of Normandie*: which to recouer, the Duke leaues an Armie, and first got *Alençon*, where, for that he was opprobriousslie scorned by the besieged (who when they saw him, would crie *La Pel, La Pel*, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the trade of the place of his birth) hee shewed extreme crueltie. Then laies hee siege to *Dampfront* ; which to relieue, Cont *Martel* comes with his greatest forces : and the Duke to take notice of his strength,

strength, sends out *Roger de Mongomerie*, with two other Knights to deliuer this message to the Earle; that if he came to victuall *Damfront*, he should find him there the Porter to keepe him out: whereto the Earle returnes this answer: Tel the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he shall haue mee there on a white horse, readie to giue him the combate, and I will enter *Damfront* if I can; And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield *d'or*, without anie deuise.

Roger replies, Sir you shall not need to take that Paines, for to morrow morning, you shall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, hee shall weare on the point of his Launce, a streamer of taffata, to wipe your face. Herewith returning, each side prepares for the morning: when the Earle, busie in ordering his battels, was aduertised by two horsemen that came crossing the field, how *Damfront*, for certaine, was rendred to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, he presently departs with his army: whereof a part was (in passing a streight) cut off, by *Vicont Neel*, who for that seruice, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes fauour, whome euer after he faithfullie serued. Those of *Damfront*, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselves to the Duke, who with his engines

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and forces remoues from thence to *Hambrières*, a frontier towne of Cont *Martels*, and by the way (had it not beene by him selfe discouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by, an ambush, which gaue him much to doe and lost him verie manie braue men. Where-with he grew so intraged, that he forced into the troupes of his enemies; made at Cont *Martell*, stracke him downe with his sword, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet he escaped out of the preasse, though diuers were taken, and the *Aniouins* vtterly defeated.

Whilst thus he was traouelling with an outward enemy, two more were found at home, to conspire against him. *William Guelan*, Earle of *Mortagne*, descended from *Richard* the second. And *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montreuil*, issuing from *William*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Esselin*, Countesse of *Montreuil*: the first vpon suspicion, the other vpon prooffe, of an intention, was banished, and their estates seized: the Earledome of *Mortagne* he gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo*, (after Bishoppe of *Bayeux*) both his brethren by the mother.

These assaults from abroad, these skornes, conspiracies, and vnder-workings at home, hee passed before he was full 22. yeeres of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderfer and strengthen

strengthen his State, against future practises, hee conuokes an assemblie of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, causing them to receiue their oath of fealty, and raze their castels. Which done, he married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin*, 5. Earle of *Flaunders*, but not without contract and trouble: for his vncle *Mauger*, Archbishop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred: shee being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the 2. and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence, (vpon a dispensation from Pope *Victor*) they were enioined the building of certaine Hospitals for blind people: and two Abbeys, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at *Caen*.

This match, and the ouer-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuie in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vsually called *Trewans*) as they easilie incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion, with the rest of the Princes of his dominions, to finde a quarrell (which confiners easilie doe) to set vpon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretendes to correct the insolencies of the *Normans*, committed on his territories, and to relieue Count *Martell*,
N 2 opprest,

opprest by the Duke; besides allcading, it concern'd him in honour and iustice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to be gouerned by a Prince of lawfull blood, according to Christian order and lawes Ecclesiasticall: and therefore resolueth vterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legitimate Prince in the Dutchy. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the riuer *Sein*, the other into the Country of *Bessin*, as meaning to incomlasse it.

The Duke likewise diuides his forces into two parts: sends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Guiffard* Earle of *Longueuill*, and others with the one, to the Country of *Caux*, himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux*, (to make head to the King that was at *Man*) and withdrawes all cattell and prouisions out of the flat Countrie, into Cities and Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. The Kings armie marching from *Beauuiss*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Countrie full of all prouisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and restes there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which the armie in *Caux*, conducted by *Odo* vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gaue them so hot an alarme, and

and so sodaine, as put them all in rout, leauing horse, and armour, and all to the assailants; who made such a destruction of them, as of 40. thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeature, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners; recouers his peace, and the Castle of *Thuilliers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Cont *Martell* though much dismayed with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaues not to make some attempts for the recouering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke he saw was too well beloued and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger arme. Wherefore the next spring, he goes againe to importune the King of *France*, to aide him against the Duke: who (hee said) was now growne so insolent vpon this peace, and the victorie he had stolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighbours ncere him: besides the *Normans* had the *French* in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act at *Mortimer* their onely sport, and the subiect of their rimes: as if a King of *France*, vpon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonourable peace.

With which instigation, and being stung
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with the touch of reproach (he raises another Army farre mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithstanding the solemne peace made , and so lately sworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandie* in the haruest time, ouerrunnnes and spoiles all the Countrie, along the Coast to *Bessin* : from whence marching to *Bayeux* , and *Caen* , with purpose to passe the riuer *Diue* at *Varneville* , to destroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Lisieux*, and *Roumoys*, euen to *Roan* : and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vanguard to passe ouer first : and, to secure his *Arierguard*, conducted by the Duke of *Berrie*, himselfe staies behind in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William*, who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victuall, makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Falaise*, as he could ; hath no armie in the field, but a running campe to be readie to take all aduantages : lets the furie of the storme spend it selfe, and hauing aduertisement of this passage , marched all night with 10. thousand men, and in the morning earely, sets vpon the *Arierguard*, with so sodaine a crie and furie, as they who were before on the Case-way hearing this noise behinde, thrust forward their fellowes , hasting to get ouer the bridge, with such a crowd and preasse, as they brake it, and many were drown

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in the riuier. They who were gotten ouer, could not returne to aide the rest; nor the King, by reason of the Marishes on both sides (yeeld any succour to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whome one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauoring his great worth) had made *Cont De Soissons*.

The grieffe of this ouerthrow, shortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandie* a ioyfull peace, which he nobly imploied in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbeyes at *Caen*, (where he also crected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so posselt him of the hearts of all his people generallie, as they were entirely his, for what he would.

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourney ouer into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preseruation, and breeding he had in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second, (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most roiall entertainment: And here he shewed himselfe; and here no doubt hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enteruiew hee discovered *England*, being to bee presupposed,
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hec came not to gather cockle-shells, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Herald*, (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriued betwixt them: or by casuallty of weather driuen into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a iourney of purpose to the Duke is not certainly deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandie*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likeli-hood to diuide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Herauld* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the state, should let in the Duke, and doe his best to helpe him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of diuers great persons. Besides for more assurance, *Harald* was fianced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Walnot* left a pledge for the performance.

This intercourse made the transaction of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harald* (though neither act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime

claime of the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to anothers place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayde properly to bee the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot be put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as he had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the election, and Coronation of *Harald*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right hee had to *England*, soliciting an extention of their utmost meanes for his recovery thereof, and auengement of the periur'd Usurper *Harald*; shewing them apparant probabilitie of successe, by infallible intelligence he had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debilitie and distraction of the people; What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was thus

opportunately laide open for them, if they apprehended the present occasion. All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, and those, such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promise likelyhood of aduancement. The rest were of diuers opinions: some, that it was sufficient to hold and defend their owne countrey; without hazarding themselues, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergo a certaine trouble for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neere and most trusty friends in particular, being such as hee knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole estates with him. As *William fitz-Auber, Conte de Brettenile, Gualter Guifford Earle of Logueuille, Roger, Signor de Ecaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert Earle of Mortaigne*:

taine: these in full assembly hee wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William Fitz-Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty ships with men and munition; the Byshoppe of *Bayeux*. 40. the Byshop of *Mans*. 30. and so others, according or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded without their helpe (the Duke arriuing to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to aduance his desires, beganne to contribute more largely.

The Duke finding them yeelding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops and great men a part, so effectually, as at length hee got of them seuerally thar, which of all together hee could neuer haue compassed, and causing each mans contribution to be registred; inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would do nothing, now strived who should doe most.

And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their persons, and much of their estate with him: as *Robert fitz-Haruaiges*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of

Bretaigne, Ponthieu, Bologne, Poitou, Mayne, Nevers, Hiefms, Aumal; Le Signors de Tours, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel, Earle of Anjou,* became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee sure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them.

Although in these aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, and a constitution of times prepared for it: yet it is strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* nation, would aduenture their liues and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more then *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to serue that businesse.

The King of *France*, who should haue strangled this disleigne in the birth, was a childe, and vnder the curature of *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to haue rather furtherance then any opposition that way: Besides, to amaze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, hee promised faithfully, if hee conquered this kingdome; to hold it of the King, as hee did the Dutchie of *Normandie*, and doe him homage for the same; which would adde a great glory

glory to that Crowne. Then was hee before hand with Pope *Alexander*, (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique Sea, if hee preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of gold, and one of the hayres of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Hen. 4.* sent him a Prince of *Almayne* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: so that wee see it was not *Normandie* alone that subdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders*, with the aydes of other Princes. And by these meanes made hee good his vndertaking, and within eight monethes was ready furnished with a powerfull army at Saint *Valerie* in *Normandie*, whence hee transported the same into *England* in 896. ships, as some write. And this was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

And now having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at *Hastings*, the foureteenth of October. 1066. he marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland*, brothers of eminent dignitie and respect in the kingdome, had laboured with all their power to stirre the harts of the people for the conseruation of the

State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, and his right of the Crowne. whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented, had they not seene the Byshops auerse or wauering. For, as then to the Clergie any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Prouince a parte, deuided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken vp so much of the world before hand, vpon credite and fame of his pietie and bonntie, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to giue way to the present Fortune.

The Nobilitie, considering they were so borne, and must haue a King: not to take him that was of power to make himselfe, would shew more of passion then prouidence: and to be now behinde hand to receiue, with more then submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them stricke and runne headlong who should be first to preoccupate the grace of seruitude, and intrude them into forraine subiection.

The Commons, like a strong vessell that might haue beene for good vse, was heereby left, without a sterne, and could not moue but irregularly. So that all estates in generall either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselves, and their distressed

distressed Countrie. Vpon his approach to *London* the gates were all set open : the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and people, rendring themselves in all obedience vnto him : and he returning plausible protestations of his future gouernment, was on Christmas day, then next following, crowned King of *England* at *westminster*, by *Aldred*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held canonically inuested in his See : and yet thought to haue beene a forward mouer of this alteration.

Here, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oath, to be his true and loiall subiects, and he reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Archbishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, to defend the holy Churches of God, and the Rectors of the same : to gouerne the vniuersall people, subiect vnto him, iustly : to establish equall lawes, and to see them duely executed. Nor did hee euer claime anie power by conquest, but as a regular Prince, submitted himselfe to the orders of the kingdome : desirous rather to haue his Testamentarie title (howsoever weake) to make good his succession, rather than his sword. And though the Stile of

Conqueror

Conquerer by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him, hee shewed by all the course of his gouernment hee assumed it not: introducing none of all those alterations, (which followed) by violence, but a mild gathering vpon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking hostages for his more securitie, and order for the defence and gouernment of his kingdome, at the opening of the spring next, he returnes into *Normandie*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

And to leaue here all sure behind him, hee commits the rule of the kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his cousin *Fitz-Auber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*, taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likest to be heads to a reuolt. As *Edger Atheling*, the Arch-bishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwyn*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noble men: Besides to vnburthen his charge, and dis-impester his Court; hee tooke backe with him all the *French* aduenturers, and such as were vnneccessary men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made vp in faire promiles.

In his absence, which was all that whole sommer,

summer, nothing was heere attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the Countie of *Hereford*, called in the kings of the *Welsh* to his aide, and forraged only the remote borders of that Countrey. The rest of the kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Prouince, the state of *England* would bee but enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home, by reason the nation was but small, and of a plentifull, and not ouer-peopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

Hauing disposed his affaires of *Normandy*, hee returnes towards winter, into *England*, where hee was to satisfie three sorts of men: first such aduenturers, with whom hee had not yet cleered: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merites or neernesse, looked for recompence, whereof the number beeing so great, many must haue their expectations fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this kingdome, by whom hee must now subsist, for being not able with his owne Nation, so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if hee should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall inhabitants) hee was likewise to give

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them

them satisfaction.

Wherein hee had more to doe then in his battell at *Hastings* ; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must bee raised out of the stocke of the kingdome, which could not but bee irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on him, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roome, but such as put themselves out, by revolting after his establishment, and their fealty giuen. So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what hee found heere ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battell, or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the kingdome. Such Gentlemen as hee could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them : and 24. hee sent to the Abbey of Eley : whereby hee not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suitors at Court; eated that eie-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergy, who then were of great and eminent power in the kingdome, and might much preuaile with the people.

But the English Nobilitie, incompatible of these

these new concurrents; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkening of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefeſt, doubting to be more impaired in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to trie if by aid from abroad, they might recouer themselves, and their lost fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling*, (termed, *Englands Dearling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his bloud) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungarie*, (their native Countrey) were driven by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were with all Hospitable comfort entertained by *Malcolin. 3.* whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house being thus on fire: and to foster a partie against so dangerous an in-commer, that was like to thrust them all out of dore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossessed of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, hee takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar*, (a Ladie indued with all

The *English*
Nobilitie forsake the king-
dome.

bleſſed vertues) by whom the bloud of our
auncient Kings was preſerued, and conioyned
with the *Norman* in *Henric. 2.* and ſo became
Engliſh againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, re-
paired the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Here-*
ward, *Gofpatrice*, *Siward*, with others: and
ſhortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred*, Arch-Bi-
ſhops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the
third yeere of this kings raigne, raiſed very
great commotions in the North, beyond *Hum-*
ber, and wrought moſt egerly to recouer their
loſt Countrey: but being now too late, and the
occaſion not taken before the ſetting of the
gouernment, whileſt it was new and brangling,
they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage
to the conquerour, to make himſelfe more
then he was: For all conſpiracies of ſubiects,
if they ſuccede not, aduance to ſoueraign-
tie: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman*
planting heere, more then the petty reuolts
made by diſcattered troupes, in ſeueral parts,
begunne without order, and followed without
reſolution; whereas nothing could bee done
for a generall recouery, but by a generall ſub-
leuation of the people: for which all wary pre-
uention was uſed, & they had waights enough
laid on, to hold them downe. And though
theſe Lordes imbroiled themſelues, and held
him doing in the North, yet hee hauing all
the South parts ſetled vnder his domination,
with

with well practized and prepared forces, there could be little hope of good, whilst all their great estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earle-dome; and all the Lands which *Edwyn* held in *Yorkshire*, were giuen to *Alain*, Earle of *Britaigne*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Archbishopricke of *Canterburie*, conferrd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*. That of *Yorke*, on *Thomas* his Chaplaine, and all the rest both of the Clergie and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by *Normans*.

And after king *William* had appeased a commotion in the West, which the sonnes of *Harrald*, with forces out of *Ireland* had rised, and also repressed the rebellions of *Excester*, and *Oxford*; hee takes his iourney in person Northward with all expedition, least the enemy there, should growe too high in heart and opinion, vpon the great slaughter of his people, made at *Yorke*; and the defeature of his Brother & Lieutenent, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*, slaine with 700. *Normans* at *Durham*: where, at his first comming he so wrought, that hee either discomfited, or corrupted the generals of the *Danicque* forces, newly arriued to aid the Lords, and sent by *Smayn*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two sons, *Harrald* and *Knute*, with a Nauie of 300. saile: and after sets vpon the army of the Lords,

weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their confederates, and puts them to flight: Which done, hee viterly wasted, and layd desolate, all that goodly Countrie betwixt *Torke* and *Durham*, the space of 60. myles, that it might be no more a succour to the enemy. And the like course hee vsed on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for inuasions; and so returnes to *London*.

Most of the Lords after this great defeate, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Barkeshamsted*, by the Abbot *Fredericke*; where, vpon their submission, oath of aileageance retaken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace graunted by the King, who it seemes was so willing to acquite them, that againe hee takes his personall oath before the Archbishop *Lanfranck*, and the Lords, to obserue the ancient lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble predecessors the kings of *England*, and especially those of *S. Edward*. Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether vpon intelligence of newe hopes, from *Edgar* (who was still in *Scotland*) or growne desperate with newe displeasures, at home, finding small performance of promises, made rupture of oath, and all other respects,

and

and brake out againe. The Earle *Edwin*, making towards *Scotland*, was murdered by his owne people. The Lords *Morchar*, and *Hereward*, berooke them to the Isle of *Eley*, meaning to make good that place for that winter; whither also repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers, beset all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and made a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people vpon the enimie; who seeing themselves surprized, yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who desperately marched with his people through the Fennes, and recovered *Scotland*: The rest were sent to diuers prisons, where they dyed, or remained during the kings life.

Those Lords who persisted loyall vpon this last submission, were all imployed and well graced with the king, as *Edric* the Forrester, (and first that rebelled in his raigne) was held in cleere trust, and neere about him. *Gospatrice* hee made Earle of *Northumberland*, and sent him against *Malcolin*, who in this time, subdues the Countries of *Tisdale*, *Cleueland*, and *Comberland*. *Waltheof*, sonne to the Earle *Syward*, hee held so worthie to be made his, as he married him to his neece *Iudith*, though hee had beene a principall Actor in the Northerne commotion,

commotion, (and in defending the City of *Yorke* against him; is said to haue stricken off the heades of diuers *Normans*, one by one, as they entered a breach, to the admiration of all about him) shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to loue vertue, euen in his enemies.

And now seeing *Scotland* to bee the speciall retrait for all conspiratours, and discontented in his kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all advantages : hee enters that kingdome with a puissant Armie ; which incountring with more necessities then forces, soone grew tired ; and both kings, considering of what difficulties the victorie would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and vpon faire o-uertures, to conclude a peace : Articlnig for the bounds of each kingdome, with the same title of dominion, as in former times : All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration, thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* beeing a part of the body of this Isle, is noted to haue likewise had a share ; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken ; so in that of *Scotland* did the *English*,
by

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of *Irish*.

by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and daily repairing thither for their safetic, and combination against the commonemie: of whome diuers abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bountie of that King preferred: and there planted, spread their off-spring into manie noble families, remaining to this day. The titles for distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Marquesse, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced: and the nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Signories* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes easily growing in euerie soile.

Shortly after this late made peace, *Edgar Etheling* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandie*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the fortune of the King, howsoever for his owne, being thought to haue ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seasonable intelligence, or dispaire of

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successe)

Edgar Atheling
submitted
himselfe to
King *William*.

successes) in making too soone that submission, which was later or neuer to haue beene done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger's Anber*, the yongue Earle of *Hereford*, contrarie to his expresse commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came ouer to this festiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who hauing thus passed ouer so many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home; and that those, whom hee had most aduanced, should haue the especial hand in his destruction: But no rewards are benefits, that are not held so, nor can euer cleere the accounts with them that ouer-value their merits. And had not this conspiracie beene opportunely discovered (which some say was by the Earle *Waltheof*, moued with the vgliness of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But nowe the fire bewraied before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* and others, who kept the conspiratours from ioyning their forces: So that they neuer came
to

to make any head, but were either surprized, or forced to flie: The Earle *Roger Fitz-Auber* was taken, and some say executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide dissent of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to bee of that danger, as required this extremitie of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, vpon any the like humors.

For this conspiracie seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the neighbour Princes hereabout, as may well bee gathered by their seuerall actions. First in the King of *France*, by defending *Dole* in *Britaigne* (a Castle of *Raph de Waber*) against the King of *England*, and in likelyhood, imploying the Earle of *Bo-loigne* towards the conspirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Nauy of two hundreth saile, vnder the conduct of his sonne *Knute*, and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harald* with 65. ships. In *Malcoline*; and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the king had made, after some pillage taken vpon the shores of *England* and *Flanders*, returned

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home.

home, and neuer after arriued to disturbe this land. Though in *Anno Reg. 19. Knute*, then king of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swaine*, intending to repaire the dishonor of his two last aduentures past, and put for the Crowne of *England*, his predecessors had holden, prepared a Naue of a thousand saile, and was aided with sixe hundreth more by *Robert le Frison*, Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter hee had married.) But the windes held so contrary for two yeeres together, as viterly quasht that enterprize, and freed the king and his successors for euer after from future molestation that way.

But this businesse put the State to an infinit charge, the King entertaining all that time, besides his *Normans*, *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the kingdome, sauing in *Anno Regni 15.* hee subdued *Wales*, and brought the kings there, to doe him homage.

His warres abroad, were all about his dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne sonne *Robert*, left Lieutenant gouernour of the
Dutchie

Dutchie of *Normandy*, and the Countie of *Mayne*, who in his fathers absence, tasting the glorie of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Prouince, causing the Barons there, to doe him homage as Duke, not as Lieutenant, & leagues him with the King of *France*, who working vpon the easinesse of his youth and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disioinct his estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse and disorderly expence whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible, as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties of still getting money, that could not but needes yeeld continuall occasion to intertaine both his owne discontent, and theirs, from whom his supplies must bee raised. And though thereby hee purchased him the title of *Courtois*, yet hee lost the opinion of good gouernment, and constrained the estates of *Normandie*, to complaine to his father of the great concussion, and violent exactions hee vsed amongst them.

The King vnderstanding the fire thus kindled in his owne house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with forces into *Normandie* to haue surprized his sonne; who aduertised of his comming, furnished with 2000. men at armes, by the King of *France*, lay in ambush where hee should passe; sets vpon

him, defeated most of his people, and in the pursuite hapned to incounter with himselfe, whom he vnhors'd, and wounded in the arme, with his Lance; but perceiuing by his voyce, it was his father, hee hasted to remounte him, humbly crauing pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what case hee was) granted, howsoever hee gaue; and vpon his submission, tooke him with him to *Rouen*; whence, after cured of his hurt, hee returned with his sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

Long was it not ere hee was againe inform'd of his sonnes remutyning, and how hee exacted vpon the *Normans*, vsurpt the intire gouernement, and vrged his fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, vpon his Conquest of *England*: which caused his little stay here, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was driuen on the Coast of *Spaine*, but at length arriuing at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations, his sonne *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom hee now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and necessary warres of *Scotland*, (the late peace beeing betwene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his yong sonne *Henry*, with the association

association of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the gouernment of *Normandy*.

After the two Princes had bene there a while they went to visite the King of *France* at *Genefance*, where feasting certaine daies, vpon an after dinner, *Henry* wanne so much at chesse of *Louis*, the Kings eldest sonne, as hee growing into choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes vp the Chesse-borde, and strake *Louis* with that force, as drew bloud, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe : Whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much adoe they recovered *Pontoise*, from the kings people that pursued them.

This quarrell arising, vpon the intermeeting of these Princes (a thing that seldome breeds good bloud amongst them) re-inkindled a heate of more rancour in the fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the king of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandy*, and takes the Citie of *Vernon*. The King of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Countrie of *Zaintonge* and *Poitou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his sonne *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much disappoints and vexes the king of *France*, who thereupon, summons the king
of

of *England*, to doe him homage for the kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, he held it of none but God and his sword. For the Dutchie of *Normandie* he offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not haue the Maiestie: and seekes to make any occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profite. In the end they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sicknes, whereinto (through his late trauell, age, and corpulencie) he was falne: at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, ieasting at his great belly, whereof hee said, he lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as being recouered, he gathers all his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefeſt time of their fruites, making spoile of all in his way, till he came euen before *Paris*; where the King of *France* then was; to whom he ſendes, to ſhew him of his vp-ſitting, and from thence marched to the Citie of *Mants*, which he vtterly ſackt, and in the deſtruction thereof, gat his owne, by the ſtraine of his horſe, among the breaches, and was thence conueied ſicke to *Rouen*, and ſo ended all his warres.

His gouern-
ment in peace.

NOW for his gouernment in peace, and the courſe he held in eſtabliſhing the Kingdome,

dome thus gotten : first after hee had repress
the conspiracies in the North, and well quiet-
ted all other parts of the State (which nowe
beeing absolutely his, hee would haue to bee
ruled by his owne law) beganne to gouerne
all by the customes of *Normandy*. Where-
upon the agreede; Lords and sadde people
of *England*, tender their humble petition,
beseeching him, in regard of his Oath made
at his Coronation : And by the soule of Saint
Edward, from whom hee had the Crowne
and kingdome; vnder whose lawes they were
borne and bred; That hee would not adde
that misery, to deliuer them vp to bee iudged,
by a strange law they vnderstood nor. And
so earnestly they wrought, that hee was plea-
sed to confirme that by his Charter, which
hee had twice fore-promised by his oath: and
gaue commandement to his Iusticiaries, to see
those lawes of Saint *Edward* (so called, not
that hee made them, but collected them out
of *Merchen law*, *Dane law*, and *Westsex law*)
to bee inuiolable obserued throughout the
kingdome. And yet notwithstanding this con-
firmation, and the Charters afterward gran-
ted by *Hen. 1.* *Hen. 2.* and King *Iohn*, to the
same effect, there followed a generall inno-
uation both in the lawes and gouernment of
England: So that this seemes rather done to
acquiet the people with a shew of the conti-

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nuation

nuation of their ancient customes, then that they enioyed them in effect. For the little conformity betweene those lawes of former times, and these that followed vpon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veines issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practice thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all obiectiōs can bee made to the contrarie. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall law of the kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne customes: all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danicque* law: *Merchland* the middle part of the Countrie, and the State of the West *Saxons*, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall dominions: And though for some few yeeres there seemed to bee a reduction of the *Heptarchy*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as wee may see in the succession of that broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order current ouer all; but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes a part, and held nothing in common (besides Religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rites of nations, and that *ius innatum*, the Common law

of all the world, which wee see to bee as vniuersall, as are the cohabitations and societies of men, and serues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoever they may differ in their formes.

So that by these passages, we see what way we came, where wee are, and the furthest end wee can discover of the originall of our Common law; and to strue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600. yeres to approue their gentilitie; seeing it is the equitie, and not the antiquitie of lawes that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankind, if daies brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued by that providence, as they were instituted.

But this alteration of the lawes of *England* bred most heauie doleances, not onely in this Kingstime, but long time after: For whereas before, those lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Normane* forme and language, thereby to draw the people of this kingdome, to learne that speech for their owne neede, which otherwise they would not

doe; And seeing a difference in tongue, would continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conqueror to doe, without the extirpation or overlaying the Land-bred people: who being so farre in number as they were about the inuaders, both carry the maine of the language, and in few yeeres, haue those who subdued them, vndistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman*, the solid bodie of the kingdome, still consisted of the *English*, and the accession of strange people, was but as Riuer to the *Ocean*, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the king laboured what hee could to turne all to *French*, by enioyning their children heere to vse no other language, with their *Grammer* in schooles; to haue the lawes practized in *French*, All petitions and businesse of Court, in *French*, No man graced but hee that spake *French*, yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall *English* againe, but law, and that still held forraigne, and became in the end wholly to bee inclosed in that language: nor haue wee now other marke of our subiection and inuassallage from *Normandie*, but only that, and that still speakes *French* to vs in *England*.

And herewithall new Termes, new Constitutions

tutions, new formes of Pleas, new Offices and Courts are now introduced by the *Normans*; a people more inured to litigation, and of spirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *English*: who by reason of their continual warre (wherein law is not borne) and labour to defend the publicke, were more at vnitie in their priuate: and that small time of peace they had deuotion and good fellowship entertained.

For their lawes and constitutions before, wee see them plaine, brieve, and simple, without perplexities, hauing neither folde nor plaite, commaunding, nor disputing: their graunts and transactions as brieve and simple, which shewed them a cleere-meaning people, retaining still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, vncomposed of other fashion, then their owne, and vnaffected imitation.

For their tryals in cases criminall, where manifest proofes failed, they continued their ancient custome, held from before their Christianitie, vntill this great alteration: which trials they called *Ordeal* (Or signifying right, *Deale*, part) whereof they had these kindes: *Ordeal* by fire, which was for the better sort, and by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold ouer certaine ploughshares, made red hote, and layde an vneuen

distance one from another. That of Water was either of hot or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to be cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adiudged: such as were cast into the riuers, if they sancke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as eiected by that Element. These trials they called the iudgements of God, and they were performed with solemne Oraisons. In some cases, the accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiuing the Eucharist, or by his owne oath, or the oathes of two or three; but this was for speciall persons, & such whose liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vsuall opinion perswading them, that men of abilitie held a more regard of honestie.

With these they had the triall of Campe-fight, or single combat (which likewise the *Lumbards*, originally of the same *German* nation, brought into *Italy*) permitted by the law in cases, either of safetie and fame, or of possessions. All which trials shew them to bee ignorant in any other forme of law, or to neglect it; Nor would they be induced to forgo these customs, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificall Constitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forsake their duellary lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes, against some of their wils, were constrained to ratifie,

as

as *Luytprandus* their King, thus ingenuously
“ confesses. *Wee are uncertaine of the iudge-*
“ *ment of God, and we haue heard many by fight,*
“ *to haue lost their cause without iust cause; yet*
“ *in respect of the custome of our Nation, wee*
“ *cannot auoid an impious law.* But all these
formes of iudgements and trials had their sea-
sons; Those of Fire and Water, in short time
alter the Conquest grew disused, and in the end
viterly abrogated by the Pope, as deriued
from Paganisme; that of combat continues
longer-liued, but of no ordinarie vse: And all
actions now, both criminall and reall, began
to bee wholly adiudged by the verduict of 12.
men, according to the custome of *Normandy*,
where the like forme is vsed, and called by the
name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for
the Iurors, as it is heere continued to this day.
Although some hold opinion that this forme
of triall was of vse in this kingdome from all
antiquity, and alledge an ordinance of King
Ethelred (father to the Confessor) willing in
their Gemote, or conuentions, monethly held
in euerie hundred, twelue graue men of free
condition, should with the *Greue*, the chiefe
Officer amongst them, sweare vpon the Euan-
gelists, to iudge euery mans cause aright. But
heere wee see twelue men were to bee assessors
with the *Greue* to iudge, and no Iurors, ac-
cording to this manner of triall now vsed; be-
sides

sides, had there bene any such forme, we should aswell haue heard thereof in their lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeal*, onely and vsually mentioned.

But whatsoeuer innouations were in all other things, the gouernment for the peace and securitie of the kingdome (which most imported the king to looke vnto) seemes to bee continued as before, and for that businesse he found heere better lawes established by the wary care of our former kings, then any hee could bring. Amongst which especially was the Borough law, whereby euery free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behauiour, in this sort.

The kingdome was diuided into Shiers, or Shares, euery Shire consisting of so many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containingtenne housholders, whereof if any one should commit an vnlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason. If he fled, 31. daies were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-boroughhead (to say the Tythingman) was to rake with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many, (that is, the Tythingman, and two other of the principall men) and before

before the officers of that Hundred purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goodes of the malefactor, which if they suffized not to satisfie, the Free-boroh, or Tything, must make vp the rest, and besides take an oath to bee no way accessarie to the fact; and to produce the offender, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where hee were. Besides euerie Lord and Master, stood *Boroh*, for all his familie, whereof if any seruant were called in question, the Master was to see him answere it in the Hundred where hee was accused. If hee fled, the Master was to yeeld such goodes as hee had to the King. If himselfe were accused to bee aiding or priuie to his seruants flight, hee was to cleere himselfe by 5. men, otherwise to forfeit all his goodes to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.

These linckes, thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole frame of the State together in peace and order, as all the most pollitique regiments vpon earth, all the interleagued societies of men, cannot shew vs a streighter forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people thus law-bound hand and foot, to establish him, so soone and easily as he did: This *Boroh-law*, beeing as a Cittadell built to gard the Common-wealth, comming

to bee posselt by a conquering Master, was made to turne al this ordinance vpon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this law may be some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people beene borne with these fetters, and an idle peace, but liued loose and in action it is like they would haue done as nobly, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as euer the *Brittaines* did, either against the *Romanes*, or the *Saxons*, their predecessors, or themselues had done against the *Danes*; a people farre more powerful and numerous then these. The Conqueror, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandy* euer beene able to haue yeilded those multitudes for supplies, that many battels must haue had.

But now, 1. the strict executing this lawe, 2. disweaponing the Commons, 3. preuen-ting their night-meetings with a heauie penal-tie, that euerie man at the day closing, should couer his fire, and depart to his rest, 4. ere-cting diuers fortresses in fit parts of the king-dome, 5. and collating all offices, both of commaund, and iudicature, on such as were his; made his domination such as hee would haue it.

And where before the Bishoppe and the Alderman were the absolute iudges to deter-mine

mine all businesse in euerie Shier, and the Bishoppe in many cases shared in the benefite of the mulcts with the King, now hee confined the Clergie, within the Prouince of their owne Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Cannons, and lawes Episcopall.

And whereas the causes of the kingdom were before determined in euerie Shire, and by a lawe of King *Edward Senior*, all matters in question should, vpon especiall penalty, without further deferment, bee finally decided in their Gemote, or conuentions, held Monethly in euey Hundred: Now hee ordained that foure times in the yeere, for certaine daies, the same businesse should bee determined in such place as hee would appoint, where hee constituted iudges to attend for that purpose, and also others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigators should haue iustice; and from whom was no appeale. Others hee appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called *Iusticiarij Pacis*.

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, wee may finde by taking note of their former vsances. Our Auncestors had onely two kinde of tenures, *Boke-land*, and *Folkland*,

the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and seruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the *German* manner, equally deuided amongst all the children, which they called *Landskiftan*, to say *Partland*, a custome yet continued in some places of *Kent*, by the name of *Gauelkin*, or *gif eal kin*: And heereupon some write how the people of that Countrey, retained their ancient lawes and liberties by especiall graunt from the Conquerour: who after his battell at *Hastings*, comming to *Douer*, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a mouing wood. With which strange and suddaine shew being much moued, the Arch-Bishop *Stigand*, and the Abbot *Egelsin*, (who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what daunger they were, vterly to lose their liberties, and indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude vnder the domination of strangers) present themselues, and declared how they were the vniuersall people of that Countrey, gathered together in that manner
with

with boughes in their hands, either as Oliue branches of intercession, for peace and libertie, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leaue their liues, then that which was deerer, their freedom. Whereupon they say the Cōqueror granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof notwithstanding they now retaine no other then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vppon their petition, and compassion of their oppression hee relieued: their case was this: All such as were discovered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefite of life, hauing all their liuelihood taken from them, became vassals vnto those Lords to whom the possessions were giuen of all such lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent seruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without hauing any estate for themselues, or their children, and were oftentimes violently cast out vppon any small displeasure, contrary to all right. Whereupon it was ordayned that whatsoeuer they had obtained of their Lords by their obsequious seruice, or agreed

*Geruasius,
Tilburiensis.*

for, by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inuolable law during their owne liues.

The next great worke after the ordering his lawes, was the raising and disposing of his reuenues, taking a courle to make, and know the utmost of his estate, by a generall suruey of the kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome* book of *Winchester*, taken before by king *Alfride*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choice of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and euery mans else in the kingdome, the nature and the qualitie of their lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and diuisions of Shires & Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, & brought into his treasurie, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soueraigne court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here the *Taleè*, and it was called the *Dome* booke (*Liber iudiciarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars.

All the Forests and Chases of the kingdom he seized into his proper possession, and exempted them from being vnder any other law then his owne pleasure, to serue as *Penetralia Regum*, the withdrawing chambers of kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State,

State, where none other might presume or haue to doe, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to bee disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated. And to make his commaund the more he increased the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coast dispeopled the countrey for about thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forest, inflicting most seuer punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuenues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, hee committed in his raigne, and which purchased him much hatred: And the same course held almost euery king neere the Conquest, till this heauie grievance was allayed by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry 3.*

The new Forest in *Hampshire.*

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and vsed those hee found very moderately, as *Dangelt*, an imposition of two shillings vpon euery hide, or plough-land, (raised first by king *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) he would not haue it made an Annuall payment, but onely taken vpon vrgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith *Geruasius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of 6. shill. vpon euery hide-land, leauied presently after the generall suruey of the kingdome.

Escuage

Esquage (whether it were an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named, I doe not finde) was a summe of money, taken of euery Knights fee : In after-times, especially raised for the seruice of *Scotland* ; and this also, saith *Gernasius*, was seldome leauied, but on great occasion, for stipends and donatiues to souldiers ; yet was it at first a due, referred out of such lands as were giuen by the Prince for seruice of warre, according to the custome of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time, wee finde lands were giuen in reward of seruice to the men of warre, for tearme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey* : After they became Patrimoniall, and Hereditarie to their children. *Seuerus* the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of war, to inioy their Fiefs, provided that they followed Armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuitie in the lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the last Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fiefs of the King, sub-deuided them to other persons, of whom they were to haue seruice.

Mulctuary profits, besides, such as might arise by the breach of his Forest-lawes, hee had fewe or none newe, vnlesse that of Murther, which arose vpon this occasion. In the beginning

ning of his raigne, the rancor of the *English* towards the new come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murthered them; and the deed doers, for any the severest courses taken, could neuer bee discovered: whereupon it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine, and the Murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 36. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantitie of the Hundred, that the punishment beeing generally inflicted, might particularly deterre them, and hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must otherwise be interess'd.

For his prouisionary reuenues, hee continued the former custome held by his predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held their lands of the Crowne, paid no money at all, but only Victuals, Wheat, Biefes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c. and a iust note of the quality and quantitie of euerie mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shires of the kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings house. Other ordinarie in-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not vsed.

What the Church yeelded him, was by extent

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tent

tent of a power that neuer reached so farre before, and the first hand he laid vpon that side, which weighed heavily, was his seizing vpon the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure, within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the rebels, and their assistants, conueyed their riches into these religious houses (as into places priuiledged, and free from seizure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, hee made all Bishopricks, and Abbeyes, that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular seruices) contributarie to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may bee the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter that rules ouer the memorie of Kings) haue laide such an eternall imposition vpon his name, of rigour, oppression, and euen barbarous immanity, as they haue done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affaires (beeing as hee was) may aduocate, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which euer imports violence and misery, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due, how euer worthy, and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize and incorporate by degrees into their liking and opinion: And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reason of his twenty yeeres

yeeres gouernement, which had much impaired the memory of former customes in the younger sort, and well inured the elder to the present vsances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sonnes: who though they were farre inferior to him in worth, were somewhat better beloued then hee; and the rather for that their occasions made them somewhat to vnrest the Soueraigntie from that height whereunto hee had strayned it.

How hee was vnderfet with able ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut vs out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the fortune of kings, to haue their ministers like riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of iudgement he could not but bee strongly furnished in that kind, for weake kings haue weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are euer best stored with able ministers. The principall of highest imployment, were *Odon*, Bishoppe of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent*, *Lanfranke*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz-Auber*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* supplied the place of Viceroy in the kings absence, and had the management of the Treasury. A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceit of greatnesse, as the height of his place

could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of money (which his avarice, and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or purchase the people of *England*, vpon the death of his brother: who vnderstanding a purpose hee had of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mightie confluence of followers, gathering vnto him, made a close prison stay his journey: excusing it to the Church, that hee imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, and Officer and accomptant vnto him. Yet vppon his death-bed (shortly following) after many obsecrations, that hee would, in respect of bloud and nature, bee a kind meane for the future peace of his sonnes, he released him. But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewithall Ambition euermore turnes about his intentions) was the enuy he bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest affayres, the king especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-bear him, tooke hee all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy warre, and died in the siege of *Antioche*.

Lanfranc was a man of as vniuerfall goodnesse as learning, borne in *Lumbardie*, and came

came happely a stranger, in these strange times to do good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard hee raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his pietie and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon*, the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: And in all hee could, stood so betweene the kingdome and the kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violencies, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror, howsoeuer austere to others, was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with his grauitie and vertue.

He reformed the irregularitie and rudenesse of the Clergie, introducing a more Southerne formalitie and respect, according to his breedings and the custome of his Countrey: concurring herein likewise to bee an actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertainment to deuotion, hee did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might bee procured: added a more State and conueniency to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the founding of Hospitals. Hauing long strugled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole raigne of this busie

new state-building King. And after his death, seeing his successor in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to faile his expectation, out of the experience of worldly causes, diuining of future mischiefes by present courses grew much to lament with his friends the tediousnesse of life, which shortly after he mildly left, which such a sicknesse, as neither hindered his speech nor memory: a thing he would often desire of God.

William Fitz-Auber, (as is deliuered) was a principall counsellour and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein hee furnished 40. ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences. Amongst the lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Provinces) hee ordained that in the Countie of *Hereford* no man of armes (or souldier) should be fined for any offence whatsoeuer, about 7. shillings when in other Counties, vpon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay. 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to bee an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellour,
in

in all the affaires of *England* and *Normandy*, a chiefe fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marrie *Richeld*, Countesse dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernment of that Country, during the nonage of *Arnulph* her sonne; of whom, with the king of *France*, hee had the tutelarie charge, committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, father to *Arnulph*; whose estate *Robert le Frison* his Vncle, called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*, had vsurped. And against him *Fitz Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph*, surprized and slaine.

And this was in the fate of the Conquerour, to see most of all these great men, who had bene the especiall actors in all his fortunes, spent and extinct before him: As *Beaumont*, *Monfort*, *Harcourte*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Conte de Vennes*, &c. And now himselfe, after his beeing brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act, in the 74. yeere of his age, and the 21. of his raigne.

Three daies the Corps of this great Monarch is said to haue lain neglected, while his seruants attended to imbesfill his mouables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henrie*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane*, where first, at the entrie into the Towne, they who carried
the

the Corps, left it alone, and ranne all to quench the fire : Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman stands soorth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to bee his inheritance, descended from his auncestors, taken from him at the building of that Abbey, and appeales to *Row*, their first founder, for Iustice : whereupon they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made so much in his life) to bee brought to the earth; and of all hee attaind, had not now a roome to containe him, without beeing purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a living Dog more then a dead Lion.

Hee had a faire issue by *Maud* his wife, foure sonnes, and five daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, hee left the Dutchy of *Normandy* : to *William* the third sonne, the kingdome of *England* : to *Henry* the yongest his treasure, with an annuall pension to bee paid him by his brothers. *Richard* who was his second sonne, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, died in his youth, of a surfeit taken in the new Forest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow, and of *Richard* the sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His

His eldest daughter *Cicilie*, became a Nunne; *Constance* married to the Earle of *Britaigne*: *Adela* to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nunne in her age; such was then their deuotion, and so much were these solitary retires, affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: the other two died before marriage.

Now what hee was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, we find him of an euen stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting, or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat vnwildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was neuer sickly till a fewe moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this kingdome, it seemes by his continual actions, hee felt not the weight of yeeres vpon him, till his last yeere.

What was the composition of his minde, wee see it the fairest drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordain'd for the great worke he effected. And though he might haue some aduantage of the time, wherein we often see men preuaile more by the imbecilitie of others, then their owne worth; yet let that season of the world be well examined, and a iust measure taken of his actiue vertues, they

will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrencies of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the trial therof: hauing on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Dane*, farre mightier in people, and shipping then himselfe, strongly sided in this kingdome, as eager to recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

For his deuotion and mercy, the brightest starres in the Spheare of Maiestie, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obseruation of the first, the Clergie (that loued him not) confesse: the other was scene, in the often pardoning, and receiuing into grace, those who had forfeited their loyalties, and dangerously rebelled against him; as if hee held submission satisfactorie, for the greatest offence, & sought not to defeat men, but their enterprises: For we finde but one Nobleman executed in all his raigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twise falsified his faith before: And those hee held prisoners in *Normandie*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnoth*, the brother of *Harald*, & others (vpon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

Besides, hee was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his magnanimity) as he gaue *Edgar* his competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court:

Court: And (vpon his suite) sent him well furnished to the holy warre, where hee nobly behaued himselfe, and attained to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in respect of his alliances that way, being as some write, grand-child to the Emperour *Henry 3.* But these may bee as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must haue part of this commendation.

Magnificent he was in his Festiualls, which with great solemnity and ceremonie (the formall entertainers of reuerence and respect) he duly obserued. Keeping his Christmas at *Glocester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, and Penticost at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his Nobility; that Embassadors and Strangers might see his State, and largenesse. Nor euer was he more mild and indulgent, then at such times. And these ceremonies his next Successor obserued; but the second omitted.

The end of the second Booke.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of spontaneous generation.



THE
THIRD BOOKE
of the Historie of England.

William the second.



William, second sonne
to *William* I. not at-
tending his fathers
funerals, hastes into
England to recouer
his Crowne; where,
by the especial medi-
ation of the Arch-bi-
shoppe *Lanfranc* his
owne large bounty

and wide promises, he obtained it, according to
his fathers will, to whom, by his obsequious-
nesse he had much indeered himselfe, especially
after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*.

He was a Prince more gallant then good, and
having beene bred with the sword, alwaies in
action

action, and on the better side of fortune, of a nature rough, and haucie, whereunto his youth, & soueraignty added a greater widenes. Comming to succeed in a gouernment, fore-ruled by mature and gray counsell, he was so ouerwhelmed with his fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe then otherwise hee would; and then the shortnesse of his raigne, beeing but of 13. yeeres, allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of his first gouernment had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, beeing none of his, and the elder brother liuing, howsoeuer his fathers will was, hee must now bee put, and held in possession of the Crowne, by the will of the kingdome, which to purchase, must bee by large conditions of relieuements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein hee had the more to doe, beeing to deale with a State, consisting of a twofold body, and different temperaments, where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take, hauing a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that valesse hee would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to haue them firmly his. And therefore seeing the best way to winne the *Normans* was by money, and the *English* with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestew on the one,

one, and to promise the other, more then fitted his estate and dignitie ; which , when afterward failing both in supplies (for great giuers must alwaies giue,) and also in performances, got him farre more harred then otherwise hee could euer haue had , beeing forced to all the dishonourable shifts for raising moneys that could be deuised, and euen to resume his owne former grants.

And to beginne at first to take the course to bee euer needy ; presently after his Coronation hee goes to *Winchester*, where his fathers treasure lay, and empties out all that which with great prouidence was there amassd , whereby, though hee wonne the loue of many, he lost more, being not able to content all, And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great ingine of men) money , hee had to giue hopes : and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his vncle, *Roger de Mongomerie* Earle of *Shrewesburie*, with others, who were mainly for him, and worke hee doth all hee can , to batter his brothers fortunes , vpon their first foundation. And for this purpose, borrowes great summes of his yonger brother *Henric*, (to whom the father and mother had lett much treasure) and for the same, ingages the Countrie of *Constantine*, and leuies an Army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne , though well prepared for all assaults,

assaults, had rather purchase a present peace by mediation of the Nobles on both sides, til time had better settled him in his gouernment then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allaiied. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* 3. thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert hauing cloed this businesse, resumes by force the Countrie of *Constantine* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which hee had ingaged it. Wherupon king *William* vpobraids *Henrie* with the great gaine hee had made by his *Vsurie* in lending money to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henrie* got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue, surprized the castel of Mount *Saint Michael*, fortifies him therein, gets aide of *Hugh Earle of Britaigne*, and for his money was serued with *Bretons*, who committed great spoiles, in the Countries of *Constantine* and *Besfin*.

Odon, Byshoppe of *Bayeux*, returning into *England* after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earledome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what he had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as hee found, or made to affect

affect change and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings forces: as first, *Geoffery* Byshop of *Constans*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray*, Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifye themselves in *Bristow*, and take in all the Countrey about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandmenill* about *Leicester*; *Roger de Mongomerie* Earle of *Shrewsburie*, with a power of Welsh-men, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Byshop of *Durham*: *Bernard de New march*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Raulfe Mortimer*, all Normans, and assaile the Cittie of *Worcester*, making themselves strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rochester*, makes good all the Coast of *Kent*, sollicites *Robert* to vse what speed he could to come with all his power out of *Normandie*: which had hee doone in time, and not giuen his Brother so large opportunity of preuention, hee had carried the kingdom; but his delay yeeldes the King time to confirme his Friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make him strong with the English, which hee did by graunting taxation of tribute, with other releuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedome of hunting in all his Woodes and Forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as hee soone brake the necke

of all the Norman conspiracies (they being eager to reuenge them of that nation) and heere they learned first to beat their conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of their action, which cut the throats of many of them.

Mongomerie, being won from his complices and the seuerall Conspirators in other parts repress't, the King comes with an Army into *Kent* where the heade of the faction lay, and first, won the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeelde, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eufrase*, Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thether to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King, vpon a false intelligence giuen of the arriual of Duke Robert at *Southampton*, but in the end, they were forced to quit the place, and retire into France, & *Odon* to abiure England.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his forces into Normandy, there to wast and weaken his brother at home. So, as might holde him from any future attempts, abroad for euer after. Where first he obtaines *Saint Valery*, and afterward *Albemarle*, with the whole Country of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abathie* of *Monte Saint Michell*, *Cherburge*, and other places.

places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Phillip* King of France, who comes downe with an Army into Normandie; but ouercome with the power of many wherewith King *William* assayled him did little good, and so retyred.

Whereupon, Duke *Robert* in the end, was driuen to a dishonourable peace, concluded at *Caen* with these Articles. 1. that King *William* should hold the Countie of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, and all other places, which hee hadde bought, and were deliuered vnto him, by *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Stephen* Earle of *Aimall*, Sisters sonne to *William* the first. 2. He should aid the duke to recouer all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Dutchy. 3. That such Normans, as hadde lost their Estates in England, by taking part vvith the Duke, should be restored thereunto. 4. That the suruiuer of either of them, should succcede in the Dominions both of England and Normandie.

After this peace made, by the mediation of the King of France, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his ayd against their brother *Henry*, who still kept him in the Fort of Mount *Saint Michel*, vppon his gard, holding it best for his safety: for being a Prince that coulde not subsist of himselfe, as an earthen vessel set among iron pots, he was euery way in daunger to be crushed, and seeing

he had lost both his Brothers by doing the one a kindnesse; if he should haue tooke to either; their turne being serued, his owne might bee in hazard, and so betooke him to this defence. Forty daies the two princes laide siege to this Castle, and one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a company of Horffe, whereof three ranne at him so violently, and all strooke his Horffe together with their Launces, as they brake pectorall, girdles, and all, that the horffe slippes away, and leaues the King and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both handes, and there-with defendes himselfe vntill rescue came, and beeing blamed by some of his people for putting him-selfe thus in perrill of his life to saue his Saddle, answered: it would haue angered him, the *Brettons* should haue bragged, they had wonne the saddle from vnder him, and how great an indignity it was for a King to suffer Inferiours to force any thing from him.

In the end, *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and Water, although hee had all other prouision sufficient within his forte, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might haue his necessity supplied: the Duke sendes him a Tunne of Wine, and graunts him truce for a day, to furnish him with Water. Wherewith *William* beeing displeased, Duke *Robert* tolde him, it was

was hard to deny a brother meate, and drinke which craued it, and that if he perisht, they had not a brother. Wherewith *william* likewise relenting, they sent for *Henry*, and an agreement is made, he should hold in mortgage the Country of *Constantine* till the money was paide, and a day appointed to receiue it at *Rouen*.

Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as hee might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possesst himselfe of a safe and continuall Landing-place, with a part of his Duchy: caused him to put from him and banish out of *Normandy*, *Edgar Etheling*, whom *Robert* held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand vpon all occasions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And besides, he wrought so as either through promise of money, or some farther ratification to be made heere, he brought his brother *Robert* with him ouer into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition against *Malcolin*, who had inroched vpon his territories, during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, *Robert*, soone after, returnes much discontented into *Normandie*, and as it seemes, without money to satisfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouen* at his day appointed, in stead of receiuing it, was committed

ted to prison, and before he could be released, forced to renounce the Country of *Cosentine*, and sweare neuer to claime any thing in Normandy.

Henrie complains of this grosse iniustice, to *Phillip* king of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of Normandie, named *Hachard*, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his Brother *Robert*) within the Dutchy, conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle of *Damfronc* was deliuered vnto him, whereby shortly after, he got al the Country of *Passays*, about it, and a good part of *Cosentine*, by the secret ayde of King *William*, *Richard de Riuires*, and *Roger de Manneuille*.

Duke *Robert* leauiues forces, and eagerly wrought to recouer *Damfronc*, but finding how *Henry* was vnderfet, inueighs against the perfidie of his brother of England: insomuch as the flame of rancor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer-passes king *william* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie, then do any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend then warre, and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it, if he could get to his endes by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprise-
ments

ments of Castles, but in the ende a Treatie of peace was propounded : wherein to make his conditions, what he would, K. William seemes hard to be wrought, and makes the more shew of force, sending ouer into England, for an army of thirty thousand mē, which being brought to the shore, ready to bee shipped, an offer was made to be proclaimed by his Lieutenant, that giuing ten shillings a man, whosoeuer would might depart home to his dwelling. Whereby was raysed so much, as discharged his expence, and serued to Fee the King of Fraunce vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde vnto Duke Robert, who seeing himself left by the French, must needs make his peace as the other would haue it.

Now for his affayres at home, the vncertain warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gaue him more businesse then Honour. Beeing driuen in the one to encounter with Mountaines instead of men, vnto the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as manie necessities. *Wales* he sought to subdu, *Scotland* so to restraints as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kinges, seeming more willing to haue peace then to seeke it, are brought to an enter-view. *Malcolin* vpon publique Faith, and safe conduct came to *Glocester*, where, vpon the haughtinesse of K. William, looking to bee satisfied in all his demands,

maunds, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolin*, standing vpon his regalitie within his owne, though content to be ordered for the confines, according to the iudgement of the Primate of both kingdomes; nothing was effected but a greater disdaine, and rankor in *Malcolin*, seeing himselfe dispised, and scarce looked on, by the King of *England*. So that vpon his returne, armed with rage, he raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before he had depopulated, and now the fifth, seeking vtterly to destroy it, and to haue gone farther, was, with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by the fraud then powre of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that County: The griefe of whose deaths gaue *Margueret*, that blessed Queene, hers. After whom the State elected *Dufnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were harboured, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should be holding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second sonne to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his warres) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dufnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the aide he brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should neuer more entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his

Roger Hauenden.

his seruice.

This businesse settled, Wales struggling for libertie and reuenge, gaue newe occasion of worke, whether hee went in person, with purpose to depopulate the countrey: but they retyring into the Mountaines and the Isle of Anglesey, auoided the present fury. But afterward *Hugh Earle of Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh Earle of Chester*, surprizing the Isle, their cheefest retreat, committed there barbarous examples of cruelty, by excoecations, & miserable dismembering the people, which immanity was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of Shrewsbury with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouerboord into the Sea, to the sport and scorn of his enimie the King of *Norway*, who eyther by chaunce, or of purpose, comming vppon that coast from taking in the Orchades, encountred with him, and that force he had at sea.

These were the remote businessees, when a conspiracie brake out within the bodye of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray Earle of Northumberland*, *William d'Ou*, and many other, which gaue the King more trouble then danger: for by the speedie and mayne prosecution of the businesse, wherein hee vsed the best strength of England, it was soone ended, with the confusion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his nature, by harde-

Y

ning

ning the same to an extreame rigour: for after the feare was past, his wrath and crueltie were not, but (which is hiddeous in a Prince) they grew to be numbred amongst incurable diseases.

Manie accusations of great men, followed vpon this act, and were easily belieued, howsoeuer proued. *William de Aluerie*, a man of goodly personage, his Aunts sonne, and his Sewer, was at a counsell holden at Salisbury, condemned to be hanged: when both in his confession to *Osmond* the Byshop there, and to all the people as he passed to execution, he left a clear opinion of his innocency, and the wrong hee had by the King.

But now whiles these fractures here at home, the vnreparable breaches abroad were such, as could giue the King no longer assurednesse of quiet then the attempters would: and that all the Christian world was out, eyther at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the Schisme of the Church: Pope *Vrbane*, assembling a generall Counsell at *Cleirmont* in *Auuergne*, to compose the affaires of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof, to ioyne themselves in action, for the recouery of the holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit, of *Amiens*, tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an actiue,
and

and Religious worlde) as turn'd all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, vppon vnknowne Nations, that vndid them abroad.

Such, and so great grewe the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and Glorie it woulde bring on earth, and the assurednesse of heauen to all the pious vnder-takers, that none were esteemed to contain any thing of worth which would stay behind. Each giues hand to other to lead them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leauing all what the deerenesse of their Countrey containd, drew to this war three hundred thousand men, all which, though in Armes, passed from diuers Countries and Portes, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrims then Souldiers.

Godefroy of Bouillon, Nephew and heyre to the Duke of *Lorrayne*, a generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry 4.* was the first that offered vppe himselfe to this Famous voyage, and with him his two Brothers, *Eustace*, and *Baudouin*, by whose examples, were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Ver-mendois*, Brother to Phillip King of France. *Robert* Duke of Normandy, *Robert de Frison*, Earle of Flanders, *Stephen* Earl of Blois and *Chartres*,

Aimar Byshop of *Fuy*. *William* Bishoppe of *Orange*, *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse* : *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*, *Baudouin* Earle of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earle of *Gretz*, *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*, *Ysoard* Earle of *Die*, *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*, *Guillaum* Conte de *Forests*, *Stephen* Conte de *Aumaul*, *Hugh* Earle of *Saint Pol*, *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and diuers others . These were for *Fraunce*, *Germany*, and the Countreyes adioyning. *Italie* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apu- lia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with others, whose Names are lost : *Spaine* onely hadde none, being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazens*.

Most of all these Princes and great personages to furnish them-selues for this expedition, solde, or ingaged their possessions. *Godefroy* sold the Dutchie of *Bologne* to *Aubert* Bishoppe of *Liege*, and *Metz* to the Cittizens: besides hee solde the Castle of *Sarteney*, and *Mons* to *Richard* Byshoppe of *Verdun*, and vnto the same Byshop, *Baudouin*, his Brother, sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his liuelyhood to the Church. *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *Fraunce*: and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his Brother King *William* of *England*.

Whereby the Pope not onely weakened the

the Empire, with whome the Church had, to the great affliction of Christendome, helde a long, and a bloody businesse, about the inuestitures of Byshoppes; tooke away and infeeble his Partizans, abated, as if by *Ostroisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him, but also aduanced the State Ecclesiasticall, by purchasing these great Temporalities, (more honourable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For, by aduising the vndertakers, seing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make ouer their Estates vnto the Cleargy, of whome they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to haue the fayrest dealing; then vnto Lay-men, he effected this work. Whereby, the third part of the best Fiefs in Fraunce, came to be possesse by the Cleargy; and afterward vpon the same occasion, manie thinges more solde vnto them in England, especially when *Richard* the first vndertooke the Voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to *Hugh* Byshop of *Durham*, and also for his mony created him Earle of *Durham*.

This humour was kept vp, and in motion about 200. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there, through contagion arising from a disagreeing clime: and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into mis-

An Emperor of Germanie, two Kings of France, with their wiues, a King of England, and a King of Norway, went all thither in person.

rable wants. It consumed infinit treasure, and most of the brauest men of al our West world, and especially *France*. For *Germanie* and *Italie*, those who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still struggled with him, but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuayled. But these were not all the effectes this voyage wrought : the Christians, who went out to seeke an enemy in Asia, brought one thence, to the danger of all Christendom, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had manie intermissions with fits of heates and coldnesses, (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall nations, emulous, and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such, as were of an entyre bodie, their weakneses, and the way to conquer them. This was the great effect this Voyage wrought.

And by this meanes king William heer was now rid of an elder Brother, and; a Competitor had the possession of Normandie during his raigne, and a more absolutenesse and irregularity in England. Where nowe, in making vp this great summe to pay Robert, he vsed all the extreame meanes could be deuised, as hee had done in all like busineses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall;

nerall, and especially of the Cleargie, being the first King which shewed his successors an euill precedent of keeping their liuings vacant, and receiuing the profites of them himselfe, as he did that of Canterbury, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*, and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at Glocester, the sixth yeare of his raigne, his Cleargie, in the weaknesse of his bodie, tooke to worke vppon his minde, so as he vowed, vppon his recovery to see it furnished, which hee did, but with so great adoo, as shewed that hauing escaped the danger, he would willingly haue deceyued the Saint. And *Anselme* an Italian borne, though bred in Normandy, is the end preferred to that Sea. But, what with his owne stiffeneisse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, hee neuer enjoyed it quietly vnder him. For, betweene them two, beganne the first contestation about the inuestitures of Byshops, & other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doo, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will, forsook the land, wherupon his Byshoppricke was re-assumed, and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of Canterburie, the Byshoppricks of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and eleauen Abbeyes whereof he tooke all the profits.

He vsually solde all spiritual preferments to those would giue most, and tooke fines of
Priests

Priests for fornication, hee vexed *Robert Bluet* Byshop of Lincolne, in suite, till he paid him 5000. pounds.

And now the Clergie, vpon this taxe, complaining their wants, were answered, that they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke, as this warre against Infidels, they should not spare them. He also tooke mony of Iewes, to cause such of them as were conuerted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefite by their vnbeleefe, then their conuersion. Wherein he discovered the worst peece of his Nature, irreligion.

The antiquity
of Informers.

This Ranulph
gaue a thou-
sand pounds
for his Bishop-
ricke, & was
the Kings
Chancellour.

Besides his great taxations laide on the Lai-ty, hee set Informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raising moneyes, wherein he fayled not of fit ministers to execute his wil among whom was cheefe, *Ranulph* Byshop of Durham, whom he had corrupted with other Byshoppes to counterpoize the Cleargy, awe the Layty, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings, which were the New Castle vpon *Tine*, the City of *Caileil*, Westminster Hal, and the Walles of the Tower of London, or else in his prodigall guifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the king of France with money, and his profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This

This one Act, which shewes both his violence and magnanimitie, remaines : As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all hast out of *Normandie*, and tels him how the Cittie of *Mans* was surpris'd by *Hely Conte de la Fleſche* (who by his Wife pretended right thereunto, and was ayded by *Fouques d' Angiers*, the ancient enemy of the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which helde out valiantly for him, was without present succour to be rendered. He sends backe the Messengers instantlie, wils him to make all the speede he could to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight daies, if Fortune hindred him not . And suddenly he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him : Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great hast rides on : when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisions, and people for his iourney, hee said ; They who loue me will follow me . And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger ; Tush said he, set forward. I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.

By breake of day he arriued at *Harflew*, sends for his Captaines, and men of warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. *Conc de la Fl ſche*, hauing more

right then power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where more enraged, then dismayed with his fortune, he let fall these words; that had he not bin taken with a wile, he would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea, & were hee againe at libertie, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, set him at liberty, gaue him a faire Horffe, bad him goe his way, and doo his worst. Which acte ouercame him more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them.

The King returnes into England with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feastes his Nobilitie with all Magnificence, in his new hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, it was fitter for a chamber, then a Hall for a King of England, and takes a plotte for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gaytie of State, when hee had got aboute all his busineses, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being Hunting with his Brother *Henry* in the new Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere, (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fel
this

this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age. A Prince, who for the first two years of his raig, whilst, held in, by the graue counsell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne feares, bare himselfe most woorthily, and had beene absolute for State, had he not after sought to be absolut in power, which meeting with an exorbitant will, makes both Prince and people miserable.

Henry the First.

HENRY the yongest sonne of *William* the first, beeing at hand, & borne in *England*, (which made much for him) was elected & crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who shold haue succeeded *William*, was chosen king of *Ierusalem*, and not like to giue ouer that kingdom for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was vsed, least the report of *Roberts* returning from the holy wars (beeing now in *Apulia* comming home) might be noysed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*.

The first actions of his gouernement tended

all, to bate the people, and sugar their subiecti-
on, as his predeceſſor, vpon the like interpoſiti-
on had done, but with more moderation and
aduifedneſſe: this beeing a Prince better recti-
fied in iudgement, and of a Nature more alay-
ed, both by his ſufferings, hauing ſighed with
other men vnder the hand of oppreſſion, that
taught him patience, and alſo by hauing ſome-
what of the Booke, which got him opinion, &
the Title of *Beauclarke*.

Fiſt, to faſten the Cleargy, hee furniſhes
with fit men, all thoſe Vacancies which his
Brother had kept empty, recalls *Anſelme* home
to his Byſhoppricke of Canterbury, and re-
ſtores them to all whatſoeuer priuiledges had
bin infringed by his predeceſſor. And for the
Laity, hee not onely pleaſed them in their re-
leeuements, but in their paſſion, by puniſhing
the cheefe Miniſters of their exactions, which
euermore eaſes the ſpleene of the people, glad
to diſcharge their Princes of the euilles. doone
them (knowing how they cannot worke with-
out hands) and lay them on their Offices, who
haue the actiue power, where themſelues haue
but the paſſiue, and commonly turne as they
are moued.

Raulfe Byſhoppe of *Durham*, cheefe Coun-
ſellor to the late King, a man riſen by ſubletie,
and his Tongue from infimous condition, to
the higheſt employments, was committed to a

ſtraight

straight and loathsome prison, beeing framed to haue put his Mayster into all these courses of exaction, and irregularities, and remaynes amongst the examples of perpetuall ignomie. All dissolute persones are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couersed* Bell wer forbidden them vpon great penalty, since the beginning of William the first. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the kingdom are ordained, and besides to make him the more popular and beloued, he matches in the royall bloode of England, taking to wife *Matilde*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edgar Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, & with much ado was won from her Cloister, & her vow to God, to discend to the worlde, and be a wife to a King.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of England, when his Brother Robert returning from the holy warres, and receyued with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandie*, shakes the ground of all this businesse: the first yeare threatening, the second, arriuing with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertaining vnto him by the course of right, hauing a mighty partie in England of the

Norman Nobility; who eyther mooued with Conscience or their discontent (a sickenesse rising of selfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occasion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are readie to encounter, when, for auoyding Christian bloud, a treatie of peace was moued, and in the end concluded with these articles: that seeing *Henry* was borne since his father was king of *England*, which made him the eldest sonne of a King, though the last of a Duke, and nowe inuested in the Crowne by the act of the kingdom, he should enioy the same during his life, paying to *Robert* 3000. markes, *per annum*, and *Robert* suruiuing, to succeed him: that all who had taken part with *Robert* shoulde haue their pardon, and receiue no detriment.

This businesse thus fairely passed ouer, *Robert* of a generous and free Nature, staies and feasts with his Brother heere in England, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas, and then returns into Normandy. When *Henric*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher strayne of Regality, and now standes vppon his Prerogatiue, for the inuestitures of Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to bee a violation of the Sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately Decreed

creed concerning this businesse: in so much as the king dispatches an Embassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right hee had to such inuestitures, from his Predecessours, the Kinges of England, who euermore conferred the same without interruption, til now of late.

Anselme followes after these Ambassadors, goes likewise to *Rome*, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the kingdome, and takes into his handes the Byshoppricke. The Pope standes stiffly to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast, strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constrained, and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour, and other Princes, about the same businesse, takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, solliciting him with kind Letters, full of protestations, to further any designs of his, that might concern his State, if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and hauing purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, consents to satisfie the Popes will: and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. *Anselme* is re-called, after a yeares bannishment, and the Ambassadors returne with large remunerations.

Whilst

Whilest these things were managing at Rome, there burst out here a flame, which consumed the parties that raised it, and brought the King more easily to his endes, then otherwise he could euer haue expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, sonne to *Roger de Mongomerie*, a very fierce youth, presuming of his great estate, and his friendes, fortifies his Castles of *Shrewsburie*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tickhill*, and *Arundel*, with some other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him, and combines with the Welch, to oppose against the present State, out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vncertaine, which put the King to much trauell & charge, but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces and terrors mixt with promises, he scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles, except that of *Arundell*, which rendred vppon condition, that the Mayster might be permitted to retire safe into *Normandie*; which the King easily granted, seeing now he was but the bodye of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and winges. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the loosing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby aduancing the kings reuenues, he goes to loose *Normandy* also, and bring it to this Crowne. For, as soone as he came thither, he fastens amity with one of like condition, and fortune

fortune as himselfe, an exiled man, whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in England, and much wasted that in Normandy, which was *William* Earle of Mortaigne, Sonne to *Robert*, halfe Brother to king *William* 1. Who being also Earle of *Cornwal*, made sute likewise, to haue that of *Kent*: which his vnckle *Odon* lately held, but being denied it, and also euicted by lawe, of certaine other parcels of Lande, which hee claimed, retyres with great indignation into Normandy, where not onely he assaults the Kings Castles, but also vsurpes vpon the State of *Richard*, the yong Earl of *Chester*, then the Kings ward.

These two Earles Combine themselues, and with their Adherentes committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complained to Duke *Robert*, they founde little remedy. For, he being now grown poore by his out-lauishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or els false from action, and those greatneses his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht with ill fortunes are) false likewise in spirit, and giuen ouer to his ease. Whereupon the people of Normandy make their exclamations to the King of England, who sends for his Brother *Robert*, reprehendes him for the sufferance of these disorders; aduises him to

act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke : and in conclusion, whitherby detention of his pension, or drawing him, being of a facile nature, to some act of releasing it, sends him home so much discontented, as hee ioynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as hee raysed all his vniuersall forces to be reuenged on his brother.

The King, touched in Conscience with the fowlenesse of a fraternal war, which the world would take (he being the mightier) to proceed out of his designes; stood doubtfull what to do, when Pope *Paschall*, by his Letters (written with that eloquence, sayeth *Malmesburie*, wherein he was quicke) perswaded him, that heerein he should not make a ciuill Warre, but doo a Noble and memorable benefite vnto his Country. Whereby (payde for remitting the Inuestitures) he helde himselfe countenanced in this businesse. Whereon, now hee sets with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battell, neer the Castle of *Tencechbray*, his enemies with much ado, were all defeated. Whereby England wonne Normandy, and on the same day, by Computation, wherein forty yeares before, Normandy ouer-came England, such are the turnings in affayres of men.

And heere *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility

sibility of two Crownes, came to be deprived of his Dutchy, and all he had brought prisoner into England, and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life, suruiuing after he lost himselfe. 26. yeares, whereof the most part he saw not, hauing his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

He was a Prince, that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein he had the second command, and was in election to haue been the first preferred to the Crown of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne ouer him, and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) set a stayne vpon him: and then, his profusion, (which some would haue liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that ouerthrew him. All the Reuenues of his Dutchy, which should serue for his maintenance, hee solde or engaged, and was vpon passing the Citty of *Roane* vnto the Cittizens, which made him held vnfit for the gouernment, and gaue occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, and absolute Duke of Normandy : had many yeares of quyet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the neighbour Princes. *Scotland*, by his Match, and dooing their Princes good, hee helde from doing him hurte; clearing them from vsurpations. *Wales*, though vnder his Title, yet not subiection, gaue him some exercise of action; which he ordered with great wisedome. First he planted within the body of that Countrey, a *Colonic* of Flemings, who at that time much pestred this kingdome: beeing admitted heere in the raigne of king *William* I. marrying their Country woman, and vsing their helpe in the action of England, where they dayly encreased, in such sort, as gaue great displeasure to the people. But by this meanes, both that grievance was eased, and the vse of them made profitable to the State: for beeing so great a number, & a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and helde it in that sort, as they kept the Welch, all about them, in verie good awe. Besides, the King tooke for *Ostages* the cheefe mens sons of the Country, and heereby quieted it. For France he stood secure, so long as *Phillip* the first liued, who, wholly giuen o-uer to his ease and Luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his sonne he was to looke vnto, whensoever he came to that

that Crowne.

With the Earle of *Flaunders* he had some debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occasion. King William the first, in retribution of the good his Father in lawe, *Baldouin* the first had doone, by ayding him in the action of England, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flaunders*, of a collaterall line, returning empty from the holye warres, and finding this sum paid out of England to his predecessors, demaunds the same of King *Henric*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; that it was not the custome of the kings of England to pay tribute: If they gaue pensions they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answer so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward William, the sonne of *Robert Cu-toys*, in his attempts, for recouery of the dutchy of *Normandy*, against king *Henric*.

Thus stood this king in the first part of his raigne: in the other, hee had more to doo abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisdome so settled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Gros*, succeeding his father *Phillip* the first, gaue him warning to

looke to his State of *Normandy* : and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes one ; taking occasion about the Citty of *Gisors*, situate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandie*, whilst *Louys* was trauallyed with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vppon their Franchises, within their owne Signories, whereof there were many, at that time, about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pisieux*, *Dammartin*, *Champaigne*, and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Mayster, putting them-selues vnder the protection of *Henry*, who being neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselves. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the fift, hauing (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henrie* the fourth, who associated him in the Empire, & held him prisoner in that distresse, as he died, toucht afterwarde with remorse of this acte, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rightes of the Empyre, leauies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*, constraines the Pope and his Coledge to acknowledge

ledge the rights of the Empyre, in that forme as *Leo* the fourth, had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Counsell of Rome, & made him take his Oath of fidelity between his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperor. The Pope, so soone as Henry was departed home, assembles a Counsell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into aliance with the King of England, takes to wife his daughter *Maud*, being but five yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* sonne of the Conte de *Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and beeing French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Counsell at *Reimes*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the first is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperiall Dignity. The King of England, seeing this Counsell was held in France, and composed cheefely of the *Galicane* Church, desirous to ouer-master *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set vpon him (as the Popes cheefe pillar) on one side, and he would assaile him on the other. The Emperor easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of England dooth the like.

The King of France seeing this storme coming

ming so impetuously vppon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre, vndertaken in a heate, with the importaunce of a kind Neighbour-hood, aduise the Emperour not to enter thereinto, till hee had signified to the King of France, the causes of his discontent.

Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: the King of France aunsweres, that he griued much to see the two greatest Pillers of the Church, thus shaken with these dissentions, whereby might bee feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that hee was friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concorde, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which hee desired to extinguish, for the good and quyet of Christendome.

This Embassage wrought so, as it disarmed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of England, who expected greater matters to haue risen by this businesse. The accorde is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom the Emperour yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishoppes and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

The King of England disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceedes notwithstanding

standing in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward forces, he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald*, Conte de *Champagne*, with so great power, as hee stood to do him much displeasure: besides, he obtained a strong side in that Kingdome, by his aliances: for *Stephen*, Earle of *Blois*, had married his Sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was neere in blood, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Aniou* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandy*) to be his, by matching his sonne *William* to his Daughter.

Louys on the other side, failes not to practise all meanes to vnder-woorke *Henries* estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William*, Earle of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance: and had the fairer shew of his Actions, by taking holde on the side of Iustice.

Great and many were the conflicts between these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded by the mediation of the Earle of *Aniou*. And *William*, Sonne to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Duchy of *Normandy*: And *William*, the Sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himselfe, and desistes from his claime.

Anno Reg. 10.

Queene Maud
liued not to
see this dilaster

Anno Reg. 21.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowrenesse of greefe, as ouercame all the ioy of the succeffe. *William* the young Prince, the only hope of all the *Norman* race, at 17. yeares of age, returning into England in a Ship by himselte, accompanied with *Richard* his base Brother, *Mary*, Countesse of *Perch*, their sister, *Richard*, Earle of Chester, with his wife the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their Attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Marriners, setting out from *Harflew*, were all cast away at Sea. The Prince had recovered a Cocke-boat, and in possibility to haue beene saued, had not the compassion of his Sisters cries drawne him backe to the sinking Ship to take her in, and perish with his company.

Which suddaine clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past ouer, might make a conscience shrink with terror, to see oppression & supplantation repayde with the extinction of that, for which so much had beene wrought, and the line masculine of Normandy expyred in the third heire, as if to begin the fate laid on all the future succession, wherein neuer, but once, the third in a right discent, enioyed the Crowne without supplantation or extinction, to the great affliction of the Kingdome and
himselfe

himselfe, to leaue his other yssue subiect to the like ouer-turninges; which may teach Princes to obserue the wayes of righteousnesse, & let men alone with their rightes, and God with his prouidence.

But in hope to repayre this losse, King *Henry* within five months after, married *Adalicia*, a beautifull yong Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Louaine*, and of the house of *Lorraine*, but neuer had yssue by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chaine of his courses in Fraunce. *Normandie* it selfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederats are most regayned to the king of Fraunce; *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*, quarrels for his daughters dower: *Robert de Mellent*, his chiefe friend and counsellour, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort*, and wrought him gteat trouble.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes, and *Anion*, death: which beeing so important a Neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of England there, the king fastens vpon it with another aliance, and discendes to marry his Daughter, (and nowe onely childe, which had bin wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of *Lumbardy* and *Lorraine*) to the

now Earle *Geffrey Plantagenet*, the Sonne of *Foulke*.

The King of *France* to fortifie his opposition, entertaines *VWilliam* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay: and aydes him in person with great power to obtaine the Earldome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defailance of yssue of the late Earle *Baldwin*, slaine in a battaile in *France* against King *Henry*. But *VWilliam*, as if heire also of his Fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earldome, miscarried in the rule, was depriued, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

And now the whole care of King *Henry*, was the settling of the succession vppon *Maude* (of whom he liued to see two Sonnes borne) for which hee conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an oath is ministred to the Lordes of this land, to be true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right Inheritours of the Crowne. This oath was first taken by *David*, King of *Scots*, vnckle to *Maue*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne*, and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in England, and aduanced his Brother to the Bishopricke of *VWinchester*. And to make all the more fast, this oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

So

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are said to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his Sword, and bee in Aēt, as if hee defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kinges of the fayrest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his raigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his Brother, after, the care to establish his succession, helde him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby thinges were carried with that reuennues, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all satisfaction. He made diuers progresses into remote partes of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoever he was in *England*, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great festiuals in seuerall, and far distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

And for that he would not wrest any thing

B b 3

by

His gouernment in peace.

The cause of Progresses.

The beginning of Parliaments

The first Par-
liament at Sa-
lisbury, Anno
Reg. 15.

by an imperiall power from the Kingdome, (which might breede Vicers of dangerous nature) hee tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their general Assemblies of the three Estates of the land, which hee first, and often conuoked: & which hadde, from his time, the Name of Parliament, according to the manner of Normandie, and other States, where Princes keep within their Circles to the good of theyr people, their owne glorie, and securitie of their posterity.

His reforma-
tions.

He was a Prince that lyued formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subiectes which those times entertayned, as the wearing of long hayre, which though it were a gaitie of no charge, like those sumptuous braueries, that waste kingdomes in peace, yet for the vndecency thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse.

His meanes to
raile monies.

His great busineses, and his wantes taught him frugality, and warynesse of expence, and his warres being seldome inuasieue, and so not getting, put him often to vse harde courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his Warre, hee obtayned (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*,) Anno Reg. 15. three shillings vppon euery hide-land, but hee had no more in all his raigne,

raigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in France.

He kept Byshoppricks and Abbaies voyd in his handes, as that of *Canterbury*, five yeares together.

By an Act of Parlement at London. *Anno Reg.* 30. he had permission to punish marriage, and incontineney of priests, who for fines notwithstanding, he suffered to enioy their Wines, but thereby he displeased the Cleargy, and disappointed that reformation.

Punnishments, which were mutilation of member, he made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long beeing in Normandy, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to bee paide in kinde, were rated to certaine prices and receiued in Mony, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subiect; who by reason that many dwelling far off throughout all shires of England, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forests, which tooke vp much faire ground of the kingdome; and besides, renewing former penalties, made an Edict, that if any man in his owne priuate Woods killed the Kings Deere, should forfeit his Woods to the King. But hee permitted them inclosure for Parkes, which vnder him seemes to haue their originall, by the example of that of his at *Woodstoke*, and after their

their multitude grew to be a diseaze.

His expences were cheefely in his Warres, and his many and great fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbay of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodstoke*, and the great inclosure about that Parke.

His Council-
lors.

The most eminent Men of his Counsell, were, *Roger* Byshop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both Men of great experience in the affaires of the World. *Roger* was euer as Viceroy, had the whole mannagement of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three or foure yeares together. Hee had managed the Kinges Monyes, and other affayres of his House, when hee was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby he gained an especiall trust with him euer after, and discharged his part with great pollicy and vnderstanding; had the Title of *Iusticiarius totius Anglie*. Of whose magnificence and spacious minde, wee haue more memorials left in notes of Stone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of his Kingdome. The ruines yet remayning of his stately structures, especially that of the Deuises in *Wiltshire*, shewes vs the Carkasse of a most *Roman-like* Fabricke. Besides, hee built the Castles of *Malmsburie* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repayred the Castle of *Salisbury*, but all these hee liued to see rent from him,

him, and seized into the next Kings handes, as being thinges doone out his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. But the goodlye Church of Salisbury, a Worke appertayning to his function, remaynes as of another Fate.

Robert Earle of Mellent, was the son of *Roger Beaumont*; who of all the great men, which followed William the first in his ciuill wars of Normandy, refused to attend him in his expedition for England, thogh with large promises inuited thereunto, saying: The inheritance left him by his predecesors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and hee desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad. But his sonne *Robert* was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in England and Normandy. Was a man of great direction in Counsel, and euer vsed in al the waitty affayres of the State. His parsimony both in apparrell and dyet, was of such example being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the kingdome in those dayes. But in the end he fell into disgrace, the fate of Court and eminency, opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

Besides these, this King was serued vvith a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit ledde to affect those great designes of his in Fraunce, for the preservation of his State in

Normandy. Whether in two and thirty yeare of his raigne, hee makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Ecclips of the Sunne, which was taken to fore-signifie his death, for that it followed shortly after in the thirty fve yeare of his raigne.

His personage

Hee was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne haire (a different complexion from his Brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherin dwelt a mind of a more solid constitution, with better ordered affections. He had (in his youth) some tast of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, nor to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subiectes into the fashion of the Booke, and diuers Learned men flourished in his time.

King Stephen.



HE Line Masculine of the Norman extinct, and onelie a Daughter left, and she married to a French-man: *Stephen*, Earle of *Belogne* and *Mortaigne*, sonne of *Stephen*, Earle of *Blois*, and of *Adela* Daughter to *William* the first, was notwithstanding the former oath taken for *Maud*, elected

electd by the State, and inuested in the crown of *England*, within thirty daies after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reasons of Councell, we must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Some imagine, the state refused *Maude*, for not being then the custome of any other kingdome Christian (whose Kinges are annoited) to admit women to inherite the Crowne; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their Oath, as being vnlawfull. But *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the principall Men then in Councell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of his Oath, which was, that seeing the late King had marryed his Daughter out of the Realme, and without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her. And so was *Stephen*, hauing no Title at all, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if he should claime any right in the Succession, as being the Sonne of *Adela*, then must *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, his elder Brother, haue beene preferred before him: and *Henry Fitz Empreffe* (if they refused the Mother) was neerer in blood to the right Stem, then eyther. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. *Stephen* was a man, and of great possessions, both in *England* and *France*, had one brother, Earle of *Blois*, a Prince of great estate: another, Bishop of *Winchester* (the Popes Legat in *England*, of

power eminent) was popular for his affability, goodly personage and actiuenesse: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Cleargy, and they, by the working of the Byshoppe of *Winchester*, induced to make choyce of him, hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them, and so they might stand better secured of their liberties, then vnder such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne, hee takes a priuate oath before the Byshop of *Canterbury*, to confirme the auncient Liberties of the Church, and had his Brother to vndertake betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

But being now in possession of the Kingdome, and all the treasure his vnckle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand poundes of exquisite Silver, besides plate and iewels, of inestimable value, after the funerals performed at *Reading*, hee assembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein he restored to the Cleargy all their former liberties, and freed the Laytie from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoever greeuances oppressed them, confirming the same by his Charter, which faithfully to obserue, hee tooke a publique

lique oath before all the Assembly: where likewise the Bishoppes swore fealtie vnto him, but with this condition; so long as hee obserued the tenor of this oath.

And now as one that was to make good the hold he had gotten, with power and his sword prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to haue come vpon him. And first graunts Licence, to all that would, to build Castles vpon their owne Landes, thereby to fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuasion, that should maister the field. Which in settled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction, and partakings very dangerous.

And being to subsist by friends, he makes all hee could, creates new Lordes, giues to many great possessions, & hauing a full purse spares for no cost to buy loue and fidelity: a purchase very vncertaine, when there may bee other conueyances made of more strength to carrie it.

Two wayes hee was to looke for blowes: from *Scotland* on one side, and *Fraunce* on the other: *Scotland* wanted no instigators: *Dauid* their King, mooued both with Nature and his Oath to his Neece, turnes head vpon him: *Stephen* was presently there with the shew of a strong Armie, and appeased him with the guift of *Cumberland*, and his Sonne *Henry*,

Prince of Scotland with the Earledom of *Huntingdon*; the last tooke an Oath of fealty vnto him, which the Father refused as hauing first sworne to *Maud*, wherein he satisfied not the King, who returning from this voyage found some defection of his Nobility, which presently put him into another action, that intertayned him sometime. After which, he fallēs dangerously sicke, insomuch as hee was noyfed to bee dead, by which sicknesse, hee lost more then his health: For his Friends, put in daunger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them vp: it wakened *Aniou*, and sets him on to surprize certain peeces in Normandy, to prepare for the recouery of his Wiues right: and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed howe the rest of eightene would proue, wherein we are to haue no other representations, but of reuoltes, besiedging of Castles, surprizinges, recouerings, loosings againe, with great spoyles, and destruction; in breefe, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld vs no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition: and therefore heerein we may the better forbear the rehearfall of many particulars, being all vnder one head of action, and like nature.

The King hauing recouered, would make the

the Worlde know he was aliue, and presently passes with forces into Normandie, ouercame the Earle of *Aniou* in battayle : after, makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Maude*, couenants to giue them siue thousand Markes, *per annum* : hee entertaynes amity with King *Louys* the seauenth, and causes his Sonne *Eustace* to doo him homage for the Dutchy of Normandie, wherein hee was inuested: besides, to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, hee giues him a pension of two thousand markes, and so returnes agayne into England, to war against Scotland, which, in this meane time, made incursions on the Kingdome; where, whilst he was held busie in worke, *Rebert* Earle of Glocester, base sonne to *Henry the first*, a man of high Spirite, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especial actor that perfourmed the greatest part, in these times, for his sister *Maude*) had surprized the Castle of *Bristow*, & procured confederates to make good other peeces abroad in diuers parts; as *William Talbot*, the Castle of *Hereford*; *Paynel* the Castle of *Ludlow*; *Louel* that of *Cary*; *Moune* the Castle of *Dunstor*; *Robert de Nichol*, that of *Warham*, *Eustace Fitz-Iohn* that of *Walton*, & *William Fitz-Allan* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*.

Stephen leaues the prosecution of the Scottish warres to *Thurstan* Arch byshop of *Yorke*, whom

whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many valiant Leaders, as *Walter Earle of Albemarle*, *William Peverel of Nottingham*; *Walter and Gilbert Lacies*. Himselfe brauely attended, bends al his power to repressse the conspirators, which he did in one expedition, recouers all these Castles (by reason of their distances, not able to succour one another) and draue the Earle of Gloucester home to his sister into *Anjou*.

No lesse successe hadde his forces in the North, against the Scots, whom in a great bat-tayle they discomfited, and put them to flight, which great Fortunes meeting together, in one yeare, brought foorth occasion of bad, in that following; for nowe presuming more of himselfe, hee fell vppon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse. Hee calles a Councell at Oxford, where occasion was giuen to set him out with the Clergie, that had onely put him into the State. The Byshops vpon the permission of building Castles, so outwent the Lords in magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Byshoppe of Salisbury, that their greatnesse was much maligned by them, putting the King in heade, that all these great Castles, especially of Salisbury, the *Vies*, *Shirburne*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newmarke*, were onely to entertaine the partie of *Maude*, whereupon the King, whose fears were apt to take

take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to Oxford. The Byshop, as it foreseeing the mischeefe comming to him, would gladly haue put off this iourney, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it woulde not serue his turne: thether hee comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of lodgings, quarrell with the Seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from Wordes, fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously wounded. Whereupon, the King sendes for his Byshop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace made by his seruants. The satisfaction required, was the yeelding vp the keyes of his Castles, as plegges of his fealty, but that beeing stood vpon, the Byshop with his Nephew *Alexander* Byshop of *Lincolne*, were restrained of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whether the Byshop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes, had retyred himselfe before. The King seazes into his handes his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and after three dayes assault, the *Deuises* was likewise rendered, besides he tooke all his treasure, which amounted to forty thousand markes.

This action, beeing of an extraordinarie strayne, gaue much occasion of rumor: some sayde, *The King had donne well in seazing vpon*

these Castles; it being unfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace, should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might bee prejudicial against the king.

Against this, was the Bysnoppe of Winchester, the popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a Brother, saying; That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the king, but the Cannons that must iudge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiastical Counsel: that the king had not done it out of the zeale of Iustice, but for his own benefit, taking away that which had beene built upon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to religion. And therefore, to the end the power of the Cannons might be examined, he appointed a Counsel to be called at Winchester, whither the King is summoned: and thither repair most of all the Bishops of the Kingdom, where first is reade the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope Innocent to the bishop of Winchester, who there openly vrges the indignation offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops, An act most heinous and shamefull for the king, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euil ministers, would thus lay handes upon such men, and spoyle them of their estates, which was a violence against GOD.

And

And that seeing the King would yeelde to no admonitions, he had at length called this counsell, where they were to consult what was to bee done: that for his part, neyther the loue of the King, thogh his brother, nor the losse of his liuing, or danger of his life, should make him fayle in the execution of what they should decree.

The King standing vppon his cause, sendes certayne Earles to this Counsell, to know why he was called thither: answere was made by the Legate, *That the king, who was subiect vnto the Faith of Christ, ought not to take it ill, if by the Ministers of Christ, hee was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence, as that age had not knowne: that is was for times of the Gentiles, for Bysshops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions, and therefore they should tell the King his Brother, that if he would vouchsafe to yeelde consent to the Counsell, it shoulde bee such, by the helpe of GOD, as neyther the Romaine Church, the Court of the King of Fraunce, nor the Earle Theobald, Brother to them both (a man both wise and religious) shoulde, in reason dislike it: that the King shoulde doo aduisedly, to render the reason of his act, and vnder-goe a Canonick Iudgement: that hee ought in dutie to fauour the Church, into whose bosome beeing taken, hee was aduanced to the Crowne without any militarie hand.*

With which aunswere the Earles departed,

attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law, and hauing related the same, are returned with the Kings relye, which *Alberic* vtters, and urges the iniuries byshop Roger hadde done vnto the King: how hee seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming vppon his power, had offered violence to the Nephew and seruants, of the Earle of Brittain, and to the seruants of *Herui de Lyons*, a man of that Nobilitie and shortnesse, as would neuer vouchsafe to come vpon any request to the late King, and yet for the loue of this, was desirous to see England: where, to haue this violence offered was an iniurie vnto the King, and dishonour to the Realme, that the Byshop of Lincolne, for the auncient hatred which he bare to the Earle of Brittain, was the Authour of his mens sedition: that the Byshoppe of Salisbury secretly fauoured the Kinges enemies; and did but subtilly temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumstances; especially, when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces, in the great daunger of Bristow, he would not lodge him one Night in Malmesbury: that it was in euery mans mouth, as soone as the Empreſse came, He and his nephewes would render their Castles vnto him. That hee was arrested, not as a Byshop, but a seruant to the King, and one that administred his procurations, and receiued his monyes. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the byshop voluntarily rendred them, to auoyde the calumnie of their tumult, raised

sed in his Court : if the king found some mony in his Castles, he might lawfully seaze on it, in regard that Roger had collected it, out of the renennewes of the king his vnckle and predecessor : and the Byshoppe willingly yeelded up the same, as wel as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the kings, who part desired that the covenants, made betweene him and the byshop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Byshop Roger opposes: That hee was neuer servant to the king, nor receyued his monies; and withal, added threatninges, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes : that if hee found not iustice for his wronges in that Counsell, hee would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat, mildly, as hee did other things, sayde : That al what was spoken against the bishops, ought first to be examined in the Ecclesiastical counsell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should haue beene giuen against them, contrarie to the Cannons: and therefore, the king shoulde, as it is lawfull in iudiciall trialles, reuest the byshoppes in their former estates, otherwise, by the Lawe of Nations, beeing dissaised, they shall not holde their Plea.

After much debate the Kings cause was, vpon a motion, put off till the nexte day, to the end the Arch-bishop of Rome, an especial Instrument for the King, might bee there; who

deliuering his opinion, sayd: *That if the Byshops could rightly proue by the canons, they ought to haue Castles, they should holde them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbitie to strue to doo otherwise. And bee it, sayd he, their right to haue them, yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, al great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right, by the decree of the Canons, to haue Castles; and if, by the Princes indulgence, it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliuer the keyes.*

The Lawyer Alberic addes: *That it was signified vnto the King, how the Byshoppes threatned, & had already furnished some to go to Rome against him. But, sayde he, the King would haue you knowe, that none of you presume to doo it: for, if anie goe out of England, contrary to his will, and the dignity of the kingdome, it wil be hard returning.*

In conclusion, the Counsell brake vppe, nothing was done. The Byshops durst not excommunicat the King, without the Popes priuities: and besides, they saw the swords too buisie about them: yet failed not the Legat & the Arch-bishop to prosecute their parts, & from authority fell to Prayer, and at the Kings feete, in his chamber, besought him, *that he would pittie the Church, pittie his owne soule, and his Fame, not to suffer dissention to bee betweene the Kingdome*

dome and the Priest-hoode. The King returned them faire wordes, but held what hee had gotten.

Shortly after, through greefe dyed the Byshop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of ouer eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man, in his latter time, noted of much corruption, and vnvariable desire of hauing. For whom the present King in the beginning of his raigne, had doone very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellor, the other Treasurer; and vpon his sute, gaue to himselfe the Borough of *Malmesbury*, in somuch, as the King would say to his familiars about him: *If this man wil begge thus stil, I will giue him halfe the kingdome but I will please him: and first shall hee bee weary of craving, ere I of granting.* And sure the King hadde great reason to suspect his adhering to *Maud*, whose part hee beganne to fauour: onely, out of the hatred hee bare vnto *Winchester*, who yet was content to forsake his own Brother, in regard, by his ingagement hee was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to loose his good will, and the rest of the Clergie.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church, which had made him, vtterly dissolved him. For presently heereupon, al his power fell assunder; the Empreffe found nowe a way open to let her in, and the Earle of *Glocester*

ster, presuming of a sure side, conducted her into England, onely with one hundred and fifty men, puts her into the Castle of *Arundell*, and himselfe, attended but with twelue horse, passed away cleare through all the Countrey, to *Bristow*, and from thence to *Glocester*, where he had leysure, without opposition, to raise al the Countrey, to take part with the Empres, who from *Arundell* Castle, was afterwarde by the Legate himself, and the Kings permission, conveyed to *Bristow*, receyued with all obedience, grew daily in strength, as shee went and came, at length to her Brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himself strong with the Welsh, & settled those parts) to gather vppe more of the kingdome by shewing her selfe and her power in diuers places.

Stephen, hauing no part cleere, by reason the Castles, vppon which hee spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way, as he could not make that speede to stop this streame, as otherwise he would, holding it not safe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behinde, that might ouer-take him. And first, he layes siedge vnto the Castle of *Wallingford*, which *Brian*, Sonne to the Earle of *Glocester*, helde against him: then, to the Castle of *Bristow*, and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time, and stagger the swift proceedinges of this new received

ceiued Princeſſe, hee cauſes a treatie of peace to bee propounded at *Bath*, where the Legate, (who likewiſe earneſtly ſollicited the ſame) with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, were appointed Commiſſioners for the King; and the Earle of *Gloceſter* for the Empreſſe; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their ſides. The Empreſſe ſeekes to recouer more, the King what hee had loſt. And leaſt the North parts might fall from him, and the King of *Scottes* come on, he repayres thetherward: and finding the Caſtle of *Lincolne* poſſeſt by *Raſfe* Earle of *Cheſter*, who had married a Daughter of the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and holding it not ſafe to be in the handes of ſuch a Maiſter, in ſuch a time, ſeekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Cheſter*, who held *Newtrall*, attempting nothing againſt the King, tooke it ill, and ſtoode vpon his defence; but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himſelfe out of the Caſtle, leaues his Brother and Wife within, to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in law, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, to ſuccour him.

The Earle takes in hand this buſineſſe, ſets out of *Gloceſter* with an Army of *Weſſmen*, and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Cheſter*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried priſoner to

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Gloceſter,

Glocester, presented to the Empresse, and by hir sent to be kept in the castle of *Bristol*, but in all honorable fashion, till his attempts to escape, layd fetters on him.

Heereupon, the Empresse (as the top of her fortune) labours the Legate to be admitted to the Kingdom, as the Daughter of the late king, to whom the realme had taken an Oath to accept for soueraigne in the succession, & wrought so, as a parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaine neere to *Winchester*, where, in a blustering sad day, like the fate of the businesse, they met, and the Empresse swore, and made affidavit to the Legat, that all the great businesse, and especially the donation of Byshoppricks and Abbies, should be at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would receive her as *Queene* of England, and hold perpetuall fidelity vnto her. The same Oath and affidavit took likewise her Brother *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, *Brian* his sonne, Marquesse of *Wallingforde*; *Miles* of *Glocester* (after earl of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Byshop sticke to accept her as *Queen* (though she neuer came to be so) and with some fewe other, made likewise affidavit for his part, that so long as shee infringed not her couenant, he would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day she was received with solemn procession into the Byshops Church at *Winchester*,

chester, the Byshoppe leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard*, Byshop of Saint *Dauids*, on the left. There were present many other Byshops, as *Alexander* Byshop of *Lincolne*, & *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely* (the nephews of *Roger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after, came *Theobalde*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Empresse, inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealtie vnto her, as holding it vnwoorthy his person, and place, without hauing conferred first with the King. And therefore, hee with many Prelates, and some of the Laity, by permission obtained, went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brakes vp: the Empresse keepes her Easter at Oxford, being her owne towne. Shortly vpon Easter a Councell of the Cleargie is againe called to Winchester, wherethe first day the Legate had secret Conference with euery Byshop apart, and then with euery Abbot, and other which were called to the Councell: the next day he makes a publicke speech, *Shewing how the cause of their Assembly, was, to consult for the peace of their Countrey, in great daunger of utter ruine. Repeats the flourishing raigne of his Vncle; the peace, wealth, and honour of the kingdome in his time: and howe that renowned king, many yeares before his death, had receiued an Oath both of England and Normandie, for the succe-*

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sion of his Daughter Maude and her Issue. But, saide he, after his decease, his Daughter beeing then in Normandie, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to bee taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my Brother was permitted to raigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety between GOD and him, that he should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe, and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath behaued himseife in the kingdome, it grieues me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeat. And then recounts hce all the Kinges courses with the Bishops, and all his other misgouernments.

And then, sayde he, euery mans knowes I ought to loue my mortal Brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father: and therefore seeing GOD hath shewed his iudgment on my Brother, and suffered him, without my knowledge, to fall into the hand of Power: that the kingdome may not miscarrie for want of a Ruler; I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday, the cause was moued in secret, to the greatest part of the Cleargie, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore, after hauing inuoked, as it is meete, the Diuine ayde, wee elect for Queene of England, the Daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, good, and in our time the incompareable King, and to her wee promise our Faith and allegiance.

When

When all, who were present, either modestly gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it, the Legate addes : *The Londoners, who are, in respect of the greatnesse of their Cittie, as among the optimacie of England, wee haue by our Messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day; to morrowe, wee will expect them.*

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed, *How they were sent from the Communalitie of London, not to bring contention, but Prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from Captiuitie, and the same did all the Barones (receyued within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and al the Cleargie there present.*

The Legat answeres them at large, and loftily, according to his speech the day before, & added, *That the Londoners, who were helde in that degree in England, ought not to take their partes, who had forsaken their lord in the war, by whose Councell the Church hadde beene dishonoured, and whosauoured the Londoners but for their owne gaine:*

Then standes there vp a Chaplayne vnto Queene Maude, wife to Stephen, and deliuers a Letter to the Legat, which he silently reade, and then saide alowde, *That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so manie reuerende and Religious persons, the same should be publickely read, contay-*

ning matter reprehensible. The Chaplayn not to fayle in his message, boldly reads the letter him selfe, which was to this effect: *That the Queene earnestly entreats all the Cleargie there assembled, and namely the Byshop of Winchester, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the kingdom, whom wicked men, which were also his subiects, helde prisoner.*

To this the Legate answeres, as to the *Londoners*, and shortly after, the Councell brake vp; wherein many of the *Kinges* part were excommunicated, namely, *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legate.

Heerupon a great part of *England* willinglie accepted of *Maud*, in whose businesse her brother *Robert* employes all his diligence and best care, reforming Iustice, restoring the lawes of *England*, promising relieuements, and whatsoever might be to win the people, the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, shee being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came sodainely daht by the practise of the *Londoners*, who adhering to the other side, beganne openly to inueigh against her, who, in something, whatsoever it were, had displeased them, and they hadde plotted to surprize her in theyr Cittie, whereof shee hauing notice, secretly withdrawing her selfe, accompanied with her vnkle

David

David King of *Scottes* (who was come to visite her) and her Brother *Robert*, vnto Oxforde, a place of more security. The Legate himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a sute for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritaunce of his Earledome of *Mortaigne* in Normandie. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all opportunitie, found meanes to parle with the Legate, settles vppon him with her teares, intreatie, promises, and assurances for the Kings reformation; in so much, as she recalled him to the affections of nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part, as hee had lately excommunicated.

The Earle of Gloucester, seeing this suddain and straunge relaps of their assayres, strues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which to keepe sound, was all. He brings the Empreffe to Winchester, settles her, and her garde, in the Castle, where shee desires to speake with the Legate, who first delayes, then denies to come.

Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maud*, and the Lordes encompassse the Towne, and cut off all Victuall from the Empreffe, so that in the end, the Earle of Gloucester, wrought meanes to haue her conueyed from thence to the *Vies*, but himself was
taken

taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both euen again into the Listes of their triall: the two prisoners are to redeeme each other. The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euennesse of power, and the Earle wold not consent to the Kinges deliury (who onely in that was to haue the precedence) but vppon most secure cautions. The Archbyshoppe of *Canterbury*, and the Legate, vndertook to yeild themselues prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise but that would not serue the turne, till they both hadde written their Breeses to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken heerein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their handes and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to holde the Byshops in prison: yet the Pope, if harde measure were offred, might releue him. Which shewes the aduantage of credite in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his Fetters, though at liberty.

The Queene, and Eustace her Sonne, the Prince, vpon the enlargement of Stephen, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Bristow*, till the Earle was released, which was done vpon the Kings comming to Winchester. Where, the Earle in familiar conference, was, by al art possible, solicited to forsake the partie of *Maude*,
with

with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could moue him, being fixt to his courses, and rather would he haue beene content to remayne a perpetuall Prisoner, then that Stephen should haue beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legate, after this, calles a Councell at London, where the Popes Letters, written vnto him, are openly reade, which argue him, (but mildely) of some neglect of his Brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse al meanes Ecclesiasticall, and Secular, to set him at libertie.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his subiectes, to whom hee had neuer denyed Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate with great eloquence laboures to excuse his owne courses, alledging; *How he receiued not the Empreſſe by his wil, but necessity: that presently vpon the Kings ouerthrow, whilst the Lordes were eyther fled, or stood in suspence, attending the euent. she & her people came thundering to the wals of Winchester: and that, what pact soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, she obstinately brake all; besides, he was certainly enformed, that she and hers had plotted, both against his dignitie, and life: But God in his mercie, contrarie to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as hee escaped the daunger,*

and his Brother was deliuered out of bandes. And therefore hee, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them with all their utmost power, to ayde the King, annointed by the consent of the People, and the Sea Apostolique, and to excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that fauoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empreffe, who openly charged the Legat, That in respect of the Faith hee had giuen the Empreffe, to passe no acte there, preiudiciall to her Honour: hauing sworne vnto her neuer to aide his brother with aboue twenty Souldiers, that her comming into England, was vpon his often Letters sent vnto her: and his cause it was, that the king was taken and held prisoner. This, and much more sayd the agent with great austerity of words, wherwith the Legate seemed not to be moued at all, nor would stoope to reply.

Both parts thus set at Libertie, were left to worke for themselves, holding the State broken betweene them; and no means made to interpose any barre to keep them assunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their partakers, who looke all to be sauers, or to recouer their stakes, when they were lost (which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertaine the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles, then warres, & cost more labour then blood. Euery one fought with

with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soon haue ended the businesse.

Some few monethes after these enlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not ydle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empresse at the *Vies* with her counsel, resolves to send ouer her Brother into Normandie, to sollicite her husband the Earle of *Aniou*, to come to ayde her, with forces from thence. Her Brother, the better to secure her in his absence settles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all assaultes: and takes with him the sonnes of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. *Stephan* seeks to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then laies siege to the Castle of Oxford, which helde him all the time the Earle was abroad. *Geffrey* Earle of *Aniou*, desirous rather to haue Normandie, whereof, in this meane time, he had attayned the most part, and in possibilitie of the rest, then to aduenture for England, which lay in daunger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne *Henry*, being then but eleauen. yeares of age, that hee might looke vppon England, and be shewed to the people, to trie if that would moue them to a consideration of his right: which prooued of more effect then an Armie.

The Earle of *Glocester* safely returning, makes towards Oxford to relieue the Empreſſe, who had ſecretly conueyed her ſelfe diſguiſed out at a poſterne gate, onely with foure perſons, got ouer the Thames, paſſed a foote to *Abington*, and from thence conuayed to *Wallingford*, where her Brother & ſon met her, to hir more comfort after hard diſtreſſes.

Stephen ſeeing his enemy thus ſupplied, and like to grow, labours to win friendes, but Money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and eſpecially his Mercinaries, wherof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the riſing of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous conſequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; only about Caſtles, with ſmall powers, lay al the buſineſſe of theſe times, and they being ſo many, were to ſmal effect, but only held them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Gloceſter, the cheefe pillar of the Empreſſe, within two yeares after his laſt comming out of Normandie dyed, and ſhortly after, *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, an eſpeciall man of hers, which had vtterly quaſht her, but that inſtead of a Brother ſhe had a ſonne grew vp to be of more eſtimation with the Nobility and ſhortly after of ableneſſe to vndergoe the trauels of warre. His firſt expedition at ſixteene yeares of age was Northward, to combine him with Dauid King of Scottes his great Vnckle,

Vnckle, to whome his Mother hadde giuen the Country of Northumberland. After him folloves Stephen with an Army to Yorke, lest he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsual manner, and French-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, he quayles: nothing was effected, and both return without incountring.

Now to aduaunce the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys* the seauenth, King of Fraunce going in person to the holye Warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceipt of her, vpon the notice of her lasciuious behaviour in those parts, as the first worke hee dooth vpon his comming, backe he repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowrie, rather content to loose the mightie estate shee brought then to liue with her.

With this great Ladie matches *Henrie*, before he was twentie yeares of age (beeing now Duke of Normandie, his Father deceased, who had recovered it from him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries appertaining to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides, the Earledome of *Poictu*.

Whereupon *Louys* enraged to see him inlar-

ged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to bee so daungerous and eminent a Neighbour, combines with Stephen and aydes *Eustace* his Sonne, with mayne power, for the recouerie of Normandy, wherein he was first posselt. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the mannagement of the affayres of England to his Friendes, defendes Normandie, wrought so, as the King of Fraunce did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into England, where shortly after he dyed, about eightene years of his age, borne neuer to see out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Fewersham* with his Mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other ioy nor glorie of a Crowne, but what we see.

Stephen, whilst Duke *Henry* was in Normandie, recouers what he could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to haue bin a peece of great importance, & impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremitie, as they sent vnto Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the mids of Winter, arriues in England with three thousand foot, and one hundred forty horse: where first to draw the King from *Wallingford*, hee layes siedge to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the west, and from other parts comming

comming in vnto him. *Stephen* now resolut to put it to the triall of a day, brings thither al the power he could make, and far ouer-went his enemy in number; but fouds and stormies in an vnseasonable winter, kept the armies from encountering, till the Bishops doubtfull of the successe, & seeing how dangerous it was for them and the whole State, to haue a yong Prince get the maistry by his sworde, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

1. That King *Stephen*, during his Natural life, should still remaine King of England, and *Henrie* inioy the Dukedome of Normandie, as discended vnto him from his Mother, and bee proclaimed heire apparant vnto the Kingdom of England, as the adopted sonne of king *Stephen*.

2 That the partizans of either should receiue no damage, but inioy their estates according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the King shoulde resume into his hands, all such parcelles of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene alyened by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had bin violently taken from the owners since the daies of *K. Henry*, should be restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein when the sayde King raigned.

4 That

4 That all such Castles as had beene built by the permission of *Stephen*, and in his time (which were found to be 1117.) should bee demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reservation for the estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second Sonne of *Stephen*, to enjoy all the possessions his Father held before he was king of England, and manie other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification, and all businesse heere, settled, Duke *Henrie* returnes into Normandy, and likewise, there concludes a peace with the king of *France*, and for that he would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twentie thousand Markes.

And nowe King *Stephen* hauing attayned (that he neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes hee enjoyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes he could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword: and after his returne calles a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, hee goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Douer*, who desired Conference with him, and hauing dispatched him, falls presently sicke, dyes within fewe dayes after,

ter, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Feuerham*, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as wee cannot take his dimension, but only in passing, and that but on one side, which was warre: on the other, we neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very woorthy Prince for the gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuements of Tributes, and neuer had Subsidie that we find.

But which is more remarkeable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, hee neuer put anie great man to death. Besides, it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, there were more Abbeyes builte in his raigne, then in an hundred years before, which shewes though the times were bad, they were not impious.

1554.
He reigned 18
yeares, and 10
moneths.

The end of the third Booke.

Gg

Errata



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Errata.

FOr the Faultes committed heerein, Charitable Reader, knowe they are not the Printers (vvh^o hath bin honestly carefull for his part) but meerely mine owne: freely confessing my selfe to bee more an honorer, then searcher of antiquities, that lie far off from vs, and onely studious of the generall notions, which especially concerne the succession of affayres of action, which is the part I haue undertaken. And therefore, I trust al woorthy spirites in that respect will pardon mee, and reforme my knowledge, rather by way of Conference, then detraction; for no man truly ingenious is malignant. And (if I liue) after this priuate impressi^on, which is but of a fewe Coppies for my friends, I will amend what is amisse in the publick. I haue got ouer the worst and roughest part of this worke, and am now come into a more plaine and open passage, where I shal bee better able to stand to answere for what shal be done, and I trust haue more helpes of my friends, and all worthy men that are furnisht with matter of this nature, whom I inuoke to assist mee, and who, seeing my honest

ends, I trust wil not deny their Country the knowledge of what they haue. And especially heerein I relye upon the ayde of the right woorthy and well-deseruing Knight, Sir Robert Cotton, who, out of his choyse, and excellent store, can best furnish this worke.

FINIS.



