

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

**JOHN FOXE**

*Commonly known as*

**FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS**

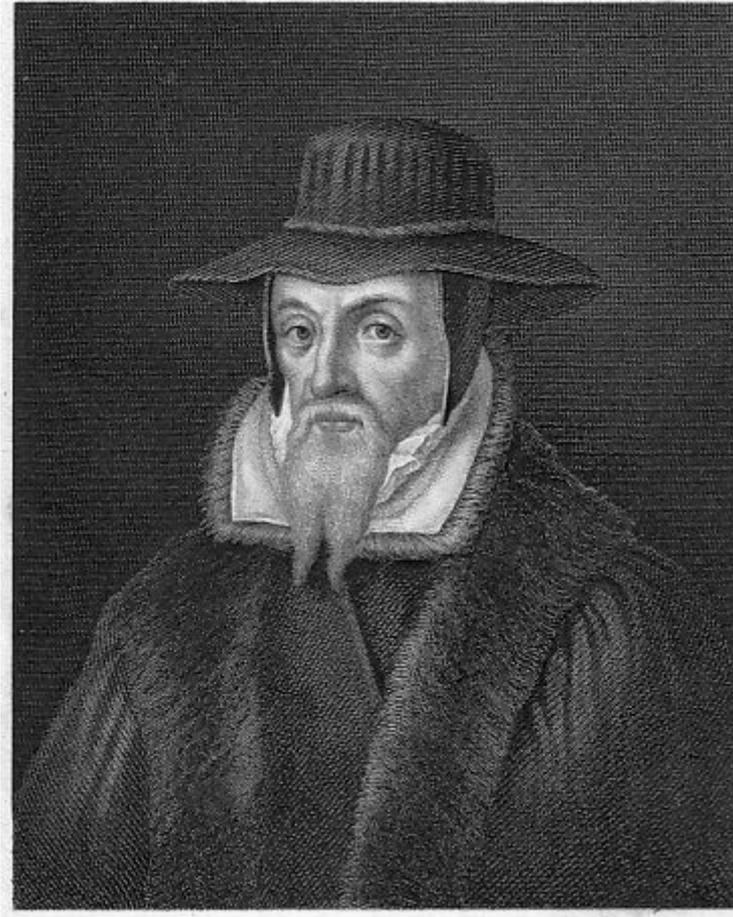
**Volume 2**

From Thomas À Becket to King Edward III

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## 40. Life and Death of Thomas À Becket

Now forsomuch as our English pope-holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, happened also in the same time of this Pope Alexander, let us somewhat also speak of him, so far as the matter shall seem worthy of knowledge, and to stand with truth; to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flattery and lies of such popish writers as paint out his story, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

If the cause make a martyr, (as is said,) I see not why we should esteem Thomas Becket to die a martyr, more than any other whom the prince's sword doth here temporally punish for their temporal deserts. To die for the church I grant is a glorious matter. But the church, as it is a spiritual and not a temporal church, so it standeth upon causes spiritual, and upon a heavenly foundation, as upon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to God's commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, privileges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these be given to the church, I pray God churchmen may use them well; but if they be not given, the church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the prince's power. To contend with princes for the same, it is no matter (in my mind) sufficient to make a martyr, but rather a rebel against them to whom we owe subjection. Therefore, as I suppose Thomas Becket to be far from the cause and title of a martyr, (neither can he be excused from a plain rebel against his prince,) so yet would I have wished again the law rather publicly to have found out his fault, than the swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to have smitten him, having no special commandment either of the prince or of the law so to do. For though the indignation of the prince (as the wise prince saith) is death, yet it is not for every private person straightways to revenge the secret indignation of his prince, except he be publicly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, if the laws had first executed their justice upon him. Certes, it had been the safest way for the king, as it proved after; who had just matter enough, if he had prosecuted his cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of martyrdom, neither had there followed that shrining and sainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret providence of God, which governeth all things, did see this way perhaps to be best, and most necessary for those days. And doubtless (to say here what I think, and yet to speak nothing against charity) if the emperors had done the like to the popes contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners; that is, if they had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous rebellion; they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church. But for lack of that, because emperors having the sword and the truth on their side, would not use their sword; but standing in awe of the pope's vain curse, and reverencing his seat for St. Peter's sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and traitorous a malefactor; the popes perceiving that took so much upon them, not as the Scripture would give, but as much as the superstitious fear of emperors and kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it passed all order, rule, and measure; and all because the superior powers either would not, or durst not, practise the authority given unto them of the Lord upon those inferiors, but suffered them to be their masters.

But as touching Thomas Becket, whatsoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelates not to be so stubborn (in such matters not pertaining unto them) against their prince unto whom God hath subjected them.

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in *Quadrilogo*, by those four who took upon them to express the life and process of Thomas Becket, it appeareth by all conjectures that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and inflexible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wise be removed, or very hardly. Threatenings and flattering were to him both one; in this point singular, following no man's counsel so much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him (if he could have used them well) rather than of learning; albeit somewhat skilful he was of the civil law, which he studied at Bonony; in memory excellently good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet archdeacon of Canterbury, and after lord chancellor) he was very evil, courtly, pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly favoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his son and heir to his institution and governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well beloved, but afterward he was again as much hated, (and deservedly,) both of the king, and also of the most part of his subjects, save only of certain monks and priests, and such others as were persuaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the liberties of the church, that is, the licentious life and excess of churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true religion; zealous, but clean without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind conscience being joined withal) it turned to plain rebellion. So superstitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his natural and most beneficial king; and, in maintaining (so contentiously) the vain constitutions and degrees of men, he neglected the commandments of God. But herein most of all is he to be reprehended, that not only (contrary to the king's knowledge) he sought to convey himself out of the realm, (being in that place and calling,) but also being out of the realm, he set matter of discord between the pope and his king, and also between the French king and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Where upon followed no little disquietness to the king, and damage to the realm, as here (in process and order following, by the grace of Christ) we will declare; beginning with the first rising up of him, and so consequently prosecuting in order his story.

And first here to omit the progeny of him and of his mother, named Rose, whom Polydore Virgil falsely nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed she came out of the parts bordering near to Normandy; to omit also the fabulous vision of his mother, mentioned in Roberto Crikeladensi, of a burning torch issuing out of her body, and reaching up to heaven; his first preferment was to the church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of St. Albans. After that, he entered into the service of the archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and after by the said Theobald was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to King Henry to bridle the young king, that he should not be fierce against the clergy; whom in process of time the king made lord chancellor, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor. He fashioned his conditions like to the king's both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the king dined

and slept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jestings of the court, to delight himself with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may not pass over his household stuff, he had his bridle of silver, and the bosses of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table and in other expenses he passed any earl; so that, on the one side, men judged him little to consider the office of an archdeacon; and, on the other side, they judged him to use wicked doings. He played also the good soldier under the king in Gascoigne, and both won and kept towns. When the king sent Thomas, being chancellor, home into England, (ambassador with other nobles, after the death of the archbishop,) he willed Richard Lucy (one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this Thomas to the convent of Canterbury, that they might choose him archbishop, which thing he did diligently. The monks said it was not meet to choose a courtier and a soldier to be head of so holy a company; for he would spend (said they) all that they had. Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great favour with the prince, the king's son, and was so suddenly discharged of the chancellorship, which he had borne five years. In the four and fortieth year of his age (on the Saturday in Whitsun week) he was made priest, and the next day consecrated bishop.

As touching the priesthood of this man, I find the histories to vary in themselves; for if he were beneficed, and chaplain to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon, (as some say,) it is no other like but that he was priest before, and not (as our most English stories say) made priest in one day, and archbishop the next.

But howsoever this matter passeth, here is in the mean time to be seen what great benefits the king had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variance and discord happened between them remaineth to be showed; the causes of which variance were divers and sundry.

As, first, when (according to the custom) the king's officers gathered of every one hide-money through the realm, for the defence of their own country, the king would have taken it to his coffers. But the bishop said, that which every man gave willingly he should not count as his proper rent.

Another cause was, that where a priest was accused of murder, and the king's officers and the friends of the dead accused the priest earnestly before the bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, to whom he was sent, desiring justice to be done on him, the priest was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himself, the bishop sent to the archbishop to ask what he should do. The archbishop commanded he should be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, and shut up in an abbey to do perpetual penance. After the same sort were divers others handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost joint, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

The third cause was, that, where a canon of Bruis did revile the king's justices, the king was offended with the whole clergy. For these and such-like the archbishop (to pacify the king's anger) commanded the canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certain years. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldness; and therefore he called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergy to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled together, the king earnestly commanded that such wicked clerks should have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the jailors, because they passed so little of the spiritual correction; and this he said also their own canons and laws had decreed. The archbishop, counselling with his bishops and learned men, answered probably; and in the end he desired heartily the king's gentleness, (for the quietness of himself

and his realm,) that under Christ, our new King, and under the new law of Christ, he would bring in no new kind of punishment into his realm, (upon the new chosen people of the Lord,) against the old decrees of the holy fathers; and oft he said that he neither ought nor could suffer it. The king moved therewith (and not without cause) allegeth again and exacteth the old laws and customs of his grandfather, observed and agreed upon by archbishops, bishops, prelates, and other privileged persons; inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now (in his reign) would condemn that which in the reign of his grand father was well allowed. To which laws and customs the said Thomas did partly grant, and partly not grant. The copy of the which foresaid laws are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine and twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certain not unworthy to be known.

*The copy of the old laws and customs where unto Thomas Becket did grant.*

1. That no order should be given to husbandmen's children and bondmen's children, without the assent or testimonial of them which be the lords of the country where they were born and brought up; and if their sons become clerks, they shall not receive the order of priesthood without licence of their lords.

2. And if a man of holy church hold any lay fee in his hand, he shall do therefore the king the service that belongeth thereto, as upon juries, assize of lands and judgments, saving only at execution doing of death.

3. If any man were the king's traitor, and had taken the church, that it should be lawful for the king and his officers to take him out.

4. And if any felon's goods were brought to holy church, that there should none such keep there; for every felon's goods be the king's.

5. That no land should be given to the church, or to any house of religion, without the king's licence.

*These articles following Thomas agreed not unto.*

1. If that between a clerk and a layman were any striving for church goods, they would the plea should be done in the king's court.

2. That there should neither bishop nor clerk go out of the land without the king's licence, and then he should swear upon a book he should procure no hurt against the king, nor none of his.

3. If any man were denounced accursed, and were come again to amendment, the king would not that he should he sworn, but only find sureties to stand to that that holy church should award.

4. That no man, that held of the king in chief or in service, should be accursed without the king's licence.

5. That all the bishoprics and abbeys that were vacant should be in the king's hands, until such time that he should choose a prelate thereto, and he should be chosen out of the king's chapels; and, first, before he were confirmed, he should do his homage to the king.

6. If any plea were brought to the consistory, they should appeal from thence to the archdeacon, and from thence to the bishop's court, and from the bishop's court to the archbishop's, and from thence to the king, and no further. So that, in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

7. That debts that were owing through troth plight should not be pleaded in spiritual, but in temporal courts.

8. That the Peter pence which to the pope were gathered should be taken to the king.

9. If any clerk for felony were taken and so proved, he should be first degraded, and then through judgment be hanged, or, if he were a traitor, be drawn.

*Other lawes and constitutions made at Clarendon in Normandy, and sent to England, whereunto Becket and the pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the realm.*

1. If any person shall be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, any writing containing any interdict or curse against the realm of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done upon the same.

2. That no monk nor any clerk shall be permitted to pass over into England without a passport from the king or his justices; whoso doth the contrary, that man to be attached and imprisoned.

3. No man to be so bold once to appeal to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury out of England.

4. That no decree or commandment, proceeding from the authority of the pope or the bishop of Canterbury, be received into England, under pain of taking and imprisoning.

5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any commandment or precept, either of clerk or layman, to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury, under pain of imprisonment.

6. If any bishop, clerk, abbot, or layman shall do contrary to this inhibition, or will keep the sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7. All the possessions, goods, and chattels of such as favour the pope, or the archbishop of Canterbury, to be seized and confiscate for the king.

8. All such of the clergy as be out of the realm, having their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned through every shire within three months to repair home, or else their rents and goods to return to the king.

9. That St. Peter's pence should be no more paid to the apostolical see, but be reserved diligently in the king's coffers, and there to be at his commandment.

10. That the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich be at the king's mercy, and be summoned by the sheriff and beadles, that they before the king's justices do right to the king and his justices, because (contrary to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandment they interdicted the land of Earl Hugh, and published the same in their diocess without licence of the king's justices.

By these and such other laws and decrees it may appear, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realm of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that antichrist should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those days, as it hath been now in our time. Now

these premised, let us return where we left, to the matter between the king and Thomas Becket.

*The communication and controversy between the king and Thomas Becket with his clergy.*

The king (as is aforesaid) convening his nobles and clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain misdoers of the clergy; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his clergy, that the customs then set forth in the realm (meaning the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren, giveth answer again, that he was contented the king's ordinances should be observed, adding this, saving his order. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition. Hilarius, bishop of Chichester, perceiving the king to be exasperated with that addition, instead of *salvo ordine*, (saving his order,) agreed to observe them *bona fide*. The king hearing them not simply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the archbishop and the prelates, said that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, *salvo sue ordine*, which he said was captious and deceitful, having some manner of venom lurking under it; and therefore required an absolute grant of them, without any exception, to agree to the king's ordinances. To this the archbishop answered again, that they had sworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour: and that in the same earthly honour also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the observing of them they would bind themselves after no other form, but as they had sworn before. The king with this was moved, and all his nobility, not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easily have relented, had not the stoutness of the archbishop made them more constant than otherwise they would have been. The day being well spent, the king (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of salutation to the bishops, and likewise the bishops every one to his own house departed. The bishop of Chichester (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his fellows for changing the exception, contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following the king took from the archbishop all such honours and lordships as he had given him before in the time that he was chancellor; whereby appeared the great displeasure of the king against him and the clergy. Not long after this, the king removing from London, (unknown to the bishops,) sailed over to Normandy, whither the bishop of London, called Gilbert, (not long after,) resorted to crave the king's favour, and gave him counsel withal to join some of the bishops on his side; lest if all were against him, peradventure he might sooner be overthrown. And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this means reconciled again to the king; only the archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutness still. The king, (thinking to try all manner of ways,) when he saw no fear nor threats could turn him, did assay him with gentleness; it would not serve. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the king; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of York, with divers other bishops and abbots, especially the bishop of Chester, did the same. Besides this, his own household daily called upon him, but no man could persuade him. At length understanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen, not only to himself, but to all the other clergy, upon the king's displeasure; partly considering the old love and kindness of the king towards him in time past; he was content to give over to the king's request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himself about the addition, which displeased the king so much. Whereupon the king

being somewhat mitigated receiveth him with a more cheerful countenance, but yet not all so familiarly as before, saying that he would have his ordinances and proceedings after the form confirmed in the public audience and open sight of his bishops and all his nobles. After this, the king (being at Clarendon) there called all his peers and prelates before him, requiring to have that performed which they had promised, in consenting to the observing of his grandfather's ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop, suspecting I cannot tell what in the king's promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at last with much ado he was enforced to give assent. First came to him the bishop of Salisbury and of Norwich, who (for old matters endangered to the king long before) came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the king, lest if he so continued, (through his stoutness to exasperate the king's displeasure,) haply it might redound to no small danger, not only of them, which were in jeopardy already, but also of himself to be imprisoned, and the whole clergy to be endangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble peers of the realm, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the king's desire; if not, they should be enforced to use such violence, as neither would stand with the king's fame, and much less with his quietness: but yet the stout stomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two rulers of the temple, called Templars, one Richard de Hust, another Costans de Heverio, with their company, lamenting and bewailing the great peril which they declared unto him to hang over his head; yet neither with their tears nor with their kneelings would he be removed. At length came the last message from the king, signifying unto him with express words, and also with tears, what he should trust to, if he would not give over to the king's request.

By reason of which message he, either terrified, or else persuaded, was content to submit himself. Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the states together, the archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise the king obedience, and submission unto his custom, and that *cum bona fide*, leaving out his former addition, *salvo ordine*, mentioned before; instead whereof he promised *in verbo veritatis*, to observe and keep the king's customs, and swear to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gave the like oath; whereupon the king commanded incontinent certain instruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the king should have the one, the archbishop of Canterbury another, the archbishop of York the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand and seal. To the which the archbishop (though not denying but that he was ready so to do) yet desired respite in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his bishopric) might better peruse with himself the foresaid customs and ordinances of the king. This request, as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly granted; so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake up.

Alanus, one of the four writers of the Life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth, that the archbishop, in his voyage towards Winchester, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his cross-bearer, who, going before the archbishop, sharply and earnestly expostulated with him for giving over to the king's request, against the privilege and liberties of the church, polluting not only his fame and conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to them that should come after; with many like words. To make the matter short, the archbishop was so touched upon the same with such repentance, that keeping himself from all company, lamenting with tears, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himself, he did suspend himself from all Divine service, and

would not receive comfort before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the pope) he should be assoiled of him; who, tendering the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him letters again by the same messenger which Thomas had sent up to him before. In which letters not only he assoiled him from his trespass, but also with words of great consolation did encourage him to be stout in the quarrel he took in hand. The copy of which letters consolatory, sent from the pope to Bishop Becket, here followeth under written:

"Alexander, bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertised us how that, upon the occasion of a certain transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease henceforth from saying of mass, and to abstain from the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is, (especially in such a personage,) and also what inconvenience may rise thereof, I will you advisedly to consider, and discreetly also to ponder. Your wisdom ought not to forget what difference there is between them which advisedly and willingly do offend, and those which through ignorance and for necessity sake do offend. For as you read, so much the greater is wilful sin; as the same, not being voluntary, is a lesser sin. Therefore, if you remember yourself to have done any thing that your own conscience doth accuse you of; whatsoever it be, we counsel you (as a prudent and wise prelate) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the same, according to his accustomed great mercy. And we, trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles St. Peter and Paul, do absolve you from the offence committed, and by the authority apostolical we release you unto your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abstain not (for this cause) from the celebration of the mass."

This letter, with others more after the like sort, the pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel, so nearly pertaining to the pope's profit. By the occasion whereof Becket took no small heart and consolation; insomuch that thereof seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his prince, as hereafter followeth to be seen by his doings. What the other letters were that the pope wrote unto him shortly after (when we come to the appellations made to the pope) shall appear, God willing. In the mean season, (as he sat thus mourning at home,) the king hearing of him, and how he refused to set his seal to those sanctions which he condescended to before, took displeasure against him; insomuch that he (threatening to him both his banishment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burden him with payments, that all men might understand that the king's mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the love of the pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an escape out of the realm, and so went about in the night (with two or three with him, stealing out of his house) to take the sea privily. Now amongst others the king's ordinances and sanctions, this was one, that none of the prelacy or nobility without the king's licence (or of his justices) should depart out of the realm. So Becket twice attempted the sea to flee to the see of Rome; but, the weather not serving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be known and noised abroad, the king's officers came to Canterbury to seize upon his goods in the king's behalf. But, as it chanced, the night before their coming Becket being returned and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Upon this, the archbishop (understanding the king sore bent against him, and the seas not to serve him) made haste to the court, lying then at Woodstock; where the

king received him, (after a certain manner,) but nothing so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one realm were not able to hold them both. Becket (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court) yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himself, and confessing no less to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either he should be constrained to give over with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The archbishop of York, in the mean time, (going betwixt the king and the archbishop,) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the king in no case would be reconciled, unless the other would subscribe to his laws. So the while neither the king would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foul discord; where the fault was, let the reader here judge between them both. The king for his regal authority thought it much that any subject of his should stand against him. The archbishop (bearing himself bold upon the authority, and especially upon the letters of the pope lately written to him) thought him strong enough against the king and all his realm. Again, such was his quarrel for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the church, that he could lack no setters-on and favourers in that behalf in so sweet a cause amongst the clergy. Wherefore the archbishop (trusting to these things) would give no place, but, by virtue of his apostolical authority, gave censure upon these laws and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and other some approving for good and catholic, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the king Rotrodus, archbishop of Rothomage, (sent from the pope,) to make peace between the king and Canterbury; whereunto the king was well content, so that the pope would agree to ratify his ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the pope's hands, then the king being stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Becket's apostolic legacy, (being *Legatus a latere*.) thought good to send up to the pope, and so did, to obtain of him, that the same authority of the apostolic legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the archbishop of York; but the pope denied. Notwithstanding, at the request of the king's clergy, the pope was content that the king should be legate himself; whereat the king took great indignation, (as Hoveden writeth,) so that he sent the pope his letters again. Here the pope was perplexed on both sides.

If he should have denied the king, that was too hot for him; for the pope useth always to hold in with kings, howsoever the world speedeth. Again, if he should have forsaken such a churchly chaplain, (the cause being so sweet and gainful,) that should have been against himself. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practice of popish prelacy, to play with both hands; privily he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First, he granted to the king's ambassadors their request, to have the legate removed, and to place in that office the archbishop of York, to his own contentation; and yet, notwithstanding, (to tender the cause of Thomas Becket,) he addeth this promise withal, that the said Becket should receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the pope, craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the archbishop for his own advantage, and yet loth to deny the king for displeasure, writeth to the king openly, and also secretly directeth another letter to Becket; the contents whereof here follow.

*Alexander, the pope, to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury.*

"Although we, condescending to the king's request, have granted the gift of our legacy after his mind from you; yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despair. For before that we had granted that, or gave our consent

thereunto, the king's ambassadors firmly promised in the word of truth (ready also to be sworn upon the same, if I would so have required) that their letters also which he had obtained should not be delivered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certain, and so persuade yourself boldly without any scruple, doubt, or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be, (God willing,) to subdue you or your church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to any, save only to the bishop of Rome. And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you shall perceive the king to deliver these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do, forthwith by some trusty messengers or by your letters you will give us knowledge thereof; whereby we may provide upon the same both for your person, your church, and also your city committed to you, to be clearly exempt, by our authority apostolical, from all power and jurisdiction of any legacy."

Upon these letters and such others, (as is said before,) Becket seemed to take all his boldness to be so stout and sturdy against his prince as he was. The pope (beside these) sent secretly a chaplain of his, and directed another letter also unto the king, granting and permitting, at his request, to make the archbishop of York legate apostolical.

The king (after he had received his letters sent from the pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiors of the clergy, such as were offenders against his laws; as felons, robbers, quarrellers, breakers of peace, and especially such as had committed homicide and murders, whereof more than a hundred at that time were proved upon the clergy, urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the law temporal, and justice to be ministered to them according to their deserts; as, first, to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular bands. This seemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should pass in causes criminal, or sit in judgment against any ecclesiastical person. This law the recusants (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Fuaristus, by whose falsely alleged and pretended authority they have deduced this their constitution from the apostles, which giveth immunity to all ecclesiastical persons to be free from secular jurisdiction. Becket, therefore, like a valiant champion, (fighting for his liberties, and having the pope on his side,) would not permit his clerks infamed otherwise to be convented than before ecclesiastical judges, there to be examined and deprived for their excess, and no secular judge to proceed against them; so that after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence again, then the temporal judge to take hold upon them, otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the king, and not only in him, but also in the nobles and all the bishops, (for the greater part,) that almost he was alone a wonderment to all the realm.

The king's wrath daily increased more and more against him, (as no marvel it was,) and caused him to be cited up to appear by a certain day at the town of Northampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come, (all the peers and nobles, with the prelates of the realm, upon the king's proclamation being assembled in the castle of Northampton,) great fault was found with the archbishop, for that he (personally cited to appear) came not himself; but sent another for him. The cause why he came not Hovcden assigneth to be this; for that the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the archbishop's lodging, (which was a house there of canons,) wherewith he being offended, sent word again that he would not appear, unless his lodging were voided of the king's horsemen, &c.

Whereupon (by the public sentence as well of all the nobles as of the bishops) all his movables were adjudged to be confiscate for the king, unless the king's clemency would remit the penalty. The stubborn archbishop again (for his part) quarrelling against the order and form of the judgment, com plaineth, alleging for himself, (seeing he is the primate, and spiritual father, not only of all other in the realm, but also of the king himself,) that it was not convenient that the father should be so judged of his children, nor the pastor of his flock so condemned; saying, moreover, that the ages to come should know what judgment was done, &c. But especially he complaineth of his fellow bishops, (when they should rather have taken his part,) who did sit in judgment against their metropolitans. And this was the first day's action.

The next day following the king laid an action against him in the behalf of one that was his marshal, (called John,) for certain injuries done to him, and required of the said archbishop the repaying again of certain money, which he (as is said) had lent unto him being chancellor, the sum whereof came to five hundred marks. This money the archbishop denied not but he had received of the king, howbeit, by the way and title of a gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Where upon the king required him to put in assurance for the payment thereof; whereat the archbishop making delays, (not well contented at the matter,) was so called upon, that either he should be countable to the king for the money, or else he should incur present danger, the king being so bent against him. The archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own suffragans, could here by no means have escaped, had not five persons of their own accord stepped in, being bound for him, every man for one hundred marks apiece. And this was upon the second day concluded.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the council, as the archbishop was sitting below in a certain conclave with his fellow bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him, in the behalf of the king, that he had divers bishoprics and abbacies in his band which were vacant, with the fruits and revenues thereof due unto the king for certain years, whereof he had rendered as yet no account to the king; wherefore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the council great displeasure to be in the king, and no less danger to ward the archbishop.

*The advice of the bishops for Thomas Becket.*

Thus, while the bishops and prelates were in council. advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to voices, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their archbishop to take. First began Henry, bishop of Winchester, who then took part with Becket so much as he durst for fear of the king, who said he remembered that the said archbishop, first being archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the church of Canterbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporal court, as all the other bishops could not but bear record to the same.

Next spake Gilbert, bishop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbishop, that he should call with himself to mind from whence the king took him, and set him up, what and how great things he had done for him; also that he should consider with himself the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruin he might bring upon the whole church, (and upon them all there present,) if he resisted the king's mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his archbishopric, (although it were ten times better than it is,) yet he should not stick with the king in the matter. In

so doing it might happen, the king seeing that submission and humility in him, would release him peradventure of all the rest. To this the archbishop answering, Well, well, (saith he,) I perceive well enough, my lord, whither you tend, and whither about you go. Then spake Winchester, inferring upon the same: This form of counsel (saith he) seemeth to me very pernicious to you, very pernicious to the catholic church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our archbishop and primate of all England do lean to this example, that every bishop should give over his authority and the charge of the flock committed to him, at commandment and threatening of the prince; to what state shall the church he hrought then, but that all should he confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing shall stand certain by any order of law, and so as the priest is, so shall the people be?

Hilary, the bishop of Chichester, replieth again to this, saying, If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force us, I would think this counsel here given were good to be followed. But now seeing the authority of our canon faileth, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so strictly to work, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may destroy. Wherefore my counsel and reason is, to give place to the king's purpose for a time, lest by over-hasty proceeding we exceed so far, that both it may redound to our shame, and also we cannot rid our selves out again when we would.

Much to the same end spake Robert, the bishop of Lincoln, after this manner: Seeing (saith he) it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his archbishopric, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his bishopric, his life being lost, I do not greatly see.

Next followed Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, with his advice, who inclining his counsel to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings, before, af firming how the days were evil and perilous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, be said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no less, especially seeing that persecution was not general, but personal and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient one head to run into some part of danger, than the whole Church of England to be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

The answer of Roger, bishop of Worcester, was devised in a double suspense, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this, That he would give answer on neither part; for if I (saith he) should say that the pastoral function and cure of souls ought to be relinquished at the king's will or threatening, then my mouth shall speak against my conscience, to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I shall give again contrary counsel to resist the king's sentence, here be they that will hear it, and report it to his Grace; and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongst the public rebels, with them to be condemned: where fore neither do I say this nor counsel that.

And this was the consultation of the bishops in that place, assembled together by the king's commandment. Against these voices and censures of the bishops Becket the archbishop replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukeful words. I perceive (saith he) and understand ye go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardliness under the colourable shadow of sufferance, and under pretence of

dissembling softness to choke the liberty of Christ's church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O unsatiabie bishops? What mean ye? Why do ye so, under the impudent title of forbearing, bear a double heart, and cloak your manifest iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter. Why pervert you the matter that is good with vocables and terms untrue? For that ye say we must bear with the malice of time, I grant with you; but yet we must not heap sin to sin. Is not God able to help the state and condition of his church, but with the sinful dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Certes, God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me, (I pray you,) whether should the governors of the church put themselves to dangers for the church in time of tranquillity, or in time of distress? Ye will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in distress. And now, then, (the church lying in so great distress and vexation,) why should not the good pastor put himself into peril therefore? For neither do I think it a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time to lay the foundation of the church then with their blood, than now for to shed our blood for the liberties of the same. And, to tell you plain, I think it not safe for you to swerve from an example which you have received of your holy elders. After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence a certain space, being locked in together. At length, (to find a shift to cause the door to be opened,) I will (saith the archbishop) speak with two earls which are about the king; and named them who they were; who being called opened the door and came in with haste, thinking to hear something which should appease the king's mind. To whom the archbishop spake in this manner: As touching and concerning the matters between the king and us, we have here conferred together. And forasmuch as we have them not present with us now, which knew more in the matter than we do, and whose advice we would be glad to follow, therefore we crave so much respite as till the next day following, and then to give our answer unto the king. With this message two bishops were sent to the king, which were the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester.

London, to help the matter, and to set quietness, as I take it, adding something more to the message, said to the king, that the archbishop craved a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the king's desire, &c. Wherefore two barons were sent to him from the king to grant him that respite or stay; so that he should ratify that which the messengers had signified to the king. To which the archbishop answereth, that he sent no message as was intimated in his name; but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the convocation of the bishops was dissolved and dismissed home; so that the most part of them that came with the archbishop, and accompanied him before (for fear of the king's displeasure,) severed themselves from him. The archbishop, thus forsaken and destitute, (as his story saith,) sent about for the poor, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them he might sooner obtain his victory, than by the others which had so slipped from him.

On the next day following, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after the archbishop was cited to appear. But the night before being taken with a disease called *passio iliaca*, the colic, on that day he kept bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a feigned sickness, as it seemed no less, certain of the chief nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the court; namely, Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Devonshire. To whom the archbishop answered, that on that day he was so diseased, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in a horse litter. So that day passed over. The morrow

after, certain that were about him, fearing no less but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsel in the morning to have a mass in the honour of the holy martyr St. Stephen, to keep him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come, (being Tuesday,) there came to him the bishops and prelates, counselling and persuading him covertly by insinuation, (for openly they durst not,) that he would submit himself with all his goods, (as also his archbishopric,) to the will of the king, if peradventure his indignation by that means might assuage. Adding moreover, that unless he would so do, perjury would be laid against him; for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the king's laws and ordinances, now would not observe them. To this Becket the archbishop answereth again, Brethren, ye see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me most of all is this; The sons of mine own mother be pricks and thorns against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the posterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your archbishop and metropolitan alone in his conflict, and how you have sitten in judgment against me (although unguilty of crime) now two days together, and not only in the civil and spiritual court, but also in the temporal court ready to do the same. But, in general, this I charge and command, (as the virtue of pure obedience, and in peril of your order,) that ye be present personally in judgment against me. And, that ye shall not fail so to do, I here appeal to our mother, (the refuge of all such as be oppressed,) the Church of Rome; and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me, (as it is rumoured they will,) I straitly enjoin and charge you, in the same virtue of obedience, that you exercise your censure ecclesiastical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, (for the flesh is weak,) yet God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet vilely forsake my flock committed to my charge, &c.

But the bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the archbishop, did incontinent appeal from him. And thus the bishops departed from him to the court, save only two, Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury, who returned with him secretly to his chamber, and comforted him. This done, the archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sick that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his mass of St. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had been a high festival day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not used but upon the holy day to be worn, &c. The office of the mass began, Princes sat and spake against me, &c. (the king's servants being also there, and beholding the matter). For this mass Gilbert, bishop of London, accused Becket afterward, both for that it was done both by art of magic, and in contempt of the king, &c.

The mass being ended, the archbishop (putting off his pall, his mitre, and other robes) proceedeth to the king's court; but yet not trusting, peradventure, so greatly to the strength of his mass, (to make the matter more sure,) he taketh also the sacrament privily about him, thinking himself thereby sufficiently defended against all bugs. In going to the king's chamber, (there to attend the King's coming,) as he entered the door, he taketh from Alexander his crosier, the cross with the cross staff, in the sight of all that stood by, and carrieth it in himself, the other bishops following him, and saying he did otherwise than became him. Amongst others, Robert, bishop of Hereford, offered himself to bear his cross, rather than he should so do, for that was not comely; but the archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the bishop of London unto him, If

the king shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The archbishop answereth again, If the king's sword do cut carnally, yet my sword cutteth spiritually, and striketh down to hell. But you, my lord, as you have played the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can see: and so he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himself with his other bishops about him. First, the crier called the prelates and all the lords of the temporality together. That being done, (and every one placed in his seat according to his degree,) the king beginneth with a great complaint against the archbishop for his manner of entering into the court, not as (saith he) a subject into a king's court, but as a traitor, showing himself in such sort as hath not been seen before in any Christian king's court professing Christian faith. To this all there present gave witness with the king, affirming him always to be a vain and proud man, and that the shame of his fact did not only redound against the prince himself, but also against his whole realm. Moreover, they said that this had so happened to the king, for that he had done so much for such a beast, advancing him so highly to such a place and room next under himself. And so all together with one cry called him traitor on every side, as one that refused to give terrene honour to the king, in keeping (as he had sworn) his laws and ordinances, at whose hands also he had received such honour and great preferments; and therefore he was well worthy (said they) to be handled like a perjured traitor and rebel. Whereupon great doubt and fear was what should befall him. The archbishop of York, coming down to his men, said he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canterbury was like to suffer. Likewise the tipstaves, and other ministers of the assembly, coming down with an outcry against him, crossed them to see his haughty stubbornness, and the business there was about him. Certain there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to curse, but to pray and forgive them; and if he lost his life in the quarrel of the church, and the liberty thereof, he should be happy. Afterward, one of them, named Johannes Stephani, desired to speak something in his ear, but could not be suffered by the king's marshal, who forbade that any man should have any talk with him. Then he (because he could not otherwise speak to him) wrought by signs, making a cross, and looking up with his eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray, and manfully stand to the cause. In the mean time cometh to him Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, desiring him to have regard and compassion of himself, and also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him; for there cometh out (saith he) a precept from the king that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebel, that hereafter taketh your part. It is said, moreover, that Jocelinus, bishop of Salisbury, and William, bishop of Norwich, are to be had to the place of execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the bishop of Canterbury. When he had thus said, the archbishop, (looking upon the said bishop of Exeter,) Avoid hence from me, saith he: thou understandest not, neither dost savour, those things that be of God.

The bishops and prelates then going aside by themselves from the other nobles, the king so permitting them to do, took counsel together what was to be done. ere the matter stood in a doubtful perplexity; for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else with the nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the archbishop for resisting the king's sanctions which thing they themselves neither did favour. In this strict necessity, they, devising what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common assent should cite the archbishop to the see

of Rome upon perjury; and that they should oblige and bind themselves to the king with a sure promise to work their diligence in deposing the archbishop, upon this condition, that the king should promise their safety, and discharge them from the peril of that judgment which was towards them. So all the bishops, obliging themselves thus to the king, went forth to the archbishop; of whom one, speaking for the rest, (which was Hilary, bishop of Chichester,) had these words: Once you have been our archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now forasmuch as you, once swearing your fidelity to the king, do resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his terrene honour and dignity, we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an archbishop thus being perjured; but, putting our selves and all ours in the pope's protection, we do cite you up to his presence. And upon the same they assigned him his day and time to appear. The archbishop answering again, said he heard him well enough, and upon this sendeth up to Rome in all haste to the pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom he was cited; to whom the pope directed again his letters of comfort (as he had done divers before).

As the archbishop was cited to Rome, sitting with his cross waiting in the court, neither giving place to the king's request, nor abashed with the clamour of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on every side, neither following the advertisement of his fellow bishops, at length the king, by certain earls and barons, sent commandment to him, (Robert, earl of Leicester, doing the message,) that he should without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the profits and revenues of the realm, in the time he was chancellor, and specially for the thirty thousand marks for the which he was accountable to the king. To whom the archbishop answereth again, The king knew how oft he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Henry, his son and heir of his realm, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, told him, that he was free and quit to God and to holy church from all receipts and computations, and from all secular exactions on the king's behalf. And so he, taking thus his discharge at their hands, entered into his office; and therefore other account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to do the law upon him; who, so doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in prison. This done, the king sendeth to him Reginald, earl of Cornwall and Devonshire, and Robert, earl of Leicester, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the archbishop answereth, Hear, my son and good earl, what I say unto you; how much more precious the soul is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord rather than your terrene king. Neither doth any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemn their father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgment of the king, of you, and all others, I put myself only to the arbitrement of the pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I do appeal, committing the ordering of the church of Canterbury, my dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow bishops, which rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgment of the pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the enemies of the Catholic Church, and of the authority of the apostolic see.

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop passing through the throng taketh unto him his palfrey, holding his cross in one hand, and his bridle in the other, the courtiers following after, and crying, Traitor, traitor, tarry and hear thy judgment. But he passed on till he came to the uttermost gate of the court,

which being fast locked, there he had been staid, had not one of his servants called Peter, surnamed Demunctorio, finding there a bunch of keys hanging by, first proved one key, then another, till at last, finding the true key, he had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbishop went straight to the house of canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor, where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made betwixt two altars, privily, while the king was at supper, he prepareth his journey secretly to escape away; and changing his garment and his name, being called Derman, first went to Lincoln, from thence to Sandwich, where he took ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence journeyed into France, as Hovedenus saith. Albeit Alanus, differing something in the order of his flight, saith, that he departed not that night; but at supper time came to him the bishops of London and Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender up to the king his two manors of Otford and Wingcham, there were hope to recover the king's favour, and to have all remitted. But when the archbishop would not agree therunto, forsomuch as those manors were belonging to the church of Canterbury, the king bearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, insomuch that the next day Becket was fain to send to the king two bishops and his chaplain for leave to depart the realm. To the which message the king answered, that he would take pause there of till the next day, and then he should have an answer. But Becket, not tarrying his answer, the same day conveyed himself away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludovicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert, the bishop of London, and William, the earl of Arundel, sent from the king of England to France, prevented him; requiring the said French king, in the behalf of the king of England, that he would not receive, nor retain in his dominion, the archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, that at his instance he would be a means to the pope not to show any familiarity unto him. But the king of England in this point seemed to have more confidence in the French king than knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French king would have been a good neighbour to him, in trusting him too much he was deceived. Neither considered he with himself enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the realm of England; who then were glad to seek and take all manner of occasions to do some act against England.

And therefore Ludovic, the French king, understanding the matter, and thinking (perhaps) thereby to have some vantage against the king and realm of England, by the occasion hereof, contrary to the king's letters and request, not only harboureth and cherisheth this Derman, but also (suited to the pope by his almoner and brother) entreateth him (upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour) to tender the cause of the Archbishop Becket. Thus the king's ambassadors, repulsed of the French king, returned; at what time he sent another embassy (upon the like cause) to Alexander the pope, then being at Sene in France. The ambassadors sent on this message were Roger, archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, with other doctors and clerks; al so William, earl of Arundel, with certain more lords and barons; who, coming to the pope's court were friendly accepted of certain of the cardinals; amongst the which cardinals rose also dissension about the same cause. Some judging that the bishop of Canterbury in the defence of the liberties of the church, as in a good cause, was to be maintained. Some thinking again, that he (being a perturber of peace and unity) was rather to be bridled for his presumption, than to be fostered and encouraged therein. But the pope, partly bearing with his cause, (which only tended to his exaltation and magnificence,) partly again incensed with the letters of the French king, did wholly incline to Becket, as no marvel was. Wherefore the next

day following, the pope sitting in consistory with his cardinals, the ambassadors were called for to the hearing of Becket's matter; and first beginneth the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of York; then Exeter; and the other bishops every one in their order to speak. Whose orations being not well accepted of the pope, and some of them also disdained, the earl of Arundel perceiving that, tried to qualify and temper the matter to the pope's ears.

His oration, although it was liked of them for the softness and moderation thereof, yet it could not so persuade the Romish bishop to condescend to their suit and request; which suit was, to have two legates or arbiters to be sent from his popish side into England, to examine and take up the controversy between the king and the archbishop. But the pope, incensed, as is said before, would not grant to their petition, forsomuch as it should be (saith he) prejudicial, and tending to the oppression of the archbishop, to grant unto it, he being not present. And therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwise, he being absent, he would not (he said) in any case proceed against him. But they, alleging again their time to be expired appointed unto them of the king, having besides other lets and causes, as they alleged, said that they could not there wait for the coming of Becket, but returned back, their cause frustrated, without the pope's blessing to the king. Within four days after, Becket cometh to the popes court, where he, prostrating himself at his feet, brought out of his bosom a scroll containing the customs and ordinances of the king, before mentioned. The pope receiving the foresaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said decrees of the king, which he called *consuetudines avitas*, that is. his grandfather's ordinances. Besides this, the pope moreover blameth Becket, for that he so much yielded to them at the beginning as he did; yet notwithstanding (because he was repentant for his unadvised fact he was content to absolve him for the same, and the rather because of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holy church did sustain; and so with great favour for that day dismissed him.

The next day (Alexander the pope assembling his cardinals together in his secret chamber) appeareth before them Archbishop Becket, having this oration to the pope and his popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue, (translated out of Latin.) to the intent that the posterity hereafter may understand either the vain superstition or vile slavery of the churchmen in those days, who, being not contented with their own natural prince and king given them of God, must seek further to the pope; thinking no ecclesiastical living to be given which is not taken at his hands. The words of his oration be storied rightly thus.

*The oration of Becket resigning his bishopric to the pope.*

"Fathers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much less before God, and in your presence here. Wherefore with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confess, that these perturbationsof the Church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the fold of Christ, but not by the door of Christ; for that not the canonical election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of public power drove me in. And albeit I against my will took this burden upon me; yet not the will of God, but man's pleasure, placed me in the room. And therefore no marvel, though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the resigning up again thereof, if I had so done, and given up to their hands the privilege of my bishoply authority, which I had granted to me at the commandment of the king, (so as my fellow bishops did instantly call upon me to do,) then had I left a pernicious and

dangerous example to the whole Catholic Church. By reason whereof I thought to defer that unto your presence. And now therefore, (recognising with myself my ingress not to be canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worse end; and again pondering my strength and ability not to be sufficient for such a charge,) lest I should be found to sustain that room to the ruin of the flock, to whom I was appointed a pastor unworthy, I render up to your fatherly hands the archbishopric here of Canterbury," &c. And so, putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, he desired a bishop for the church of Canterbury to be provided; seeing he thought not himself meet to fulfil the same, and so with tears, as the story saith, he ended his oration.

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand apart. The pope conferring upon this with his cardinals, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the king's wrath might easily be assuaged, if the church of Canterbury were assigned to some other person; and yet the said Becket otherwise to be provided for notwithstanding. Contrary, others again thought otherwise, and their reason was, If he, which for the liberties of the church had ventured not only his goods, dignity, and authority, but also his life, should now at the king's pleasure be deprived; like as it might be a precedent hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if this cause were maintained; so, contrariwise, if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his prince in the like case. And so might it redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholic Church, but also to the derogation of the pope's authority. Briefly, this sentence at length prevailed; and so Becket receiveth his pastoral office of the pope's hand again, with commendation and much favour. But forsomuch as he could not be well placed in England, in the mean while the pope sendeth him with a monk's habit into the abbey of Pontiniake in France, where he remained two years;

from thence he removed to Senod, where he abode five years. So the time of his exile continued seven years in all, &c.

Upon this, the king being certified by his ambassadors of the pope's answer, how his favour inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful displeasure. Who upon the same sailing from England unto Normandy, directed over certain injunctions against the pope, and the archbishop of Canterbury, as were recited afore. The contents whereof were declared to be these:

If any person should be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Besides these and such-like injunctions, it was al so set forth by the king's proclamation, A.D. 1166, that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where he was; which was no little vexation to Becket to be hold them. Moreover, forsomuch as he then was lying with Gwarine, abbot of Pontiniake, to whom the pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him; therefore the king, writing to the same abbot, required him not to retain the archbishop of Canterbury in his house; for if he did, he would drive out of his realm all the monks of his order. Where upon Becket was enforced to remove from thence, and went to Lewis the French king, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of five years, as is above mentioned.

In the mean time, messengers went daily with letters between the king and the pope, between the pope again and him, and so between the archbishop and others.

Besides an epistle sent unto the pope, he writeth also another letter, sent to the king in Latin.

Besides which epistle to the king in Latin, he sent also one or two more to the said King Henry the Second, much after the like rate and sort. Which epistles, for that I would not overcharge the volume of these histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought here to omit.

Besides the letters of the archbishop sent to the king, the pope also in the same cause writeth to the king. The whole tenor of the letter as he wrote it to the king I would here express, but for protracting of the time and straitness of room, having so many things else in this story (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect, to exhort and charge the king to show favour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the process of the epistle, it followeth in these words: "Therefore we do desire, monish, and exhort your honour by these our apostolical writings, and also enjoin you upon the remission of your sins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authority, that you will receive again the foresaid archbishop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your own realm," &c.

But to proceed further in the order of the history. After letters sent to and fro, the year of our Lord 1169, which was the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, the king, misdoubting and fearing with himself that the archbishop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his excommunication against his own person, (to prevent the mischief,) made his appeal to the presence of the pope, requiring to have certain legates sent down from Rome from the pope's side, to take up the matter between the archbishop and him; requiring moreover that they might also be absolved that were interdicted. Whereupon two cardinals, being sent from Alexander the pope with letters to the king, came to Normandy, where they appointed the archbishop to meet them before the king upon St. Martin's day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to Grisortium, where the two cardinals and the archbishop, with other bishops conventing together, had a certain entreaty of peace and reconciliation; but it came to no conclusion.

When that William (who of the two cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other communication had reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the church, which Becket said he preferred above all things, Well then, (saith the cardinal,) seeing all this contention between the king and you riseth upon certain laws and customs to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the church so much, then what say you? Will you renounce your bishopric, and the king shall renounce his customs? The peace of the church now lieth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what say you? To whom he answereth again, that the proportion was not like. For I, saith he, (saving the honour of my church and my person,) cannot renounce my bishopric. Contrary, it standeth the king upon, for his soul's health and honour, to renounce these his ordinances and customs. Which thing he thus proved; because the pope had condemned those customs, and he likewise with the Church of Rome had done the same, &c.

*The talk between the French king, the king of England, and Becket.*

After the cardinals were returned, the French king, seeing the king of England disquieted and solicitous to have peace, (or at leastwise pretending to set an agreement between them,) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French king made himself as umpire between them. The king of England, hearing that the archbishop would commit himself to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon, many being there present, the archbishop, prostrating himself at the king's feet, declared unto him, kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension rose between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*, that is, Saving the honour of God. The king (as is said before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffness of the man sticking so much to this word *Salvo honore*, &c., was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a man proud and stubborn, and also charging him with sundry and great benefits bestowed upon him, as a person unkind, and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed upon him.

And speaking to the French king there present, See sir, (if it please you, saith the king of England,) whatsoever displeaseth this man, that he saith to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himself both that is his and mine also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to God's honour, this I offer him: There have been kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance than I am; likewise there have been bishops of Canterbury, many both great and holy men; what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content. They that stood by, hearing these words of the king, cried all with one voice, The king hath debased himself enough to the bishop. The archbishop staying a little at this with silence, What, (saith the French king to him,) my lord archbishop, will you be better than those holy men? will ye be greater than Peter? what stand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietness put in your own hands, if ye will take it. To this the archbishop answered again, Truth it is (saith he) my predecessors before me were both better and greater than I, and every one of them for his time, (although they did not extirpate and cut off all,) yet something they did pluck up and correct, which seemed adverse and repugnant against God's honour. For if they had taken all together away, no such occasion then had been left for any man to raise up this fire of temptation now against us, as is here raised to prove us withal; that we being so proved with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as we are of their labour and travail. And though some of them have been slack, or exceeded in their duty doing, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therefore rebuke him; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not find in his conscience to consent unto that, he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he; by reason thereof he lost his life. By such-like oppressions the church hath always grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honour of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to have the favour of one man, suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed? The nobles standing by (hearing him thus speak) were greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulness, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But specially one among the rest was most grieved, who there openly protested, that seeing the

archbishop so refused the counsel and request of both the kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the kingdom of England had rejected him, so the realm of France should not receive him.

Alanus Herbertus, and certain other of his chaplains that committed to story the doings of Becket, do record, (whether truly or no I cannot say,) that the French king sending for him, as one much sorrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken, at the coming of Becket did prostrate himself at his feet; confessing his fault, in giving counsel to him in such a cause, (pertaining to the honour of God,) to relent therein and to yield to the pleasure of man; wherefore, declaring his repentance, he desired to be absolved thereof. So that after this the French king and Becket were great friends together; insomuch that King Henry sending to the king to entreat him, and desire him that he would not support nor maintain his enemy within his realm, the French king utterly denied the king's request, taking part rather with the archbishop than with him.

Besides these quarrels and grudges betwixt the king and the archbishop above mentioned, there followed yet moreover another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited between the king and Becket, the king of England returned again from Normandy into England (which was the year of our Lord 1170, and the sixteenth year of his reign) about Midsummer, kept his court of parliament at Westminster; in the which parliament he, through the assent both of the clergy and the lords temporal, caused his son Henry to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the hands of Robert, archbishop of York, with the assistance of other bishops ministering to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joseline of Salisbury, Hugo of Duresme, and Walter of Rochester. By reason whereof Becket, of Canterbury, being there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little displeasure; and so did Ludovic, the French king, hearing that Margaret his daughter was not also crowned with her husband; whereupon he, gathering a great army, forthwith marched into Normandy. But the matter was soon compassed by the king of England, who sending his son unto him in Normandy, entreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his son should be crowned again, and then his daughter should be crowned also. But the archbishop, not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent unto the pope, complaining of these four bishops, especially of the archbishop of York; who durst be so bold in his absence, and without his knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to crown the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his jurisdiction. At the instance of whom the pope sent down the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. The other three bishops with the archbishop of York he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit.

Besides these foresaid bishops excommunicated, divers other clerks also of the court he cited to appear before him, by virtue of his large commission which he gat from the pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reason of their benefices. And some he commanded in virtue of obedience to appear, in pain of forfeiting their orders and benefices. Of which, when neither sort would appear, he cursed them openly. And also some laymen of the court and the king's familiars (as intruders and violent withholders of church goods) he accursed; as Richard Lucy, and Joseline Balliot, and Ralph Brook, which took bells and goods that belonged to the church of Canterbury; and Hugh Sentcleare, and Thomas the son of Bernard, and all that should hereafter take any church goods without his consent; so that almost all the court was accursed, either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the archbishop of York with the foresaid bishops resorted to the king with a grievous complaint, declaring how miserably their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandment. The king, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? The time of the ruin of the pope was not yet come; and what prince then might withstand the injurious violence of that Romish potestate?

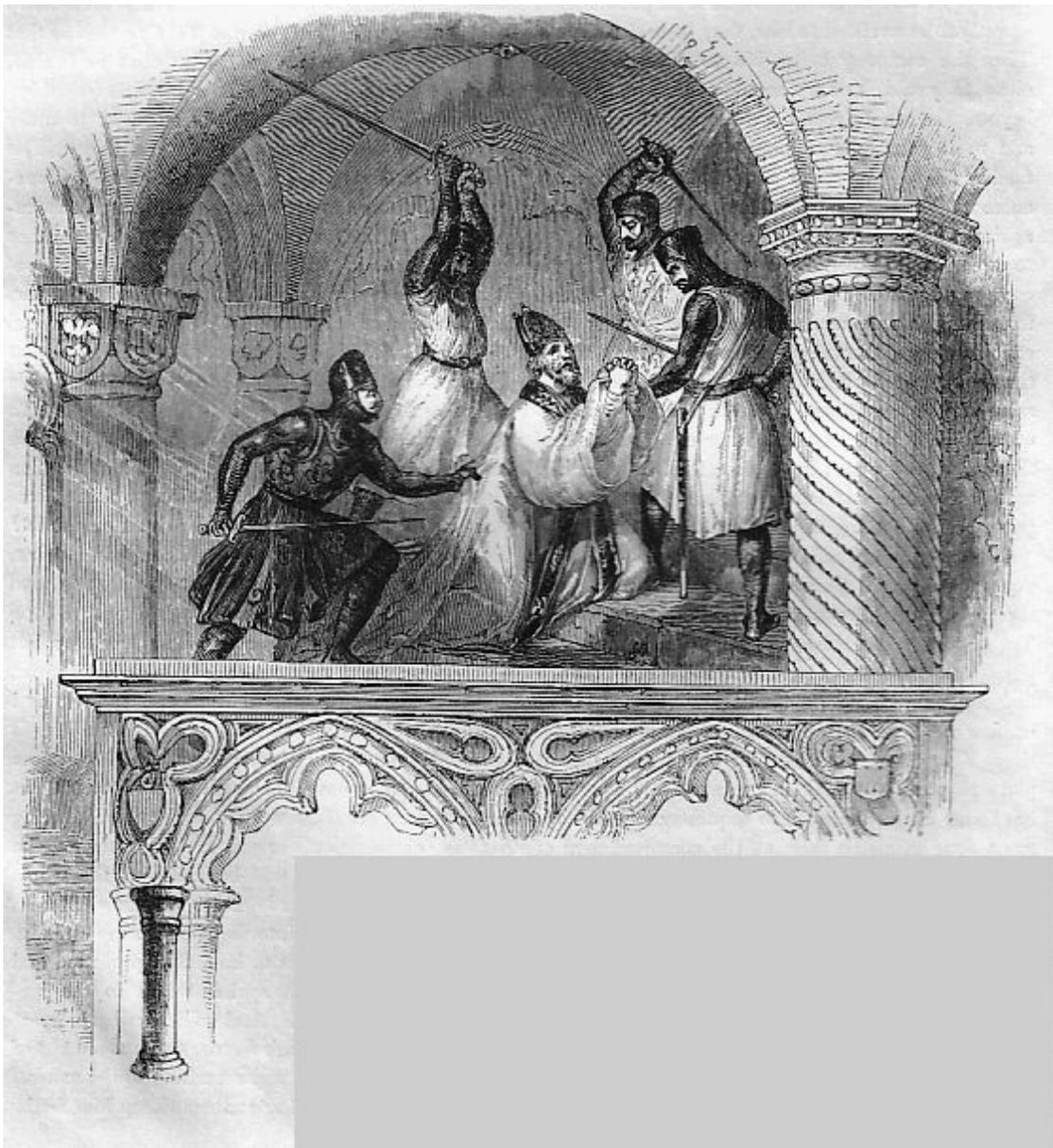
In the mean season the French king, for his part, his clergy and courtiers likewise, slack no occasion to incite and solicit Alexander the pope against the king of England to excommunicate him also; seeking thereby and thinking to have some vantage against the realm. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the pope two legates, (the archbishop of Rothomage and the bishop of Navern,) with direction and full commission either to drive the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the pope's censures out of the church. The king, understanding himself to be in greater straits than he could avoid, at length (through the mediation of the French king and of other prelates and great princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he received both to his favour, and also permitted and granted him free return to his church again. Concerning his possessions and lands of the church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the king (being then in Normandy) would not grant him them, before he should repair to England, to see how he would there agree with his subjects.

Thus peace after a sort concluded between the king and him, the archbishop, after six years of his banishment, returned to England, where he was right joyfully received of the church of Canterbury; albeit of Henry the young king he was not so greatly welcomed. Insomuch that, coming up to London to the king, he was returned back to Canterbury, and there hid to keep his house. Roger Hoveden maketh mention in his chronicle, that the archbishop (upon Christmas day) did excommunicate Robert de Brooke for cutting off the tail of a certain horse of his the day before. In the mean time, the four bishops before mentioned, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the archbishop would not grant clearly and simply without cautions and exceptions, they went over to the king, declaring unto him and complaining of their miserable state and uncourteous handling of the archbishop. Whereupon the king conceived great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the party. Insomuch that he lamented oft and sundry times to them about him, that (amongst so many that he had done for) there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occasion of which words, certain that were about the king, (to the number of four,) hearing him thus to complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heat of haste to satisfy the grieved mind and quarrel of their prince; who within four days after the said Christmas day (sailing over into England, and having a forward and prosperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of winter) came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keep. After certain advisements and consultations had among themselves, they pressed at length into the palace, where the archbishop was sitting with his company about him, first to assay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the king's mind, and come to some conformity. They brought to him (said they) commandment from the king, which whether he had rather openly there in presence. or secretly to be declared to him, they bade him choose. Then the company being bid to avoid, as he sat alone, they said, You are commanded from the king beyond the sea to repair to the king his son here, and to do your duty to him, swearing to him your fidelity for your baronage and

other things, and to amend those things wherein you have trespassed against him. Whereupon the archbishop, denying to swear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the bishops which were excommunicated for the coronation of the king, whom they commanded in the king's name he should absolve and set free again. The archbishop answered that he neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the pope, he had nothing to do with the matter.

Then said Reginald, one of the four, Although you in your own person did not excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done. To whom the archbishop said again, And if the pope, (said he,) tendering the injuries done unto me and my church, wrought this revenge for me, I confess it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (said they) it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaseth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the king's majesty) to sequester his bishops from their ministry, who at the commandment of the king did service in the coronation of his son. And seeing you have so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our sovereign, our new king, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his crown from him, and to be exalted king yourself. I aspire not (said he) to the crown and name of the king, but rather if I had four crowns, (to give him more,) I would set them all upon him; such good will I do bear him, that, only his father the king excepted, there is none whose honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the sequestering of those bishops, this I give you to understand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and assent of the king himself; to whom when I had made my complaint, at the feast of Mary Magdalene, of the wrong and injury done to me and my church therein, he gave me his good leave to obtain at the pope's hand such remedy as I could, promising moreover his help to me in the same. What is this, quoth they, that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king's own son? that when he had commanded the bishops to crown his son, he would give thee leave afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accused so the king of this prodicion. The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himself. But that he denied, and swore it was not so. And think you (say they) that we the king's subjects will or ought to suffer this? And so approaching nearer him, they said he had spoken enough against his own head; where upon followed great exclamation and many threatening words. Then said the archbishop, I have since my coming over sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both myself, my men, my cattle, my wines, and all other goods; notwithstanding, the king (writing over to his son) required him that I should live in safety and peace; and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald answering again, said, If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwise than right is, the law is open; why do you not complain? To whom, said Becket, should I complain? To the young king, said they. Then said Becket, I have complained enough if that would help, and have sought for remedy at the king's hands, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speech; but now, seeing that I am stopped from that, neither can find redress of so great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily sustain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law as an archbishop may have, that will I exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them, bursting out in exclamation, cried, He threateneth, he threateneth. What! will he interdict the whole realm and us altogether? Nay, that he shall not, saith another, he hath interdicted too many already. And drawing more near to him, they protested and denounced him to have spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And so

departing in great fury, and with many high words, they rushed out of the doors: who by the way returning to the monks, charged them in the king's name to keep him fortheoming, that he should not escape away. what, quoth the archbishop, think ye I will flee away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man alive, will I stir one foot from you. No, say they, thou shalt not avoid, though thou wouldst. And so they departing with many words, the archbishop followeth them out of the chamber door, crying after them, Here, here, here shall you find me; laying his hand upon his crown.



**The murder of Thomas À Becket**

The names of these four soldiers above mentioned were these, the first Reginald Bereson, the second Hugh Morteuil, the third William Thracie, and the fourth Richard Brito; who, going to harness themselves, returned the same way again; but finding the hall door of the palace of Canterbury shut against them, they went to an inward back door leading into the orchard; there brake they up a window, and opened

the door, and so issued into the place. The monks (being about evensong time) had got the archbishop into the church; who, being persuaded by them, caused his cross to be borne before him, and so through the cloister, by a door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the choir. The harness men following after, at length came to the church door, which door the monks would have shut against them; but, as the story saith, the archbishop would not suffer them. So they approaching into the church, and the archbishop meeting them upon the stairs, there he was slain, every one of the four soldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, and at length with much ado obtaining their pardon of the pope by the king's procurement, as some stories record, went to Jerusalem.

Thus you have heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule to us to judge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimony, partly to satisfy their minds therein, ye shall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almost as ancient as himself what they write and affirm of him.

And first to begin with the testimony of one of his own religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his own time, who, writing of his martyrdom and miracles, thus testifieth of the judgment and sentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The chronicle being written in Latin, and having the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: *Quoniam vero multi, &c.* And in the first book and eighth chapter it followeth in this manner: "Divers notwithstanding there be, which, as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be canonical, for that it was wrought rather by the instance of the king (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his utility) than by the assent either of the clergy or of the people. Further. it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lack of discretion, for that he, being scarce worthy to take the oar in hand and play the boatswain. would take upon him to sit at the helm, and guide the ship; namely, in that church, where the convent, being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to have their prelate taken out of the same profession. Whereas he, scant bearing the habit of a clerk, and going in his changes and soft apparel, is more conversant among the delicate rufflers in the court, savouring rather of worldly things, not refusing, moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the high preferment of such a holy dignity, but rather willingly of his own accord to aspire to it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said, Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt? And again, I pray thee. (saith he,) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent. send him whom thou wilt send. Likewise Jeremias also, being sent of the Lord to prophesy against Jerusalem, was abashed to take the office upon him, answering again with much dread of heart; Ah, ah, ah, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child."

And although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that age, (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition,) yet let us hear what Neuburgensis, an ancient historiographer, saith, who, in the days of the son of this King Henry the Second, prosecuting his history unto King Richard the First, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket:

"Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love or praise, (judging them more by affection than prudence,) to allow and approve whatsoever they do, yet for me to judge upon this reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praise worthy, or to be allowed; forsomuch as thereof came no utility, but only the anger and

stirring up of the king; whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefs (although the thing that he did might proceed of a certain laudable zeal); like as in the blessed prince of the apostles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Jews, Paul the doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit, it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection," &c.

To this matter also pertain the words of Cesarius the monk, in his eighth book of Dialogues and sixty-ninth chapter, about the eight and fortieth year after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the year of God 1220, whose words in some come to this effect:

"There was a question moved among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saved or damned. To this question answereth Roger, a Norman, that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was so obstinate against God's minister his king. Contrary, Peter Cantor, a Parisian, disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great holiness in that man; affirming, moreover, that the cause of the church did allow and confirm his martyrdom, for the which church he died."

And thus have ye the judgment and censure of the school of Paris touching this question, for the sainting of Thomas Becket. In which judgment, forsomuch as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death, let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to try and examine these his miracles. In the trial whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giveth us warning in his Gospel, saying, Whose coming shall be with lying signs and wonders, to deceive if it were possible the elect, Matt. xxiv.: or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle monks and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no less may appear by the miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own monks, and of his own time; who in five solemn books hath comprehended all the revelations, virtues, and miracles of the archbishop; the which books (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephanson citizen of London) I have seen and perused; wherein is contained the whole sum of all his miracles, to the number of two hundred and seventy, being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not only they deserve no credit, (altogether savouring of mere forgery,) but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them. First, if miracles serve for necessity and for infidels, what cause or necessity was there (in a Christian realm having the word of God) for God to work such miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these miracles, whither do they tend. but only to bring men to Canterbury, with their vows and offerings to enrich the convent?

Beside the number of these miracles, which he said to be so many that they lose their own credit, what disease is there belonging to man or woman, in the curing whereof some miracle hath not been wrought by this Thaumaturgus, as fevers, fistula, the gout, tooth-ache, palsy, consumption, falling sickness, leprosy, head-ache, broken arms, maimed legs, swelling throats, the raising up of the dead which have been two days departed, with infinite others? And as all these have been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salve. (as a certain panacea,) which was with the water only of Canterbury. like as a cunning smith, which would open with one key all manner of

locks; so again in reading of the story of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conveyed, that the power of this dead saint was never twice showed on any one disease, but every diverse disease had a diverse miracle.

To recite in order all these prodigious revelations and fantastical miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing else but to write a legend of lies, and to occupy the people with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers. that have nothing else to maintain that religion withal, I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vain and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angry saint (three days after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the choir not to sing, but to say this office of his mass; which vision the author himself of the book doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another vision the said archbishop should say, that his blood did cry out of the earth to God more than the blood of just Abel. Item, in another vision it was showed to a monk of Lewis, how St. Thomas had his place in heaven appointed with the apostles, above Stephen, Laurence, Vincent, and all the other martyrs. Where of this cause is rendered, for that St. Stephen, Laurence, and such others, suffered only for their own cause; but this Thomas suffered for the universal church. Item, how it was showed to a certain young man, (Ormus by name,) twelve years before the death of this Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain priest, as he said, of England, which was credibly supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certain knight's son, being two days dead, was revived again so soon as he had the water of Canterbury put in his mouth, and had by his parents four pieces of silver bended, to be offered in Canterbury in the child's behalf. All these, I say, with such other like, to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety) only this one story, or another that followeth, shall suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest.

In the fourth book of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certain countryman of Bedfordshire in King's Weston, whose name was Eilwardus; which Eilwardus, in his drunkenness bursting into another man's house which was his debtor, took out of his house a great whetstone, and a pair of hedging gloves. The other party, seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation, (by the counsel of the town clerk,) entered an action of felony against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wimble, his axe, his net, and other clothes. Whereupon Eilwardus being had to the gaol of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eyes put out, and also those members cut off which nature with secret shame hath covered. Which punishment by the malice of his adversary being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done, (saith the miracle,) there appeared one to him by night in white apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy St. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: The next day at evening the man, rubbing his eyelids, began to feel his eyes to be restored again: first in a little, after in a greater, measure, so that one was of a grey colour, the other was of black; and here was one miracle rung. After this followed another miracle also upon the same person; for going but the space of four miles, when his eyes were restored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his penda (to use the words of my story) were to him restored, which he permitted every one to feel that would, and shamed not to deny. Insomuch that he, coming up to

St. Thomas, first at London was received with joy of the bishop of Durham; who then sending to the burghers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, received from them again letters testimonial, wherein the citizens there (saith this fabulous festival) confirmed first to the bishop, then to the convent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle, gentle reader, so shameless and impudent, I thought here to express, that by this one thou mightest judge of all the residue of his miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge moreover of all the filthy wickedness of all these lying monks and cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudently to deceive the simple souls of Christ's church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I said) if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth upon no other thing but upon his miracles, what credit is to be given there to? and upon what a weak ground his shrine so long hath stood by this may easily be seen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no less worthy of the whetstone, we read in the story of Gervasius; that Thomas Becket, appearing to a certain priest, named Thomas, declared to him that he had so brought to pass, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canterbury, with the names of the priests and clerks, and with the families be longing to that city and church of Canterbury, were written in the book of life.

But whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoever the testimony of the school of Paris, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him: certain it is, that this anthem or collect, lately collected and primed in his praise. is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of Him to whom only all praise and honour is due, where it is said,

For the blood of Thomas,  
Which he for thee did spend,  
Grant us (Christ) to climb  
Where Thomas did ascend.

Wherein is a double lie contained: first, that he died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase heaven. Which thing neither Paul nor any of the apostles durst ever challenge to themselves; for if any man's blood could bring us to heaven, then the blood of Christ was shed in vain.

And thus much touching the testimony or censure of certain ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whose history I have now stood the longer, (exceeding, peradventure, in overmuch prolixity,) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duly weighed on every part, men's minds (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to be noted out of the testimony of Rob. Crikeladensis, which in him I find, that the peers and nobles of this land near about the king gave out in strait charge, upon pain of death and confiscating of all their goods, that no man should be so hardy as to name Thomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles, &c.

## 41. After the Death of Thomas À Becket

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king, fearing the pope's wrath and curse to be laid upon him, (whereunto Ludovike, the French king, also helped what he could to set the matter forward,) sent to Rome the archbishop of Rothomage, with certain other bishops and archdeacons, unto the pope with his excuse, which the pope could in no wise hear. And after other messengers being sent, (whom some of the cardinals received,) it was showed to them that on Good Friday (being then near at hand) the pope of custom was used to assoil or to curse, and that it was noised how the king of England, with his bishops, should be cursed, and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison. After this, certain of the cardinals showed the pope, that the messengers had power to swear to the pope that the king should obey his punishment and penance: which was taken both for the king and the archbishop of York. So that in the same day the pope cursed the deed-doers, with such as were of their consent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed-doers it is touched briefly before, how they, lying in Gnarsborough, fled into Yorkshire: who, after having in penance to go in their linen clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to die in few years after.

The king's ambassadors lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor favour a long time at the pope's hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two cardinals should be sent down to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to Becket's death. The king perceiving what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the pope and coming down of the cardinals would tend; in the mean time addressed himself with a great power to enter into Ireland, giving in charge and commandment, as Hoveden writeth, that no bringer of any brief or letter should come over into England, or pass out of the realm, (of what degree or condition soever he were,) without special licence, and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudicial to the realm.

This order being set and ordained, the king with four hundred great ships taketh his journey to Ireland, where he subdued in short time the whole land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers kings to the number of five; of whom four submitted themselves unto the said King Henry; only the fifth, who was the king of Conacta, denied to be subdued, keeping him in woods and marshes.

In the mean season, while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals that were sent from the pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normandy. Unto whom the king the next year following resorted about the month of October, in the year 1172. But before (during the time of the king's being in Ireland) the bishop of London, and Joseline. bishop of Salisbury, had sent to Rome, and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland, by Wales, into England, and from thence to Normandy. there made his purgation before the pope's legates, as touching the death of the foresaid Becket: to the which he sware he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not avenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was enjoined him under his oath.

First, that he should send so much into the Holy Land as would find two hundred knights or soldiers for the defence of that land.

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Also, that from Christmas day next following he should set forth in his own person to fight for the Holy Land, the space of three years together, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal by the pope.

Item, that if he would make his journey into Spain. (as his present necessity did require,) there he should fight against the Saracens; and as long time as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journeys toward Jerusalem

Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by him, any appellations made to the pope of Rome.

Item, that neither he nor his son should depart or dissever from Pope Alexander, or from his catholic successors, so long as they should recount him or his son for kings catholic.

Item, that the goods and possessions taken from the church of Canterbury should be restored again, (fully and amply,) as they stood the year before Thomas Becket departed the realm; and that free liberty should be granted to all such as were outlawed for Becket's cause to return again.

Item, that the foresaid customs and decrees, by him established against the church, should be extinct and repealed, (such only except that concerned his own person, &c.,) besides other secret fastings and alms enjoined him.

All these former conditions the king with his son did both agree unto, debasing himself in such sort of submission before the two cardinals; by the occasion whereof the cardinals took no little glory, using this verse of the Psalm: Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble; which toucheth the hills, and they smoke, &c. Moreover, it is mentioned in histories of the said king, that, a little after William, king of Scots, with his army had made a road into the realm, he, returning out of Normandy into England, came first to Canterbury; who by the way (so soon as he came to the sight of Becket's church) lighting off his horse, and putting off his shoes, went barefoot to his tomb, whose steps were found bloody through the roughness of the stones. And not only that, but also he received further penance, by every monk of the cloister, certain discipline of a rod. By which so great dejection of the king (if it were true) thou mayst see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days. If it were attempted (as might so be in time of war) to get the hearts of the people, thou mayest, learned reader, see what slavery kings and princes were brought into at that time under the pope's clergy. The same year, (as Hoveden writeth,) which was 1174, the whole city of Canterbury was almost all consumed, with fire, and the said minster church clean burnt.

The next year ensuing, which was 1175, a convocation of bishops was holden at Westminster by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. In which conventicle all the bishops and abbots of the province of Canterbury and of York, being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the days of King Henry the First. A.D. 1113) about the obedience that York should do to Canterbury; that is, whether the archbishop of York might bear his cross in the diocese of Canterbury or not, whereof something was touched before in time former process of this history. Also about the bishopric of Lincoln, of Chichester, of Worcester, and of Hereford, whether these churches were under the jurisdiction of the see of York or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controversy between these two sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the bishop of Rome.

In these and such-like causes, how much better had it been if the supremacy had remained more near in the king's hands at home! Whereby not only much labour and travail had been saved, but also the great and wasteful expenses bestowed at Rome might with much more fruit and thank have been converted to their cures and flocks committed unto them, and also perhaps their cause no less indifferently heard, at least more speedily might have been decided. But to the purpose again. In this controversy divers of the bishop of York's clergy, such as were of Gloucester, belonging to the church of St. Oswald, were excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury, because they, being summoned, refused to appear before him, &c. At length the same year, which was 1175, there was a cardinal sent down from Rome by the king's procurement, who studied to set a peace between the two archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the means of the king) at Winchester, that as touching the church of St. Oswald at Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury should cease his claim thereof, molesting the see of York no more therein; also should absolve again the clerks thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the cross and all other matters. it was referred to the archbishop of Rothomage, and of other bishops in France; so that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should have a full determination of their cause.

The next year following, the foresaid King Henry the Second (dividing the realm of England into six parts) ordained upon every part three justices of assize. The circuit or limitation of which justices was thus disposed. The first upon Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire. Two upon Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire. Three upon Kent, Surrey, Southamptoushire, Sussex, Berkshire. Oxfordshire. Four upon Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire. Five upon Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall. Six upon Everikeshire, Richmondshire, Lancaster, Copland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

In the which year also Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, made three archdeacons in his diocess, whereas before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the king to the pope's legate, that a clerk should not be called before a temporal judge, except for offence in the forest, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Item, that no archbishopric, bishopric, or abbey should remain in the king's hands over one year without great cause. It chanced the same year that this was done there was at Canterbury one elected to be abbot in the house of St. Austin named Albert, who made great labour and suit unto the archbishop that he would come to his church, and there consecrate him abbot of St. Austin's. To whom the archbishop sent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repair to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, there to receive his consecration. Where upon (controversy rising between them) the foresaid new elect appealed up to the audience of the pope, and so laboured up himself to Rome. Where he so handled the matter, (by what means I cannot tell, unless with his golden bottle, wherewith he quenched the pope's thirsty soul, for abbots never travel lightly without fat purses to Rome,) that with short despatch he procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger, bishop of Worcester; signifying to him, that he had given in charge and commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury (in the behalf of his dear son Albert) that he should consecrate him within his own monastery; which monastery properly and solely without mediation belonged to the jurisdiction of Rome, and so likewise should do to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing,

further he said, if the archbishop would refuse to do within the term appointed, that then he the foresaid bishop of Worcester should (by the authority committed unto him) execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This letter being obtained, the abbot that would be returneth home, supposing with himself all things to be sure. Tho archbishop understanding the cause, and seeing himself be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yield and stoop to the abbot, took to him policy where authority would not serve, and both to save himself, and yet to disappoint the abbot, he watcheth a time when the abbot was about business of his house. And coming the same time to the monastery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed that to such a business appertained, he called for the abbot, pretending no less than to give him his consecration. The abbot, being called for, was not at home; the archbishop, feigning himself not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed, as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the abbot had been at home. Whereupon the abbot, being thus disappointed, was fain to fill his silver flagons afresh. and make a new course to Rome to his father the pope, of whom he received his consecration, and so came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much money peradventure as he went withal.

We have declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this Pope Alexander the Third, how he had brought the emperor's head under his foot in St. Mark's church at Venice; at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the pope and the said Frederic the emperor. Which pacification Rogerus Hovedenus, and Gualterus Gisburgensis, refer to this time, being the year of our Lord 1177, bringing in two several letters sent from the said pope to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Duresme. Out of the which letters, so much as serveth to our purpose, I have taken and here inserted.

*The letter of Pope Alexander, sent to Roger, archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Duresme.*

"Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Duresme, greeting and apostolical blessing. The obsequies and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the church, requireth that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the church, and to let you know, as spiritual children of the church, what hath happened to the same. For meet it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the church." And about the end of the epistle it followeth thus:

"The next day following, which was the feast of St. James, (the said emperor so requesting,) we came to the foresaid church of St. Mark, there to celebrate our solemn mass; where (as we were coming in the way) the said emperor met us without the church, and placing us again on his right hand, he brought us so into the said church. After the mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the church door. And, moreover, when we should take our palfry, he held our stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predecessors. Wherefore these shall be to incite your diligence and study towards us, that you rejoice with us and the church in these our prosperous successes; and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the church, that such as be touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoice

also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at Venice, in the deep river, the six and twentieth of July."

This year the contention revived again, spoken of a little before, between the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, the occasion whereof was this: The manner and practice of the pope is, when he beginneth to lack money, he sendeth some limiting cardinal abroad to fetch his harvest in. So there came this year into England (as lightly few years were without them) a certain cardinal from Rome, called Hugo, or, as Hovedenus nameth him, Hugezim, who would needs keep a council at Westminster. To this council resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of bishops, abbots, priors, doctors, and such others of the clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the archbishop of York, named Roger, who (thinking to prevent the other archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himself on the right hand of the cardinal. Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the archbishop of York, as one prejudicial to his see. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit down, there rose no small contention between them two. The archbishop of Canterbury claimed the upper seat by the pre-eminence of his church. Contrary, the archbishop of York alleged for him the old decree of Gregory, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken between the two metropolitans of Canterbury and York, that which of them two should be first in election, he should have the pre-eminence in dignity, to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed so warm in words, that at last they turned to hot blows. How strong the archbishop of York was in reason and argument I cannot tell; but the archbishop of Canterbury was stronger at the arms' end; whose servants, being more in number, (like valiant men,) not suffering their master to take such a foil, so prevailed against York, (sitting on the right hand of the cardinal,) that they plucked him down from the hand to the foot of the cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His casule, chimer, and rochet were all to be rent and torn from his back. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could be heard, such clamour and tumult was there in the house among them.

But what did the noble Roman cardinal? Like a pretty man of his hands, (but a prettier man of his feet,) standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broil, committed himself to flight, and (as Hovedenus writeth) abscondit se a fade illorum. The next day after, the archbishop of York bringeth to the cardinal his rochet, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing up the archbishop of Canterbury with certain of his men to the bishop of Rome. And thus the holy council (the same day it was begun) brake up and was dissolved.

Under the reign of this King Henry the Second, the dominion and crown of England extended so far as hath not been seen in this realm before him; whom histories record to possess under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William, king of Scots, with all the lords temporal and spiritual, did homage, both for them and for their successors, (the seal whereof remaineth in the king's treasury,) as also Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitan, Gant, &c., to the Pyrenees, which be in the uttermost part of the great ocean in the British Sea; being also protector of France; to whom Philip, the French king, yielded both himself and his realm wholly to his governance, in the year of our Lord, 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the king of Jerusalem by the patriarch and master of the hospital there; who, then being distressed by the soldan, brought him the keys of their city, desiring his aid against the

infidels; which offer he then refused, alleging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sons, which might happen in his absence.

And here the old histories find a great fault with the king for his refusal; declaring that to be the cause of God's plagues which after ensued upon him by his children, as the patriarch in his oration (being offended with the king) prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause. Which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good princes not to deny their necessary help to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause appertaining unto God.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood, and riches of this prince were so spread and renowned from all quarters, that messages came from Emmanuel, emperor of Constantinople, Frederic, emperor of Rome, and William, archbishop of Trevers in Almain, the duke of Saxon, and from the earl of Flanders, and also from the French king, (upon determination of great questions and strifes,) to ask counsel and determination thereof of this King Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolmaster of all wisdom and justice, to have solution of their questions and doubts. Moreover, Alphonsus, king of Castile, and Sancius, king of Naverne, being in strife for certain castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their free accord and by their oath) to abide the award of this King Henry, who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed that this king, to whom other princes did so resort, as to their arbiter and guide, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seem that the acts of this prince were not so vicious as some monkish writers do describe.

Among many other things in this king memorable, this one is to be noted, (follow it who can,) that he, reigning five and thirty years, and having such wars with his enemies, yet never upon his subjects put any tribute or tax, nor yet upon the spirituality, first-fruits and appropriations of benefices. Belike they were not known, or else not used. And yet his treasure after his death (weighed by King Richard his son) amounted to above nine hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture. Of the which substance eleven thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger, archbishop of York; who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any priest died within his province without testament, then he should have all his goods. And shortly after the archbishop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended (as is said) to eleven thousand pounds besides plate, in the year of our Lord God 1181.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal world so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of encumbrance and adversity; so it happened to this king, that, among his other princely successors, this incommodity followed him withal, that his sons rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French king against their father. First, at the coronation of Henry his son, whom the father joined with him as king, he being both father and king, took upon him (that notwithstanding) but as a steward, and set down the first dish, as sewer unto his son, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the foresaid archbishop of York, sitting on the right hand of the young king, said, Sir, ye have great cause this day to joy, for there is no prince in the world that hath such an officer this day, &c. And the young king disdainning his words, said, My father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a king and a queen's son, and so is not he: and not only this, but after he also persecuted his father: and so in his youth, when he had reigned but a few years, died; teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the just commandment of God.

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After him likewise Richard his son (who was Richard Cœur de Lion) rebelled against his father, and also John his youngest son did not much degenerate from the steps of his brethren. Insomuch that this foresaid Richard, (like an unkind child,) persecuting and taking part against his father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague; and with in four days departed, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whose corpse as it was carried to be buried, Richard his son, coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weep, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the king at the coming of his son; giving thereby a certain demonstration how he was the only author of his death.

After the death and reign of which king, his children after him, (worthily rewarded for their unnaturalness against their father,) lacking the success which their father had, lost all beyond the sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reign of Henry the Second, and the death of Thomas Becket, whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the days of Pope Alexander the Third.

## 42. Pope Alexander III and the Waldenses

[This] pope, usurping the keys of ecclesiastical regiment one and twenty years. (or, as Gisburnensis writeth, three and twenty years,) governed the church with much tumult: striving and contending with Frederic the emperor, not shaming, like a most proud Lucifer, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the said emperor. as is above described.

This pope, among many other his acts, had certain councils, as is partly before touched. some in France. some at Rome in Lateran: by whom it was decreed, that no archbishop should receive the pall, unless he should first swear. Concerning the solemnity of which pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the same with obedience to the pope, as it is contained in their own words, I thought it good to set it forth unto thee, that thou mayst well consider and understand their doings therein.

"To the honour of Almighty God, and of blessed Mary the virgin, and of blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of our Lord Pope N., and of the holy Church of Rome. and also of the church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the pall taken from the body of St. Peter. as a fulness of the office pontifical, which you may wear within your own church upon certain days. which be expressed in the privileges of the said church, granted by the see apostolic."

*Notes upon the same.*

"To the honour." &c. With what confidence durst the pope couple the honour of Almighty God. and the honour of Mary, of St. Peter. and of the pope, and of the Romish Church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himself not only with such saints, but also even with him which is God alone, to be blessed for ever?

"Taken from the body." &c. If St. Peter's body be not all consumed, let him show it if he can. If he cannot show it, how then is this pall taken from the body of St. Peter? Or if he mean it to be of St. Peter's own wearing, then belike St. Peter had a goodly wardrobe of palls, when every archbishop in all Christendom receiveth from the pope a diverse pall.

"As a fulness of the office," &c. Rather he might say, the fulness of his own purse; whenas archbishops paid so sweetly for it. Insomuch that Jacobus, the archbishop of Mentz, as is above touched a little before in the Council of Basil, where the price was wont to be but a thousand florins, could not obtain it without six and twenty thousand florins.

Upon certain days," &c. This difference there was between the pope and other archbishops; for the pope might wear the pall at all times and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not wear it but upon certain days, and in their church only within their province. Moreover, this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months, without which pall he is not to be archbishop, but may be deposed, having it not after three months; and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is given, some privilege must be given withal, or the old renewed.

In like manner proceedeth the oath of every bishop swearing obedience to the pope, in like words as followeth.

"I, N., bishop of N., from this hour henceforth will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy apostolic Church of Rome, and to my lord N. the pope. I shall be in no counsel, nor help, either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking, The counsel which they shall commit to me, either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of St. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saved) against all persons. The legate of the apostolic see both in going and coming I shall honourably treat and help in all necessities. Being called to a synod, I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and canonical impeachment. The palace of the apostles every third year I shall visit, either by myself or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the see apostolic. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishopric I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove assay by any manner of means, without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome: so God help me and the holy Gospels of God."

N. B. Hereby thou hast. by the way, gentle reader, to note and consider, among other things which here may be understood, that since the time the oath began to be laid and thrust upon bishops. all general councils began to lose their liberty. For how could any freedom remain for men to speak their knowledge in redress of things. being by their oath so bound to the pope to speak nothing but on his side, to maintain the papacy and the Church of Rome in all times and places? Conjecture by thyself, Christian reader, what is more hereby to be considered.

Besides this, it was also decreed, in the said council at Rome of three hundred and ten bishops, by Pope Alexander. that no man should have any spiritual promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in wedlock. That no parish church should be void above six months. That none within orders should meddle with temporal business. That priests should have but one benefice, and that the bishop should be charged to find the priest a living till he be promoted.

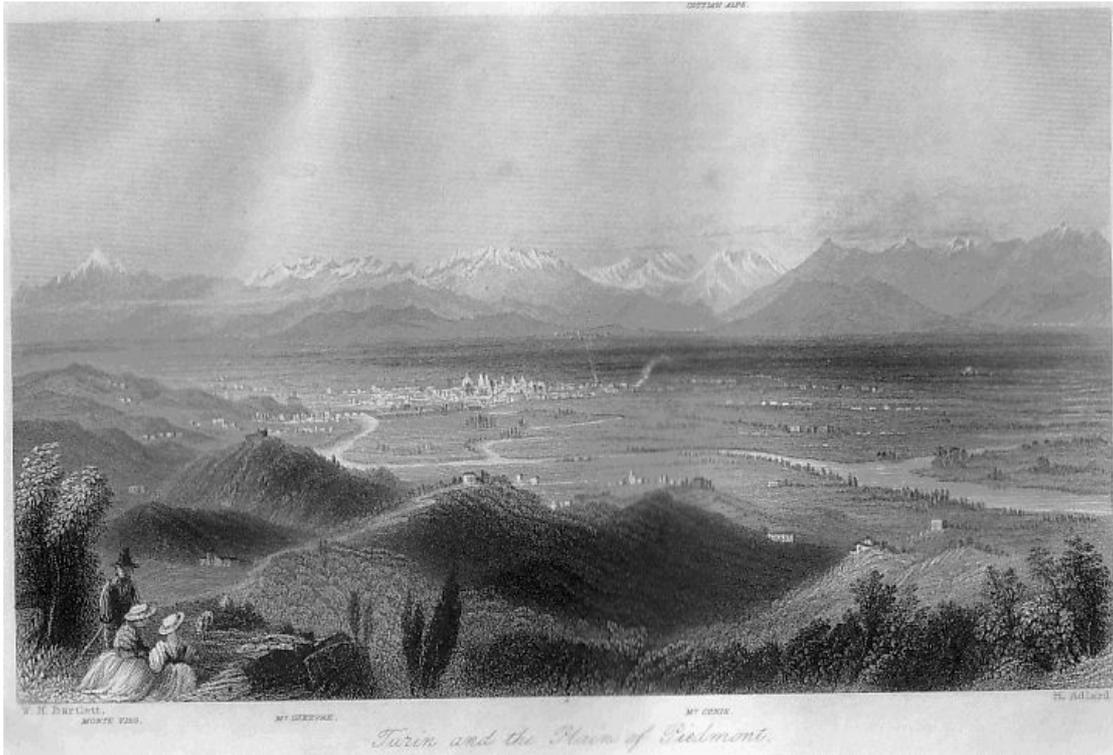
That open usurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the churchyard.

That nothing should be taken for ministering sacraments, or burying.

Item, that every cathedral church should have a master to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

In this council the vow of chastity was obtruded and laid upon priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were canonized for saints.

In the time of this Alexander sprang up the doctrine and name of them which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno; which, of one Waldus, a chief senator in Lyons, were named Waldenses, item Leonistæ et Insabbatati, about A.D. 1109, or (as Laziardus writeth) 1170.



**Turin and the plain of Piedmont**

*[Note by the Rev. R. CATTLEY.]*

Waldenses. — Our author has fallen into the very common error of confounding the Waldenses with the 'Pauperes de Lugduno,' or 'Poor men of Lyons,' and of deriving their origin from Waldus, or Peter Waldo, of Lyons. The earliest period assigned to Peter Waldo is the year 1160; but there is a document of the year 1100, 'La nobla Leycezon,' which speaks of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, under the term Vaudés. It is, therefore, much more probable that Peter Waldo was named after the community called Vaudés, than that the Waldenses should take their name from his. Authors who assert the greater antiquity of the Waldenss, Vallenses, or Vaudois, maintain,

1. That the Waldenses are so called from certain secluded Alpine valleys, principally in Piedmont, where they have been settled from time immemorial
2. That the simplest etymology is that which is deduced from a local, and not from a personal name. — 'Vallis.' Latin; 'valli,' Italian; 'val,' Provençal; 'val,' pl. 'vaux,' and 'vallée,' French; 'val,' Spanish; 'val,' Celtic; 'Wald,' Teutonic; 'valley,' English.
3. That traces are to be found in early ecclesiastical history (beginning with the works of Ambrose and Jerome) of Alpine churches, which held opinions similar to those of the Waldenses of later times.
4. That the most ancient of the state records of Piedmont, in which the Waldenses are noticed as a religious community at variance with the Church of Rome, call them Huomini delle Valli,' or 'Men of the Valleys.'
5. That the antiquity of 'La nobla Leycezon,' which presents internal evidence of having been written in the year 1100, and contains the term Vaudés, and applies it to a religious body not in communion with the Church of Rome, is proved by

Raynonard in his 'Choix de Poésies des Troubadours,' and by others whose authority is of importance as to the period and language of that valuable document.

6. That surnames were not in use in the twelfth century, and that Peter of Lyons had his second appellation Waldus, or Waldo, given to him to distinguish him as one who had adopted the opinions of the Vaudds, or Waldenses.

7. That the earliest public edicts which make mention of the Waldenses (such as 'Statute Synodalia Odonis Episcopi Tullensis,' in 1192 — 'De hæreticis autem qui vocantur Wadoys — præcipimus,' and the edict of Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, in 1194) do not give any derivation of the term Waldenses, but simply call certain heretics by that name.

8. That the earliest treatises which profess to give the etymology of the name Waldenses derive it from a word signifying 'valley.' Thus Bernard of Fontcaud, A.D. 1185 — 'Dicti sunt Valdenses nimirum a valle dense, eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur;' and Ebrard De Bethune, in the year 1200 — 'Vallenses se appellunt eo quod in valle lachrymarum manent?'

9. That the first treatise which pretends to derive the Waldenses from Peter Waldus, of Lyons, was written after these, namely, 'Petri Valium Sarnaii monarchi Historia Albigenium,' in 1218. See Leger's 'Histoire generale des Eglises Evangeliques de Vallées de Piémont,' Allix's 'Churches of Piedmont,' Gilly's 'Waldensian Researches,' Blair's 'History of the Waldenses.']

Not long before this time (as is expressed above) rose up Gratianus, master of the decrees, and Petrus Lombardus, master of the sentences, both archpillars of all papistry; after whom followed also two as evil or worse than they, Franciscus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisy no less than the other maintained proud prelacy. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly advancement to corrupt the sincerity of Christian religion; so it pleased Christ the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise up therefore the said Waldensians against the pride and hypocrisy of the others.

Thus we never see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and clear light of the gospel yet by God's providence doth remain. Whatsoever Doctor Augustinus, Reinerius, Sylvius, Cranzius, with others in their popish histories do write of them, (defaming them through misreport,) and accusing them to magistrates, as disobedient to orders, rebels to the Catholic Church, and contemners of the Virgin Mary; yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather trusting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise, and that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the papists did with the articles of Wickliffe and Huss, so they did in like manner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise than they were meant.

The first original of these Waldenses came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no less calling, in the city of Lyons; the occasion whereof is declared of divers writers thus to come: About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the best and chiefest heads of the city of Lyons, talking and walking in a certain place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to pass over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking upon) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Waldus, there being amongst them, was

one; who beholding the matter more earnestly than the other, and terrified with so heavy an example, being (as is said) a rich man, and God's Holy Spirit working withal, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance, where upon followed a new alteration, with a careful study to reform his former life. Insomuch that, first, he began to minister large alms of his goods to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himself and his family with the true knowledge of God's word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion to repentance and virtuous amendment of life. Whereby, partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue; for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned.

Although Laziardus, Volateranus, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him; by others, that have seen his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the books of Scripture, and also did collect the doctors' mind upon the same.

But whatsoever he was, (lettered or unlettered,) the bishops and prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to have such resort about him, albeit it was but in his own house under private conference, could not abide either that the Scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the pains to declare it themselves. So being moved with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leave so to do. Waldus seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred up upon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatenings and frettings of the wicked, said that God must be obeyed more than man. To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased. Insomuch that when they did see their excommunication to be despised and would not serve, they ceased not with prison, with sword, and banishment to persecute, till at length they had driven both Waldus and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the city.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, not because they would have all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the apostles did, (as Sylvius did falsely believe them,) but because they, being thrust out both of country and goods, were compelled to live poorly, whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christ's gospel against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these.

1. Only the Holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation, and no man's writing or man besides.
2. All things to be contained in Holy Scripture necessary to salvation, and nothing to be admitted in religion but what only is commanded in the word of God.
3. To be one only Mediator; other saints in no wise to be made mediators, or to be invocated.

4. To be no purgatory, but that all men either by Christ are justified to life, or without Christ be condemned; and besides these two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all masses, namely, such as be sung for the dead, be wicked, and to be abrogate.

6. All men's traditions to be rejected, at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation, and therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the chancel to be left; constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times, difference of meats, such variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, superfluous holy-days, so many sundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, to be abolished.

7. The supremacy of the pope usurping above all churches, and especially above all politic realms and governments, or for him to occupy or usurp the jurisdiction of both the swords, to be denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the church, but only priests, deacons, and bishops.

8. The communion under both kinds to be necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.

9. Item, the Church of Rome to be the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse; and the pope to be the fountain of all error, and the very antichrist.

10. The pope's pardons and indulgences they reject.

11. The marriage of priests, and of ecclesiastical persons, to be godly and also necessary in the church.

12. Such as hear the word of God, and have a right faith, to be the right church of Christ. And to this church the keys of the church are to be given, to drive away wolves, and to institute the pastors, to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments.

These be the most principal articles of the Waldenses; albeit some there be that add more to them; some again divide the same into more parts: but these be the principal to which the rest be reduced.

As for purgatory, they say that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, and not to be showed and worshipped; for a memorial, not for a sacrifice: to serve for the present ministration, and not for reservation: to be received at the table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient use of the primitive church, when they used to communicate sitting. And this they prove both by an old chronicle called *Chronica Gestorum*, as also by ancient Origen upon the third book of Moses, bringing in his words, which be these, proving that this sacramental bread ought not to be received: Whosoever receiveth this bread of the supper of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore the Gibeonites, because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was enjoined them to carry wood and water, &c.

Doctor Austin, (of whom mention is made before,) disputing against them about this matter of the holy eucharist, urgeth them with this interrogation; Whether it be the same Christ (present in the sacrament) which is present at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the same Christ, how is it true in the Scripture, *Una fides, units*

*Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, One faith, one Lord Jesus Christ? If it be the same Christ, then how is he not to be honoured and worshipped here as well as there?

To this the Waldenses answer again, and grant that Christ is one and the same with his natural body in the sacrament which he is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the same existence of his body. For the existence of his body in heaven is personal and local, to be apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament the existence of his body is not personal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a personal or corporal manner, but after a sacramental manner; that is, where our bodies receive the sign, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreover, in heaven the existence of his body is dimensive and complete with the full proportion and quantity of the same body wherewith he ascended. Here, the existence of his complete body, with the full proportion, measure, and stature thereof, doth not, neither can stand in the sacrament. Briefly, the existence of his body in heaven is natural, not sacramental; that is, to be seen, and not remembered: here it is sacramental, not natural; that is, to be remembered, not to be seen.

That answer being made to the captious proposition of Dr. Austin, the Waldenses (retorting the like interrogation to him again) demand of him to answer them in the like objection; Whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally which sitteth in heaven, and which is under the forms of bread and wine, and in the receivers of the sacrament? If he grant it to be, then they bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the sacrament as in heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature, why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiver to be worshipped, as under the forms of bread and wine in the sacrament, seeing he is there after a more perfect manner in man than in the sacrament? for in the sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the sacrament's sake, but for the man's cause; in man he is not for the sacrament's cause, but for his own; and that not for a season, but for ever, as it is written, *Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum*; that is, He that eateth this bread shall live for ever, &c.

Moreover and besides, seeing transubstantiation is the going of one substance into another, they question again with him, whether the forms of bread and wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus; that is, both into his body, soul, and Divinity, or not into the whole Christ? If he grant the whole; then, say they, that is impossible, (concerning the Divinity,) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he say the bread is changed into the body and soul of Christ, not to his Divinity, then he separateth the natures in Christ. If he say, into the body alone, and not the soul, then he separateth the natures of the true manhood, &c.; and so it cannot be the same Christ that was betrayed for us, for that he had both body and soul. To conclude, to what part soever he would answer, this doctrine of transubstantiation cannot be defended without great inconvenience of all sides.

Over and besides, Eneas Sylvius, writing of their doctrine and assertions, (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant,) reporteth them after this manner.

The bishop of Rome to be equal with other bishops. Amongst priests to be no difference of degree. No priest to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

The souls of men departed either do enter into pain everlasting, or everlasting joy. No fire of purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

The images of God (as of the Trinity) and of saints to be abolished. The hallowing of water and palms to be purely ridiculous. The religion of begging friars to be found out by the devil. That priests should not encroach riches in this world, but rather follow poverty, being content with their tithes and men's devotion. The preaching of the word to be free to all men called thereunto.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for whatsoever respect of a greater commodity to ensue thereupon. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted amongst the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession to be but a toy: to suffice for every man to confess himself in his chamber to God. Baptism ought to be ministered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oil. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The majesty of God not to be restrained more within the walls of temples, monasteries, and chapels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

Priests' apparel, ornaments of the high altar, vestments, corporaces, chalices, patens, and other church-plate, to serve in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the priest doth consecrate or doth minister to them which do require. To be sufficient to use only the sacramental words, without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of saints reigning with Christ in heaven to be craved in vain; they being not able to help us. In saying or singing the hours and matins of the day, the time to be but lost. A man ought to cease from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

The feasts and festivals of saints ought to be rejected. Item, such fasts as be coacted and enjoined by the church have no merit in them.

The assertions of the Waldenses being thus articulated out by Eneas Sylvius, I thought to give them abroad in English as they are in Latin; to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out of a pope's pen; so that we may the better know what they were, and also understand how this doctrine, now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost four hundred years ago. And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine; so now we will somewhat briefly touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old written book of inquisition.

The manner of the Waldenses is this: They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some bank or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirty or forty times Pater noster. And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves, and such as be of their own religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after; also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Ave Maria, and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but only by the Church of Rome. Albeit they have and use the seven articles of faith concerning the Divinity, and seven articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandments, and seven works of mercy, which they have

compiled together in a compendious book, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man for their faith.

Before they go to meat they have their grace. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their own tongue: God, which blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table, and that is set upon it, or shall be set upon it; in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And likewise again when they rise from meat, the senior giveth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse, Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever. Amen. And addeth moreover, God reward them in their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And the God which hath given us corporal feeding grant us his spiritual life: and God be with us, and we always with him. To which they answer again, Amen. And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to heaven. After their meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine, &c.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that Reinerius, a writer about their time, (an extreme enemy against them,) in a long process, wherein he describeth their doctrine and teaching, testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the party, that a certain heretic, (saith he,) only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his, (in the night, and in the winter time,) swam over the river called Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith he did hear and see a man of the country unlettered which could recite over the whole book of Job word by word, without book, with divers others which had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather merrily than unskilfully expounded the words of John i., *Sui non receperunt eum, Swine did not receive him*, yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail, insomuch that Reinerius hath these words: There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy, insomuch that in one parish of Cammach were ten open schools of them, &c.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinguish their sect from other sects, and hath these words: This sect of Leonists hath a great show of holiness, in that both they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they do blaspheme the Romish Church and hate it, &c.

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions. After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into divers and sundry places, (the providence of God so disposing,) that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their provinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, &c. But as the cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, devised amongst themselves, which yet remain in writing, for the abolishing and extirpating of these

Waldenses, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

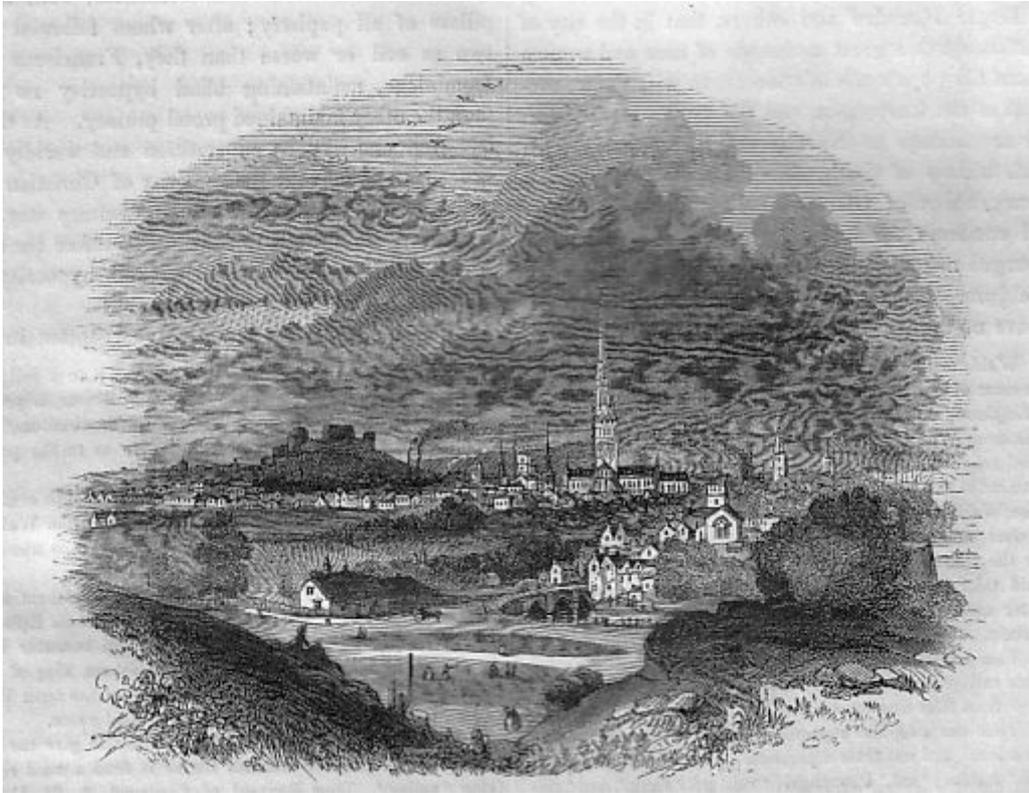
Besides, there was a whole council kept in Tholouse about three hundred fifty and five years before, and all against these Waldenses, the which also were condemned in another council at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised up against them in France by these four archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these: Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenses, the heretics, done and past so many years ago, so famous, so public, followed upon with so great labours, expenses, and travail of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (even three hundred years) began to rage against these Waldenses. In Bohemia likewise after that, the same, called by the name of Thaborits, (as Sylvius recordeth,) suffered no little trouble. But never persecution was stirred up against them or any other people more terrible, than was in these later years in France by the French king, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty-five; which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the process of his book, as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth (by the grace of Christ) more at large. In the which persecution is declared in one town, Cabriera, to be slain, by the captain of Satan, Sinerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age; of whom forty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barn, and the windows kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a cave not far from the town Mussium, to the number of five and twenty persons with smoke and fire were the same time destroyed. At Merindolum the same tyrant. (seeing all the rest were fled away,) finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other persecution, as shall appear hereafter, in the history translated out of Sleidan into English.

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius above mentioned speaketh of one in the town of Cheron, a glover, which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of process, wherein appeareth four hundred forty and three to be brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninety and one.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and the lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses; who, as is declared, first began about the time of this King Henry the Second.

### 43. Other Events During the Reign of King Henry II.



**Leicester**

During the reign and time of this King Henry the Second, the city of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the town of Leicester. Nottingham wasted and the burgesses slain by the earl of Ferrers. The town of Berwick destroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in war by Englishmen. A.D. 1174. The town of Huntingdon taken and burnt. The town of Canterbury by casualty if fire burnt with all the churches. specially with the Trinity church, where Becket was worshipped, A.D. 1170. William, king of Scots, with David his brother, and all the barons of the realm, did homage to the king of England. Ireland made subject to England. Decreed us a council in Normandy, that no boys or children should possess any benefice. A council of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirty articles concluded, A.D. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way, A.D. 1184. After the death of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, succeeded Baldwinus; who, of a Cistercian monk, being made a bishop, is said never to eat flesh in his life. Whom a certain poor woman, bare and lean, meeting him in the street, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he never did eat flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true, Nay, (saith she,) that is false, for you have eaten my flesh unto the bone; for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, and that have your deans taken from me. True, true, said the bishop, and thou shalt have another cow as good as that, &c.

Moreover, in the reign of the said King Henry, about the year of our Lord 1178, I find in the story of Roger Hoveden and others, that in the city of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women whom the popes commissioners, to wit, Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogon. and the popes legate, with the archbishops of Narbon and Bituriensis, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Pictavia, Henry, abbot of Clarevallensis, &c., did persecute and condemn for heretics; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abjure. Concerning whose articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forsomuch as I see the papists many times so false in their quarrelling accusations, untruly collecting men's sayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they said; but wresting and depraving simple men's assertions after such a subtle sort as they lust themselves to take them. But this I find, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors (Henry the abbot) in a certain letter of his wrote thus of them: After a new opinion he affirmed, that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c,

Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, being the abbess of Ramsey, was married in this king's days to Matthew, earl of Bullen: which marriage Thomas Becket did work against, and did dissolve; by reason whereof he procured himself great displeasure with the said earl, &c.

The same year a certain child was crucified of the Jews in the town of Gloucester, A.D. 1161. After the same manner the wicked Jews had crucified another child before in the city of Norwich, in the days of King Stephen, in the year of our Lord 1145.

A collection was gathered through all England and France, two pence of every pound. for the succour of the East Christians against the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1167.

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and never since repaired, by Almaricus, king of Jerusalem, A.D. 1170.

In the year 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough. About which year also William, king of Scots, was taken in battle, and imprisoned in England.

Great war happened in Palestina, wherein the city of Jerusalem, with the cross and king of the city, and others of the temple, was taken of the Saracens, and most part of the Christians there either slain or taken. Cruel murder and slaughter there was used by the Turks, who caused all the chief of the Christians to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. Insomuch that Pope Urbanus the Third for sorrow died, and Gregory the Eighth, next pope after him, lived not two months. Then, in the days of Pope Clement the Third, news and sorrow growing daily for the loss of Palestina and destruction of the Christians, King Henry of England, and Philip the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Campania, with divers other Christian princes, with a general consent, upon St. George's day, took the mark of the cross upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At which time the stories say the king of England received first the red cross, the French king took the white cross, the earl of Flanders took the green cross, and so likewise other princes diversely divers colours, thereby to be discerned every one by his proper cross. But King Henry (after the three years were expired, in which he promised to perform his oyage) sent to the pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three monasteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the church of Waltham he

thrust out the secular priests, and set in monks for them. Secondly, be repaired again and brought in the nuns of Amesbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the pope, A.D. 1173.

The king of Scots did his homage and allegiance to the king of England, and to his son, and to his chief lords; promising that all the earls and barons of Scotland should do the like with their posterity. Item, all the bishops and abbots of the Church of Scotland promised subjection and submission to the archbishop of York, in the year of our Lord 1175.

The custom was in this realm, that if any had killed any clerk or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporal sword, but only excommunicated and sent to Rome for the pope's grace and absolution. Which custom in the days of this king began first to be altered by the procurement of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1176.

London bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, in the year 1176.

St. William of Paris was slain of the Jews on Maundy Thursday; wherefore the Jews were burned and he counted a saint, A.D. 1177.

Ireland subdued to the crown of England by this king, A.D. 1177.

Under the reign of the said King Henry, about the five and twentieth year of his reign, Ludovicus the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing unto him in his dreams, and promising to him the recovery of his son, if he would resort unto him at Canterbury, made his journey into England to visit St. Thomas at Canterbury, with Philip, earl of Flanders; where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other precious jewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearly to be given to the convent of the church of Canterbury; notwithstanding the said Philip in his return from England, taking his journey to Paris to visit St. Denis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a palsy, and was benumbed of the right side of his body. A. 1178.

Stephanus episcopus Redomonsis was wont to make many rhymes and gaudish prose to delight the ears of the multitude: to whom a little before his death this verse was sounded in his ear: *Desine ludere temere, nitere propere surgere de pulvere*, A.D. 1178.

Albingenses denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, about the city of Tholouse; also that matrimony was not a sacrament, &c., in the year of our Lord 1178.

King Henry separated himself from his wife Eleanor, and held her many years in prison, as some think, for the love of Rosamond. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his sons up to war against him, and to work him much sorrow, in the year 1179. Notwithstanding the said Eleanor was shortly after reconciled to him.

St. Frideswide was translated unto Oxford in the year 1179.

In the year 1180, there came to the council of Pope Alexander one Pisanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greek and Latin, which brought and presented to the council the Homilies of Chrysostom upon the Gospel of St. John, translated out

of Greek into Latin, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his Exposition upon Genesis; saving, moreover, that the said Chrysostom had made expositions in Greek upon the whole Old Testament, and also the New.

The monks of Charterhouse first entered into this land in the year 1180.

In the year 1181, Richard Pech, bishop of Coventry, before his death renounced his bishopric, and became a canon in the church of St. Thomas by Stafford.

About the latter time of this King Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call St. Hugh Lincoln, born in Burgundy, and prior of the monks of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishopric of Lincoln, who after his death is said to do great miracles, and therefore was counted a saint, A.D. 1186.

Baldwinus, archbishop of Canterbury, began the building of his new house and church of Lambeth; but, by the letters of Clement the Third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof, A.D. 1187.

I do find likewise in the foresaid written chronicle, remaining in the hands of one William Cary, citizen of London, that this forenamed king, Henry the Second, gave to the court and Church of Rome, for the death of Thomas Becket, forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand marks of gold, in the year of our Lord 1187.

Mention was made a little above of Almarike, king of Jerusalem, which destroyed Babylon, so that it was never after to this day restored, but lieth waste and desolate, wherein was fulfilled that which in the prophets in so many places was threatened to Babylon before. This Almarike had a son named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin from the beginning of his reign was a leper, and had the falling sickness, being not able for feebleness of body (although valiant in heart and stomach) to satisfy that function.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one Willermus, marquis of Mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son, called also Baldwinus. After him, she was married to another husband, named Guido de Liziniaco, earl of Joppe and of Ascalon. Upon this it befell, that the foresaid Baldwin the leper, son of Alinaricus, being thus feeble and infirm, as is said, called his nobles together, with his mother and the patriarch, declaring to them his inability, and by the consents of them committed the under-government of the city unto Guido, the husband of Sibylla his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not lucky in the government thereof, the office was translated to another named Raimundus, earl of Tripolis. In the mean time, the soldan with his Saracens mightily prevailed against the Christians, and overran the country of Palestina; in which mean time Baldwin the king departed. Whereby the kingdom fell next to Baldwinus, the son of Sibylla by her first husband Willermus; the which Baldwinus, being but five years old, was put to the custody of Raimundus aforesaid. Who also in his minority, before he came to his crown, died; where by the next succession by descent fell to Sibylla, the wife of Guido above mentioned. The peers and nobles, joining together in council, offered unto the said Sibylla, as to the lawful heir to the crown, that she should be their queen, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn divorcement the foresaid Guido her husband; but she refused the kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their oaths confirmed the same, that whomsoever she would choose to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido her husband, with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdom for his sake, or for his private loss, might not be destitute of government. At length she, with tears consenting

to their entreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queen, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their oath. Whereupon Guido, without all hope both of wife and kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the queen, assembling her states and prelates together, entered talk with them about the choosing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworn unto her, and to obey him as their king whom she would name to be her husband. Thus, whilst they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom she would nominate, the queen with a loud voice said to Guido that stood amongst them, Guido my lord, I choose thee for my husband, and yielding myself and my kingdom unto you, openly I protest you to be the king. At these words all the assembly, being amazed, wondered that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she, no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithful chastity and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her husband the kingdom, and retained to herself again her husband, whom she so faithfully loved, A.D. 1186.

## 44. Person and Character of Henry II.

As I have hitherto described the public acts of King Henry, so now I mean to touch something of his private conditions. He was of mean stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of war, more lamenting the death of his soldiers dead than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpose, in peace and tranquillity none more rough; stubborn against the stubborn, sometimes merciful to those whom he had vanquished; strict to his household servants, but liberal to strangers; publicly of public things liberal, sparing of his own; whom once he took a displeasure against, hardly or never would he receive again to favour: somewhat lavish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a lover of his ease, but an oppressor of his nobility, a severe revenger and furtherer of justice, variable of word, and crafty in his talk, an open adulterer, a nourisher of discord amongst his children; moreover, the papists bearing him (for Thomas Becket's quarrel, and such-like, as may be gathered) no good will, term him to be an adversary of the faith, the mall and beetle of the church.

Also in the chronicle entitled *Scala Mundi*, I find of him, that he followed the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry the First, his grandfather, in every point. He preserved firm peace and executed strict justice through all his dominions. He loved marvellous well his forests; and again those that were transgressors, either to his crown or person, he most severely punished.

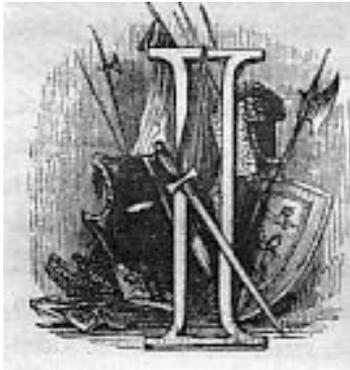
Moreover, in a certain history entitled *De Regibus Angliæ*, I find that this king was sundry times admonished to reform and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the castle of Cardiff in Wales, at that time of the year called *Dominica in albis*, the eighth day after Easter; where also after that he had heard mass, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certain man by him, somewhat yellowish, (his hair being rounded, lean and ill favoured,) having on a white coat, and being barefoot, who looked upon the king, and spake on this wise: Good old king, (that done, thus he proceedeth,) the King saluteth you and his blessed mother; John Baptist and Peter straitly charge you, that upon the Sundays throughout all your dominions there be no buying and selling, or other servile business, (those only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink,) which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to pass. Then spake the king in French unto the knight that held his horse by the bridle; Ask of this churl whether he dreamed this or not. And in the mean while that the knight should have interpreted the king's words and message, he spake before and said, Whether this be a dream or not, mark well what day this is; for unless that thou do these things and amend thy life, such news shalt thou hear within these twelve months, that will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one year next after, Henry, Gaufrid, and Richard, his sons, forsook him their father, and took part with the French king. The king of Scots, the earl of Chester, and earl of Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were given also to the king, but all these did he little esteem. The second which did admonish him, was a certain Irishman, giving him certain secret signs. And thirdly, a certain knight of Findeseie, named Philip de Easterbie, sailing with him over into France, declared unto the king in Normandy seven articles which he should amend. Which thing if he would do, he should reign seven years most

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honourably, and should take the holy cross from his enemies; or else he, in the fourth year, should die in a great ignominy. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation swore to observe; that is, to defend the church, to maintain good laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was, in doing justice without reward; the sixth was, of ministers' and officers' wages and stipends; the seventh was, of expelling the Jews, leaving them some money to depart withal. But the king not amending his life, there rose up against him three strong enemies; that is to say, his three Sons with the French king. But after that the king forsooth had gone on pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb barefoot, William, king of Scots, and the earls of Chester and Leicester, were taken at Alnwick.

In the five and thirtieth year of his reign, being in the castle of Chiven in Normandy, he died: at whose death those that were present were so greedy of the spoil, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to cover it, till that a page coming in, and seeing the king so ignominiously to lie, threw his cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, saith the author, was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court Mantil.

## 45. Richard I. Massacre of Jews at the Coronation. Riot in York Cathedral



IN this year of the Lord above recited, which was 1189, King Richard, the eldest son of Henry the Second, succeeding his father, entered his crown; at which time Pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the loss of the holy cross.

During the time of whose coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king, the day before his coronation, by public edict commanded both the Jews and their wives not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation, amongst his nobles and barons, yet (whilst the king was at dinner) the chieftain of the Jews, with divers other of his Jewish affinity and superstitious sect, against the king's prohibition, together with other persons, entered the court gates. Whereat a Christian man being offended, struck one of them with his hand or fist, and bade him stand further from the court gate, as the king had given in commandment; whose example others also following, being displeased against the Jews, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded indeed, as using the authority of the king, fell upon all the Jews that stood by without the court gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but afterwards they took up stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them, and beat them therewith; and thus driving them from the court gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

There was amongst this number of the Jews one which was called the blessed Jew of York, which was so sore wounded and beaten with the rest, that, for fear of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was indeed of William, the prior of the church of St. Mary of York, baptized; whereby he escaped the peril of death he was in, and the persecutors' hands. In the mean while, there was a great rumour spread throughout all the city of London, that the king had commanded to destroy all the Jews. Whereupon as well the citizens as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the king's coronation, armed themselves and came together. The Jews thus being for the most part slain, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, through the strong and sure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroyed therein.

These things being declared to the king, whilst he with his nobles and barons were at dinner, he sendeth immediately Ranulfe de Glanville, the lord high steward of England, with divers other noble men, to accompany him, that they might stay and refrain these so bold enterprises of the Londoners; but all was in vain; for in this so great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the nobility said, or else any whit revered their personages, but rather with stern looks and threatening words advised them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation thinking it the best so to do, departed; the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time also the king, sending certain of his officers into the city, gave

them in commandment to apprehend and present some such as were the chiefest of the malefactors; of the which three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a Christian's house in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the houses, to the great danger of the city. After this, the king sent for him that from a Jew was converted to Christianity, and, in the presence of those that saw where he was baptized, the king asked him whether he was become a Christian or not. He, answering the king, said, No: but, to the intent he might escape death, he promised to do whatsoever the Christians would have him. Then the king asked the archbishop of Canterbury (other archbishops and bishops being present) what were best to be done with him. Who unadvisedly answering said, If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the devil; and so revolted he again to Judaism.

Then the king sent his writs to the sheriffs of every county, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, divers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of Englishmen against the Jews, that as soon as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners, taking example thereof, fell upon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country again, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the year which the Jews took to be their jubilee, was to them a year of confusion; insomuch as in the city of York, the Jews obtaining the occupying of a certain castle for their preservation, and afterward not willing to restore it unto the Christians again, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much money for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counsel of an old Jew amongst them, every one with a sharp razor cut another's throat, whereby a thousand and five hundred of them were at that present destroyed. Neither was this plague of theirs undeserved; for every year commonly their custom was to get some Christian man's child from the parents, and on Good Friday to crucify him, in despite of our religion.

King Richard, after the death of his father, coming unto remembrance of himself, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespass, and, in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king, about Easter next ensuing, to take his voyage with him for the recovery of Christ's patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the said King Richard immediately after his coronation, to prepare himself the better towards his journey, set to sale divers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy, then bishop of Winchester, bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergrave and Melenge. The abbot of Bury bought another for a thousand marks, called Middlesay. Hugh Pusaz, bishop of Durham, bought the lordship of Seggesfield, or Sedberga, with the wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto be longing; he bought also the earldom of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the manner of secular earls, merrily with a mocking jest, Lo, (said he,) of an old bishop I have made a young earl. And because the said bishop had professed before by a solemn vow to visit the Holy Land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of money therefore, and moreover gave to the king a thousand marks to remain at home, as the chief justice of England, Over and besides, the king set out all that he had to sale, woods, castles, townships, lordships, earldoms, baronages, &c.; ordaining also divers new bishops, and not without some advantage (as appeared) to his purse; feigning moreover his old seal to be lost, that they which had lands to hold might be driven to renew their writings again by the new seal, whereby great substance of money was gained.

Above all this, by the commandment of Pope Clement the Third, a tenth also was exacted of the whole realm, in such sort, as the Christians should make to the king seventy thousand pounds, the Jews sixty thousand. King Richard, after his coronation, sent certain earls and barons unto Philip the French king in the time of his parliament at St. Denis, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recovery of Christ's holy patrimony out of the Saracens' hands. Unto whom he sent word again in the month of December, certifying him how he had bound himself by solemn oath, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he, the next year following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to address himself towards that journey; requiring him likewise not to fail, but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing also the place where both the kings should meet together.

The next year then ensued, which was 1190, in the beginning of which year, upon Twelfth even, fell a foul northern brawl, which turned well near to a fray, between the archbishop new elected of the church of York, and his company, on the one side, and Henry, dean of the said church, with his catholic partakers, on the other side, upon occasion as followeth: Gaufridus, or Geoffrey, son to King Henry the Second, and brother to King Richard, whom the king had elected a little before to the archbishopric of York, upon the even of Epiphany, which we call Twelfth day, was disposed to hear even-song with all solemnity in the cathedral church; having with him Hamon the chanter, with divers canons of the church. Who tarrying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himself, in the mean while Henry the dean and Bucardus the treasurer, disdainingly to tarry his coming, with a bold courage lustily began their holy even-song, with singing their psalms, ruffling of descant, and merry piping of organs. Thus this catholic even-song with as much devotion begun, as to God's high service proceeding, was now almost half complete, whenas at length (they being in the midst of their mirth) cometh in the new elect with his train and guards, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waiting for him, to begin God's service; and so eftsoons commanded the choir to stay and hold their peace. The chanter likewise by virtue of his office commandeth the same. But the dean and treasurer on the other side willed them to proceed; and so they sung on, and would not stint. Thus the one half crying against the other, the whole choir was in a roar; their singing was turned to scolding, their chanting to chiding; and if instead of the organs they had had a drum, I doubt they would have sol-faed by the ears together.

At last, through the authority of the archbishop and of the chanter, the choir began to surcease and give silence. Then the new elect, not contented with that had been sung before, with certain of the choir began the even-song new again. The treasurer, upon the same, caused by virtue of his office the candles to be put out; whereby the even-song, having no power further to proceed, was stopped forthwith. For like as without the light and beams of the sun there is nothing but darkness in all the world; even so you must understand the pope's church can see to do nothing without candle-light, albeit the sun do shine never so clear and bright. This being so, the archbishop, thus disappointed on every side on his purpose, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the clergy and to the people what the dean and treasurer had done, and so upon the same suspended both them and the church from all Divine service, till they should make to him due satisfaction for their trespass.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the city were assembled in the cathedral church, as their manner was, namely, in such feasts, devoutly to hear Divine service (as they call it) of the church, there was also present the archbishop and the chanter, with the residue of the clergy, looking when the dean

and treasurer would come and submit themselves, making satisfaction for their crime. But they, still continuing in their stoutness, refused so to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words against the archbishop and his partakers. Which when the people heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the archbishop would not suffer that. The dean then and his fellows perceiving the stir of the people, for fear, like pretty men, were fain to flee, some to the tomb of St. William of York, some ran unto the dean's house, and there shrouded themselves, whom the archbishop then accursed. And so for that day the people returned home without any service.

After this, King Richard, preparing to set all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the realm principally to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to be the chief justice of all England in his absence, the one to have the custody of the Tower, with the oversight of all other parts of the land on this side of Humber, the other (which was the bishop of Durham) to have charge upon all other his dominions beyond Humber, sending moreover unto Pope Clement in the behalf of the foresaid William, bishop of Ely, that he might be made the pope's legate through all England and Scotland; which also was obtained. Thus the bishop being advanced in high authority, to furnish the king towards his setting forth, provideth out of every city in England two palfreys and two sumpters, and also out of every abbey one palfrey and one sumpter.

These things and other thus set in a stay, the king, according to his former appointment, about the time of Easter, sailed into France, where the French king and he conferring together, because they could not make ready at that time of Easter, concluded to take a longer day, proroguing their voyage till after Midsummer. In which mean time, the king occupying himself in redressing and stablishing such things as further were to be ordered there determined that Gaufridus and John, his brethren, should not enter into England in three years after his departure; nevertheless he released that bond afterward to his brother John. Then he appointed the captains and constables over his navy, and set laws to be observed in his journey upon the seas; but especially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and to set them together at one. At which time the long contention began also to be appeased, which so many years had continued between Baldwinus, archbishop of Canterbury, and his monks of Christ's church; the discourse whereof, although it be somewhat tedious to be set forth at large, being enough to make a whole tragedy; yet to the intent the age now present may see what great conflicts and disquietness, upon what little trifles, have been stirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this church, but commonly in all other churches under the pope's catholic regiment, I thought it not labour ill bestowed somewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eyes of the reader the consideration of this matter. Wherein first is to be understood, that the archbishops of Canterbury, commonly being set up by the pope, especially since the time of the conquest, have put the kings of this land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by William Rufus and Lanfranc, and also Anselm; by Henry the First and Anselm, King Stephen and Theobald, Henry the Second and Becket, &c. For which the kings of this land have used the more care and circumspection to have such archbishops placed in the see, as either should stand with them, or at the least should not be against them.

## 46. Dispute between the Archbishop and Abbot of Canterbury

Now to the purpose of our matter intended. First, after Lanfranc, who was archbishop twenty years, the see standing vacant five years, succeeded Anselm, and sat seventeen years; after whom, the see standing vacant four years, succeeded Rodolphus, and continued nine years; then followed William, who sat twelve years, and died in the year 1137: after whom came Theobaldus in the time of King Stephen. This Theobaldus, being no great favourer of the monkish generation, fell out with Jeremias, prior of the house of Canterbury, for certain causes between them. for which the archbishop, taking stomach against the prior, would lay the sentence of interdiction against him. The prior seeing that, to save himself, made his appeal to Pope Innocent. The archbishop, provoked the more by that, deposed him from the priorship, and placed one Walter in his room. Jeremias, notwithstanding, making his complaint and appeal to Rome, obtained letters from the pope to Henry, bishop of Winchester, being the pope's legate: by the virtue whereof he, against the heart of the archbishop, was restored, and Walter displaced. Nevertheless, the said Jeremy, not willing there to continue with displeasure of the archbishop, shortly after of his own accord renounced his priory, and Walter again was received in his stead. Not long after this followed the general council at Rhemes, in the year 1140. To the which council Theobald, contrary to the commandment of the king, would needs resort, to show his obedience to the pope. Wherefore, at his returning home again, the king took such displeasure with him, that within a while after the archbishop was driven to avoid the realm, and flee into France; where he, by censure of interdiction, suspended divers churches and religious houses which refused to come to the council; and also hearing how the king had seized upon all his goods, he interdicted likewise all the king's lands, whatsoever belonged to the crown: so that the king in conclusion was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the year 1148.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1151. after the death of Hugh, abbot of St. Austin's in Canterbury, Silvester was elected by the convent to be their abbot, in the reign of King Stephen. Which Silvester, when he came unto Theobald the archbishop to make his profession of subjection unto him, and to receive of him consecration, the archbishop was contented, so that the abbot would come to Christ's Church in Canterbury, and there make his profession. But to this Silvester in no case would grant to take his consecration there; but else in any other church, wheresoever the archbishop would, he was contented. Whereunto when the archbishop in no wise would agree, Silvester making a great bag of money, went to Rome, where he obtained of the pope for money (for what cannot money do at Rome?) letters that the archbishop should consecrate the abbot in his own church of St. Austin, and also not exact of him any profession of canonical subjection. Whereupon the archbishop was compelled against his will to come to the abbot's church, and there at the pope's commandment to consecrate him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

Then Walter, prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, seeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majesty of their church, through counsel of his brother went thither; and notwithstanding the doors were straitly watched and kept, yet by means he at last got

in. And as he saw the archbishop attired in his pontificalibus, ready to minister consecration to the abbot, he stepped straight to the archbishop, and eftsoons appealeth him to Rome, for the great injury wrought against the church of Canterbury; forbidding him, in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And so this holy consecration was for the present time stayed. For the which Silvester with a new purse of money was fain to travel and trot again to Rome, where he complaining of the archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the pope, in not executing the commandment set down, obtaineth again new letters with more effectual charge to the foresaid archbishop, that he, without any profession, simply should give to Silvester his consecration in his own church, all manner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding. And so, in conclusion, the abbot, contrary to whatsoever the archbishop and all the monks of Canterbury could do, was in his own church made abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the archbishop left not the matter so, but within five years after obtained of Pope Adrian, that Silvester should make profession of his obedience to the archbishop, and so he did.

In few years after this, died King Stephen, A.D. 1154, and after him Theobald the archbishop, A.D. 1159, after he had sat three and twenty years; after whom, through the instant procurement of King Henry the Second, was placed Thomas Becket, the king's chancellor, A.D. 1162, of whose sturdy rebellion against the king, because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labour now about the same.

After the death of Becket, much ado there was between King Henry and Odo, prior of Canterbury, about the election of a new archbishop. For the king seeing the realm so oftentimes encumbered by those popish archbishops, and fearing lest the monks of Canterbury should elect such another as would follow the steps of Thomas Becket, most humbly, with cap in hand, and courtesy of knee, desired Odo the prior, that at his request, and for contentation of his mind, such a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain bishop, which was a good simple man after the king's liking); but the prior dissemblingly answering the king again, that he neither could nor would without the consent of his convent give promise to any man, in fine, contrary to the king's so humble request, agreed to the election of another, which was the prior of Dover, called Richard, A.D. 1173, who continued in that see eleven years.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this archbishop and Roger, abbot of the Austin monks in Canterbury, as was before mentioned between Theobaldus and Silvester. For when the said Roger, after his election to be abbot. must needs take his consecration at the archbishop's hand, neither would the archbishop grant it unto him, unless he made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custom of his predecessors: then Roger, consulting with his monks, first denied so to do, but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the archbishop's church, but in any other church where he would, underwriting this clause withal, *Salvis utriusque ecclesie privilegis*, that is, Saving the privileges of both churches. To this the archbishop said again, first, that he should make his due and canonical profession, and that he should not come to him with writing or underwriting, but should say in his heart, *Salve sancta parens*, or *Salve festa dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any such-like thing. Whereunto when the Austin monks in no case would consent, nor the archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction, Roger, the abbot, was fain to post

to Rome, and there, to bring the archbishop in hatred in the court of Rome, made his abbey tributary to Pope Alexander.

The pope, well contented with this, not only granteth the abbot his desire, but also, in contumely of the archbishop, dubbeth the abbot with all such ornaments as to a prelate appertain; and so in the year 1178 sent home the abbot triumphantly with his ring and mitre, and other ensigns of victory, with letters also to the archbishop, enjoining him immediately upon the sight thereof to consecrate the abbot in his own church, and without making any profession. Although with these letters the archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not stoop for this; but he laid his appeal against the same, and so the consecration for that time was suspended.

Then Roger, for his more defence, getting the king's letters, travelled up the second time to Rome, where grievously he complained to Pope Alexander of the archbishop. At the same time a general council was summoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard, the foresaid archbishop, was also looked for amongst other bishops to be present. Who then came as far as Paris; but, being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home again. Whereupon the pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the abbot with his own consecration, and invested him with all pomp and glory; howbeit providing before that the said consecration should redound to no prejudice against the liberties of the mother church of Canterbury, and so upon the same wrote to the archbishop his letters of certificate with this addition annexed, Saving the liberties and dignity of the church of Canterbury, &c.

After the council ended, Roger, the abbot, returneth home, although with an empty purse, yet full of victory and triumph. The archbishop, again thinking to work some grievance to the Austin monks, had procured in this mean time letters from Pope Alexander unto the bishop of Durham, and abbot of St. Albans, that they should cause the said Roger, abbot of the Austin monks, to show unto the archbishop all the old privileges of his house; which indeed, being showed, seemed to be rased and new written, with points of lead, not after the manner nor style of that age, nor pretending any such antiquity as should seem to reach from the time of Austin, but rather newly counterfeit.

All this notwithstanding, the abbot, bearing him bold upon the pope's favour, ceased not still to disquiet and overcrow the archbishop by all ways he could, in exempting all his priests and laymen, belonging to his jurisdiction, from the archbishop's obedience; forbidding also that any of his should come to his chapters or synods, or fear any sentence of his curse or excommunication. Whereupon the archbishop, about the month of November the same year, sailing over to Normandy where the king was, thought to take his journey to the pope to complain of the abbot; but being stayed by the king, he was not suffered to pass any further, the king labouring what he could to bring them to agreement. Nevertheless the pope and his Romans, (saith my story,) caring more for gold and silver than for justice, still stirred coals of sedition and debate between them.

The next year after this ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1184, died Richard the archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtieth year of King Henry the Second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new archbishop, between the king and monks of Canterbury. And now to enter here into the story of Baldwin above mentioned; first the king sent to the monks. that they should consider with themselves about the election of their archbishop, and to be ready

against the time that he would send for them to the court. Upon this the convent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer: yet naming four more, that if the king would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practice in the monks was, first, to keep the election only in their own hands, as much as they could. And, secondly, ever to give the election either to some prior or monk of their own house, or to some abbot or bishop which sometime had been of their company. Whereby as much inconvenience and blind superstition was bred in the Church of England, so the same disliked both the king and the bishops not a little.

As this passed on, the king, when he saw his time, willed the monks of Canterbury to be cited or sent for, to understand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the monks sent up their prior, called Alanus, with certain other monks, to Reading, where the king then lay, about the month of August. Who at first were courteously entertained; but after the king had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home again with cold cheer, the king willing them to pray better, and to advise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. Alanus the prior with his fellows thus departed; who coming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the king without the pope's consent and knowledge. The king understanding hereof, sent his ambassadors likewise to the pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the mean time grievously offended with the prior, saying that he was proud, and would make archbishop whom he listed, and would be the second pope in England, &c.

Not long after this, as these letters were sent up to Rome, the king sent for Alanus the prior, and more of the monks, to come to him; whom he entreateth, desiring them in gentle speech, that they would show so much gentleness and favour to him, being their lord and king, as becometh his friends and subjects to do, as to confer with the bishops of the realm about this matter, and to take some bet I ter counsel, so as might redound to God's glory, his I honour, and wealth of the public state, with other I like words to the same effect.

To whom when the prior had answered again with thanks and due reverence, according to the king's request, the bishops and monks went to confer together about the matter. And, first, the bishops marvelled why the monks should exclude them out of the election, seeing they were professed and suffragans to the said church of Canterbury: Neither is there any prince, quoth the bishop of Bath, that will refuse our counsel. There be some councils, said the monks, whereat yon may be called; but as touching the doing of this election, it pertaineth not unto you, further than to publish only and denounce the party whom we have chosen. The bishop of London then asked if they had already made an election. No election, said the prior, as yet, but only we have denominated the persons. Then have ye proceeded further, quoth he, than ye ought, having commandment from the pope not to proceed without us. And with that was brought forth the pope's letter. commanding that within forty days the bishops of England, and the prior and convent of Canterbury, should elect an able and fit person to their archbishop. About the scanning of these letters was much ado. The bishops said they were first named, and therefore ought to have most interest in this election. The monks said again, that they also were not excluded, and required to have a transcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

After long contention, when they could not agree, the king, coming between them both, called away the bishops from the monks, supposing, by separating the one

from the other, to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be; for the monks, stiffly standing to their liberties, would lose no pre-eminence of their church, still alleging how, by the ancient privileges of the church of Canterbury, the convent should choose their pastor and bishop, and the prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The bishops again replied, that it was their right to appoint their archbishop and metropolitan, which were bishops and suffragans; and, namely, the bishop of London also being dean of the said church of Canterbury. The king then, as umpire between them, yet favouring rather the side of the bishops, desired them to agree together in peace. When that would not prevail, he set the lord steward and other noblemen to entreat the prior to draw to some agreement; at least to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the bishop of London or some other bishops should declare the election in these words.

"We bishops, and the prior and convent of Christ's church in Canterbury, with the assent of our lord the king, do choose such a person to be archbishop," &c. Or else thus; that the prior should pronounce forth the election in these words, saying, "The bishops of England. and I, prior, and the convent of Canterbury, with the assent of our lord and king, do choose such a person." &c.

Upon this, the prior said he would consent with his convent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the king's desire; but afterward, being required to put down the same in writing, that they refused to do; yet notwithstanding relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, so the matter for that time stayed; and the king, sending home the monks again to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of December; commanding the prior with his fellows the same day not to fail, but to be at London about the choosing of the archbishop.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his company were also present, who giving attendance all that day and the next day also following, so were driven off till the third day after. At length the lord steward, with other nobles of the realm. were sent unto them from the king to declare, that whereas the king before had divided the bishops from the monks, that they both might have their election by themselves, after the form of a bill which was put down in writing: now the mind of the king was, that the monks, taking another way, should join with the bishops, and so, having the matter in talk together, should proceed jointly in the election.

Against this many things were alleged by the prior and his mates, complaining much upon the bishops, which said that the bishops had ever holden with the kings against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As, first, they stood against Anselm for King William: then against Theobald for King Stephen; after that, against Thomas Becket for King Henry: and after him, did supplant the election of Richard their archbishop: and now again went about to practise and work against this their election present, &c. At last the prior, with his fellows, concluding, desired they might speak with the king himself. Who, eftsouns coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the bishops about the election; promising that whom they agreed upon, he also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom when the prior again had objected the writings that before were made, Truth it is, (said the king,) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will go against the council of my realm; and therefore agree, said he, with my bishops and abbots, and remember that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Upon this the prior with his monks, seeing no other remedy, went to the bishops to confer, according to the king's request, about the election; who then were willed by the bishops to nominate whom they would, and the bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the prior, with his complices, had named three, after their choosing the bishops said they would nominate but one; and so did, which was the bishop of Worcester, willing the prior to go home, and to confer with his convent about the same. To whom shortly after the bishops sent certain priests, to signify to the convent, that they, according to the pope's letters, should repair to the bishops concerning the election of the archbishop; also declared moreover to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men; but he whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monks, marvelling hereat, sent two monks with the archdeacon of Canterbury to the king.

This done, immediately after the return of the priests, the bishops caused all the bells of the city to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be sung for the archbishop new elect. Whereof when the two monks brought tidings to the convent at Canterbury what was done at London, they were all in a marvellous dump. The king hearing this, and perceiving the stiffness of the monks, in all haste sent messengers to Canterbury with gentle words, to will the prior to come to the king, and certify him of the purpose of his monks; unto whom the prior, eftsoons being come, declareth, in the name of the whole convent, that in no case he nor the monks would ever, while the world stood, agree to that election of the bishops; unless the king in his own person would come to Canterbury, and there openly, before the whole convent, protest by his own mouth the foresaid election to be nought and void; and so, returning to London again, openly likewise before the clergy and the people would repudiate and reject the same; and furthermore, that the party also elected should open y in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless he entered by the consent of the prior and convent of Canterbury; and all this to be done in the same place where the bishops had made their election before; and so peradventure, (said they,) at the king's so earnest suit and request, they would gratify his will, and ratify the said election with the voices of their consent, To make the story short, after great hold between the secular clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the king's indignation against the prior, and the swooning of the prior before the king, at length the king, to take up the matter, and to save the prior's life, was fain to perform in his own person all those conditions above prescribed by the monks.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made archbishop of Canterbury. Now what a troublesome time the said Baldwin had with the monks in governing the church of Canterbury, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

In the first year the archbishop showed himself friendly and loving to the monks; the next year following he began to appear somewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the house of Christ's Church, toward the time of the Nativity and of Easter, to receive certain presents or gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay up. Those presents the archbishop began first to intercept from the monks, and to bestow them upon his secular clerks. After this, he took three churches or benefices, (which the monks claimed as proper to themselves,) and placed in them three of his chaplains. After this, he encroacheth to his hands certain

tenements, revenues, and victuals, belonging before to the monks, (as they said,) and committed the custody thereof to certain of his own clerks and household servants.

The monks, which had home so much with the archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make their appeal against him. The archbishop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby more fierce against them, in somuch that such farms and tenements as he before had let alone, now he received to his own occupying, with many other grievances wherewith he greatly vexed the monks, so that three abbots were fain to come and reconcile the archbishop and the monks; which reconciliation was this, that the monks should let fall their appeal, and the archbishop should restore again to them their farms and tenements. But as touching the benefices and the presents, the archbishop still kept them in his hands, for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient monks which in no case would give over the foresaid appeal, before the archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

After this agreement, such as it was, between the monks and him, the archbishop soon after sent up to Rome one of his chaplains, (unto whom he had given one of the benefices afore mentioned,) partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtain licence for the archbishop to build a church, which he intended to erect of secular priests, near unto the town of Canterbury. Which being obtained of the pope, the archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce against the monks, not only in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their house, which he intended either to subvert, or greatly to diminish, to pluck down the pride and stubbornness of the monks. Wherefore, taking with him certain other bishops, (whom he knew bare no good will to that monkish generation,) he went to the king, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemn church, in the honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of secular priests or canons; and therefore desired of the king to have his favourable licence to the same. The king right well perceiving the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stiffnecked monks, was the more willing to give assent, if he were not also the chief worker of that matter himself.

The intent of the archbishop in planting of that new church was, to found there divers prebends, and to make both the king, and every bishop being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that every one of them should confer one prebendship to the same foundation; minding there to consecrate bishops, to make his chrismatory, to celebrate his synods, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his see, and the same to be called Hakington church. The monks, not ignorant how the archbishop privily intended the desolation and subversion of their house and liberties, consulting upon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeal to the see of Rome, namely, for these three causes against the archbishop: First, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations; secondly, for depriving them of their churches and benefices; and thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their religious order; giving admonition to the archbishop before by their monks sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the archbishop answered, that the foundation which he went about was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour, of their house. Who answered again, that it was, and could not otherwise be, but to their subversion. And what should let me then, (said the archbishop,) but I may build in mine own ground what I will? No, (said they,) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forsomuch as you have them not of yourself, but of the church and for

the church's cause. All which things have been given neither to you, nor to the archbishops, but unto the church of Christ; and therefore (said they) all such as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church, we submit unto the pope's protection, and now here make our appeal to the see apostolic, assigning also the term when to prosecute the same.

The archbishop receiving this appellation, and saying that he would answer to the same either by himself, or by his responsal, within three days after, which was the sixteenth of December, came to Canterbury; where the monks understanding how he was in mind to place new secular priests in the church of St. Stephen, where the monks had served before, came to the church to stop the proceeding of the archbishop by way of appeal. Whereof the archbishop having warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the monks, again being sent by Honorius the prior into the church, charged the archbishop, in the name of Almighty God, and by virtue of their appeal made to the apostolic see, to surcease those his doings; charging also the parson of the church in no wise to suffer those secular clerks to be admitted into the church. All which yet notwithstanding the archbishop proceedeth in his business, And, first, placing in his clerks, he suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he adjureth the porters of the gate, upon their oath. to let none of the monks pass out of the house without his licence. The monks likewise he commanded, by virtue of obedience, not to stray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foresaid monks, which served the appeal against him, he utterly banished from that convent. Upon this, the day next following, Honorius the prior, trusting (saith the story) on God and St. Thomas, took his way to Rome, sent in commission by the convent, to prosecute the appeal against the archbishop.

In this mean season a new war began between the said archbishop and the monks about their rents and revenues, which the archbishop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three monks, but the sub-prior Geoffrey, with the convent, in no case would suffer that; whereabout there was a fowl stir. The archbishop, craving the aid of the king, first had three bishops sent down to him, of Coventry, Norwich, and Worcester. Who, being instant with the monks to submit their cause into the king's hands, like as the archbishop had done, they utterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolical see. The king, seeing no other remedy, came himself with the archbishop into the chapter house; where he commanded first the doors to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. Amongst whom were two bishops, to wit, of Norwich and Durham, and one Peter Blessensis, a learned man, (whose epistles be yet extant in libraries,) a chief worker in this matter against the monks. Then was called in Geoffrey the sub-prior, with a few other monks whom he brought with him, The king then first talking with the archbishop and his company, and afterwards with the monks, laboured to entreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the bishops, concerning the cause which was between the archbishop and them in traverse.

To this the monks answered, that these were good words, but served not for that time, forsomuch as their cause was already translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the pope's Holiness; and therefore they could not, nor would, do that injury to their lord pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter unto the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto; upon this intent, that if the prior consented, and the monks not, then should they run in contempt and

disobedience; or if the monks would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realm. The wily monks, being not unprovided of this subtlety, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honesty to give any determinate consent, without the knowledge and before the return of the said prior; unless the archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully wrested from them. When the king could get no other answer of the monks, neither could move the archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confess and acknowledge their fault, he, so parting from them, passed over into France.

Not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from Pope Urban to the archbishop, wherein the pope considering and tendering (as he said) the enormous grievances done against the monks, straitly enjoined and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said convent, and also to retract and restore again to the monks whatsoever he plucked from them since the time of their appeal first made. Who in case he should deny, or neglect the doing hereof, commission was given to three abbots, of Battle, of Feversham, and of St. Austin's, with ample authority to perform the same, &c. The archbishop, receiving these letters, brought to him by a monk of the foresaid house, first made his excuse, that the pope was misinformed. But the monks, not contented with that excuses when they would needs know what answer he would make to the pope's nuncio, his answer was, that he had yet ten days given him of the pope. In which mean time the archbishop went to London, and there in the church of St. Paul consecrated his holy oil and cream, (making one of the pope's seven sacraments,) which was grievously taken in the church of Canterbury. At last the ten days being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the pope's letter enjoined him, the three abbots aforesaid, to execute the pope's commandment, came at their day assigaed to Canterbury, and there assoiled all such as the archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified Pope Urban by letters what they had done.

The archbishop hearing this, within four days after sent two of his clerks, which appealed the three abbots aforesaid up to Rome; and he himself in the mean time prepared busily for the building up of his church, sending to all churches in England, upon releasement of their sins, to confer unto the same; and, to make the more haste. For lack of free-stone he made up his building with timber, and such other stuff as he could get.

The prior, Honorius, all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giving attendance upon the pope; who, having intelligence of the archbishop's doings, procured another letter of Pope Urban to the whole clergy of England, straitly enjoining them, that none should confer to the new fraternity of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. To these letters the archbishop showed such reverence, that where before he had planted his chapel of wood and boards, now he provided the same to be builded of lime and stone.

By this time Peter Blessensis, with other messengers of the archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court of France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the archbishop, and also from other bishops of the realm; but the pope, reading only the king's letters, and the archbishop's, the residue he cast into a window by, saying he would read them at further leisure. Then the pope giving audience in his consistory to hear their cause,

first came in Peter Blessensis with the agents of the archbishop, exhibiting their letters and propounding their requests to the pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the archbishop, wherein they had injured him. Item, that the things which had been granted before to the prior in that court might be called in again. Thirdly, that the archbishop might have licence to proceed in building his college of canons, &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus, the attorney for the monks of Canterbury. Who, alleging many great things against the archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the pope's precepts, required that he should make restitution to the monks for his injuries done to them; and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the overthrow of the conventual church of Canterbury, should be utterly razed and thrown down to the ground. Thus between these parties pleaing and repleaing one against the other, much hard hold there was; but in conclusion, for all the king's letters, and for all that the archbishop and bishops could do, the matter went on the monks' side. So that there was no remedy, but the pope would needs have the archbishop's new building come down, and the monks to be restored again to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three abbots aforesaid, to wit, of Battle, of Feversham, of St. Austin's in Canterbury, and to Geoffrey, sub-prior of Canterbury.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Glanvile, lord steward of England, writing to the said abbot of Battle, and to the subprior and convent of Canterbury, commandeth them in the king's name, and upon their oath and fealty given unto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this controversy between the monks and the archbishop of Canterbury, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the king's pleasure; and furthermore charging the convent of Canterbury not to enter further in any examinations as concerning the archbishop's matters; and also citing the sub-prior of the said house, to appear before him at London, at the feast of St. James the same year, which was 1187. Notwithstanding he, excusing himself by sickness, sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himself at home. To whom commandment was given, that the monks of Canterbury within fifteen days should sail over to Normandy to the king, and there show the tenor and evidences of their privileges; and also that such stewards and bailiffs whom they had placed in their farms and lordships, contrary to the will of the archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three abbots in the king's name were commanded in no wise to execute the pope's commandment against the archbishop. Not long after this the archbishop took shipping at Dover, and went over to the king, where he ordained three principal officers over the monks of Christ's Church, the sacrist, the cellarer, and the chamberlain, contrary to the will of the convent, with other grievances more, whereby the monks were not a little offended, so that upon the same they made a new appellation to the pope. Whereupon Pope Urban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come again to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

"In that we have borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in such grievous manner against you as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked, the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would have relented from the oppression of the conventual church of Canterbury committed unto you, if not for our reverence, which you seem to have contemned more than became you, yet at least for fear of God's judgment. For well we hoped, our conscience persuading us to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignity in the Church of England, you would have been an example to others of obedience and

reverence to be given to the see apostolic of all ecclesiastical persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to advance and honour you as we have done few others besides, thinking no less but that we had found a faithful friend of the church for our honour. Wherein we perceive now (which maketh us not a little to marvel) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against us in our members.

"For whereas we sundry times have written to you in the behalf of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not vex or disturb their liberties, at least for reverence of us; you not only in this. but in other things more, (as commonly is reported of you in all places,) set at light our letters, and appellations made unto the apostolical see. What you have wrought against them after their so manifold appellations laid unto us, and our inhibitions again unto you, we are ashamed to utter. But revolve and consider in your mind, if ye have well done, and advise in your own conscience what you have done. We for our part, because we neither may nor ought with deaf ears to pass over the clamours of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolic see; although our biddings and warnings given to you seem to be all in vain, yet notwithstanding we send our mandates again unto your brotherhood, in these apostolical writings, directly and in virtue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be present in your church, or absent, all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you have done in building of your chapel, (which you to the destruction of the monastery of Canterbury have erected) after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition sent to you, you fail not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; undoing again, and making void, whatsoever ye have begun and innovated concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chapel; accounting, moreover, and reputed the place where the chapel was to be accursed and profane; and also that all such, whosoever have celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appear before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those monks whom you have presumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeal made, you restore and assoil again; renewing also and restoring all such farms, manors, tenements, and oblations as you, after their appeal made, have inveigled from them; and, finally, that you innovate nothing touching the state of that monastery during the time of this controversy depending before us. Giving you to understand, that in case you shall continue in your stubbornness and rebellion upon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving hereof, we shall appoint others to execute the same; enjoining also your suffragans, that as you shall show yourself disobedient and rebelling to us, so they all shall refuse likewise to give any obedience or reverence unto you," &c.

Another letter besides this the pope also sent to the three abbots aforesaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise another letter was sent to King Henry the Second, wherein the pope enjoineth and requireth him, upon remission of his sins, not to dissemble and bear with the archbishop in his oppression of his monks, but to help that those things may be amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

These pontifical letters were written A.D. 1187, the third day of October; and in the nineteenth day after, the same month, the said Pope Urban died. In the which year, and about the which month, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was taken with many noblemen of Soldan the Saracen, and Jerusalem lost, after that it had been in the

possession of the Christians, and so continued the space of eightyeight years and eighty days, from the time that Godfridus Bolonius did first win it from the infidels.

After the receiving of those letters of Pope Urban above specified, both the king and archbishop, with all the bishops of the realm, were marvellously quailed, glad now to please and speak fair to the monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the king now and archbishop so submiss; but the monks on the other side were as brag and jocund, being fully assured that all now was their own. In the narration of which history (as it is set in Gervasius at large) this we have to note by the way. in what fear and thraldom kings in those days were under the pope, who could not be masters over their own subjects, but that every pilled monk, or pelting prior, upon virtue of their appeal to the court of Rome, and making their house tributary to the pope, was able not oaly to match, but to give checkmate unto the best king christened, as not in this story only may appear.

It followeth then in the story of these monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their joy and jollity, suddenly cometh news of the death of Pope Urban, their great calipha, and also how that Gregory the Eighth was placed in his room. who was a special friend and favourer of the archbishop; which as it did greatly encourage the king and the archbishop, so the monks on the other side were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned up side down. For whereas the king and the archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monks and to seek their favour; now were the monks on the contrary side fain to crouch to the king, and glad to have a good countenance; who then resorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered again by the king, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlain, and their cellarer, they should have no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the liberties and privileges of the archbishop to be impaired or take any wrong. And touching the new chapel of St. Thomas, (said he.) whereabout ye strive so long. with the canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receive into my hands, so that none shall have anything to do therein but my self, &c. In like manner of the archbishop such another like answer they received, and of bishops little better. So the monks, sent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of Normandy to their cell.

Now the archbishop, having the monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and less, died Pope Gregory the Eighth, about the sixteenth day of December following. After whom succeeded Pope Clement the Third, who, following the steps of Urban, bent all his power with the monks against the archbishop, sending divers precepts and mandates in the year next following, which was the year 1188, with an imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monks, and to throw down his new chapel. Whereupon the archbishop made his appeal, and minded to go to Rome; but was called back of the king, being ready to sail over. In the which year Honorius the prior died at Rome of the plague, which was some help and comfort to the archbishop, for whom the archbishop made Roger Noris prior, against the wills of the convent. After this, about the latter end of the same year, Pope Clement sent down his legate, called Radulphus, a cardinal, to Canterbury with another letter more sharply written to the same effect unto the archbishop.

Furthermore, in the year next after, which was 1189, he wrote also the third letter to him. In the which year also died King Henry the Second; after whom

succeeded King Richard his son, who, joining likewise with the archbishop, took his part strongly against the said monks. At last, after much ado on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning divers of the monks, King Richard, preparing his voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace between them, consulted and agreed with the bishops and abbots about a final concord in this matter between the archbishop and monks of Canterbury; which at length on both parts was made, upon these conventions which follow.

1. That Roger Noris should be deposed, whom the archbishop had made prior against their wills; whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to be abbot of Eusham. 2. Item, that the archbishop should pluck down his chapel, which he builded in the suburbs of Canterbury, against the minds of the monks. 3. Item, that the foresaid monks should make profession of their obedience and subjection to the archbishop, as they had done to his other predecessors before him. 4. Item, as touching all other complaints and injuries, except only the chapel. and deposition of Roger Norris, the prior.) the monks should stand to the arbitrement of the king, of the archbishop, and the prelates. 5. Item, that the monks, kneeling down before the king in the chapter-house, should ask the archbishop forgiveness. Which being done, they went all together to the church, and sang *Te Deum* for this reformation of peace.

The next day after the archbishop, coming into the chapter, restored to the convent their manors and farms again; also he discharged the prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made between the archbishop and the convent, then the archbishop going about to dissolve the building of his new church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent; and therefore making exchange of lands with the bishop and monks of Rochester. purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, A.D. 1191. Which done, he came to his clerks whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Hakington, and also willed them to remove all their goods and furniture to Lamheth over against Westminster, where he erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which college of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said monks of Canterbury, in the time of Hubert the archbishop. in the reign of the said King Richard. and in the year of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Noris, prior of Canterbury aforesaid, Baldwin the archbishop, enforced to grant them another prior, by the assent of the king and of the convent assigned Osbernus to be their prior, who had taken part before with the archbishop; but the monks, not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the archbishop removed him again.

And thus have you the tedious discourse of this catholic tragedy. between the monks of Canterbury and their archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsal; notwithstanding. this I thought to give the reader to see of purpose, first, to show forth unto the world the stout sturdiness of this monkish generation, who, professing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogance in their conversation, and what hypocrisy in their religion, this one example among a thousand others may give some experience. Se condly, that the posterity now may see how little kings could then do in their own realms for the pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appear to all readers what strife and de bate, what dissension and division, what little unity and concord, hath always followed the pope's catho lic church, wheresoever the corrupt religion and usurped ambition of the pope prevailed. For, not to speak only of this monkish house of

Canterbury, what church cathedral, collegiate, or conventual, what see, church, monastery, or chapel, was under all the pope's government, but ever there happened some variance, either between the king and the archbishop, as between King William and Lanfranc, King Henry the First and Anselm, King Stephen and Richard, King Henry the Second and Becket, King John and Stephen Langton, King Henry the Third and Boniface, &c.? or else between archbishop and archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the cross, for sitting on the right hand of the popes legate, &c.? or else between archbishops and their suffragans, or between archbishops and their convents, or between bishops and monks, between dean and chapter, between monks and secular priests, monks of one sort against another, friars of one order against another, students against friars, townsmen against scholars, &c.? As, for example, what discord was between the archbishop of Canterbury and Richard, archbishop of York; between Lanfranc and Archbishop Thomas; between Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and Silvester, abbot of St. Austin's; between Walter of Christ's Church, and Silvester, abbot aforesaid; between William, archbishop of Canterbury, and Jeremias. prior of Canterbury, A.D. 1144; between the monks of Canterbury and Odo their prior, for translating the relics of Dunstan; between King Stephen and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Lincoln and Roger, bishop of Ely, his son, A.D. 1138; between Pope Innocent and Anacletus the space of seven years, the cardinals for money (saith Gervasius) sometimes holding with the one, sometimes with the other; at last the election was determined by a sore battle between Lotharius, emperor, and Rogerius, duke of Apulia, A.D. 1137; also between Pope Innocent the Fourth, and Frederic the Second, emperor; between King Henry the Third and William Rale, bishop of Winchester, when the king had the gates of Winchester town to be shut against him, A.D. 1250; between Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and canons of St. Paul: item, between the said Boniface and monks of St. Bartholomew, who sat there in harness in his visitation, A.D. 1250; between the abbot of Westminster and monks of the same house, A.D. 1251: item, between the foresaid Wiffiam Rale, bishop of Winchester, and Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, for a priest of the hospital in Southwark, A.D. 1252; between the said Bonifae and canons of Lincoln after the death of Robert Grosthead, for giving of prebends, A.D. 1253; between the monks of Coventry and canons of Lichfield, for choosing their bishop in the time of King Henry the Third?

And what should I speak of the discord which cost so much money between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, for choosing Richard Wandor to be their bishop, A.D. 1328; between Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, and canons of the same house, for which both he and they were driven to travel to Rome, A.D. 1244; between Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, delegate to Archbishop Baldwin, and Robert, the pope's legate, for sitting on the right band of the legate in his council at Westminster, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Bardeny and the said Grosthead about the visitation of their abbey, A.D. 1242: item, between the convent of Canterbury and the said Robert, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1243; between Hugo, bishop of Durham, and Hubert, bishop of Sarum, and Geoffrey, archbishop of York, A.D. 1189; between William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, and the canons of York, for not receiving him with procession, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Westminster and his convent of black monks, whom King Henry the Third had much ado to still and agree, A.D. 1249: item, between the foresaid bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of Westminster; likewise between Nicholas, bishop of Durham, and John, abbot of St. Alban's, A.D. 1246; also between Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. and the monks there for the house of Lambeth, A.D. 1146? And what a stir was between the

preaching friars and the grey friars, mentioned in Matthew Paris, for superiority, A.D. 1243; also between the said grey friars and the prelates and doctors of Paris about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelates to be erroneous?

1. Concerning the Divine essence, that it cannot be seen of the angels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the essence of the Holy Ghost.
3. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as he is love.
4. Whether men glorified shall be in *cælo empyreo*, or in *cælo crystallino*.
5. That the evil angel at his first creation was evil, and never good.
6. That there have been many verities from the beginning which were not of God.
7. That an angel in one instant may be in divers places.
8. That the evil angel never had whereby he might stand, no more had Adam in his state of innocency.
9. That he which hath *meliora naturalia*, that is to say, more perfect strength of nature working in him, shall have more full measure of necessity to obtain grace and glory. To the which articles the prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming that grace and glory shall be given according to that God hath elected and predestinated, &c.

In like manner, between the said Dominic friars and the grey friars, what a brawl and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, whether she was without original sin conceived or not, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, and King Henry the Eighth? Add moreover to these the four and twenty heinous schisms, and not so few, which happened between pope and pope in the Church and see of Rome. But what do I stand to recite the divisions and dissensions of the pope's church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the sea? For what church, chapter, or convent was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselves or with others? Upon which continual strife and variance among them, the readers hereof may judge of them and their religion as pleaseth them; in the mean time, my judgment is this, that where such dissension dwelleth, there dwelleth not the Spirit of Christ.

## 47. Richard I. (Contd.) The Crusade

These things thus discoursed touching the tragical dissension between Baldwin, the archbishop, and the monks of Canterbury; now let us proceed, by the Lord's assistance, in continuing of our story. After King Richard had thus, as is declared, set the monks and the archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to be redressed within the realm, he advanced forward his journey, and came unto Turaine, to meet with Philip the French king; and so after that went to Vizelay; where the French king and he joining together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemn oath, swearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whose oath was this: That either of them should defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should fail one the other in their affairs: but the French king should aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himself defend his own city of Paris, if it were besieged; and that Richard, king of England, likewise should aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise than he would defend his own city of Rouen, if it were besieged, &c.

But how slenderly this oath did hold between these two kings, and by whose chief occasion first it fell asunder, the sequel of the history (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Furthermore, touching the laws and ordinances appointed by this King Richard for his navy, the form thereof was this:

1. That whosoever killed any person on ship-board should be tied with him that was slain, and thrown into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the party slain, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shall be convicted by lawful witness to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.

4. Also, be that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, whoso speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath so reviled shall pay so many ounces of silver.

6. Item, a thief or felon that hath stolen, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or down strewed upon the same, whereby he may be known; and so the first landing-place they shall come to, there to be cast up, &c.

These things thus set in a readiness, King Richard sending his navy by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Gibraltar between Spain and Africa, to meet him at Marsilia, he himself went (as is said) to Vizelay, to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with press of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned. By reason whereof the

two kings, for the cumbrances of their trains, were constrained to dissever themselves for the time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily; and so Philip the French king took his way to Genoa, and King Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight days, appointing there his navy to meet him. From thence crossing over to Genoa, where the French king was, he passed forward by the coast of Italy, and entered into Tiber, not far from Rome, where meeting with Ottomanus, the cardinal and bishop of Hostia, he did complain greatly of the filthy simony of the pope and the pope's court, for receiving seven hundred marks for consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis; also a thousand and five hundred marks of William, the bishop of Ely, for his office legantine; and likewise an infinite sum of money of the bishop of Bourdeaux, for acquitting him when he should be deposed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his clergy, &c.

The seventh day of August, in the year aforesaid, King Richard departed out of Marsilia, after he had there waited seven days for his navy, which came not; and so hiring twenty galleys, and ten great barks, to ship over his men, sailed by the sea-coast of Italy, and came to Naples, and so partly by horse and waggon, partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, he came to Calabria; where, after that he had heard his ships were arrived at Messina, in Sicily, he made the more speed; and so the three and twentieth of September sent to Messina, with such a noise of trumpets and shawms, with such a rout and show, that it was to the great wonderment and terror, both of the Frenchmen, and all others that did hear and behold the sight.

To the said town of Messina the French king was come before the sixteenth day of the same month of September, and had taken up the palace of Tancredus, king of Sicily, for his lodging. To whom King Richard after his arrival eftsoons resorted; and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the same day the French king took shipping and entered the seas, thinking to sail toward the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the haven, the wind arising contrary against him, returned him back again to Messina. Then King Richard, (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the city,) after he had resorted again, and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus, king of Sicily, for deliverance of Joan his sister, (who had been some time queen of Sicily,) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the flood of Delfar, and there getting a strong hold, called De la Bagmare, or Le Bamre, and placing therein his sister, with a sufficient garrison, he returned home again to Messina. The second of October King Richard won another certain stronghold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the river of Delfar, between Messina and Calabria; from whence the monks being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The citizens of Messina, seeing that the king of England had won the castle and island in De la Bagmare, and also the monastery of the Griffons, and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to invade their city, and, if he could, all the whole isle of Sicily, began to stir against the king's army, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and keep their walls against them. The Englishmen, seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open; insomuch that the king riding among them with his staff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not assuage their fierceness; such was the rage of the English men against the citizens of Messina. The king, seeing the fury of the people to be such as he could not stay them, took boat, and went to the palace of King Tancred, to talk of the matter with the French king. In

which time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancient of the city, that both parties laying down their armour went home in peace.

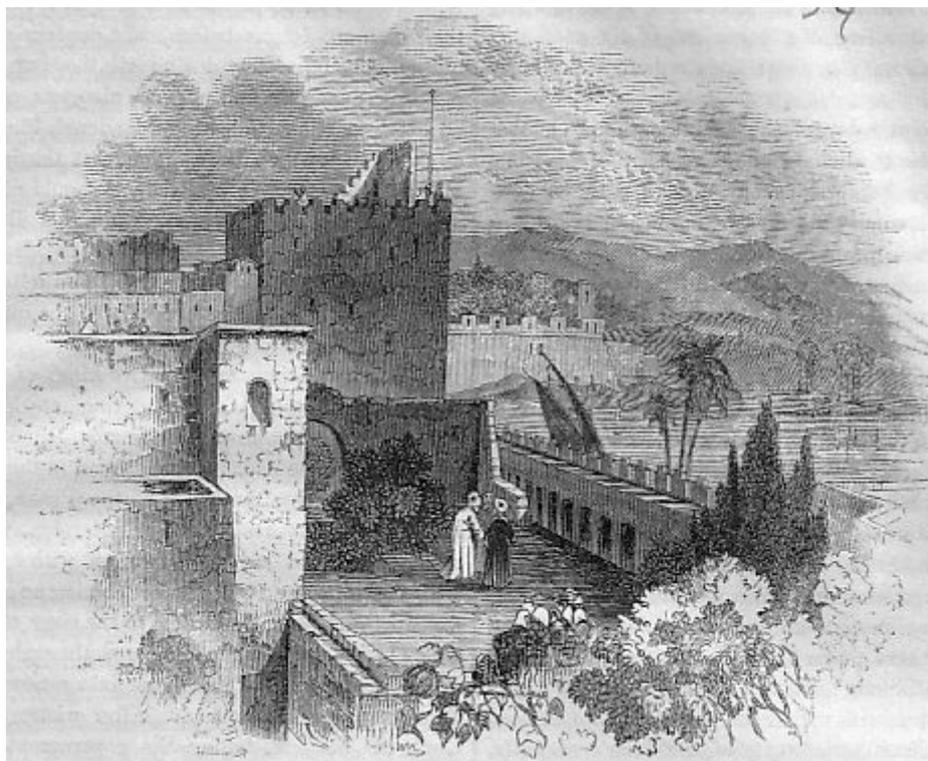
The fourth day of the said month of October came to King Richard the archbishop of Messina, with two other archbishops, also with the French king, and sundry other earls, barons, and bishops, for obtaining of peace. Who, as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the citizens of Messina issuing out of the town, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brun, an English captain. The noise whereof coming to the ears of the king, he, suddenly breaking off talk with the French king and the rest, departed from them; and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themselves; who then with certain of his soldiers making up to the top of a mountain, (which seemed to pass their power to climb,) there put the citizens to flight, chasing them down the mountain, unto the very gates of the city; whom also certain of the king's servants pursued within the city, of whom five valiant soldiers, and twenty of the king's servants, were slain, the French king looking on, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary unto his oath and league before made with the king of England. For the said French king with his men, being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harm, to and fro, and might well have eased the king's party more than he, if it had so liked him.

This being known to the English host, how their fellows were slain, and the Frenchmen permitted in the city, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things; they upon great indignation gathered themselves in arms, burst open the gates, and scaled the walls, and so winning the city, set up their flags with the English arms upon the walls. Which when the French king did see, he was mightily offended; requiring the king of England, that the arms of France might also be set up and joined with his; but King Richard to that in no case would agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfy his mind, he was well contented to take down his arms, and commit the custody of the city to the Hospitallers and Templars of Jeru salem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then, upon the eighth day of the same month of October, that peace among the kings was concluded. In which peace, first, King Richard and Philip the French king renewed again their oath and league before made concerning their mutual aid and society during all the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded between King Richard and Tancred, king of Sicily aforesaid, with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred (in case King Richard should die without issue) should marry Arthur, duke of Brittany, the king's nephew, and next heir to his crown. Whereof a formal chart was drawn and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of November.

In this mean time, as these two kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messina, Frederic, emperor, first of that name, (the same on whose neck Pope Alexander did tread in the church of Venice, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*, &c., whereof read before,) and his son Conradus, with a mighty army of Almans and others, were coming up likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Acre; where by the way the good emperor, through a great mischance, falling off his horse into a river called Salef, was therein drowned. After whose decease Conradus his son, taking the government of his army, came to the siege

of Acre; in which siege also he died. Upon whose coming such a dearth followed in the camp, which lasted two months that a loaf of bread, which before their coming was sold for one penny, was afterward sold for three pounds; by reason whereof many Christian soldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed upon was horse flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good bishops there were in the camp, namely, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, with certain other good bishops, who, making a general collection through the whole camp for the poor, made such a provision, that in this penury of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needy, but somewhat he had for his relief; till within a few days after, by the merciful providence of God, (who is the feeder of all creatures,) ships came unto them with abundance of corn, wine, and oil.



Acre

The siege of this town of Acre endured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the help of wild fire, which the Latins call *Græcum ignem*, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many noble personages and also bishops died, among whom was Conradus the emperor's son, Radulph, earl of Fougiers, the earl of Pericio, Robert, earl of Leicester, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, with four archbishops, and divers other bishops, abbots, earls, and also barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not so few. All this while King Richard and King Philip of France still kept at Messina in Sicily, from the month of September till April, for lack (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessity of repairing their ships. In which mean time King Richard, hearing of Joachim, abbot of Curacio, a learned man in Calabria, (who was then thought to have the spirit of prophecy, and told many things of a people that should come,) sent for him, with whom he and his bishops had much conference about the coming and time of antichrist. This Joachim belike in his

book and revelations uttered some things against the see and pride of Rome; for the which he was less favoured of the popes, and judged an enemy to their see, and so by Pope Innocent the Third was condemned with his books for a heretic, in his idolatrous general Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

After this, Henricus, king of Almans, son of Frederic the emperor, hearing of the decease of his father, standing now to be emperor, first restoreth to Henry, duke of Saxony, and to others, whatsoever his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent unto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirm the laws and dignities of the Church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to be emperor. Whereupon Pope Clement, by advice of the Romans, assigned him the term of Easter in the next year ensuing for his coronation. But before the Easter came, Pope Clement died, after he had sat three years, and about four months; after whom succeeded Celestinus the Third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

The time thus passing over, in the month of February, the next year following, which was of the Lord 1191, King Richard sent over his galleys to Naples, there to meet his mother Eleanor, and Berengaria, the daughter of Sanctius, king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry. Who by that time were come to Brundisium, under the conduct of Philip, earl of Flanders; and so proceeding unto Naples, there found the king's ships, wherein they sailed to Messina. In this mean space King Richard showed himself exceeding bounteous and liberal unto all men. To the French king first he gave divers ships; upon others likewise he bestowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treasure he distributed largely unto his soldiers and servants about him. Of whom it was reported that he distributed more in one month than ever any of his predecessors did in a whole year; by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profit, as the sequel afterward proved.

To proceed then in the progress of King Richard, it followeth, in the first day of the month of March, he, leaving the city of Messina, where the French king was, went to Cathniensium, a city where Tancredus, king of Sicily, then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King Tancredus three days and three nights. On the fourth day, when he should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silks; whereof King Richard would receive nothing, but one little ring, for a token of his good will. For the which King Richard again gave him a rich sword. At length, when King Richard should take his leave, King Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would give him four great ships, and fifteen galleys; and furthermore, he himself would needs accompany him the space of two days' journey to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning, when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message which the French king a little before had sent unto him by the duke of Burgundy, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, and join with him, to the destruction of him and all his army, &c. To whom Richard the king protested again, that he was no traitor, nor ever was; and as touching the peace begun between them, the same should never be broken through him; neither could he believe that the French king, being his good lord and his sworn compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the

duke of Burgundy; affirming moreover, that if the duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth again to Messina. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king cometh to Tavernium to speak with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messina again.

From that same time King Richard, moved in stomach against King Philip, never showed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marvelling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof. word was sent him again by Philip, earl of Flanders, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily; and for the testimony thereof the letters were showed which he wrote by the duke of Burgundy to the king of Sicily. Which when the French king understood, first he held his peace, as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length, turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to break with him, and to malign him; and therefore he forged these lies upon him, and all because he by that means would avoid marrying with Alice his sister, according as he had promised; adding, moreover, that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alice his sister, according to his oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his while he lived.

To this King Richard said again, that he could by no means marry that woman; forso much as his father had carnal copulation with her, and also had by her a son; for proof whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers and sundry witnesses to the king's face, to testify with him. In conclusion, through counsel and persuasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made; so that King Philip did acquit King Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and King Richard again should be bound to pay to him every year; for the space of five years, two thousand marks, with certain other conditions besides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being between them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the said month of March, the French king, launching out of the haven of Messina, on the two and twentieth day after, in Easter-week, came with his army to the siege of Acre.

After the departure of the French king from Messina. (King Richard with his army yet remaining behind,) arrived Queen Eleanor the king's mother, bringing with her Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, to be espoused to King Richard. Which done, Eleanor, leaving Berengaria behind her, departed, taking her journey towards Rome, to entreat the pope for Gaufridus, her other son above mentioned, to be consecrated in the archbishopric of York, being before elected by the procurement of King Richard his brother, as ye heard. In which mean time, as Queen Eleanor was travelling toward Rome, Pope Clement above mentioned died, about the sixth day of April, in whose room succeeded Pope Celestinus the Third. Who the next day after his consecration came from Lateran to St. Peter's church, where in the way meeteth him Henricus the emperor, and Constantia his wife, with a great rout of armed soldiers; but the Romans making fast their gates would not suffer them to enter their city. Then Pope Celestine, standing upon the stairs before the church door of St. Peter, received an oath of the said Henricus, king of the Almans, (his army waiting without,) that he should defend the church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain justice; also that he should restore again the patrimony of St. Peter full and whole, whatsoever hath been diminished thereof; and finally, that he should surrender to the Church of

Rome again the city of Tusculanum, &c. Upon these conditions and grants, then the pope took him to the church, and there anointed him for emperor, and his wife for empress; who, there sitting in his chair pontifical, held the crown of gold between his feet; and so the emperor, bowing down his head to the pope's feet, received the crown, and in like manner the empress also. The crown thus being set upon the emperor's head, the pope eftsoons with his foot struck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depose him again, in case he so deserved. Then the cardinals, taking up the crown, set it upon his head again.

Not long after the departure of King Philip from Messina, which was in the month of March, King Richard, in April following, about the twentieth day of the said month, sailing from the haven of Messina with a hundred and fifty great ships, and three and fifty great galleys, well manned and appointed, took journey towards Acre; who being upon the seas on Good Friday, about the ninth hour rose a mighty south wind with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his navy, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was driven to the isle of Creta, and there before the haven of Rhodes cast anchor. The ship that carried the king's sister, queen of Sicily, and Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, with two other ships, were driven to the isle of Cyprus. The king making great moan for the ship of his sister, and Berengaria, his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his galleys diligently to search the rest of his navy dispersed, but especially for the ship wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry; who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Limisso in the isle of Cyprus. Notwithstanding, the two other ships which were in their company before in the same haven were drowned, with divers of the king's servants and men of worship, amongst whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the king's vicechancellor, who was found having the king's seal hanging about his neck. The king of Cyprus was then Isakius, (called also the emperor of the Griffons,) who took and imprisoned all Englishmen which by shipwreck were cast upon his land; also inveigled into his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his coasts, neither would suffer the ship wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to King Richard, he in his great wrath, gathering his galleys and ships together, boardeth the land of Cyprus, where he, first, in gentle wise signifieth to King Isakius, how he with his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the supportation of the Holy Land, were by distress of weather driven upon his hounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in God's behalf, and for reverence of the holy cross, to let go such prisoners of his which he had in captivity, and to restore again the goods of them which were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoof of their souls, &c. And this the king once, twice, and thrice desired of the emperor. But he, proudly answering again, sent the king word, that he would neither let the captives go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned, &c.

When King Richard heard this, how little the emperor Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; eftsoons he giveth commandment through all his host to put themselves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge such injuries received of that proud and cruel king of Cyprus; willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but the Lord would stand with them, and give them the full victory. The emperor in the mean time with his people stood warding the sea coasts, where the Englishmen should

arrive, with swords, bills, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boards, stools, and chests before them instead of a wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert and unskilful in the feats of war. Then King Richard, with his soldiers, issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen, thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Griffons, that after long fighting and many blows, at last the emperor was put [to] flight; whom King Richard valiantly pursued, and slew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near also to have had the emperor, had not the night come on and parted the battle. And thus King Richard with much spoil and great victory returning to the port town of Limisso, which the townsmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of corn, wine, oil, and victuals.

The same day after the victory Joan, the king's sister, and Berengaria, the maiden, entered the port and town of Limisso, with fifty great ships, and fourteen galliots: so that all the whole navy, there meeting together, were two hundred and fifty-four tall ships, and above threescore galliots. Then Isakius the emperor, seeing no way for himself to escape by the sea, the same night pitched his tents five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after he would surely give battle to King Richard. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the same morning before the day of battle should be, setteth upon the tents of the Griffons early, they being unawares and asleep, and made of them a great slaughter; insomuch that the emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the imperial standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered and wrought all with gold. King Richard then returning with victory and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after, in the month of May next following, and the twelfth day of the same month, married the said Berengaria, daughter of Rancon, king of Navarre, in the isle of Cyprus, at Limisso.

The king of Cyprus, seeing himself overmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions, to give King Richard twenty thousand marks in gold, for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were drowned; also to restore all his captives again to the king; and furthermore in his own person to attend upon the king to the land of Jerusalem, in God's service and his, with four hundred horsemen, and five hundred footmen; in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his only daughter, and would hold his kingdom of him. This done, and the emperor swearing fidelity to King Richard before Guido, king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioch, (who were come thither to King Richard a little before,) peace was taken, and Isakius was committed to the ward of certain keepers. Notwithstanding, shortly after, he, breaking from his keepers, was again at defiance with the king. Whereupon King Richard, besetting the island of Cyprus round about with ships and galleys, did in such sort prevail, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yield themselves to the king, and at length the daughter also of the emperor, and at last the emperor himself, whom King Richard caused to be kept in fetters of silver and gold, and to be sent to the city of Tripolis.



**Battle between Crusaders and Saracens**

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the isle of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed unto Radulph, son of Godfrey, lord chamberlain, being then the first day of June; upon the fifth of the said month, King Richard departed from the isle of Cyprus with ships and galleys towards the siege of Acre, and on the next morrow came unto Tyrus; where, by procurement of the French king, he was constrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great bark fraught with soldiers and men of war, to the number of one thousand and five hundred; which, pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the French arms, were indeed Saracens, secretly sent with wild-fire and certain barrels of unknown serpents, to the defence of the town of Acre. Which King Richard at length perceiving, eftsoons set upon them, and so vanquished them; of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive. Which being once known in the city of Acre, as it was a great discomfort unto them, so it was a great help unto the Christians for winning the city. The next day after, which was the seventh of June, King Richard came to Acre. which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whose coming it was not long: but the pagans within the city, seeing their walls to be undermined, and towers overthrown,

were driven by composition, to escape with life and limb, to surrender the city unto the two kings. Another great help to the Christians in winning the city was this: In the said city of Acre there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege there used at sundry times to cast over the walls, into the camp of the Christians, certain bills written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, wherein he disclosed unto the Christians from time to time the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and by what way they should work, and what to beware: and always his letters began thus, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen*. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heaviness unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the city was got could they ever understand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration upon the twelfth day of July in the year aforesaid, the princes and captains of the pagans upon agreement resorted unto the tent of the templars, to commune with the two kings touching peace and giving up of their city; the form of which peace was thus: That the kings should have the city of Acre freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was within; and five hundred captives of the Christians should be restored unto them, which were in Acre; also the holy cross should be to them rendered, and a thousand Christian captives, with two hundred horsemen, whosoever they themselves would choose out of all them which were in the power of Saladin; over and besides, they should give to the kings two hundred thousand Bisants, so that they themselves would remain as pledges in the king's hands for the performance hereof; that if in forty days these foresaid covenants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings' mercy touching life and limb. These covenants being agreed upon, the kings sent their soldiers and servants into the city, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and streets, ministering unto them according to their necessities; to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized, and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the pagans who for fear of death pretended to be baptized; but afterward, so soon as they could, they revolted again to Saladin. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wills.

The thirteenth day of the said month of July King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Acre, divided between them all things therein contained, as well the people as gold and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the city; who, in dividing the spoil, were so good carvers unto themselves, that many knights and barons, with other soldiers, who had there sustained the whole travail two years together about the siege, seeing the kings to take all unto themselves, and their part to be but little, retracted themselves without the uttermost trench, and there, after consultation had together, sent word to the kings, that they would leave and forsake them, unless they were made partakers also of the gains for the which they had so long travailed. To whom answer was sent again by the kings, that their wills should be satisfied. Howbeit, because of long deferring of their promise, many, constrained by poverty, departed from them.

The twentieth day of July King Richard, speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies would bind themselves by oath to remain there still in the land of Jerusalem the space of three years, for the winning and recovering again of those countries. But he would swear (he said) no such oath; and so the next day after King Richard with his wife and sister entereth into the city of Acre,

and placed there himself in the king's palace, the French king remaining in the houses of the templars, where he continued till the end of the month. So about the beginning of the month of August, Philip, the French king, after that he and King Richard had made agreement between Guido and Conradus, the marquis, about the kingdom of Jerusalem, went from Acre to Tyrus; notwithstanding King Richard and all the princes of the Christian army with great entreaty desired him to tarry, showing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of August from Tyrus he departed, leaving his half part of the city of Acre in the hands of the foresaid Conradus, marquis. After whose departure the pagans refused to keep their covenants made; who neither would restore the holy cross, nor the money, nor their captives: sending word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Acre, they would chop off the heads of such captives of the Christians which were in their hands. Shortly after this, Saladin, sending great gifts to King Richard, requested the times limited for beheading of the captives to be prorogued; but the king refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request. Whereupon Saladin caused all the Christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of August. Which albeit King Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentieth of August. Upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of Saladin's army, to lose their heads; the number of whom came to two thousand five hundred, save only that certain of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy cross, and certain others of the Christian captives.

After this, King Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppa: where, by the way between Acre and Joppa, near to a town called Ashur, Saladin with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the king's rearward: but through God's merciful grace, in the same battle the king's warriors acquitted them so well, that Saladin was put to flight, (whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles.) and lost the same day many of his nobles and captains, in such sort (as it was thought) that Saladin was not put to such confusion forty years before; and but one Christian captain, called James Avernus, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King Richard, proceeding further, went to Joppa, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the city of Joppa forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming. Ascalon Saladin threw down to the ground, and likewise forsook the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with King Richard. Of all which his achievances the said King Richard sent his letters of certificate, as well into England, as also to the abbot of Clara Valle in France; well hoping that he, God willing, should be able to make his repair again to them by Easter next.

Concerning Richard's worthy acts done abroad in getting of Cyprus, Acre, and Ptolemaida, in pacifying Joppa, partly is spoken of before. Many other valiant and famous acts were by him and the French king achieved, and more should have been, had not those two kings, falling into discord, dissevered themselves; by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home again within short space. Who, being returned again, eftsoons invaded the country of Normandy, exciting also John, the brother of King Richard, to take on him the kingdom of England in his brother's absence. Who then made league (upon the same) with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth year of King Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three years. And not long

after King Richard. the next spring following, returned also. Who, in his return, driven by distress of weather about the parts of Histria, in a town called Synaca, was there taken by Leopold, duke of the same country, and so sold to the emperor for sixty thousand marks.

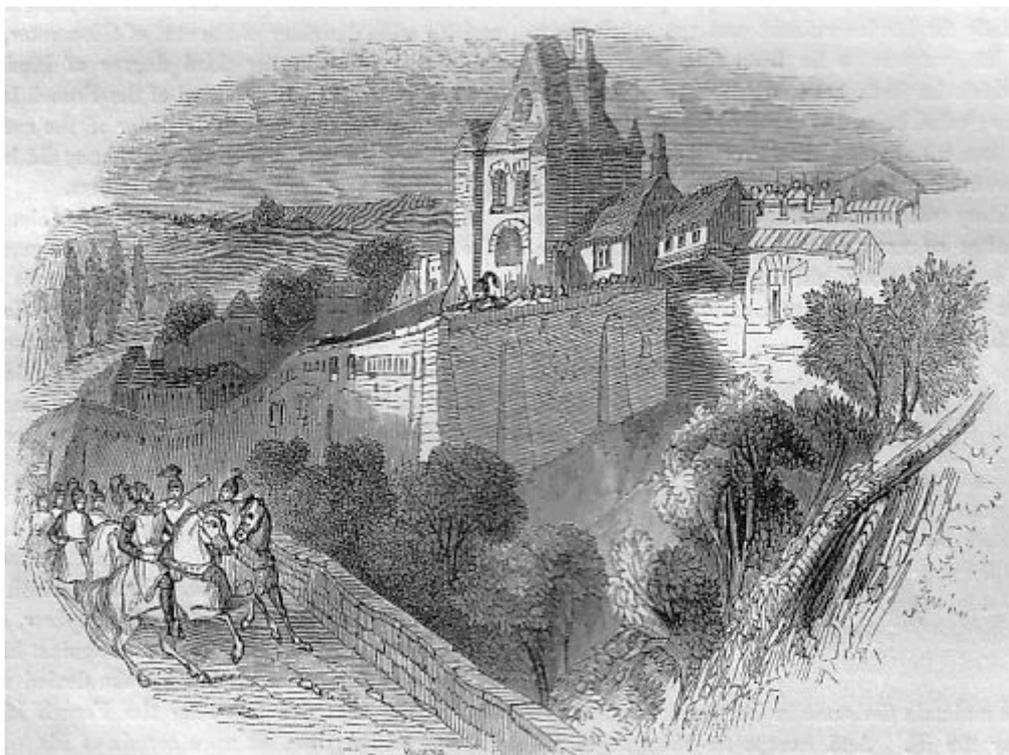
King Richard, thus being traitorously taken and sold, was there kept in custody a year and three months. In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous wind; where he desired of the pope to be absolved from an oath made against his will, and could not obtain it. And so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the country of Conrad, the marquis, whose death (he being slain a little before) was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England, was there traitorously taken, as is beforesaid, by Leopold, dnke of Austria. Albeit in another story I find the matter more credibly set forth, which saith thus: That King Richard slew the brother of this Leopold, playing with him at chess in the French king's court. And Leopold, taking his advantage, was the more cruel against him, and delivered him, as is said, to the emperor; in whose custody be was detained during the time above mentioned, a year and three months. During the which time the king's imprisonment, the French king in the mean season stirred war in Normandy. And Earl John the king's brother made stir and invaded England; but the barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the castle of Windsor; where they took from him all the castles and munitions which before he had got. Thus the earl, seeing no hope to prevail in England, and suspecting the deliverance of the king his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king: at length it was so agreed and concluded with the emperor, that King Richard should be released for a hundred thousand pounds; of the which money, part should remain to the duke of Austria, the rest should be the emperor's. The sum of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlesticks, and other church plate, also with public contribution of friaries, abbeys. and other subjects of the realm. Whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fifth year of his reign. And then it was obtained of the pope, that priests might celebrate with chalices of latten and tin: and so it was granted and continued long after. which mine author, in his chronicle entitled Eulogium, doth testify himself to have seen. At what time this foresaid money was paid, and the hostages given for the ransom of this king. I have an old story that saith, how the foresaid duke of Austria shortly after was plagued by God with five sundry plagues: first, with burning of his chief towns; secondly, with the drowning of ten thousand of his men in a great flood, happening no man could tell how: thirdly, by turning all the ears of his corn-field into worms; fourthly, by taking away almost all the nobles of his land by death; fifthly, by breaking his own leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died upon the same; who then is said at his death to forgive King Richard fifty thousand marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. The book entitled Eulogium, before mentioned, declareth thus, that the said Leopold, duke of Austria, fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next year after, being the year 1196.

Thus the said King Richard being ransomed, as hath been declared, from the covetous captivity of the emperor, was restored again, and made his repair into England. At whose return, Earl John his brother, resorting unto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned of his transgressions. To whom King Richard answering again, Would God (saith he) this your trespass, as it dieth with me in oblivion, so it may remain with you in remembrance, and so gently forgave him. And

after he had again recovered his holds and castles, he caused himself to be crowned again. Which done, he made his power against the French king, and drave him out of Normandy. After that, he turned his voyage against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

The next year following, which was the year 1197, Philip, the French king, brake the truce made between him and King Richard; whereupon the king was compelled to sail over again to Normandy to withstand the malice of his enemy. About which time my story recordeth of one called of some Fulco; some say he was the archbishop of Rouen, called Gualter. This Fulco being then in England, and coming to the king's presence, said unto him with great courage and boldness, Thou hast, O mighty king, three daughters very vicious and of evil disposition; take good heed of them, and betimes provide for them good husbands; lest, by untimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not only incur great hurt and damage, but also utter ruin and destruction to thyself. To whom the king in a rage said, Thou lying and mocking hypocrite, thou knowest not where thou art, or what thou sayest; I think thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I have never a daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore, thou open liar, get thee out of our presence. To whom Fulco answered, No, and like your Grace, I lie not, but say truth; for you have three daughters which continually frequent your court, and wholly possess your person, and such three whores and naughty packs as never the like hath been heard of; I mean, mischievous Pride, greedy Covetousness, and filthy Luxury; and therefore again I say, O king, beware of them, and out of hand provide marriages for them, lest in not so doing thou utterly undo both thyself and all the whole realm.

The which his words the king took in good part, with correction of himself, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently he called his lords and barons before him, unto whom he declared the communing and monition of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, with counsel out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realm; whose good counsel (my lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore here, before you all, I give my daughter swelling Pride to wife unto the proud templars: my greedy daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the Cistercian monks; and last of all, my filthy daughter Luxury to the riotous prelates of the church, whom I think to be very meet men for her; and so severally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realm are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.



**The Shooting of King Richard**

Not long after this, it befell that a certain noble personage (lord of Lemonice in Little Britain, Widomarus by name) found a great substance of treasure both of gold and silver hid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King Richard, as chief lord and prince over the whole country. Which the king refused, saving he would either have all or none, for that he was the principal chieftain over the land. But the finder would not condescend to that. Wherefore the king laid siege to a castle of his called Galuz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the castle, seeing themselves not sufficient to withstand the king, offered to him the castle, desiring to depart with life and armour. To this the king would in no wise grant, but bid them to re-enter the castle again, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befell, that as the king with the duke of Brabant went about the castle, viewing the places thereof, a soldier within, named Bertrand Cordoun, struck the king with an arrow in the arm, whereupon the iron remaining and festering in the wound, the king within nine days after died; who, because he was not content with the half of the treasure that another man found, lost all his own treasure that he had. The king, being thus wounded, caused the man that struck him to be brought unto him, and asked the cause of him why he so wounded him. Who answered him again, as the story saith, that he thought to kill rather than to be killed; and what punish mentsoever he should sustain he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his father and brethren. The king, hearing his words, freely forgave him, and caused a hundred shillings to be given him. Albeit, as the story addeth, after the death of the king, the duke of Brabant, after great torments, caused him to be hanged. The story of Gisburne saith that the killer of King Richard coming to the French king, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn asunder with horses, and his quarters to be hanged up.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburne partly doth testify the same, that, a little before the death of King Richard, three abbots of the order Cistercian came to him, to whom he was confessed. And when he saw them somewhat stay at his absolution, he had these words: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth to be eaten of worms, and his soul to the fire of purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God's mercy.

About the reign of this king, the said Jornalensis maketh mention of Roger, archbishop of York, which put out of his church the monks, and placed for them secular priests, saying that he would rather wish ecclesiastical benefices to be given to wanton priests than to abominable monks; and that Thurstinus did sin never worse in all his life than in building that house for monks. Another story I have, which saith that this was the bishop, not of York, but of Coventry.

The king not long after departed without issue, and John his brother reigned after him; in whom, although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he far from that deserving, for the which he hath been so ill reported of divers writers; who, being led more with affection of popery, than with true judgment and due consideration, depraved his doings more than the sincere truth of the history will bear them. Concerning which history, after so many writers, we thought also to be stow a little labour, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

## 48. King John



AFTER the death of King Richard, called Cœur de Lion, reigned his brother, John, earl of Morton. Afterward the archbishop put the crown on his head, and swore him to defend the church, and to maintain the same in her good laws, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought in his mind to do this, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on St. John Baptist's day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rouen, where he was royally received, and truce concluded between him and the French king for a time. And thither came to him the earl of Flanders, and all other lords of France that were of King Richards band and friendship, and were sworn unto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French king made Arthur knight, and took his homage for Normandy, Britain, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him help against King John. After this, King John and the French king talked together with their lords about one hour's space, and the French king asked so much land for himself and Knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none, and so he departed in wrath.

The same year a legate came into France, and commanded the king, in pain of interdiction, to deliver one Peter out of prison, that was elect to a bishopric; and thereupon he was delivered.

After that the legate came into England, and commanded King John, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two years; which the king denied to do, till he had paid him six thousand marks; because he took him in harness in a field against him, and swore him upon his deliverance, that he should never wear harness against any Christian man.

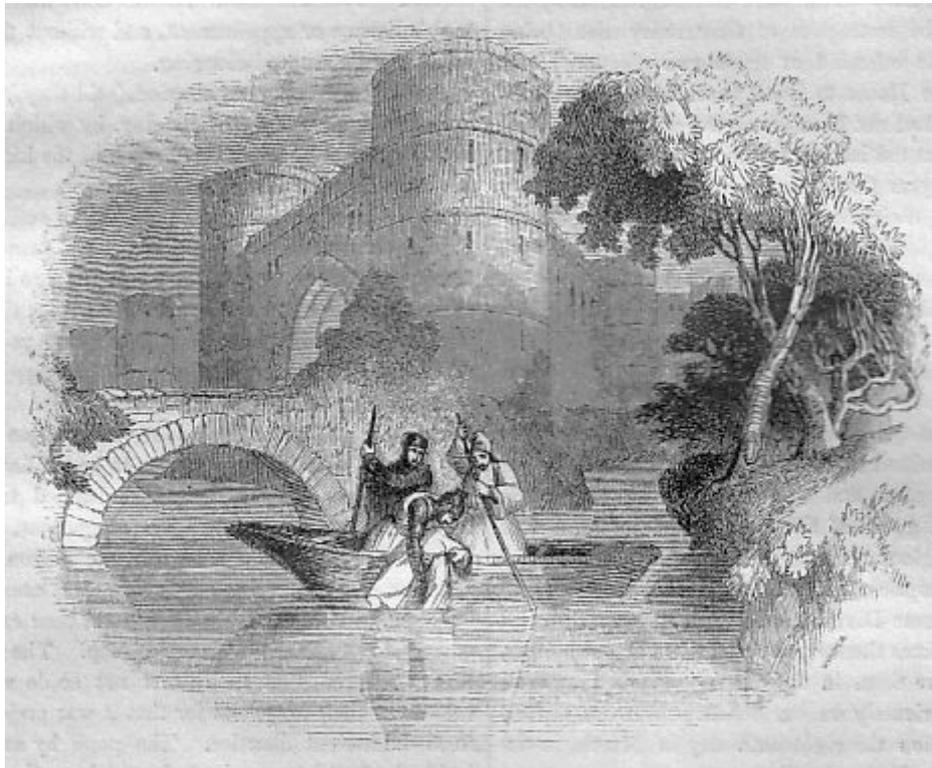
At this time divorce was made between King John and his wife, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, because they were in the third degree of kindred. And afterwards, by the counsel of the French king, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the earl of Angouleme; and then Arthur of Brittany did homage to King John for Brittany and others.

At this time fell strife between King John and Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, for divers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the sheriff of York in such affairs as he had to do for the king within his diocess; secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said sheriff; thirdly, because he would not sail with him into Normandy, to make the marriage between Lewis, the French king's son, and his niece, &c.

After this, A.D. 1202, Philip the French king, in a communication between King John and him, required that the said King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Pictavia which he had beyond the sea unto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would war against him; and so he did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following the French king, with the said Arthur, set

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

upon certain of his towns and castles in Normandy, and put him to much disquietness. But he (the Lord so providing, who is the giver of all victory) had such repulse at the Englishmen's hands, that they, pursuing the French men in their flight did so follow them to their hold, and so pressed upon them, that not only they took the said Arthur prisoner with many other of the Frenchmen, but also gave such an overthrow to the rest, that none was left to bear tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geoffrey, which was the elder son to John. For King Henry the Second (to make the matter more evident) had eight children: one William, which died in his childhood; the second, Henry, which died also, his father being yet alive; the third, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, which likewise deceased in his fathers days, leaving behind him two children, Arthur and Brecea; the fourth, Richard Cœur de Lion, king; the fifth, John, now reigning; and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur, being thus taken in war, was brought before the king at the castle of Falesie in Normandy; who, on being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French king, and to incline to his uncle, answered again stoutly and with great indignation; requiring the kingdom of England, with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawful heir of the crown. By reason whereof he (provoking the kings displeasure against him) was sent to the tower of Rouen, where at length, whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other privy hand, or by what chance else, it is not yet agreed upon in stories, he finished his life. By occasion whereof the foresaid King John was had after in great suspicion; whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.



**Prince Arthur's body taken from the river**

The year following, historiographers write, that King John, for lack of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French king.

After these losses, came other troubles upon him, with other as great or more great enemies. (that is, with the pope and his popelings, by occasion of choosing of the archbishop of Canterbury, as in this history foilowing by Christ's grace is to be declared.

The year of our Lord 1203, about the month of July, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, deceased: whose decease, after it was in Canterbury to the monks known, and afore his body was yet committed to the earth, the younger sort of the monks there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior Reginald, and without the king's licence, or yet knowledge, privily placed him in the metropolical seat, singing *Te Deum* at mid night. And because the king should not make their election void, they charged him by virtue of his oath to keep all secret by the way, and to show nothing what was done before he came to the pope; but he, contrary to his oath, so soon as he came into Flanders, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counsel: whereupon the monks, being not a little grieved with him, sent him privily unto the court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder monks sent to the king, desiring him of his gracious licence canonically to choose their archbishop The king most gently and favourably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would show favour to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich, as they did indeed, erecting him into that see of their high primacy. Moreover, because the authority of kings and princes was then but small in their own dominion, without the pope's consent and confirmation to the same, he sent also to Rome of his own charges to have the foresaid election ratified by the pope. The suffragans of Canterbury then (being not a little offended at these two elections) sent speedily to Rome to have them both stopped, for that they had not been of counsel with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

In this year the clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incensed the king's displeasure so sore against them, that he took order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty, as shall appear more manifestly by that which followeth.

"The king to all clerks and lay-people within the bishopric of Lincoln, greeting. Know ye that, from Monday next before the feast of Easter, we have committed to William of Cornhill. archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Joseline of Canvill, all the lands and goods of the abbots, and priors, and of all the religious persons, and also of all clerks, with in the bishopric of Lincoln, which will not from that time celebrate Divine service. And we command you, that from thence you assist them as our bailiffs, and believe them in those things which they shall tell you privately on our behalf. Witness ourself at Clarendon the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth year of our reign."

The like was written to all within the bishopric of Ely. So that hereby we see the dissoluteness and wilfulness of those popish churchmen, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little move, as that they thought upon nothing less: seeing the king was driven to use such austerity and sharpness against them. But to proceed in this trouble some election; you shall understand, that the next year after the suffragans of the province of Canterbury on the one side, and the monks of Canterbury on the other side, came afore the pope with their brawling matter. First the monks, presenting Reginald their superior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monks would presume to choose the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired by divers reasons the first election to be of none

effect. The pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the monks; charging the suffragans and bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monks alone. The monks of Canterbury, now having the whole election in their own hands, fell also at square among themselves, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort, which had chosen Reginald their superior, would that election to stand. The elder sort of the monks replied again, saying, that the first election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsel of other monks. Over and besides, it was done without the king's licence or appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

And as concerning our election, (said they,) it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our liege lord the king, and his council being willing to the same.

This allegation thus propounded, the suffragans' proctor, or man of law, stood forth, and proved the former election to be good, and this latter to be void and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (saith he) were just or unjust, ye ought first by the law to have condemned it afore ye should have presumed to the second; but this ye did not; therefore is this your later doing no election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many frivolous allegations, a long time, and could not agree upon one person, Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to choose Stephen Langton, then cardinal of St. Chrysogon, for their archbishop. The monks then answered, that they durst not so do without consent of their king, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient liberties. The pope by and by, (saith the text,) as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, said thus unto them: We will you to know, that we have full power and authority over the church of Canterbury; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of princes; therefore we command you, in pain of our great curse, that ye choose him only whom we have appointed.

The monks at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang *Te Deum*. Only Doctor Helias Brantfield withdrew himself from that election; whom the king had sent for the admission of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephen Langton, in the high church of Viterby, by the pope's hand, made archbishop of Canterbury.

This election thus past with the pope's grace and favour, the said Stephen had in England, amongst others that solicited his cause to the king, a brother named. Master Simon Langton, who in tract of time also became archbishop of York, as appeareth in the course of this story, in the reign of Henry the Third, A.D. 1228. In this behalf the king seemed tractable, so he might have his sovereignty entire. Against the which, because the said Stephen had vowed to oppose himself, and the king misliked such demeanour, he sent abroad his letters certificatory about the realm, therein giving intimation to all people of proud Stephen Langton's contumacy; the form of the said letters followeth.

"The king to all men, &c. Know ye that Master Simon Langton came to us at Winchester, on the Wednesday next before Mid-lent, and in presence of our bishops besought us that we would receive his brother Master Stephen Langton to be archbishop of Canterbury. And when we spake unto him touching the reservation and saving of our dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no such thing for us, unless

we would wholly rely ourselves upon his courtesy and gentleness. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf; and we charge you, that you believe those things which Reginald of Cornhill shall tell you on our part, touching the foresaid deed between us and the bishops above named, &c. Witness the king at Winchester the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth year of his reign."

Now, albeit the king took indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephen, yet from thenceforth (saith Matthew Paris) the pope could do no less but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his own dear darling, and a child of his own creation.

Furthermore, upon this occasion King John conceived an exceeding displeasure against the clergy and monks of Canterbury, as he had good cause, they doing so many evils against his princely prerogative. Without his licence they elected their archbishop, and put by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure for the wars; and to bring all to the devil, they made Stephen Langton their high metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous enemy to the whole realm, being always so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the land, to the number of threescore and four, for this their contumacy and contempt of his regal power.

The monks of Canterbury thus being expulsed, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the pope. First, for that so uncourteously he repulsed the election of the bishop of Norwich, and set up one Stephen Langton, a man unknown to him, and brought up amongst his enemies a long time in the kingdom of France, consecrating him archbishop of Canterbury, and letting the other go. Also (which is more) for that it redoundeth to the subversion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crown; for notwithstanding his consent past, (being before of the monks not made privy, which should have so done,) yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marvel (he saith) enough, that neither the said pope, nor the court of Rome, doth consider and revolve with themselves, how necessary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the see of Rome, and that they consider not what great profit and revenues have proceeded hitherto to them out of the realm of England; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other country besides on this side the Alps. He addeth moreover and saith, that for his liberties he will stand (if need be) unto death, neither can he be so removed and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he seeth to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying, that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so provide by the seas that there shall be no such gadding and coursing any moreover to Rome, suffering the riches of the land no more to be transported over, whereby he should be himself the less able to resist his enemies. And seeing he hath of his own at home archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, both of Englishmen and of others, sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge; therefore he shall not need greatly to seek for judgment and justice further abroad.

When these came to the pope's intelligence, he directeth letters again to the king in this form:

"Innocentius, pope, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ the king of England, health, and apostolical blessing. Whereas we have written

to you heretofore, exhorting and entreating you after a humble, diligent, and gentle sort, (concerning the church of Canterbury,) you have written to us again after a threatening sort and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we more and above that our right and duty required have borne and given to you, you again for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your devotion, as you say, hath been to us very necessary, yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such-like cases have not showed at any time the like honour to any prince as we have unto you, you again have so much derogated our honour, as no prince else hath presumed to do besides you alone; pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephen Langton, cardinal of St. Chrysogono, chosen by the monks of Canterbury; for that the said Stephen (as you say) hath been conversant and brought up amongst your enemies, and his person is to you unknown. But you know what is the proverb of Solomon, The net is cast, but in vain in the sight of the flying birds,' &c.

With much other matter in the same epistle; wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephen Langton his cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the liberal arts, and in divinity, insomuch that he was prebendated at Paris; also come of an honest stock, and an Englishman born, and not unknown to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreover in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had specified to him another cause; which was, for that the monks of Canterbury, which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreover, in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king entreated in the king's behalf, that forsomuch as the pope's letters, wherein the king was commanded to send his proctors to Rome for the same matter, came not to the king's hand, neither did the monks direct any such letters or message to the king to have his consent; therefore the pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the king's honour, that the monks of Canterbury should not proceed without the king's assent therein. And for somuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, that he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the see apostolic, who had the fulness of power over the church of Canterbury, to wait for princes' consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore, in knitting up his letter, he thus concludeth in these words:

"And therefore, seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tarry for the king's favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the canonical ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct us; that is, (all impediments and delays set aside,) so to provide that the church of Canterbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephen Langton hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meet for the same; therefore we will for no man's pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of conscience, defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore, my well-beloved son, seeing we have had respect to your honour above that our right and duty required, study to honour us so much as your duty requireth again, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at God's hand and ours; lest that, by doing the

contrary, you bring yourself into such a peck of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid yourself of again. For this know for a certain, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shall have the better unto whom every knee (of heavenly, earthly, and infernal creatures) doth bow, whose turn I serve in earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not yourself to obey their persuasions, which always desire your unquietness, whereby they may fish the better in the water when it is troubled; but commit yourself to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turn to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the church, in whose quarrel that blessed martyr and glorious bishop Thomas hath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your father and your brother, of famous memory, then kings of England, did give over those three wicked customs into the hands of the legates of the see apostolic. But if you yield yourself humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward. Given at Lateran the tenth year of our popedom."

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the glorious letter of the proud pope; I beseech thee mark it well. Now to the story.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment sent into England unto certain bishops there, requiring them by authority apostolical, that if the said king would not receive the said prior of Canterbury, and his monks, then they should interdict him throughout all his realm. For the executing whereof four bishops were appointed by the usurped power of the pope's bulls: namely, William, bishop of London, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Walter, bishop of Winchester, and Giles, bishop of Hereford. Which said four bishops went unto the king, and showed their commission from the pope, as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, &c. But the said king refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his Grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the said general interdiction through out all England, so that the church doors were shut up with keys, and other fastenings, and with walls, &c.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and took all the possessions of the four bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the livings of the clergy through out the realm, and that they should enjoy no part thereof. Which being done, the bishops, seeing the same, cursed all them that kept or should meddle with church goods against the will of them that owed them; and understanding, for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went over sea, to the bishop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened; who, hearing the same, willed them again to return to Canterbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certain persons thither in his stead, that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned again to England, to Canterbury; and the tidings came shortly to the king, that they were come thither again. And because he might not himself travel to them, he sent thither bishops, earls, and abbots to entreat them, that the archbishop whom he had chosen might be admitted; promising the prior and all the monks of Canterbury in his behalf, that he should never take any thing of the church goods against the will of them that owe them: but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such goods, and that the church should have all her franchises in as ample manner as in St. Edward's time the Confessor it had.



**Canterbury**

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was engrossed in a pair of indentures; and the foresaid four bishops to the one part thereof set their seals; and the other part the said bishops, earls, and abbots carried to show the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he liked it well, saving he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the four bishops again that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop by the four bishops, that he should come to Canterbury to speak with him; and, for his safe conduct to come and go again at his will, he sent his justices as pledges, Gilbert Peiteuin, Wilham de la Bereuar, and John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, anti the king, hearing thereof, came to Chilham; from whence he sent his treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, to him, to have him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid; who, denying to alter any word of the same, moved the king in such sort, that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England at the king's commandment, that all those that had any church livings, and went over sea, should come again into England by a certain day, or else lose their livings for evermore. And further, in that proclamation, he charged all sheriffs within the realm to inquire if any bishops, abbots, priors, or any other churchman, from that day forward, received any commandment that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body, and bring it

before him; and also that they should take into their hands, for the king's use, all the church lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop Stephen, or by the priors of Canterbury, from the time of the election of the archbishop; and further charged that all the woods that were the archbishop's should be cut down and sold.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legates, the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant, to warn him in the pope's name that he should cease his doings to the holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the priors and the monks of Canterbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods again that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name; and, to do this, the pope took them his letters in bulls patent. These two legates, coming into England, resorted to the king to Northampton, where he held his parliament; and, saluting him, said they came from the pope of Rome, to reform the peace of holy church. And, first, said they, we admonish you in the pope's behalf, that ye make full restitution of the goods and of the lands that ye have ravished holy church of; and that ye receive Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, into his dignity, and the prior of Canterbury and his monks; and that ye yield again unto the archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding. And, sir, yet moreover, that ye shall make such restitution to them, as the church shall think sufficient.

Then answered the king, As touching the prior and his monks of Canterbury, all that ye have said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would ordain; but as touching the archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the archbishop leave his bishopric; and if the pope then shall entreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him some other bishopric in England; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.

Then said Pandulph unto the king, Holy church was wont never to degrade archbishop without cause reasonable; but ever she was wont to correct princes that were disobedient to her.

What! How now, (quoth the king,) threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but ye have now openly told us as it standeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the pope's will, and thus it standeth: He hath wholly interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you have done unto the holy church and unto the clergy. And forso much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you shall understand, that from this time forward the sentences upon you given have force and strength. And all those that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be earls, barons, or knights, (or any other whatso ever they be,) we assoil them safely from their sins unto this day; and from this time forward (of what condition soever they be) we accurse them openly, and specially by this our sentence, that do commune with you. And we assoil moreover earls, barons, knights, and all other manner of men, of their homages, services, and fealties that they should do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich; and the same power we give against Scotland unto the bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury; and in Wales we give the same power to the bishops of St. David, and of Landaff, and of St. Asse.

Also, sir king, (quoth Pandulph,) all the kings, princes, and the great dukes christened have laboured to the pope to have licence to cross themselves, and to war against thee, as upon God's enemy, and win thy land, and to make king whom it

pleaseth the pope. And we here now assoil all those of their sins that will rise against thee here in thine own land.

Then the king, hearing this, answered, What shame may ye do more to me than this?

Pandulph again: We say to you in *verbo Dei*, that neither you, nor any heir that you have, after this day shall be crowned. So the king said, By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such news, I should have made you tarry out these twelve months.

Then answered Pandulph, Full well we thought, at our first coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy church, and have fulfilled the pope's commandment, which we have showed and pronounced to you, as we were charged there with. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well say, that ye would have taken a whole year's respite without the pope's leave; but for to suffer what death ye can ordain, we shall not spare to tell you all the pope's message and will that he gave us in charge.

In another chronicle I find the words between the king and Pandulph something otherwise described; as though the king should first threaten him with hanging, if he had foreknown of his coming. To whom Pandulph again should answer, that he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the church's right. Whereupon the king, being mightily incensed, departed. The king, the same time being at Northampton, willed the sheriffs and bailiffs to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had deserved should be put to death, to the intent, as some think, to make Pandulph afraid. Among whom was a certain clerk, who, for counterfeiting the king's coin, was also condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and, moreover, by the king was commanded (thereby to anger Pandulph the more, as may be thought) to be hanged up highest above the rest. Pandulph hearing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat be gan to fear lest he should be hanged himself, yet, with such courage as he had, he went to the church to fetch out book, bell, and candle, charging that no man, under pain of accursing, should lay hands upon the clerk. Upon this the king and the cardinal departed in no little anger. And Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had been done.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbots, and clerks of England to come and repair unto Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This council began the first day of October. In the which council it was decreed by the pope and his assembly, that John, king of England, should be accursed, with all such as held with him, every day so long as that council endured. Albeit this was not yet granted, that the people should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said Pope Innocent, seeing that King John by no means would stoop under his subjection, nor under the rule of his popish see, he sent unto the French king, upon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, that he should take with him all the power he might, and so to invade the realm of England to destroy King John.

This occasion given, Pope Innocent yet once again commanded, in pain of his great curse, that no man should obey King John, neither yet keep company with him: he forbade all persons to eat and drink with him, to talk with him, to commune or counsel with him; yea, his own familiar household to do him any kind of service,

either at bed or at board, in church, hall, or stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them which after such sort fled from him, (by the ordinance of God,) of divers and sundry diseases the same year died. And between both nations (English and French) fell that year great amity; but secret, subtle, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content only with this; but, moreover, the said Pope Innocent gave sentence definitive, by counsel of his cardinals, that King John should be put from his seat regal and deposed, and another put in his room. And, to the speedy execution thereof, he appointed the French king, Philip, promising to give him full remission of all his sins, and the clear possession of all the realm of England to him and his heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him.

The next year the French king began his attempt, in hope of the crown of England; being well manned with bishops, monks, prelates, and priests, and their servants to maintain the same; bragging of the letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God! the English navy took three hundred of the French king's ships well loaden with wheat, wine, meal, flesh, armour, and such other like, meet for the war; and one hundred they burnt within the haven, taking the spoils with them. In the mean time, the priests within England had provided them a certain false counterfeit prophet, called Peter Wakefield of Poiz; who was an idle gadder about, and a prattling merchant. This Peter they made to prophesy lies, rumouring his prophecies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the commons of the realm, thnt Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a child between the priests' hands, once at York, another time at Pomfret; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying, Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt also in spirit, (they said,) he beheld the joys of heaven, and sorrows of hell. For scant were there three (saith the chronicle) among a thousand that lived Christianly. This counterfeit soothsayer prophesied of King John, that he should reign no longer than the Ascension day, within the year of our Lord 1213, which was the fourteenth from his coronation; and this (he said) he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether he should be slain, or expelled, or should of himself give over the crown? He answered, that he could not tell. But of this he was sure, (he said,) that neither he, nor any of his stock or lineage, should reign, that day once finished. The king, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoff thereof. Tush, (saith he,) it is but an idiot knave, and such a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the king's displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gat him abroad, and prated thereof at large, (as he was a very idle vagabond,) and used to tattle and talk more than enough; so that they which loved the king caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into prison, the king not knowing thereof.

Anon after, the fame of this fantastical prophet went all the realm over, and his name was known everywhere, (as foolishness is much regarded of people where wisdom is not in place,) specially because he was then imprisoned for the matter, the rumour was the larger, their wonderings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busy talks and other idle occupyings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old gossips' tales went abroad, new tales were invented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew upon lies; so that every day new slanders were raised on the king, and not one of them true; rumours arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies rejoiced, and treasons by the priests were maintained; and what likewise was surmised, or other subtlety practised, all was then fathered upon this

foolish prophet: as, Thus saith Peter Wakefield; Thus hath he prophesied, and, This shall come to pass; yea, many times when he thought nothing less. When the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied of before, King John commanded his regal tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his noble council and men of honour, in the greatest solemnity that ever he did afore. solacing himself with musical instruments and songs, most in sight amongst his trusty friends, When that day was past in all prosperity and mirth, his enemies, being confounded, turned all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophecy good, and said, He is no longer king, for the pope reigneth, and not he; yet reigned he still, and his son after him, to prove that prophet a liar, Then was the king by his council persuaded that this false prophet had troubled all the realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raised the commons against him. For his words went over the sea by the help of his prelates, and came to the French king's ear, and gave unto him a great encouragement to invade the land; he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceived, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such dark, drowsy dreams of hypocrites. The king therefore commanded that he should be drawn and hanged like a traitor.

After that the popish prelates, monks, canons, priests, &c. saw this their crafty juggling by their feigned prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harm thereby; to help the matter more forward, they began to travail and practise with Pope Innocent of the one side, and also with the French king on the other side, besides subtle treasons which they wrought within the realm, and by their confessions in the ear, whereby they both blinded the nobility and commons. The king thus compassed about on every side with enemies, and fearing the sequel thereof, knowing the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the pope, (in all that ever he might,) as also by Philip the French king by his procurement; and moreover his own people, especially his lords and barons, being rebelliously incited against him; as by the pope's curses and interdictions against such as took his part, and by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebel against him, commanding them to detain from him such homage, service, duties, debts, and all other allegiance that godly subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their liege lord and prince: all which things considered, the king, I say, in the thirteenth year of his reign, for that the French king began to make sharp invasion upon him within his own realm, sent speedy ambassadors to the pope (as to the fountain of all this his mischief) to work and entreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to do whatsoever the pope should will him and command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church, and to make due satisfaction therefore unto all men that could complain.

Then sent the pope again into England his legate Pandulph with other ambassadors; the king also at Canterbury (by letters, as it should seem, certified from his own ambassadors) waited their coming. Where, the thirteenth day of May, the king received them, making unto them an oath, that of and for all things wherein he stood accused he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Unto whom also all the lords and barons of England (so many as there were with the king attending the legate's coming) sware in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in every thing the oath which he had taken, then they would cause him to bold and confirm the same, whether he would or not, (or by strength,) to use the author's words.

Then submitted the king himself unto the court of Rome, and to the pope, and, resigning, gave up his dominions and realms of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for evermore that should come of him, with this condition, that the king

and his heirs should take again these two dominions of the pope to farm, paying yearly therefore to the court of Rome one thousand marks of silver. Then took the king the crown from his head, kneeling upon his knees, in the presence of all his lords and barons of England, to Pandulph, the pope's chief legate, saying in this wise: Here I resign up the crown of the realm of England to the pope's hands, Innocent the Third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then took Pandulph the crown of King John, and kept it five days, as a possession and seizin-taking of these two realms of England and Ireland; confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatory as followeth.

"To all Christian people throughout the world dwelling, John, by the grace of God king of England, greeting. To your university known be it. that forso much as we have grieved and offended God and our mother church of Rome, and forso much as we have need of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ; and we may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make, to God and to holy church, (but if it were our own body,) as with our realms of England and of Ireland; then by the grace of the Holy Ghost we desire to meek us for the love of him, that meeked him to the death upon the cross. And through counsel of the nobles, earls, and barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the Third, and to all the popes that come after him, all the realm, patronages of churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and help and health of our kings' souls, and of all Christian souls. So that from this time afterward we will receive and hold of our mother church of Rome as in farm, doing fealty to our holy father the pope, Innocent the Third, and to all the popes that come after him, in the manner above said. And in the presence of the wise man Pandulph, the pope's sooth-deacon, we make liege homage, as if it were in the pope's presence, and we before him were, and as if he himself should have done all manner of things above said; and thereto we bind us, and all that come after us, and our heirs for evermore, without any gainsaying, to the pope, and eke the ward of the church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to last, we will, confirm, and ordain, that he be our special renter of the foresaid realms (saving St. Peter pence) in all things. To the mother church of Rome paying by the year one thousand marks of silver, at two times of the year, for all manner of customs that we should do for the said realms; that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter; that is, for England seven hundred marks, and three hundred marks for Ireland; saving to us and to our heirs our justices and our other franchises. And all these things that have been said before, we will that they be firm and stable without end; and to that obligation we, and all our successors, and our heirs in this manner will be bound, that if we or any of our heirs through any presumption fail in any point again of these things above said, (and after being warned, he will not right amend him,) he shall then lose the foresaid realms for evermore, and this charter of obligation and our warrant for evermore be firm and stable without gainsaying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God, and to the mother church of Rome, and to thee, Innocent the Third, and to all that come after thee; and the realms of England and of Ireland we shall maintain truly in all manner of points, against all manner of men, by our power, through God's help."

Upon this obligation the king was discharged, the second day of July. from that tyrannical interdiction, under which he continued six years and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to give over both his crown and sceptre to that antichrist of Rome for the space of five days, and, as his client, vassal, feudary, and tenant, to receive it again of

him at the hands of another cardinal: being bound obligatory, both for himself and for his successors, to pay yearly (for acknowledgment thereof) one thousand marks for England and Ireland. Then came they thither from all parts of the realm so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind idiots, and there they were absolved, every one of his own bishop, except the spiritual fathers and ecclesiastical soldiers, for they were compelled to seek to Rome, as captives reserved to the pope's own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the king easily granted, that abbots, deans, and curates should be elected freely everywhere, so that the laws of the realm were truly observed. But against that were the bishops, alleging their canonical decrees and rules synodal, determining the king therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his consent after they had once elected. But among this shaven rabble some there were which consented not to this wicked error; a sort also there were of the prelates at that time which were not pleased that the land's interdiction should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergy in all quarters of the realm had demanded, without reason; yea, what every saucy Sir John for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their hedges, the stealing of their apples, and their other occasional damages, which grew to an incredible sum, and impossible to be answered, Such was the outrageous cruel noise of that mischievous progeny of antichrist against their natural king.

Notwithstanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the clergy against their prince, yet did the pope's legate and cardinal Nicolaus Tusculanus much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him, that he was exceeding partial, and regarded not their matters ecclesiastical, as he should have done. For, leaving the account of their restitutions, he went with the king's officers, as the king's pleasure was, to the cathedral minsters, abbeys, priories, deaneries, and great churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent always he appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But upon him only whom the king nominated he compelled most commonly the election to pass, which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this, therefore, they raised a new conspiracy against the king's person by help of their bishops, seditious prelates, and such noblemen as they had drawn to their parties. We beheld (saith Hoveden) about the same time many noble houses and assemblies divided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stood upon the king's part, but the younger sort contrary. And some there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other sundry respects, forsook the king again. Yea, the fame went that time, saith he, that they were confederated with Alexander, the Scottish king, and Leolin, the prince of Wales, to work him an utter mischief. The archbishop called a council at Oxford; whereat some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof; the other sort, having very obstinate hearts, reviled the king most spitefully behind his back, and said that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no governor of theirs. Their outrageous and frantic clamours so much prevailed in those days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perilous commotion.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth Paulus Æmilius, and other histories, Pope Innocent the Third held a general synod at Rome, called the Council Lateran. The chief causes of that council were these: In the days of this Innocent, heresy (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sin) began to rise up very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad; by reason whereof many princes were excommunicated; as Otho, the emperor, John, the king of England, Peter, king of Arragon, Raymond, the earl of Tholouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is aforesaid, So that it could be no otherwise, saith Hoveden, but with the sharp axe of

the gospel (so called he the pope's excommunications) they ought of necessity to have been cut off from the church. Therefore was this council provided, proclaimed, and prelates from all nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his legates and cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the church universally reformed, and the Holy Land from the Turks' hands recovered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequel thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all princes, and to make himself rich and wealthy. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by public decree, that the pope should have from thenceforth the correction of all Christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also crowned of him. He ordained moreover, that whosoever he were that should speak evil of the pope, he should be punished in hell with eternal damnation. He provided confession to help these matters; he allowed their bread a pix to cover him, and a bell when he goeth abroad; and made the mass equal with Christ's gospel.

In this council was first invented and brought in transubstantiation, of which Johannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth book, writing in these words: "The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation. But the church did choose this sense, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth," &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of Innocentius the Third.

Moreover, in the said council was established and ratified the wretched and impious act compelling priests to abjure lawful matrimony. Whereupon these metres or verses were made the same time against him, which here follow under-written.

Nocent, not innocent, he is that seeketh to deface  
 By word the thing that he by deed hath taught men to embrace;  
 Which being now a bishop old, doth study to destroy  
 The thing which he a young man once did covet to enjoy.  
 Priest Zachary beth had a wife, and had a child also,  
 By means of whom there did to him great praise and honour grow;  
 For he did baptize Him which was the Saviour of mankind:  
 Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his mind.  
 Into the higher heavens good Paul was lifted from below,  
 And many secret, hidden things be leaned there to know:  
 Returned at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,  
 He said, Let each man have his own and only wedded wife.  
 For this and other documents of them that learned be.  
 Much better and more comely eke it seemeth unto me.  
 That each should have his own alone, and not his neighbours wife,  
 Lest with his neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathful strife.  
 Thy neighbours' daughters, or their wives, or nieces to defile,  
 Unlawful is, therefore beware do not thyself beguile.  
 Have thou thine own true wedded wife, delight in her alway,  
 With safer mind that thou mayst look to see the later day.

Now let us return to King John again, and mark how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his Majesty's will. In the foresaid Council of Lateran, and the same year, was Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those bishops, prelates, priests, barons, and commons which had been of counsel with him in the former

rebellion. And when the said archbishop had made instant suit of him to be absolved, anon he made him this answer with great indignation: Brother mine, I swear by St. Peter thou shalt not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of absolution; for why? thou hast not only done harm to the king of England. but also thou hast in a great many of things injured the Church of Rome here: and therefore thou shalt tarry my leisure. The archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the church, and commanded to say no mass at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiastical office; because he would not at time convenient execute the pope's curse upon the rebellious barons. With them the said pope had been so deeply offended and angered a little before, that the great charter of the liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroyed, by sentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon cursed all the other rebels, with book, bell, and candle. The greater captains of them (with the citizens of London) for that assay were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

In the same year, 1215, were those great men also summoned to appear at Rome in that general synod, which would not consent to their king's expulsion, nor yet tyrannical deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the archbishop of Canterbury and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same; yet could they not of their conscience do it, because he had humbled himself, and also granted to keep peace with all men. Thus was the whole realm miserably then divided into two factions through malice of the clergy: so strifes increased in the land everywhere. Yet were there of the lords and gentlemen a great number at that time that followed the king and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side, not a little suspecting the state that they were in, fled speedily to the French king Philip; desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest son Louis, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tarriance. They besought him, moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly, that they might (they said) be delivered of such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked papists gave their Christian governor, appointed to them of God; whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conscience sake, Rom. xiii. And as certain of the lords and barons were busy to choose the said Louis for their king, the pope sent thither one Gualo, the cardinal of St. Martin, to stay those rash and cruel attempts; charging the French king, upon his allegiance, that he with all power possible should favour, maintain, and defend King John of England, his feudary or tenant. The French king thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept, The realm of England, said he. was never yet any part of St. Peter's patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his son by treason of the barons.

No prince or potentate (said Philip the French king) may pledge or give away his kingdom, which is, beside the realm, the government of his whole commonwealth, without the lawful consent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the pope shall introduce or set up such a precedent in Christianity, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christian kings and their kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in these days begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King John of England: though he be my utter adversary, yet I much lament that he hath so endamaged his realm, and hath brought that noble ground and queen of provinces under miserable tribute. The chief lords and men of his nobility standing by when he uttered these words, being as it were in a fury, cried with one voice, By the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saved, we

will stick in this article to the losing of our heads. Let the king of England do therein what him liketh; no king may put his land under tribute, and so make his nobility captive servants. With that came in Louis the king's eldest son, and said unto them all there present, I beseech you, let not my purposed journey; the barons of England have elected me for their lord and king, and I will not surely lose my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea, so long as heart shall stir within my breast: and I doubt not but I shall well obtain it, for I have friends among them. His father the king stood still, as if he had been in a dump, and answered never a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter, Belike he mistrusted something therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the priests, that they might live licentiously in all wealth and freedom from the king's yoke.

About the same time were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the bishops, priests, and monks throughout all the realm, that the king knew not where to become or find trusty friends: he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great army of men, looking every day when his barons and their confederates would cruelly set upon him. At last he came to Dover. and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither resorted to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on the one side, and from Guienne, Gascony, and Poitiers, on the other side, and from other countries besides, a wonderful number of men. The report then went, that the pope had written unto those countries mightily to assist him for divers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himself and his dominions unto his protection: another was, because he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the cross, to win again Jerusalem: the third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three months the king remained in the Isle of Wight abroad in the air, to quiet himself for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitary life among rivers and watermen; whereas he rather counted to die than to live, being so traitorously handled of his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be justly avenged of them. Upon the purification day of our Lady therefore he took upon him the cross or voyage against the Turks, for recovery of Jerusalem, moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other devotion else. And thus he said to his familiar servants: Since I submitted myself and my lands, England and Ireland, to the Church of Rome, (sorrow come to it,) never thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

In the next year after, 1216, was Simon Langton chosen archbishop of York; but that election soon after was dissolved; for information was given to the pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, which had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. And the pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did find him at that time so stubborn; wherefore he placed in his brother's place Walter Gray, the bishop of Winchester.

In the same year, Gualo, the pope's legate, renewed his great curse upon Louis, the French king's son, for usurping upon King John; likewise upon Simon Langton, and Gervais Hobruge, for provoking him to the same, and that with a wonderful solemnity; for in that doing he made all the bells to be rung, the candles to be light, the doors to be opened and the book of excommunications or interdictions publicly to be read, committing them wholly to the devil for their contumacy and contempt. He also commanded the bishops and curates to publish it abroad over all the whole realm, to

the terror of all his subjects. The said Simon and Gervais laughed him to scorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, saying that, for the just title of Louis, they had appealed to the general council at Rome.

The magistrates of London, and citizens of the same, did likewise despise and disdainfully mock all that the pope had there commanded and done. And, in spite both of him and his legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church, showing themselves thereby as open contemners both of him and his laws. Louis at London, taking himself for king, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellor, and Gervais Hoberge for his chief preacher, by whose daily preachings (as well the barons as the citizens themselves being excommunicated) he caused all the church doors to be opened, and the service to be sung; and the said Ludovike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulph, then cardinal, collecting the Peter pence, an old pillage of the pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in those the affairs of holy church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignity and expenses.

It chanced about this time, that the viscount of Melun, a very noble man of the realm of France, which came thither with the Prince Louis, fell deadly sick at London, and also moved in conscience to call certain of the English barons unto him, such as were there appointed to the custody of that city, said unto them, "I lament your sorrowful case, and pity with my heart the destruction that is coming towards you and your country." The dangerous snares which are prepared for your utter confusion are hidden from you; you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Louis hath sworn a great oath, and sixteen of his earls and noblemen are of counsel with him, that if he obtain the crown of England, he will banish all them from service, and deprive them of lands and goods, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traitors to his noble person. And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of them which was sworn to the same. I have great conscience thereof, and therefore I give you this warning. I pity poor England, which hath been so noble a region, that now it is come to so extreme misery. And when he with tears had lamented it a space, he returned again unto them, and said. My friends, I counsel you earnestly to look to yourselves, and to provide the remedy in time, lest it come upon you unawares. Your king for a season hath kept you under; but if Louis prevail, he will put you from all: of two extreme evils choose the more easy, and keep that secret which I have told you of good will. With that he gave over and departed this life.

When this was once noised among the barons, they were in great heaviness; for they saw themselves entrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that fear which then came upon the barons. They were extremely hated of the pope and his legates, and every week came upon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, corn and cattle, wives and children; so that some of them were driven to such need, that they were enforced to seek preys and booties for sustaining their miserable lives. For look whatsoever Prince Louis obtained by his wars, either territories or castles, he gave them all to his Frenchmen, in spite of their heads, and said that they were but traitors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worst of all. At the last, they perceiving that they in seeking to avoid one mischief were ready to fall into another much worse, they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselves wholly with all humility unto the mercy of

their late sovereign and natural liege lord King John. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their lives for the treason before committed, many of the friends of them which were of most credit with him made suit for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great suit made for them. I here omit his recovery of Rochester castle and city, with many other dangerous adventures against the foresaid Louis, both at London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I return to my matter again.

Into Suffolk and Norfolk he consequently journeyed, with a very strong army of men, and there with great mischief he afflicted them, because they had given place and were sworn to his enemies. After that, he destroyed the abbeys of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

In this year, A.D. 1216, about the seventeenth day of July, died Pope Innocent the Third, and was buried, in a city called Perugia in Italy; whither he had travelled to make a peace between the Genoese and Pisans, for his own commodity and advantage. After him anon succeeded one Centius, otherwise called Honorius III., a man of very great age; yet lived he in the papacy ten years and a half, and more. When this was once known in England, greatly rejoiced all they which were King John's enemies, specially the priests; yet had they small cause, as will appear hereafter. They noised it all the realm over, that this new pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other pope did; thinking thereby that he would have done all things to their commodity; but they found it otherwise. For he made all them which were excommunicate to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored again to their former livings.

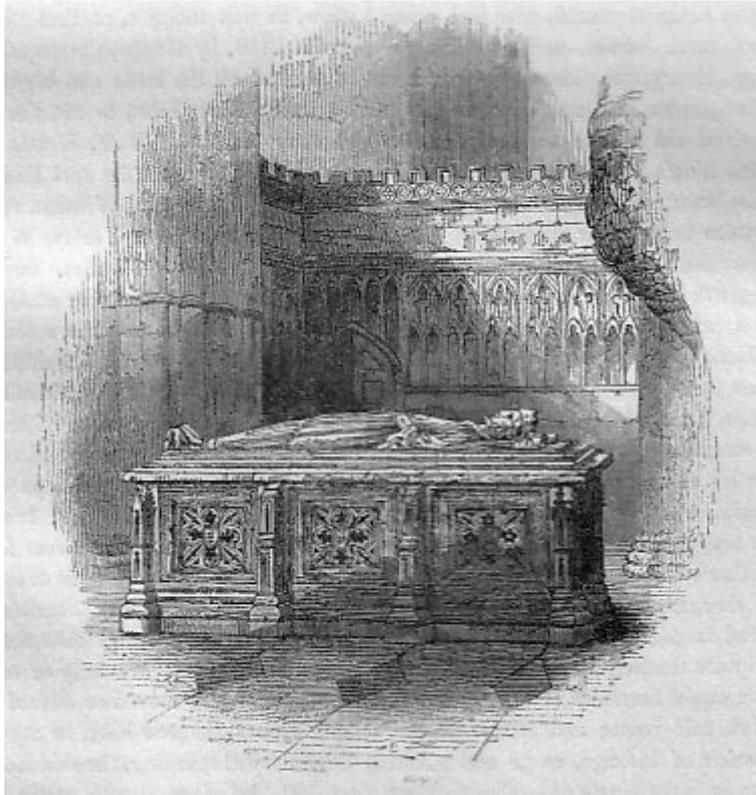
And in the selfsame year, as King John was come to Swinstead abbey, net far from Lincoln, he rested there two days; where, as most writers testify, he was most traitorously poisoned by a monk of that abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians, or St. Bernard's brethren, called Simon of Swinstead. As concerning the noble personage of this prince, this testimony giveth Roger Heveden therein: "Doubtless," saith he, "King John was a mighty prince, but not so fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to Marius the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both ways; bountiful in mercy; in wars sometimes he won, sometimes again he lost. He was also very bounteous and liberal unto strangers, but of his own people (for their daily treasons' sake) he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to foreigners than to them."

Among other divers and sundry conditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended, but commended rather; for that, being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the popish mass, as in certain chronicles written of him may be collected; for this I find testified of him by Matthew Paris, that the king upon a time in his hunting, coming where a very fat stag was cut lip and opened. (or how the hunters term it I cannot tell.) the king beholding the fatness and the liking of the stag. "See," saith he. "how easily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that he never heard any mass."

It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*, and in the seventh book, that the foresaid monk Simon, being much offended with certain talk that the king had at his table, concerning Louis, the French king's son, (which then had entered and usurped upon him,) did cast in his wicked heart how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And first of all he counselled with his abbot, showing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He

alleged for himself the prophecy of Caiaphas, John xi., saying, It is better that one man die, than all the people should perish. "I am well contented," saith he, "to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may utterly destroy this tyrant." With that the abbot did weep for gladness, and much commended his fervent zeal, as he took it. The monk then being absolved of his abbot for doing this act, (aforehand) went secretly into a garden upon the back side. and finding there a most venomous toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he said thus to the king: "If it shall like your princely majesty, here is such a cup of wine as ye never drank a better before in all your lifetime; I trust this wassail shall make all England glad:" and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monk anon after went to the farmary, and there died, (his entrails gushing out of his body,) and had continually from thenceforth three monks to sing mass for his soul, confirmed by their general chapter. What became after that of King John, ye shall know right well in the process following. I would ye did mark well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how virtuously they obey their king, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions, and masses.

The king within a short space after, feeling great grief in his body, asked for Simon the monk; and answer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy upon me (said he); I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he meant now I perceive those of his own generation. With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Sleaford castle, and from thence to Newark on Trent, and there within less than three days he died. Upon his death-bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them with a pitiful heart that had done him injury; desiring that his elder son Henry might be admonished by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favourable, gentle, and loving to his natural people. When his body was embalmed and spiced, as the manner is of kings, his bowels or entrails were buried at Croxton abbey, which was of the sect of Premonstratenses, or canons of St. Norbert. His hired soldiers, both Englishmen and strangers, were still about him, and followed his corpse triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the cathedral church of Worcester, and there honourably was he buried by Silvester the bishop, betwixt St. Oswald and St. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. He died in the year of our Lord 1216, the nineteenth day of October, after he had reigned in such calamity, by the subtle conveyance of his clergy, eighteen years, and six months, and odd days. Now so soon as King John was dead and buried, (as is said before,) the princes, lords, and barons, so many as were of his part, (as well of strangers as of them that were born here,) by counsel of the legate Gualo, gathered themselves together, and all with one consent proclaimed Henry his son for their king. Of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.



**The tomb of King John**

Many opinions are among the chroniclers of the death of King John. Some of them do write that he died of sorrow and heaviness of heart, as Polydore; some, of surfeiting in the night, as Hadulphus Niger; some, of a bloody flux, as Roger Hoveden; some, of a burning ague; some, of a cold sweat; some, of eating apples; some, of eating pears; some, of plums, &c.

Thus you see what variety is among the writers concerning the death of this King John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monk above named, yet Matthew Paris, something differing from the others, writeth thus concerning his death, that he going from Lynn to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the loss of his carriage and of his treasures upon the washes, was plunged into great heaviness of mind; insomuch that he fell thereby into a fervent fever, being at the abbey of Swinstead. This ague he also increased through evil surfeiting and naughty diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new ciser, or, as we call it, cider. Thus, being sick, he was carried to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence to the castle of Newark: where, calling for Henry his son, he gave to him the succession of his crown and kingdom, writing to all his lords and nobles to receive him for their king; and shortly after, upon St. Lucy's even, departed this life, being buried at Worcester.

In Gisburn I find otherwise, who, dissenting from others, saith that he was poisoned with a dish of pears, which the monk had prepared for the king therewith to poison him. He asking the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in; according to the king's bidding, did so. At the bringing in whereof (saith the story) the precious stones about the king began to sweat; insomuch that the king, misdoubting some poison, demanded of the monk what he had brought. He said, of his fruit, and that very good, the best that ever he did taste. "Eat," said the king. And he took one of the pears which he did know, and did eat. Also being bid to take another,

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he did eat likewise savourily, and so likewise the third. Then the king, refraining no longer, took one of the poisoned pears, and was therewith poisoned, as is beforesaid.

In the reign of this King Joim, the citizens of London first obtained of the king to choose yearly a mayor. In whose time also the bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of wood.

## 49. King Henry III.



AFTER this King John had reigned, as some say, seventeen years, or, as some say, though falsely, nineteen years, he was, as is above said, poisoned and died. This king left behind him four sons and three daughters: first, Henry; the second, Richard, and he was earl of Cornwall: the third, William of Valentia; the fourth, Guido Disenaie: he had also another son, who afterward was made bishop. Of his daughters, the first was Isabella, married afterward to Frederic the emperor: the second, named Eleanor, married to William, earl marshal; the third to Mountfort, the earl of Leicester. &c. Another story saith that he had but two daughters, Isabella, and Eleanor, or, as another calleth her, Joan, which was after queen of Scotland.

This King John being deceased, who had many enemies, both of earls, barons, and especially of the popish clergy, Henry, the eldest son, was then of the age of nine years; at what time the most of the lords of England did adhere to Louis, or Ludovic, the French king's son, whom they had sent for before, in displeasure of King John, to be their king, and had sworn to him their allegiance. Then William, earl marshal, a nobleman, and of great authority, and a grave and sound counsellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers earls and barons; and taking this Henry the young prince, son of King John, setteth him before them, using these words: "Behold, saith he, "right honourable and well-beloved, although we have persecuted the father of this young prince for his evil demeanour, and worthily; yet this young child, whom here ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his father's doings; wherefore, inasmuch as every man is charged only with the burden of his own works and transgressions, neither shall the child, as the Scripture teacheth us, bear the iniquity of his father; we ought therefore of duty and conscience to pardon this young and tender prince, and take compassion of his age, as ye see. And now forsomuch as he is the king's natural and eldest son, and must be our sovereign and king, and successor of this kingdom; come and let us appoint him our king and governor: and let us remove from us this Louis the French king's son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation; and the yoke of our servitude let us cast off from our shoulders." To these words spake and answered the earl of Gloucester: "And by what reason or right," said he, "can we so do, seeing we have called him hither, and have sworn to him our fealty?"

Whereunto the earl marshal inferred again, and said, "Good right and reason we have, and ought of duty to do no less; for that he, contrary to our mind and calling, hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our chieftain and governor; but he eftsoons, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised us; and if we shall so suffer him, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation; and so shall we remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world."

At these words all they, as inspired from above, cried all together with one voice, "Be it so, he shall be our king." And so the day was appointed for his

coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This coronation was kept, not at Westminster, forasmuch as Westminster the same time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Gloucester, the safest place, as was thought, at that time in the realm, A.D. 1216, by Swalo, the pope's legate, through counsel of all the lords and barons that held with his father King John, to wit, the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Bath, bishop of Chester, and bishop of Worcester, the earl Raduiph of Chester, William, earl marshal, William, earl of Pembroke, William Tren, earl of Ferers, William de Brewer, Serle or Samarike de Mal, baron. These were at the crowning of the king at Gloucester. Many other lords and barons there were, which as yet held with Louis the French king's son, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediately after the crowning of this king he held his council at Bristow at St. Martin's feast; where were assembled eleven bishops of England and Wales, with divers earls, and barons, and knights of England, all which did swear fealty to the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legate Swalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Louis; and also the barons and all others, as many as gave help or counsel to Louis, or any other that moved or stirred any war against King Henry, the new king, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Louis did not cease, but first laid siege to the castle of Dover fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the castle of Berkhamstead, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harm in the countries, in spoiling and robbing the people where he went; by reason whereof the lords and commons, which held with the king, assembled themselves together to drive Louis and his men out of the land. But some of the barons with the Frenchmen in the mean season went to Lincoln, and took the city, and held it to the use of Louis. Which being known, eftsoons a great power of the king's part made thither, as earl Radulph of Chester, William, earl marshal, and William de Brewer, earl of Ferers, with many other lords, and gave battle unto Louis and his party; so that in conclusion Louis lost the field, and of his side were slain the earl of Perche, Saer do Quincy, earl of Winchester, Henry de la Bohun, earl of Hertford, and Sir Robert le Fitzwater, with divers other more. Whereupon Louis for succour fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succour out of France. Which as soon as the king had knowledge of, immediately he sent to the mayor and burgesses of the city, willing them to render them and their city to him as their chief lord and king, promising to grant to them again all their franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirm the same by his great charter and seal. In this mean time, on Bartholomew even, Eustace, a French lord, accompanied with many other lords and nobles of France, come with a great power, to the number of a hundred ships, to aid and assist the said Lewis; who, before they arrived, were encountered upon the seas by Richard, King John's bastard son: who, having no more but eighteen ships to keep the cinque ports, set eagerly upon them, and through God's grace overcame them, where presently he smote off the head of Eustace: the rest of the French lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Dover, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunk their ships in the sea; only fifteen ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. Ludovic or Louis hearing this loss of his ships and men, and misdoubting his own life for the great mischief he had done to the realm, sought means by Swalo, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other lords, to be at accord with the king. With whom at length it was so concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses he should have a thousand pounds of silver given. Matthew Paris speaketh of fifteen thousand marks, which he borrowed of the Londoners, that he should depart the realm, never to return into England again, neither he nor any of his.

This done, he, with all the other barons that took his part, was assoiled of Swalo the legate. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Louis took his leave: and being brought honourably to the sea with the bishop of Canterbury and other bishops, earls, and barons, he returned home into France.

And here, saith Gisburn, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French king father of Louis. At what time the said Louis was in England, his father the French king demanded of his messengers coming into France where his son was. And they said, at Stamford. And he asking again whether he had got the castle of Dover. And they said, No. Then the father, swearing by the arm of St. James, My son, quoth he, hath not one foot in England; as afterward well proved true.

But the chiefest help that repelled Louis and the Frenchmen out of the realm, and that most preferred King John's son to the crown, was the singular working of God's hand, whereof mention was made before; which was through the confession of a certain gentleman of the French host, (as Florilegus doth testify.) who lying sore sick at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience, for danger of his soul's health, openly to confess and utter to the barons of England what was the purpose of the Frenchmen to do; who were conspired and sworn together among themselves, with a privy compaction, that, so soon as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chief and nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the realm, whereout they should never return again. This coming to the ears of the barons, as is said, gave them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave Louis, and apply to their natural king and prince. Which no less may also be an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heed, not to admit or to place foreign rulers into the realm, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselves.

After the happy departure of this Louis and his Frenchmen out of the land, whereby the state of this realm, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted; immediately Swalo the legate, looking to his harvest, directeth forth inquisitors through every shire, to search out all such bishops, abbots, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soever they were, that with any succour or counsel did either help, or else consented to Louis. For all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, between the king and Louis. By reason whereof no small gain grew to the pope and the cardinal; for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the pope: or else were fain to fine sweetly for them. Among whom, besides a great number of other clerks, both religious and secular, was Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, who, for the recovery of his bishopric, disbursed one thousand marks to the pope, and one hundred marks to the foresaid Swalo the legate, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never sow.

About this season, or not much before, died Pope Innocent the Third, in the nineteenth year of his popedom, to whose custody Frederic, the nephew of Frederic Barbarossa, being yet young, was committed by the empress his mother; of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded Pope Honorius the Third, who, writing to young King Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the love of virtue, and to the fear of God, namely, to be circumspect with what familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally above all otherthings he admonisheth him to reverence the church, which is the spouse of Christ,

and to honour the ministers thereof, in whom Christ himself (saith he) is both honoured and despised. And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writing to him.

Of this Pope Honorius, Abbot Urspergensis (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure than credible; which is this: Honorius being priest in Rome, (whose name was then Centius,) and procurator to Jacinth, a cardinal; so it befell, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure money for him against his journey into Spain; for Pope Clement then intended to send this Jacinth his legate into Spain. As this Centius was walking by himself all sad and solicitous to speed his masters message, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend father, and asketh him what cause he had to walk so heavy and careful. To whom he answered again, and signified the occasion of his business that then he had to do. Then the old father said to him, Go, and return home again, for thy master, saith he, shall not at this time go to Spain. How so, quoth the other; how is that true? As true, saith he, as it is certain that the pope shall die, and thy said master shall be pope after him. Centius, thinking that to be unlikely, said he could not believe that to be true. To whom the other inferreth again, So know this (said he) to be as certain as it is true that the city of Jerusalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and shall not be recovered again from them before the time of thy papacy. And thus speaking (saith Urspergensis) he vanished suddenly away. All which (saith the said author) came afterwards to pass, and were testified of the same Honorius, being pope afterward, in his public sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithstanding this fabulous narration may be a piece of the popes old practices, subtly invented to drive men forth to Jerusalem to fight. Again, after Honorius (when he had governed ten years) followed Gregory the Ninth, which two popes were in the time of this King Henry the Third, and of Frederic the emperor; of whom we mind (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall have prosecuted more concerning the history of King Henry and matters of England.

After that, it so pleased the merciful providence of Almighty God to work this great mercy upon the stock of King John, (which, notwithstanding the unkind prelates with their false prophets had declared before, that never any of them should succeed in the throne after that king,) and also unto the whole commonwealth of the realm, in delivering them from the dangerous service of Ludovic and the foresaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the next year following, A.D. 1218, which was the third of this king's reign, the archbishop S. Langton, and the bishops, earls, and barons, resorted to London unto the king at Michaelmas next following, and there held a great parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the king all the franchises which were made and given by King John his father at Runnemedes, and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter; which long time after (saith mine author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in England. For the which cause, by the nobles and commons was given and granted again unto the king two shillings for every plough land through England. And Hubert Burgh was made chief justice of England, of whose troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third year of King Henry, and the fiftieth year after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket, the same year next following, was taken up and shrined for a new saint made of an old rebel. Thither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the country of Kent was not sufficient to sustain them. About the same time Isabella the kings mother was married to the earl of March. And William, the good earl marshal, died, which was the governor of the king and the realm, not without great lamentation of the people of

England. Then was the king committed to the government of Peter, bishop of Winchester. This noble earl left behind him five sons, and five daughters.

The year next ensuing, A.D. 1219, it was ordained and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and foreigners should depart the realm, and not return to the same again, only such excepted as used traffic or trade of merchandise under the kings safe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to send out of the land Foukes de Brent, Philip de Marks, Egelardus de Ciconia, William Earl Albermarle, Robert de Veteriponte, Brihenne de Insula, Hugo de Bailluell, Roger de Gaugi, with divers other strangers more, which kept castles and holds of the king's against his will. Of these the forenamed Foukes was the principal, who fortified and held the castle of Bedford, which he had by the gift of King John, with might and strength against the king and his power, near the space of three months. Moreover, he went about to apprehend the king's justices at Dunstable; but they, being warned thereof, escaped all, except Henry Braybroke, whom he imprisoned in the said castle. The king hearing thereof, and consulting with his clergy and nobles, made his power against the same. Which after long siege and some slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninety and seven, which was, as Paris writeth, about the seventh or eighth year of his reign. Foukes at the same time was in Wales; who, hearing of the taking of the castle, conveyed himself to the church of Coventry. At length, submitting himself to the king's mercy, upon consideration of his service done before to the king's father, he was committed to the custody of Eustace, bishop of London; and afterwards, being deprived of all his goods, possessions, and tenements within the realm, was forced to perpetual banishment, never to return to England again.

Here, by the way, I find it noted in Paris, that after this foresaid Foukes had spoiled and razed the church of St. Paul in Bedford, for the building up of his castle, the abbess of Helvestue, hearing thereof, caused the sword to be taken from the image of St. Paul standing in the church, so long as Foukes remained unpunished. Afterward, hearing him to be committed to the custody of St. Paul in London, she caused the sword to be put into the hands of the image again.

About this year the young king was crowned the second time at Westminster, about which time began the new building of our Lady church at Westminster. Shortly after Gualo the legate was called home again to Rome. For the holy father, being sick of a spiritual dropsy, thought this Gualo (having so large occupying in England) to be able somewhat to cure his disease. And so the legate returned with all his bags well stuffed, leaving Pandulph behind him to supply that bailiwick of his great grandfather the pope.

The life and acts of Pope Innocent the Third are partly described before, how he intruded Stephen Langton against the king's will into the archbishopric of Canterbury, stirring up also sixty and four monks of the same church of Canterbury privily to work against the king. Moreover, how he did excommunicate the said king as a public enemy of the church, so long as the said king withstood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole kingdom under interdiction for the space of five years and three months, and at length be deposed and deprived him from his sceptre, keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he absolved his subjects from their due obedience and subjection unto him. How he gave away his kingdoms and possessions to Louis the French king's son, commanding the said Louis to spoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the king, being forsaken of his nobles, prelates, and commons,

was forced against his will to submit himself, and sware obedience unto the pope, paying unto him a yearly tribute of one thousand marks by year, for receiving his kingdom again, whereby both he and his successors after him were vassals afterwards unto the pope. These were the apostolical acts of this holy vicar in the realm of England. Moreover, he condemned Almeric, a worthy learned man and a bishop, for a heretic, for teaching and holding against images. Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim Abbas (whom we spake of before) for heretical. This pope brought first into the church the paying of private tithes. He ordained the receiving once a year at Easter. Unto the papal decretals he added the decree, *Omnes utriusque sexus*, &c. Also the reservation of the sacrament, and the going with the bell and light before the sacrament, was by him appointed. In the said Council of Lateran he also ordained that the canon of the mass should be received with equal authority as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselves. He brought in transubstantiation.

Item, the said Innocent the Third ordained that none should marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so under.

The said pope stirred up Otho against Philip the emperor, because the said Philip was elected emperor against his will; upon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in Germany. And afterward against the said Otho, whom he had made emperor, he set up Frederic, king of Sicily, and caused the archbishop of Mayence to pronounce him excommunicate in all his titles, and to be deposed of his empire. For the which cause the princes of Germany did invade his bishopric, spoiling and burning his possessions. The cause why the pope so did accurse and depose him was, that the said Otho did take and occupy cities; towns, and castles, which the pope said appertained to him.

Item, the said pope ordained, that if any princes offended one another, the correction should appertain unto the pope. In the fourth Council of Lateran were archbishops and primates sixty-one, bishops four hundred, abbots twelve, priors and conventuals eight hundred, besides other ambassadors, legates, doctors, and lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

In the history of Hermanus Mutius, we read how, in the year of our Lord 1212, in this pope's time divers noblemen, and others in the country of Alsace, contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, did hold that every day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. Also that they did wickedly, who restrained priests and ministers from their lawful wives, for the which cause, (as is in the foresaid author,) by this pope Innocent the Third, and his bishops, a hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Some other history (as Nauclerus) recordeth also, that at the same time many were in the city of Milan of the said doctrine, who used to send collects unto the foresaid saints of Alsace.

In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, otherwise called Gisburnensis, it is recorded that in the days of this King John and Pope Innocent began the two sects or orders of friars, one called the Preachers' order, or Black Friars of St. Dominic; the other called the Minorites of St. Francis. The Preachers of the Black Friars' order began of one Dominic, a Spaniard, about the parts of Tholouse, who after he had laboured ten years in preaching against the Albigenses, and such others as did bold against the Church of Rome, afterward, coming up to the Council of Lateran with Fulco, bishop of Tholouse, desired of the foresaid Innocent the Third to have his order

of Preaching Friars confirmed, which the pope a great while refused to grant. At length he had a dream. that the Church of Lateran was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing thereat, cometh in this Dominic, who with his shoulders underpropped the church, and so preserved the building thereof from falling, &c. And right well this dream may seem verified, for the friars have been always the chief pillars and upholders of the pope's church. Upon this the pope (waking out of his dream) called Dominic to him, and granted his petition; and so came up this wolfish order of the Dominics. I call it wolfish, for his mother, when she was great with this Dominic, dreamed that she had in her womb a wolf, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dream the preachers of that order do greatly advance, and expound to their order's glory as well as they can. Nevertheless, howsoever they expound it, they can make a wolf but a wolf, and this a wolfish order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of St. Augustine, as who should say that Christ's rule were not enough to make a Christian man. Their profession standeth upon three principal points, as thus described: Having charity, holding humility, and possessing wilful poverty. Their habit and clothing is black.

The order of the Minors or Minorite friars descended from one Francis, an Italian, of the city of Assisium. This Assisian ass, who I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing upon a time how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himself and his disciples, and so left off his shoes. He had but one coat, and that of coarse cloth. Instead of a latchet to his shoe, and of a girdle, he took about him a hempen cord, and so he apparelled his disciples, teaching them to fulfil (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the gospel, to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He left in writing, to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called, The rule of the gospel. As though the gospel of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all Christian men, but it must take his perfection of frantic Francis. And yet for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to the derogation of Christ's gospel, he was confirmed by this Pope Innocent. Yes, and such fools this Francis found abroad, that not only he had followers of his doltish religion, (both of the nobles and unnobles of Rome,) but also some there were which builded mansions for him and his friars. This Francis, as he was superstitious in casting all things from him, as his girdle, girding a cord about him; so in outward chastising of himself, so strait he was to his flesh, (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God,) that in winter season he covered his body with ice and snow. He called poverty his lady, he kept nothing overnight. So desirous he was of martyrdom, that he went to Syria to Saladin, who received him honourably. Whereby it may he thought, that (surely) he told not the truth, as St. John Baptist did in Herod's house. For truth is seldom welcome in courts and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him who is no true confessor. I will here pass over the fable, how Christ and his saints did mark him with five wounds. These Franciscan, or begging friars, although they were all under one rule and clothing of St. Francis, yet they be divided into many sects and orders; some go on treen shoes or pattens; some, barefooted; some, regular Franciscans, or Observants; some, Minors, or Minorites; others be called Minimi; others, of the Gospel; others, De Caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisy. And forsomuch as we have here entered into the matter of these two orders of friars, by the occasion hereof I thought a little by the way to digress from our story, in reciting the whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friars, and nuns of all sects, rules, and orders, set up and confirmed by the pope. The names of whom here in order of the alphabet follow.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*The rabblement of religious orders.*

Augustinians, the first order.	
Ambrosians, two sorts,	490
Antony's heremites,	324
Austin's heremites,	498
Austin's Observants,	490
Armenians' sect.	
Ammonites and Moabites.	
Basilus's order,	384
Benet's order,	524
Bernardus's order,	1120
Barefooted Friars,	1222
Bridget's order.	1370
Beghearts, or White Spirits.	1399
Brethren of Jerusalem.	1103
Brethren of St. John De Civitate, Black Friars,	1220
Brethren of wilful poverty.	
Cluniacensis's order,	913
Canons of St. Augustine,	1080
Charterhouse order,	1086
Cisterciensis order,	1098
Cross-bearers, or Crossed Friars,	1216
Carmelites. or White Friars,	1212
Clare's order,	1225
Celestine's order. 1297	
Camaldulensis order,	950
Cross-starred brethren.	
Constantinopolitanish order.	
Cross-bearers.	
Chapter monks.	
Dutch order.	1216
Dominic Black Friars.	1220
Franciscans.	1224

VOLUME 2

Grandmontensis order,	1076
Gregorian order,	594
George's order,	1417
Giilielmites,	1246
Genindinensis order.	
Galilei, or Galilean.	
Heremites.	
Helen's brethren, Humiliati,	1166
Hospital brethren.	
Holy Ghost order.	
Jerome's orders, two sorts,	1412
John's heremites.	
Justin's order,	1432
John's order, Joannites	380
otherwise Knights of Rhodes	1308
Injesuati,	1365
Jerome's heremites.	490
Joseph's order.	
Jacobites' sect.	
James's brethren order.	
James's brethren with the sword.	
Indians' order.	
Katharine of Sene's order,	1455
Keiedmonks, Knights of Rhodes.	
Lazarites of Mary Magdalen's our Lady's brethren,	1034
Lords of Hungary.	
Minorites, which be divided into. Conventuals. Observants. Reformat. Collectan. De Caputio. De Evangelio. Amedes. Clarini and others.	
Minors, or Minorites,	1224

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Mary's servants,	1304
Monks of Mount Olivet.	1046
Marovinies sect.	
Monorites' sect.	
Monachi and Monachæ.	
Morbonei and Meresti.	
Menelaish and Jasonish sect.	
New canons of St. Austin	1430
Nestorini.	
Naiheart brethren.	
New order of our Lady.	
Nazaræi.	
Paul's heremites,	345
Præmonstratensis order,	1119
Prachers' order, or Black Friars.	
Peter the Apostle's order,	1409
Purgatory brethren.	
Rechabites.	
Sarrabites.	
Sambonites,	1199
Scourgers, the first sect,	1266
Soldiers of Jesus Christ,	1323
Scopenites, or St. Salvator's order,	1367
Specularii, or the Glass order.	
Sepulchre's order.	
Sheere order.	
Swerd's order.	
Starred monks.	
Starred friars.	
Sclavonie order.	
Scourgers, the second sect, called Ninevites.	
Stool brethren.	
Scotland brethren order.	

VOLUME 2

Sicarli.	
St. Sophia's order.	
Templar Lords,	1110
Templar Knights,	1120
The Vale of Josaphat's order.	
Vallis Umbrosæ,	1400
Wentzelaus's order.	
Wilhelmer order.	
White Monks of Mount Olivet.	1406
Zelotes' order.	

Thus hast thou, if thou please, gentle reader, to know what orders and what sects of religion have been set up by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not only in books printed of late in Germany, namely, by the reverend father Martin Luther; but also conferred with another English book which came to our hands, containing the same like notes of ancient antiquity, the number of which rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, it cometh to mind consequently to infer to the prophecy of Hildegard, as well against the whole rout of Romish prelates, and the fall of that church, as especially against the begging friars and such other unprofitable bellies of the church. This Hildegard is bolden of the papists themselves to be a great prophetess; whose prophecy proceedeth in this manner, first against the priests and prelates of the Romish church, as followeth.

*The prophecy of Hildegard of the ruin of Rome, and against the begging friars.*

Hildegard, a nun and (as many judged) a prophetess, lived in the year 1146. In her prophecies she doth most grievously reprehend, not only the wicked and abominable life of the spiritual papists, but also the contempt of the ecclesiastical office, and also the horrible destruction of the Church of Rome. In a certain place she hath these words:

"And now is the law neglected among the spiritual people, which neglect to teach and to do good things; the master likewise and the prelates do sleep, despising justice, and laying it aside. In a certain vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the priests had bewrayed her face with dust, and rent her coat, &c., and that they did not shine over the people, either in doctrine, either in example of life; but rather contrariwise, that they have driven the innocent lamb from them, She said, moreover, that all ecclesiastical order did every day become worse and worse, and that priests did not teach but destroy the law of God; and for these horrible crimes and impieties she threateneth and prophesieth unto them God's most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments." There is no cause why the spiritual papists should flatter themselves upon this, that she promised again to the ministers of the church those good things to follow, like as Johannes de Rupescissa doth, and other such-like prophets; for they say it will come to pass, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing undoubtedly they mean the godly ministers in the

Reformed churches, which for the most part were of the spiritual number, and yet did forsake the dishonest life and those wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the priests and monks, that is, the whole rabble and spirituality, do account Hildegard for a true prophetess, they ought to consider that by her they are more severely accused, not as by a woman, but as by God himself. And, I pray you, what abomination, impiety, and idolatry hath not been committed since that time by the spirituality? I will note here a certain prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophesieth of the reformation of religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

"Then shall the crown of apostolical honour be divided, because there shall be found no religion among the apostolical order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignity of that name, and shall set over them other men and other archbishops. Insomuch that the apostolic see of that time (by the diminution of his honour) shall scarce have Rome, and a few other countries thereabout, under his crown. And these things shall partly come to pass by incursion of wars, and partly also by a common counsel and consent of the spiritual and secular persons. Then shall justice flourish, so that in those days men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall observe them as ancient men did.

About the same time that the Franciscans and Dominic friars began (which are above mentioned) sprang up also the Cross-bearers, or Crutched Friars, taking their original and occasion of Innocent the Third, which Innocent raised up an army (signed with a cross on their breast) to fight against the Albigenses, whom the pope and his sect accounted for heretics about the parts of Tholouse. What these Albigenses were it cannot be well gathered by the old popish histories; for if there were any that did hold, teach, or maintain against the pope or his papal pride, or withstand and gainsay his beggarly traditions, rites, and religions, &c., the historians of that time (for the most part in writing of them) do so deprave and misreport them, suppressing the truth of their articles, that they make them and paint them to be worse than Turks and infidels. And that, as I suppose, caused Matthew Paris, and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (and so I find in some records) that the opinions of the said Albigenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else but only against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates, denying the pope's authority to have ground of the Scriptures; neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatory of the Romish Church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupys, &c. Of these Albigenses were slain at times and burned a great multitude, by the means of the pope and Simon Ecclesiasticus, with others more. It seemeth that these Albigenses were chiefly abhorred of the pope, because they set up a contrary pope against him about the coasts of Bugarorum; for the which cause the bishop called Portinensis, being the pope's legate in those quarters, wrote to the archbishop of Rome and other bishops.

As Henry this king succeeded King John his father, so after Innocent the pope came Honorius the Third, then Gregory the Ninth, &c. And after Otho the emperor (whom the pope had once set up, and after deprived again) succeeded Frederic the Second, as is partly before touched. In the days of these kings, popes, and emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germany, betwixt Pope Honorius, Gregorius, and Frederic the emperor; the horrible tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole book by itself. But yet we mean (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these ecclesiastical matters, first beginning with this realm of England.

After the kingdom of England had been subjected by King John, (as hath been said,) and made tributary to the pope and the Romish Church, it is incredible how the unsatiabie avarice and greediness of the Romans did oppress and wring the commons and all estates and degrees of the realm, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domestical charges within the realm, what for the pope, what for the legates, what for contributing to the Holy Land, what for relaxations, and other subtle sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slavery, captivity, and penury, that whereas the king neither durst nor might remedy their exclamations by himself; yet, notwithstanding, by his advice, Simon Montfort, and the earl of Leicester, with other noblemen, (not forgetting what great grievances and distresses the realm was brought into by the Romans,) thought to work some way how to bridle and restrain the insatiabie ravening of these greedy wolves. Wherefore they devised their letter, giving strait commandment to the religious men, and to such as had their churches to farm, that henceforth they should not answer the Romans on account of such farms and rents any more, but should pay the said farms or rents unto their own proctors appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to bishops or chapters, and other ecclesiastical houses. may appear, in this form and effect as followeth.

*A complaint of the nobles of England against the intolerable covetousness of the pope and prelates of Rome.*

"To such and such a bishop, and such a chapter, all the university and company of them, that had rather die than to be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their legates have hitherto behaved themselves toward you, and other ecclesiastical persons of this realm of England, it is not unknown to your discretions, in disposing and giving away the benefices of the realm after their own lust, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow bishops, (ecclesiastical persons,) they, thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, ordain that you should not bestow them upon any person of this realm, until in every diocess and cathedral church within the realm five Romans (such as the pope shall name) be provided for, to the value of every man a hundred pounds by year. Besides these, many other grievances the said Romanists do inflict and infer, both to the laity and nobles of the realm, for the patronages and alms bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the sustentation of the poor of the realm, and also to the clergy and ecclesiastical persons of the realm touching their livings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists, not contented with the premises, do also take from the clergy of this realm the benefices which they have, to bestow them on men of their own country, &c.

Wherefore, we, considering the rigorous austerity of these foresaid Romanists, which, once coming in but as strangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but also to condemn us, laying upon us insupportable burdens, whereunto they will not put to one of their own fingers to move, and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among ourselves concerning the same, have thought good (although very late) to withstand them, rather than to be subject to their intolerable oppressions, and greater slavery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cause we straitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you. the church, the king, and the kingdom from that miserable yoke of servitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or given to the said Romans. Letting you to understand for truth, that in case you shall

(which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you also in your persons shall incur the same peril and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselves.

Thus fare ye well."

Thus much I thought here to insert and notice concerning this matter, for that not only the foul and avaricious greediness of the Romish Church might the more evidently unto all Englishmen appear: but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be so to be served and plagued with their own rod, which before would take no part with their natural king against foreign power, of which now they are scourged.

To make the story more plain, in the reign of this Henry the Third (who succeeding, as is said, after King John, his father, reigned six and fifty years) came divers legates from Rome to England. First Cardinal Otho, sent from the pope with letters to the king, like as other letters also were sent to other places, for exactions of money.

The king opening the letters, and perceiving the contents, answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter, which concerned all the clergy and commons of the whole realm. Not long after a council was called at Westminster, where the letters being opened, the form was this: We require to be given unto us, first, of all cathedral churches two prebends, one for the bishop's part, the other for the chapter; and likewise of monasteries where be divers portions, one for the abbot, another for the convent; of the convent so much as appertaineth to one monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; of the abbot likewise as much. The cause why he required these prebends was this: It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the Church of Rome, and it hath been charged with insatiable covetousness, which, as ye know, is the root of all mischief, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be handled nor to proceed in the Church of Rome without great gifts and expense of money. Whereof, seeing the poverty of the church is the cause, and the only reason why it is so slandered and evil spoken of, it is therefore convenient that you (as natural children) should succour your mother. For unless we should receive of you and of other good men as you are, we should then lack necessities for our life, which were a great dishonour to our dignity, &c.

When those petitions and causes of the legate were propounded in the foresaid assembly at Westminster on the pope's behalf, (the bishops and prelates of the realm being present,) answer was made by the mouth of Master John Bedford on this wise: That the matter there propounded by the lord legate in especial concerned the king of England, but in general it touched all the archbishops with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelates of the realm. Wherefore, seeing both the king by reason of his sickness was absent, and the archbishop of Canterbury with divers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so do without prejudice of them which were lacking. And so the assembly for that time brake up.

Not long after, the said Otho, cardinal, coming again from Rome, indicted another council at London, and caused all prelates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other of the clergy to be warned unto the same council, to be had in the church of St. Paul's at London about the feast of St. Martin. The pretence of which council was for redress of matters concerning benefices and religion; but the chief and principal was to hunt for money; for putting them in fear and in hope, some to lose,

some to obtain, spiritual promotions at his hand, he thought gain would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the mean time divers precious rewards were offered him, in palfreys. in rich plate and jewels, in costly and sumptuous garments so richly furred, in coin, in victuals, and such-like things of value well worthy of acceptance. Wherein one endeavoured to go beyond another in munificence, not considering, by means of the servility wherewith they were oppressed of those popish shavelings and shameless shifters, that all was mere pillage and extortion. Insomuch that only the bishop of Winchester, (as the story reporteth,) hearing that he would winter at London, sent him fifty fat oxen, a hundred coomb of pure wheat, eight tun of chosen wine, toward his house-keeping. Likewise other bishops also for their part offered unto the cardinal's box after their ability.

The time of the council drawing nigh, the cardinal commanded at the west end of Paul's church a high and solemn throne to be prepared, rising up with a glorious scaffold upon mighty and substantial stages I strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned came the said archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other of the prelacy, both far and near throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winter's journey, bringing their letters procuratory. Who being together assembled, the cardinal beginneth his sermon. But before we come to the sermon, there happened a great discord between the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious cardinal; for the which the one appealed against the other. The cardinal, to pacify the strife between them both, so that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain bull of the pope; in the midst of which bull was pictured the figure of the cross. On the right side of the cross stood the image of St. Paul, and on the left side St. Peter. Lo, saith the cardinal, (holding open the bull with the cross. here you see St. Peter on the left hand of the cross,) and St. Paul on the right side, and yet is there between these two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet St. Peter, for the prerogative of his keys, and for the pre-eminence of his apostleship and cathedral dignity, seemeth most worthy to be placed on the right side. But yet because St. Paul believed on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the cross; for blessed be they (saith Christ) which believe and see not, &c. And from that time forth the archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed the right hand, and the archbishop of York the left. Wherein yet this cardinal is more to be commended than the other cardinal Hugo mentioned a little before, which in the like contention between these archbishops ran away.

Thus, the controversy ceased and composed between these two, Otho the cardinal, sitting aloft between these two archbishops, beginneth his sermon, taking this theme of the prophet: In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this theme the cardinal proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. He compared them about him to the four beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind; that is, that they must be provident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spiritual matters, continuing and joining wisely things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his clerkly sermon. That done, he giveth forth certain statutes for ordering of churches, as for the dedication of temples, for seven sacraments, for giving of orders, for framing of benefices, collations and resignations of benefices and vicarages, priests' apparel, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious houses, or archdeacons, bishops, proctors, and such other like matters. But the chiefest intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be vigilant, provident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the

pope's pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travails besides. Insomuch that the king, dreading the displeasure of his commons for the doings of the legate, willed him to repair home to Rome again, but yet could not so be rid of him; for he, receiving new commandments from the pope, applied his harvest, still gleaning and raking whatsoever he might scrape.

And, moreover, note again the wicked and cursed trains of these Romish rakehells, who, to pick simple men's purses. first send out their friars and preachers to stir up in all places and countries men to go fight against the Turks; whom when they have once bound with a vow, and signed them with the cross, then send they their bulls to release them, both of their labour and their vow, for money.

The cause why the pope was so greedy and needy of money was this; because he had mortal hatred, and waged continual battle the same time, against the good emperor Frederic the Second, who had to wife King John's daughter, and sister to King Henry the Third, whose name was Isabel, And therefore, because the pope's war could not be sustained without charges, that made the pope the more importunate to take up money in all places. but especially in England. Insomuch that he shamed not to require the fifth part of every ecclesiastical man's living, as Parisiensis writeth. And not only that, but also the said Pope Gregory (conventing with the citizens of Rome) so agreed with them, that if they would join with him in vanquishing the foresaid Frederic, he would (and so did) grant unto them, that all the benefices in England which were or should be vacant, namely, pertaining to religious houses, should be bestowed at their own will and commandment to their children and kinsfolks. The pope sent in commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops. that provision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance; so that the foresaid archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the mean time from all collation or gift of benefices, until these foresaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the archbishop the same time, seeing the unreasonable oppression of the Church of England, left the realm and went into France.

Again, mark another as much or more easy sleight of the pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubeus the same time with a new device, which was this: not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt bishop and bishop, abbot and abbot, &c., telling in their ears, Such a bishop, such an abbot, hath given so much and so much unto the pope's Holiness, trusting that you also will not be behind for your part, &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a mass of money was made out of the realm unto the pope.

At length the foresaid bishops, abbots, and archdeacons, feeling their own smart, came to the king (whose father before they did resist) with their humble suit, lamentably complaining of the unmeasurable exactions of the pope, and especially against Petrus Rubeus and his fellow, Otto the legate; desiring the king, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselves alone, but the whole church, and seeing the valuation of churches was known better to their archdeacons than to themselves, therefore there might be a general calling and talk had in the matter. In the octaves of St. John the Baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talk; at which day and place the prelates of England, conventing together, durst not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuate certain exceptions against the same.

1. First they say, that forsomuch as the contribution is demanded to war against him, who was joined in matrimony with their prince, they were not bound so to do.

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2. Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of Christian blood; for so the form of the bill pretended, to fight against the emperor.

3. Thirdly, because it was against the liberty of the church; for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, because that when of late they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the pope no more hereafter.

5. Item, because they had contributed before, if they should now contribute again, it were to be feared lest an action twice done should grow into a custom, as is in the law.

6. Item, forsomuch as they shall have causes continually to seek to Rome through the emperor's land, it were to be feared lest the said emperor by the way would work their annoyance.

7. Item, because the king hath many enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not convenient that the goods of the realm should be alienated out of the realm.

8. Item, because that could not be done without prejudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree unto the same.

9. Lastly, because they hear say that the general state of the church is in danger, for the which they understand there shall be shortly a general council, wherein such matters shall be determined; and therefore if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legate and his fellow hearing these allegations, seeing their own confusion, were the less importunate.

Not long after this followed a general council at Lyons, called by Pope Innocentius the Fourth, in the which council the English nation did exhibit certain articles of their grievances not unworthy to be known.

1. The kingdom of England is grieved that the pope, being not contented with his Peter pence, requireth and extorteth from the clergy great exactions, (and more is like,) both without the consent of the king, and against the customs of the realm.

2. Item, the church and kingdom of England is grieved, that the patrons of the same cannot present, as they were wont, into their churches for the pope's letters; but the churches are given to Romans, which know neither the realm nor the tongue thereof, both to the great peril of souls and robbing away the money out of the realm.

3. Item, it is grieved, for that the pope promising by the tenor of his letters that, in requiring of pensions and provisions in the realm of England, he would require but only twelve benefices, now, contrary to the tenor thereof, many more benefices and provisions are bestowed away by him.

4. Item, the realm is grieved and complaineth, that in the benefices in England one Italian succeedeth another, the Englishmen being not only excluded, but also compelled for the determining of their matters to seek to Rome, contrary both to the customs of the realm, and also to the privileges granted by the pope's predecessors to the king and kingdom of England.

5. The fifth grievance is, for the oft recourse of that infamous legate, by whom both faith and fidelity. the ancient customs of the realm. the authority of old grants,

statutes, laws, and privileges, are imbeciled and abrogate, whereby an infinite number in England be grievously afflicted and oppressed.

6. The said realm is also grieved in general tallages, collections, and assizes, made without the king's consent, the appellation and contradiction of the king's proctors to the contrary notwithstanding.

7. Seventhly, the foresaid realm complaineth and is grieved, that, in the benefices given to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor hospitality, nor any preaching of God's word, nor care of men's souls, nor service in the church, nor yet the walls of the churches, be kept up and maintained, as the manner and custom of the same realm requireth. Over and above these foresaid grievances, there came moreover from the pope other fresh letters, charging and commanding the prelates of England to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole year, some ten armed soldiers, some five, some fifteen, to be ready at the pope's commandment there where be should appoint.

After these and other grievances and enormities of Rome, the states of England consulting together direct their letters to the pope, for reformation thereof; first the abbots and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, after the nobles and barons, last of all the king himself. But as the proverb is, *Venter non habet aures*; so the pope's purse had no ears to hear. And as our common saying goeth, As good never a whit as never the better; so went it with the pope, who not long after the same sent for new tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing, when it came to the king's ear, he, being moved and disturbed vehemently withal, writeth in this wise to the bishops, severally to every one in his diocess.

"Henry the Third, by the grace of God, to the reverend in Christ bishop of N. Whereas we have heretofore written unto you once, twice, thrice, as well by our privy seals, as also by our letters patents, that you should not exact or collect, for the pope's behalf, any tallage or other help of our subjects, either of the clergy or of the laity, for that no such tallage nor help either can or is used to be exacted in our realm without the great prejudice of our princely dignity, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustain; yet you, contemning and vilipending our commandment, and contrary to the provision made in our last council at London, (granted and agreed upon by our prelates, earls, and barons,) have that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your taxes and tallages. Whereupon we do greatly marvel and are moved, (especially seeing you are not ashamed to do contrary unto your own decrees,) whereas you and other prelates in the said council in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, until the return of our and your ambassadors from the court of Rome, sent thither purposely of us, and in the name of the whole realm for the same, to provide redress against those oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceed any more in collecting and exacting such tallages or helps, as you will enjoy our favour and such possessions of yours as within this our kingdom you have and hold. And if you have already procured or gathered any such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our realm, but cause it to be kept in safe custody till the return of the said ambassadors, under the pain of our displeasure in doing of the contrary, and alsoof provoking us to extend our hand upon your possessions further than you will think or believe. Moreover, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your archdeacons and officials, which we here have set forth for the liberties of the clergy and of the people, as knoweth God," &c.

At length the ambassadors which were at Rome came home about the latter end of December, bringing word that the pope, hearing what was done in the Council of Winchester and of the king, was greatly displeased with him and the realm. Whereupon, when the ambassadors began to speak in the king's behalf; from that time they were half counted for schismatics, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome. The king hearing this was marvellously incensed therewith, commanding by general proclamation through all his realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidy of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the pope's ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his letters to the prelates of England, charging that, under pain of suspense or interdiction, they should provide the same sum of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being given to the bishop of Worcester to be executor of the said curse. The king, who lately intended to stand to the liberties of the church, now, for fear of the pope, and partly for persuasions of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelates, durst not stand to it, but gave over. Moreover, the greedy gulf of the Romish avarice waxed so immeasurable, that at length the pope shamed not, upon the censure of his curse, to ask the third part of the church goods, and the yearly fruit of all vacant benefices. The chief doers and legates in England were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubeus, the nuncio, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus. Of whom to speak further (for that I have matter much more to write) for this present time I think best to desist, lest, in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps not only molest good ears, but also infect the air, Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well overpass.

This Otho, as he left no place unsought where any vantage might be got; so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where, lying in the house of Osney, he was received with great honour, the scholars presenting him honourably with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratify the cardinal after the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtesy again of him be entertained. As they came to the gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voice asketh what they would have. They said they came to see the lord legate. But Cerberus the porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The scholars seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in; whom when the Romans which were within would have repelled with their fists, and such staves as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the ears together, with much hoving and shoving and many blows on both sides. In the mean time, while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, there chanced a poor scholar, an Irishman, to stand at the gate waiting for his alms. Whom when the master saw at the gate, he, taking hot scalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the scholars, a Welchman, that came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that master of cooks) clean through the body, and slayeth him out of hand. The cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the house. The cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman, runueth as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locketh the doors fast unto him, where he remained till midnight. The scholars in the mean while, not yet all pacified, sought all comers about for the legate, exclaiming and crying out, Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that piller and poller of our livings, that prowler and extortioner of our money, which perverteth our king, and subverteth his kingdom, enriching himself with our spoils, &c.? All this heard the cardinal, and held his peace.

When the night approaching had broken up the field, the cardinal, coming out of his fort, and taking his horse, (in silence of the night,) was privily conveyed over the river toward the king, conveying himself away as fast as he could. After the king heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliver the Romans which were there hidden for fear of scholars. Then was Master Otho, a lawyer, with thirty other scholars, apprehended, and carried to Wallingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London: where at length (through much entreaty of the bishops) they, being brought barefoot to the legate's door, had their pardon, and the university released of interdiction. And thus much concerning the pope's legate in England.

Thus partly you have heard and do understand the miserable thraldom and captivity of this realm of England, and the clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with King John, their natural prince, against the foreign power of the pope: and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same pope; whose insatiable extortion and rapacity did so exceed in pilling and polling of this realm long alter this, that neither the king now could help them, neither could the pope with any reasonable measure be content. Insomuch that writers record that in the days of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. A.D. 1360, the pope by his proctors gat from the clergy, in less than one year, more than forty thousand florins of mere contribution; besides his other avails and common revenues out of benefices, prebendaries. firstfruits, tributes. Peter pence, collations, reservations, relaxations, and such merchandise. &c.

## 50. The Crusade against the Albigensians.

Mention was made a little before of the Albigenses keeping about the city of Tholouse. These Albigenses, because they began to smell the pope, and to control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the see of Rome, the pope therefore, recounting them as a people heretical, excited and stirred up about this present time and year, A.D. 1220. Louis, the young French king, through the instance of Philip his father, to lay siege against the said city of Tholouse, to expunge and extinguish these Albigenses his enemies. Whereupon Louis, according to his father's commandment, reared a puissant and a mighty army to compass about and beset the forenamed city, and so did. Here were the men of Tholouse in great danger. But see how the mighty protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of man; for after that Louis (as Matthew Paris testifieth) had long wearied himself and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their engines and artillery against the city, there fell moreover upon the French host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence, both of men and horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the soldiers, that Louis was enforced to retire, and with such as were left to return again home to France from whence he came. In the slaughter of which soldiers, besides many others, was Earl Simon Montfort, general of the army, to whom the lands of the earl of Tholouse were given by the pope; who was slain before the gate of the city with a stone; and so was also the brother of the said Simon the same time, in besieging a castle near to Tholouse, slain with a stone in like manner. And so was the siege of the Frenchmen against Tholouse broken up.

As the siege of these Frenchmen could do no good against the city of Tholouse; so it happened the same time that the Christians, marching towards the holy Land, had better success in laying their siege to a certain tower or castle in Egypt near to the city Damietta, which seemed by nature for the situation and difficulty of the place inexpugnable; which being situate in the midst of the great flood Nilus, hard by the city called Damietta, could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine subdued for the nearness of the city; yet notwithstanding, through the help of God and policy of man, by erecting scaffolds and castles upon tops of masts, the Christians at last conquered it, and after that also the city Damietta, albeit not without great loss of Christian people. In the expugnation of this city or fort, among others that there died, was the landgrave of Thuring, named Louis, the husband of Elizabeth, whom we use to call St. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my story recordeth) was the daughter of the king of Hungary, and married in Almaine, where she lived with the forenamed Louis, landgrave of Thuring, whom she through her persuasions provoked and incensed to take that voyage to fight for the Holy Land, where he in the same voyage was slain. After whose death Elizabeth, remaining a widow, entered the profession of cloisterly religion, and made herself a nun; so growing and increasing from virtue to virtue, that after her death all Almaine did sound with the fame of her worthy doings. Matthew Paris addeth this more, that she was the daughter of that queen, who, being accused to be naughty with a certain archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her: To kill the queen will ye not to fear, that is good; and if all men consent thereunto, not I myself do stand against it. The which sentence being brought to Pope Innocent, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise seemeth to have a double understanding, he so saved the queen, thus

interpreting and pointing the same: To kill the queen will ye not, to fear, that is good; and if all do consent thereto, yet not I, I myself do stand against it: and so escaped she the danger. This queen was the mother (as is said) of Elizabeth the nun, who for her holy nunnishness was canonized of the pope's church for a saint in Almaine, about the year of our Lord 1220.

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King Henry. The next year following, which was A.D. 1221, the king went to Oxford, where he had something to do with William, earl de Albemarle, who had taken the castle of Biham; but at last, for his good service he had done in the realm before, he was released of the king, with all his men, by the intercession of Walter, archbishop of York, and of Pandulph the legate. About which present year entered first the Friar Minorites, or Grey Friars, into England, and had their first house at Canterbury, whose first patron was Francis, which died A.D. 1127, and his order was confirmed by Pope Honorius the Third, A.D. 1224.

About the first coming of these Dominic and Grey Friars Franciscan into the realm, many Englishmen the same time entered into their orders. Among whom was Johannes de Sancto Egidio, a man famously expert in the science of physic and astronomy, and Alexander de Hales, both Englishmen and great divines. This Johannes, making his sermon in the house of the Dominic friars, exhorted his auditory with great persuasions unto wilful poverty. And to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midst of his sermon he came down from the pulpit and put on his friar's habit; and so, returning into the pulpit again, made an end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales entered the order of the Franciscans, of whom remaineth yet the book, entitled *De summa Theologiæ*, in old libraries.

In the year 1221 about St. James-tide fell a dissension between the citizens of London and the men of Westminster; the occasion whereof was this. A certain game between these two parties was appointed, to try whether part in wrestling could overcome the other. Thus, in striving for mastery, each party contending against the other, (as the manner is in such pastime,) it happened that the Londoners got the victory, and the other side was put to foil, but especially the steward of the abbot of Westminster; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethink in his mind how to be revenged again of the Londoners. Whereupon another day was set, which was at Lammas, that the Londoners should come again to wrestle: and whoso had the victory should have the bel-wether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward suddenly bringeth upon the Londoners unawares a company of harnessed men prepared for the same before, and letteth drive at the Londoners; who, at length being wounded and grievously hurt, after much bloodshed were driven back again into the city. This contumely thus being received, the citizens, eagerly stricken with ire and impatience, ran to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assembled their commons together, to consult with themselves what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein, when divers sentences were given diversely, Serle, the same time mayor of London, (a wise and discreet man,) gave this counsel; that the abbot of Westminster should be talked withal, who if he would rectify the injury done, and satisfy for the harm received, it should be to them sufficient. But contrary, one Constantine, a great man then in the city of London, in much heat exciting the people, gave this sentence, that all the houses of the abbot of Westminster, but especially the house of the steward, should be cast down to the ground. In fine, that which he so unadvisedly counselled was as madly performed; for the furious people according to his counsel so did. This

tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo, lord chief justice of England above mentioned, he coming with a sufficient strength of armed soldiers to the city of London, sent to the mayor and aldermen of the city to will them to come unto him. Who so obeying his commandment, be required of them the principal beginners of the riot. To whom Constantine, there being present, answered, that he would warrant that which was done; sorrowing, moreover, that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The justice, upon the same his confession, commanded him with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and so with the same two he was hanged, he offering for his life fifteen thousand marks, &c.

The said Hubert, earl of Kent, and lord chief justice, although he was a faithful and trusty officer to his prince, and had the whole guiding of the realm in his own hands, the king as yet being in his minority; yet afterward, what indignation be sustained for this his severity and other things, both of the nobles and of the commons, and how sharply he was tossed and trounced of his prince, wonder it is to see, as in his due place and time (by the Lord's leave) hereafter shall appear.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made of the wrangling between the commoners of London and of Westminster, both time and occasion bringeth me in remembrance something to speak like wise of the ecclesiastical conflicts among church-men, nothing inferior in my mind, nor less worthy to be noted, than the other. For so I read in Matth. Paris, and in Flores Hist., that at what time this wrestling was among the citizens for the sheep, the like contention kindled and inflamed between Eustace, bishop of London, and the chapter of Paul's, on the one side, and the abbot of Westminster with his convent on the other side, about spiritual jurisdiction and subjection; to wit, whether the monastery of Westminster were exempted from the subjection and jurisdiction of the bishop of London or not. Which controversy at last coming into compromise, was committed to the arbitrement of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, Philip, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, of Merton, and Richard, prior of Dunstable; and at length it was thus agreed, that the monastery of Westminster should be utterly exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and that Stanes, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertain to the monastery of Westminster. Also, that the manor of Sunbury should be due and proper to the church of St. Paul; and also that the church of St. Margaret, with all the lands belonging to the same, should be exempted from all other jurisdiction, but only of the bishop of Rome. And so was this matter decided, A.D. 1222.



**Grantham Church struck by Lightning**

The same year (as writeth Matth. Paris) horrible tempests, with such thundering, and lightning, and whirl winds, went through all the land, that much harm was done; churches, steeples, towers, houses, and divers trees with the violence of winds were blown up by the roots. In Warwickshire a certain wife with eight others in her house were slain. In Grantham the church was set on fire by lightning most terrible, with such a stink left there behind, that no man could after a long time abide it. The author addeth, that manifest marks of the tempest did remain long after in that monastery to be seen. Some also write that fiery dragons and spirits were seen then flying in the air.

A.D. 1223 Philip the French king died, after whom his son Louis succeeded in the crown. To whom King Henry sending his message, and desiring him to remember his promise and covenant made in rendering again the lands lost in Normandy, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon Richard, earl of Cornwall, also William, the king's uncle, earl of Salisbury, with divers other nobles, made over into France, where they recovered Poitiers, and kept Gascony under the king's obedience.

In the same year, or, as Fabian giveth, the next following, which was 1224, by the virtue of a certain parliament, it was granted of the lords and barony of the land, that the king and his heirs should have the ward and marriage of their heirs, which then was called, and after so proved to be, the beginning of harms.

In the same year, by the count of Gisburne and other writers, the said king holding another parliament at Oxenford, by the advice of his council and of his clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great seal, two charts of the old liberties and customs of this realm, for ever to be kept and observed; the one called *Magna Charta*, the other, *Charta de Foresta*. The contents whereof fully in the forenamed author are expressed. For the which cause was granted again by the whole parliament a quindecim, or a fifteen of all his subjects, as well of lay men as also of the clergy.

Where is to be noted, that these liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed again by the said king, A.D. 1236.

A.D. 1226 died Pope Honorius, a great adversary against Frederic the emperor, after whom succeeded Gregory the Ninth, more grievous than his predecessor. In which year died also Louis, the perjured French king, at the siege of Avignon; whom the pope now the second or third time had set up to fight against Reimund, the good earl of Toulouse, and the heretics Albigenses of that country; for so the pope calleth all them which hold not in all points with his glorious pride, and usurped power, and ungodly proceedings. The origin whereof was this, as in Matth. Paris appeareth. In the days of Philip the French king, this Reimund, earl of Toulouse, was disdained of the pope for holding with the Albigenses; and therefore, by the instigation of the pope, the lands of the earl were taken from him, and given to Simon Montfort, and instruments made upon the same. But when the said Earl Reimund would not be removed from the right of his possessions by unrighteous dealing, then the pope setteth Philip the French king, to make open war against him. Whereupon Louis, the French king, was sent with a great power (as is above declared) to besiege the city of Toulouse; but, being repulsed from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and so returned home after he had lost the most part of his army by pestilence and other calamity, as hath been before described. And thus continued the good earl still in quiet possession till this present time, A.D. 1226. In the which year the pope, not forgetting his old malice against the earl, and no less inflamed with insatiable avarice, directeth down his legate, Master Romanus, to the parts of France for two several purposes; one to extirpate the earl, the other to enlarge his revenues. Thus the legate, being entered into France, beginneth to summon a council, willing the French king, with the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France, to appear before him at Bitures; to whom eftsoons repaired six archbishops, with the bishops and suffragans of nine provinces, to the number of a hundred, besides the abbots, priors, and proctors of all the convents of France, to hear the pope's will and commandment. But because there was a discord feared to rise (with Matthæus) about pre-eminence of sitting, for that the archbishop of Lyons challenged the superior place above the archbishop of Sene; also the archbishop of Rouen above the archbishop of Bitures, and above the archbishop of Narbonne, &c; therefore the session was holden there not in manner and form of a council, but of a certain parley or consultation. Thus the meek and holy council being set, and the pope's Majesty's letters read and declared, appeareth before them Reimund, earl of Toulouse, of the one part, and Simon Montfort on the other part; which Simon required to be restored unto him the lands and possessions of the said Reimund, which the pope and Philip the French king had given to him and to his father before, having good evidences to show for the same, confirmed by the donation

of the pope and of the king. Adding, moreover, that the Earl Reimund was deprived and disherited in the general council at Rome for heresy, which is called the heresy of Albigenses. At least, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the most part of his lordships he required to be granted him.

To this the Earl Reimund answered again, offering himself ready to all duty and office, both toward the French king and to the Church of Rome, whatsoever duly to him did appertain. And, moreover, touching the heresy wherewith he was there charged, he did not only there offer himself in that council before the legate, but most humbly did crave of him that he would take the pains to come into every city within his precinct to inquire of every person there the articles of his belief; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not catholic, he would see the same to be corrected and amended according to the censure of holy church to the uttermost. Or if he should find any city rebelling against him, he, to the uttermost of his might, with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do satisfaction therefore. And as touching himself, if he had committed or erred in any thing, (which he remembereth not that he had done,) he offered there full satisfaction to God and church, as becomed any faithful Christian man to do; requiring, moreover, there before the legate to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (saith Matthæus) the legate despised; neither could the catholic earl (saith he) there find any grace, unless he would depart from his heritage, both from himself and from his heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of twelve peers of France to that Reimund answered, that if the French king would receive his homage, which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For else they would not, said he, take him as one of their society and fellow subjects.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the legate willeth every archbishop to call aside his suffragans, to deliberate with them upon the cause, and to give up in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly. the legate denounceth excommunication to all such as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the pope and the king had intelligence thereof.

These things thus in confusion among themselves concluded, the legate gave leave to all proctors of convents and chapters to return home, only retaining with him the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and certain simple prelates, such as he might be more bold withal to open, and of them to obtain, the other part of his commission, which was indeed to obtain of every cathedral church two prebendships; one for the bishop, the other for the chapter. And in monasteries also after the like sort, where the abbot and convent had divers and several portions, to require two churches; one for the abbot, the other for the convent; keeping this proportion, that how much should suffice for the living of one monk, so much the whole convent should find for their part, and as much the abbot likewise for his. And forsomuch as he would not seem to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this: that because the court of Rome had long been blotted with the note of avarice, which is mother of all evil, for that no man could come to Rome for any business, but he must pay for the expedition of the same; therefore, for the removing away of the occasion of that shnder, the public help of the church must necessarily be required, &c.

The proctors and parties, thus sent home by the legates, marvelling with themselves why the bishops and abhots should be stayed, and they sent home, and suspecting no less but as the matter was indeed, conferred their counsels together, and devised with themselves to send certain unto him in the behalf of all the cathedral and

conventual churches in France; and sent to the said legate this message, to signify to him, that they were credibly informed he came with special letters from the court of Rome for the obtaining of certain prebendaries in every cathedral and conventual church. Which being so, they much marvelled that he would not in the public council make manifest to them those letters, which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensive matter might rise by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the Church of France. "For grant (said they) that certain will assent unto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole; especially seeing both the states of the realm, with all the inferior subjects, yea, and the king himself, they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as upon the offence whereof standeth the subversion both of the realm public, and of the whole church in general." Declaring, moreover, the cause of this fear to rise hereof, for that in other realms such communication hath been with bishops and prelates for the procuring of such prebendships, whereas neither the prince nor the subjects were made any thing privy thereto.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the legate, the objections of the inferior parties against the cruel exaction were these in brief effect, as is in Parisiensis noted.

First, they alleged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustain thereby, by reason of the continual procurators of the pope, which in every diocess must live not of their own, but must be sustained upon the charges of the cathedral churches, and other churches also; and many times, they being but procurators, will be found as legates.

Item, by that means they said great perturbations might ensue to the convents and chapters of cathedral churches in their elections; forsomuch as the pope's agents and factors being in every cathedral church and chapter-house, perchance the pope would command him in his person to be present at their elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the court of Rome to give; and so should be placed more of the pope's partizans in the churches of France, than of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, by this means they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome should be richer, and should receive more for their proportion, than the king of the realm; by reason of which abundance of riches it was like to come to pass, that as the worm of rich men is pride; so, by the means of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and drive off great suits, and scarce would take any pains with small causes. The experiment whereof is evident, for that now also they use to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in assurance to receive. And thus should justice stand aside, and poor suitors die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treasure and riches.

Item, forsomuch as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the court of Rome. for the better speeding of their causes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter. and their causes sooner despatched.

Item, whenas it is impossible the fountain of greedy desire to be stopped. it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by

themselves, or else they should be enforced to give greater rewards than before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked upon.

Item, where be alleged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the court of Rome; by this means rather the contrary were to be feared. wherein they alleged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,  
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Further, they alleged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking: so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruin and destruction of the city, whereof some experiment they had already.

Item. they added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselves to that contribution, yet their successors would not so be bound, nor yet ratify the bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the zeal of the universal church, and of the Church of Rome, would move him; for if this oppression of the church should be universal, it were to be doubted lest a universal departing might follow from the Church of Rome, which God forbid (say they) should happen.

The legate hearing these words, being therewith something moved, (as seemed,) excused himself, that he being in the court never agreed to this exaction; and that the letters hereof came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly sorry; adding this withal, that the words of his precept included this secret meaning in them, thus to be understood and taken: so far forth as the empire and other realms would agree unto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proved what other countries would say and do therein.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legate, touching his exaction of prebendships in every cathedral and conventual church, wherein, as ye hear, he was repulsed.

Now to return to the first part of his commission again, which was concerning Reimund, the godly earl of Toulouse. Thus the story proceedeth, that while the legate was in hand with this matter of the pope's money, in the mean season certain preaching friars were directed by the said Romanus, the pope's legate, into all France, to incite and stir up the Frenchmen to take the cross upon them, and to war against the earl of Toulouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for heretics. At the preaching whereof a great number of prelates and laymen signed themselves with the cross, to fight against the people of Toulouse, being thereto induced, as the story saith, more for fear of the French king, or favour of the legate, than for any true zeal of justice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris: "For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse to move war against a faithful Christian man, especially seeing in the Council of Bitures before all men he entreated the legate with great instance that he would come into every city within his dominions, and there to inquire of every person the articles of his faith; where if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the catholic faith, he promised a full satisfaction to he had thereof, according to the censure of the church, to the uttermost," &c.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud legate, contemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the Earl Reimund, ceased not by all manner of means to prosecute the pope's fury against him and his subjects, stirring up the king and the French men. under pain of excommunication, to war against them. Louis, the French king, thus being enforced by the legate, answered again, that he for his own safety would not achieve that expedition, or adventure against the earl, unless it were first obtained of the pope to write to the king of England; commanding him that, during the time of that expedition, he should invade and molest no peer of his lands and possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoever they were holden, while the time of the said war against the heretics (as they were then termed) did endure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsel and money in that enterprise. All which being done and accomplished, the French king and the legate, crossing themselves to the field, appointed a day peremptory for the French army to meet together at Lyons, under pain of the pope's excommunication, and with horse and harness to set upon the people of Toulouse against the Ascension day next ensuing.

When the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorily appointed, the French king, having prepared at Lyons all things necessary for his army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty host: after whom also cometh the legate, with his bishops and prelates. The number of fighting men in his army, besides the victuallers and waggons, were fifty thousand men. The legate by the way openly excommunicated the earl of Toulouse, and all that took his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward, till he came into the province of Toulouse, and the first city which he came unto there of the earl's was Avignon; which city they thought first to have besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to have destroyed and wasted all the whole province belonging to the earl. And first the king demanded of them to have his passage through the city, feigning himself in peaceable wise (for the expedition of his journey) but to pass through the same. The citizens, consulting with themselves what was to be done, at length gave answer that they mistrusted their coming, and supposed that in deceit they required the entrance of their city, and for no necessity of their journey.

The king, hereat being much offended, sware an oath that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city; and immediately in those places where he thought most meet he began to give sharp assaults, with all manner of assaulting engines: the citizens again within manfully defended themselves, casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the French men. Thus when they had long besieged the city, and could not win the same, at length victuals in the French camp began to fail, and many of them died for hunger. For the earl of Toulouse, as a wise man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the town all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serve for their defence and succour; he ploughed up the fields, that there should no stover be found to serve their horses; he put out of the town all the old people and young children, lest they should want victuals that kept the town, and before their coming sent them far away; so that within the town they had plenty, and without they died for famine. And besides, in seeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the city, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad, and slew many of them: besides, a great number of cattle and horses died for want of forage; and poor soldiers, that had no great store of money, died for want of victuals. By which mortality and stink both of men and cattle grew great infection and pestilence among them; inso much that the king himself

and also the legate were greatly dismayed, thinking it to be no little shame, as well to the realm of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and break up their siege. Thus again thought the soldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by battle, than so to die like dogs and starve. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to give a new assault at the bridge that goeth over the flood Rhodanus into the town, to which place they came in such number, that either by the debility of the bridge, or subtlety of the soldiers that kept the town, three thousand of them, with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent stream, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladness of the citizens' part, and much lamentation and heaviness on the other part? Then shortly after, the citizens of Avignon (when they saw a convenient time, whilst their enemies were in eating meat) came suddenly upon them out of the town, and slew of them two thousand, and took the town again with safety. But the legate with his company of prelates, like good men of war, practised none other martial feats, save cursing the earl of Toulouse, his cities, and his people. Louis the king, to avoid the pestilence that was in the camp, went into an abbey not far off; where shortly after he died; of whose death are sundry opinions; some saying that he was poisoned, some that he died of a bloody flux.

Whose death notwithstanding the legate thought to keep secret and concealed, till that the town might be rendered and given up; for he thought himself shamed for ever, if he should depart before the town were won. Wherefore, after he had encouraged the soldiers afresh, and yet after many sharp assaults could not prevail, he bethought him how by falsehood he might betray them, and sent unto them certain heralds, to will them that they should amongst themselves consult upon articles of peace, and bring the same to their camp, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of coming and going. And when they had given their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legate, who promised them, if they would deliver up their city, they should have their lives, goods, and possessions in as ample manner as now they enjoyed the same. But the citizens and soldiers refused to be under the servitude of the French king, neither would so deliver up their city to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talk on both sides, and none likely to take effect. the legate requested them, and kindly desired, that he, and his prelates which were about him, might come into their city to examine what faith and belief they were of, and that he neither sought nor meant any other thing thereby but their own safeties, as well of body as soul, which thing he faithfully sware unto. For (saith he) the bruit of your great infidelity hath come to the lord pope's ear, and therefore desired he to make true certificate thereof. Whereupon the citizens, not mistrusting his faithful oath and promise made unto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergy. bringing with them no weapon into the town. The soldiers of the camp, as it was agreed before, made them ready; so that at the entrance of the prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their oath and fidelity, the other suddenly were ready, and with violence rushed in, slew the porter and warders, and at length won the city, and destroyed the same, and slew many of them that were within. Thus by falsehood and policy, when they had gotten this noble city, they carried the king's corpse unto Paris, where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French soldiers which in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thousand: whereby, saith the story of Matt. Paris, it may evidently appear the war was unjustly taken in hand, &c.

After these things finished, and after the funeral of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said history of Matt. Paris, that the said legate Romanus was

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vehemently suspected, and grievously infamed to abuse himself with Blanca, the king's mother. But it is ungodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies so rumoured the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part.

## 51. Henry III (Contd.)

To pass further to the year next following, which was 1227 of the Lord, first it is to be noted, that in this year King Henry, beginning to shoot up unto the twentieth year of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the citizens of London for old reckonings, namely, for giving or lending one thousand marks to Louis, the French king, at his departing out of the realm, to the great prejudice of him and of his kingdom. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yield to the king the full sum of the like money. That done, he removed to Oxford, where he assembled a great council, there denouncing and protesting before them all that he was come to sufficient age no more to be under tutors and governors, but to be his own man, requiring to be freed from the custody of others. Which thing being protested, and contradicted forthwith, he, by the counsel of Hubert, the chief justice, whom he made then the earl of Kent, removed from his company the bishop of Winchester, and others, under whom he was moderated. And immediately in the same council, by the sinister persuasion of some, he doth annihilate and make void the charters and liberties before by him granted pretending this colour; for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minority, at what time he had the rule neither of himself nor of his seal. Whereupon much muttering and mumuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert the justice. Moreover, it was the same time proclaimed, that whoso ever had any charter or gift sealed in the time of the king's minority, they should come and renew the same again under the new seal of the king, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their seals, they were taxed not according to their ability, but according as it pleased the justice and other to levy them.

Moreover, beside this general subsidy of the fifteenth granted to the king through the whole realm, and besides all the contribution of the Londoners, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through several places; as of the burgesses of Northampton he required a thousand and two hundred marks for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of money was made towards the furnishing of his voyage to recover Normandy. And yet because he would gratify the city of London again with some pleasure, he granted that the citizens thereof should pass toll free (saith Fabian) throughout all England. And if of any city, borough, or town they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the sheriffs of London to attach every man coming to London of the said city, borough, or town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were again restored of all such money paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same.

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth, between the which Gregory and the people of Rome this year fell a great sedition. Insomuch that about the feast of Easter they thrust the pope out of the city, pursuing him unto his castle at Viterbiam. Where also they invaded him so valiantly, that they chased him to Perugia. Then, having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his persecutors, fiercely he did excommunicate them.

Here, by the way, is to be observed and considered, Christian reader, not only by this sedition, but by so many other sebisms, divisions, tumults, fightings, brawls, and contentions in the Church of Rome, from the first beginning of the pope's usurped

power, and that not only within the city of Rome, but universally almost in all popish monasteries, colleges, churches, and convents under the pope subjected, continually reigning amongst them, what is to be thought of their religion and holiness, having so little peace, so great disquietness, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories both manifest it is to behold, and wondrous to consider.

And forsoame as I have entered here into the mention of this schismatical commotion between the pope and his citizens, it followeth moreover in the history of Parisiensis, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the same year and time, A.D. 1228, between the prior and convent of Durham and this King Henry the Third, upon this occasion: After the death of Richard, bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtain licence for the electing of their bishop. The king offered to them one Lucas, a chaplain of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monks answered, that they would receive no man but by their order of canonical election. Meaning belike, by their canonical election, thus much, whenas they elect either some monk out of their own company, or else some monkish priest after their own liking. Contrary, the king again sendeth word unto them, and bound it with an oath, that they should tarry seven years without a bishop, unless they would admit the foresaid Lucas to that place of that dignity. All which notwithstanding, the monks, proceeding in their election, refused the said Lucas, and preferred another clerk of theirs, named William, archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king; but the king, bringing in exceptions and causes against the party, would not admit him. Then the monks in all hasty speed sent up to Rome certain of their convent, to have their election ratified by the authority apostolical. On the other side the king, likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the monks the bishop of Chester and the prior of Lentony on his behalf, to withstand the purpose of the monks. And so the matter, being travised with great altercation on both sides, did hang in suspense, (saith mine author,) till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Master William nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard, bishop of Sarum, should be translated to Durham, and be bishop there, A.D. 1228.

The like stir also happened both the same year, and for the like matter, between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Litchfield, about choosing of their bishop, which of them should have the superior voice in the election of their prelate. After much ado, the cause, at length being hoisted up to Rome, had this determination; that the monks of Coventry and the church of Litchfield should choose their bishop by course, each part keeping his turn the one after the other; provided, notwithstanding, that the prior of Coventry should always have the first voice in every election; whereas the old custom was, saith mine author, that the convent with the prior of Coventry was wont to have the whole election of the bishop without the canons: this was A.D. 1228.

In the which year died Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now use them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made postils upon the whole Bible. The same moreover builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

After the death of this Langton ensued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, between the monks of Canterbury and the king. The perturbation whereof, as it was no less seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of Stephen Langton, the monks of Canterbury, obtaining licence of the king to proceed in the election of a new archbishop, did

choose one of their own society, named Master Walter Hemesham. Whom when the monks had presented unto the king, he, after long deliberation, began to object against that election, saying, first, that the monks had elected such a one as neither was profitable to him nor his kingdom. Secondly, he objected against the party elect, that his father was convict of felony, and hanged for the same. Thirdly, that he stood in causes against his father King John in the time of the interdict. Moreover, the bishops, his suffragans, charged the party elect, that he had lain with a certain nun, and had children by her; adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the archbishop again, stoutly standing unto his election, appealed up to Rome, and eftsoons, taking with him certain monks, presented himself to the pope's own proper person, there to sue his appeal; instantly entreating that his election might stand confirmed by his authority pontifical. But the pope, understanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The king and the bishops, having intelligence that the archbishop with his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foresaid objections above alleged in writing, and, sealing the same with the seals both of the king and of the bishops, to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of these letters were the bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the archdeacon of Bedford, Master John, &c. They, coming to Rome, and exhibiting their message with their letters unto the pope, (consideration being had upon the same,) were commanded to wait attendance against the next day after Ash Wednesday; then to have a resolute answer concerning the cause, which was the second day of March the next year following, that is, in the year of our Lord 1229. In the mean season, the king's proctors ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be favourable to the king's side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter, as is the guise of that court, they began to misdoubt their speeding. Wherefore, consulting together with themselves upon the premises, they came to the pope, promising in the king's behalf to be given and granted to him, out of the realms both of England and Ireland, the tithes or tenth part of all the goods within the said realms movable, to sustain his wars against the emperor, so that he would incline favourably to the king's suit and petition herein. But the pope, (saith the author,) who boiled with desire above all measure to have the emperor his enemy cast down, being cheered with so great promises, granted his consent to them, who, sitting then in his consistory, had these words which here follow.

"There hath come of late to our intelligence the election of a certain monk, named Walter, to be archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon, after that we heard and advised, as well those things which the said monk had said for himself and for his election, as also, on the contrary side, the objections and exceptions of the bishops of England alleging against him and against his election, namely, of the bishop of Chester, the bishop of Rochester, and John, archdeacon of Bedford; we, upon the same, committed the examination, touching the person of the man, unto our reverend brethren, Lord Cardinal Albany, Lord Cardinal Thomas de Sabina, and Master Peter. And when the aforesaid elect, coming before them, was asked of them, first, concerning the Lord's descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreover how Rachel wept for her children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, he answered not well. Again, being required of matrimony, if one of the married parties be an infidel, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Upon these articles

he was (as is said) diligently examined of the cardinals, to the which we say he answered not only not well, but also very ill. Forasmuch therefore as the church of Canterbury is a noble church, and requireth a noble prelate, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosom of the Church of Rome; and forasmuch as this new elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but also should say more of him if we would proceed with him by the rigour of the law) is so insufficient that he ought not to be admitted to such a room; we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his election, always reserving to ourselves the provision of the said church."

Thus the election of Walter being frustrated and dissolved, the king's procurators bringing forth the letters of the king, and of the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, presented the same unto the pope for the ratification of Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed archbishop of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conversation; and, which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of Rome, as also for the realm of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the pope by the letters procuratory of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the pope and of the cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canterbury before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope Gregory in his behalf directeth down his letters to all and singular suffragans of the church of Canterbury, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lie, that forsomuch as by the fulness of ecclesiastical power the charge of pastoral office is committed to him in general upon all churches, he therefore, for the solitude he beareth, as well to all other churches in general, as in special to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, repudiating and disannulling the former election of Walter the monk upon just causes, hath provided for that see a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that function very fit and commodious; and willet and commandeth them, and all others, by his authority apostolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him, &c.

These things thus finished at Rome, the pope, not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English silver which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedy wise sendeth unto the king of England M. Stephen, his own chaplain and trusty legate, to require and collect the foresaid tithes of all the movable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintain his war against Frederic the emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all Christian realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederic the emperor, he sendeth also with the said Stephen special letters full of manifold complaints and grievous accusations against the said emperor, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be showed hereafter. Upon the coming of this Stephen the legate, the king assembled all his earls and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templaries, hospitallers, parsons, and vicars, and other such as held of him *in capite*, to appear before him at Westminster, to hear and to commune of the matter. In the assembly of whom, the pope's patent letters were brought forth and read, wherein he required the tenths of all the movables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergy as of the laity, to maintain his expedition against the foresaid Frederic the emperor. The which expedition, as he pretended to achieve and to take in hand for the cause of the universal church, and happily had begun the matter already; and forsomuch as the riches of the apostolic see did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise; he therefore, enforced by mere necessity, did implore the aid and

help of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the Church of Rome, lest the members thereof together with the head should be subverted. These letters of the pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the pope's chaplain, which he with much more allegation and persuasion of words did amplify to his uttermost; the king, (saith mine author,) in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a staff of reed. Forsomuch as he had obliged himself to the same before, for the election of his archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The earls, barons, and all the laity utterly refused so to bind their baronies to the Church of Rome; but the bishops, abbots, priors, with other prelates of the church, first requiring space and respite to deliberate for three or four days, at length, for fear of the pope's curse, (although they durst not utterly withstand,) had brought to pass to have concluded for a sum of money much less, had not Stephen Segrave, one of the king's counsellors, craftily convented with the legate, and by subtle means brought it so to pass, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable damage (saith Paris) both of the ecclesiastical and temporal state. The means whereof (saith the author) was this: The legate showing to the prelates his procuratory letters, to collect and gather up all the foresaid tenths in the name and authority of the pope, declared moreover the full authority to him granted, by the virtue of his commission, to excommunicate all such, and to interdict their churches, whosoever did gainsay or go contrary to the said collection. Whereupon, by the said virtue legantine, he sendeth to every shire his proctors to gather the pope's money, or else to excommunicate them which denied to pay. And forsomuch as the present need of the pope required present help without delay, he sendeth moreover to the bishops and prelates of the realm, in pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him, either of their own, or by loan or usance, or by what means soever, so much money in all post speed for the present use of the pope; and after to take up again the said money of the tenths of every singular person, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the prelates, to avoid the danger, (having no other remedy,) were driven to sell their chalices, cruets, copes, jewels, and other church plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow upon usance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the said Stephen, the pope's chaplain, (as reporteth Matthew Paris,) brought with him into England for the same purpose, such bankers and usurers, as, lending out their money upon great usury, did unreasonably pinch the English people, which merchant usurers were then called Caursini. Briefly, such strict action was then upon the poor Englishmen, that not only their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the corn yet growing in the field against the next harvest was tithed, &c. Only the earl of Chester, named Ranulph, stood stoutly against the pope, suffering none within his dominion, either layman or clerk, to yield any tenths to the pope's proctors. And this was the end of the strife between the monks of Canterbury and the king for the election of their archbishop, which was about the year of our Lord 1229; in the which year was finished the new church of Coventry, by Alexander, bishop of the said city, and partly by the help of the king; which church Richard his predecessor, bishop before him of Coventry, had begun.

The Frenchmen about this time again prepared themselves towards Provence, to war against the foresaid Reimund, earl of Toulouse, and to expel him out of his possessions. And hearing that he was in his castle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to enclose and compass him about; but the earl, being privy of their conspired purpose, set for them by the way, appointing certain ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the Frenchmen, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the French were entered the

wood, the earl, with his train of well-armed and able warriors, suddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, so that in that conflict five hundred of the French soldiers were taken, and many slain.

The same year the king, being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobility, earls, barons, and knights of England, with such an army of horsemen and footmen as hath not been lightly seen, thinking to recover again the countries of Normandy, of Gaunt, and other possessions which King John his father before had lost. But when the captains and marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not half ships enough to receive the host. Whereupon the king was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in Hubert, the lord chief justice, (who under the king had all the government of the realm,) calling him old traitor, charging him that he should be the let of his voyage, as he was before when he took of the French queen five thousand marks to stay the king's journey into Normandy. Insomuch that the rage of the king was so kindled against him, that, drawing his sword, he made at him to run him through, had not the earl of Chester, Ranulph, stopped the king. Hubert withdrew himself away till the king's rage was past. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arrived Henry, earl of Normandy, in the haven of Portsmouth in the month of October; who should have conducted the king upon his allegiance and oath into Normandy. But he with other of the king's army counselled the king not to take that voyage towards winter, but rather to defer it to the Easter next following; wherewith the king was stayed, and well contented, and pacified again with Hubert the justice, &c.

Fabian recordeth this year the liberties and franchise of the city of London to be confirmed by the king, and to every of the sheriffs to be granted two clerks, and two officers, without any more.

Then followed the year 1230, in which upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, (as saith Paris,) as a great multitude of people for the solemnity of the day were congregate in the temple of St. Paul, the bishop then being at his mass, a sudden darkness with such thickness of clouds fell in the air, that one man might not see another in the church. After that, followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leaving such a scent in the church, that the people, looking for doomsday, thought no less but that the steeple and whole church would have fallen upon their heads; insomuch that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell down together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were; only the bishop and his deacon stood still at their mass, holding the altar fast.

Of the death of Stephen Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costly and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in the room, which did cost the whole realm of England the tenths of all their movables, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard, being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king complaining of Hubert, the lord chief justice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and town of Tunbridge, with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earl of Clare late deceased. Which lands appertain to the right of his seat, and to the church of Canterbury; for the which the said earl with his ancestors were bound to do homage to him and to his predecessors; and therefore he required the keeping of the foresaid castle, with the domains thereof, to be restored to him. To this the king answered again, that the said earl did hold of him *in capite*, and that the castles being vacant of earls and barons, with their heirs, did belong to his crown, till the lawful age of the said heirs. The archbishop, when he

could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicate all such as invaded the foresaid possessions, with all others that took their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoons he speedeth himself to Rome, there to prosecute his suit before the pope. The king hearing thereof not long after sendeth up Master Roger Cantelu, with certain other messengers, unto Rome against the archbishop.

This Richard the archbishop, coming before the pope's presence, beginneth first to complain of his king, for that he committed all the affairs of his realm to the disposition and government of Hubert his justice, using only his counsel, all his other nobles despised.

Against the said justice moreover he complained, laying to his charge, first, that he had married a wife, being the kinswoman of her whom he had married before; also that the said Hubert the justice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain such possessions as belonged to the see and church of Canterbury.

As touching the wife of this Hubert, here is to be noted, that he married the elder sister of the king of Scots; which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certain bishops, his suffragans, who, neglecting their pastoral function, did sit on chequer matters belonging to the king, and exercised sessions and judgments of blood.

Over and besides, he complaineth of beneficed persons, and clerks within orders, for having many benefices joined with cure of soul: and that they also, taking example of the bishops, did intermeddle in secular matters, and in judgments of laymen.

Of these and such other defaults he required redress to be had. The pope weighing and considering the cause of the archbishop to stand upon right and reason, (at leastwise seeming so to his purpose,) commanded incontinent his petitions and requests to be despatched according to justice.

Against these complaints of the archbishop the king's attorneys alleged and defended in as much favour of the king as they might, but could do no good. Such favour found the archbishop in the pope's sight, being (as the story reporteth) of a comely personage, and of an eloquent tongue, that he obtained whatsoever he asked. Thus the archbishop, with all favourable speed being despatched at Rome after his own will and desire, returned homeward; who, in his journey, within three days of his setting forth, departed in the house of Grey Friars at St. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him; who, winning his suit, lost his life; for whom it had been better, I suppose, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his complaints also.

After the death of this Richard, the monks of Canterbury (according to the manner) address themselves to a new election; at which was chosen Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester, who was the king's chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithful, upright, and constant; which from the way of justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralph (thus chosen of the monks) was presented unto the king to be their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad also of his election; and forthwith invested him for archbishop of the church of Canterbury. But this investing of the king was not enough, unless he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherefore the monks, ready to take their journey unto Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his help for their expenses by the way, and to know what service

he would command them to the court of Rome. But he, fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simony and ambition, said he would not give a halfpenny; and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, saying, "O Lord God, if I shall be thought worthy to be called (although indeed unworthy) to the seat and office of this church, so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise, in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministry, whereunto I have been assigned, I shall seem more necessary for this thy kingdom and people, I refuse not my labour, thy will be done."

The monks beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their travel and journey to Rome, to have their election confirmed by the pope's authority. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton (brother of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported again to him by the said Simon, maliciously depraving the good man behind his back, and declaring to the pope, that he was a courtier, unlearned, hasty, and fervent in his doings, and such a one who, if he should be promoted to that dignity, would go about, with the help of the king and of the whole realm, to remove and bring the realm of England from under the yoke of the pope and of the Church of Rome; and so to bereave the see of Rome of the tribute, under which King John had once subjected himself and his realm, at what time he yielded his crown to the hands of Pandulph the legate, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton falsely and maliciously depraved the godly bishop. The pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other party accused, sendeth incontinent to the monks of Canterbury to proceed in a new election, and to choose them another archbishop, such as were a wholesome pastor of souls, profitable unto the Church of England, and devout to the Church of Rome; and thus was the lawful election of this good archbishop made frustrate, too good peradventure to serve in that place whereunto he was elected.

After the repulse of this Ralph, the Canterbury monks, entering a new election, agreed upon John their prior to be their metropolitan; who, going up to Rome to have his election confirmed by the pope, was three days together examined of the cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him; yet notwithstanding the pope finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himself) repelled him, for that he said he was too old and simple to sustain that dignity.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, which was able to take that journey to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take pains in keeping the chair of Canterbury.

In the former parts of this story preceding, partly before hath been declared, partly hereafter more shall appear, (Christ willing,) how the church of England and commons of the same was grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable oppressions of the pope; who through his violent extortion had procured the best benefices to be given unto his Romans, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own coffers. And what complaints thereof have been made ye heard before; but yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these Roman rakehells, prowling and polling, wheresoever they came, with their provisions and exactions out of measure, and never satisfied. Insomuch that here in England, whosoever lacked, their barns were always full of corn; and what penury soever pinched the people, they

were sure to have enough. And these importunate exactions and contributions of these Italian harpies, besides the Peter pence, besides the common tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the realm, insomuch that the wealth of this land was almost cleanly sucked up, and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was devised by some of the nobles (as appeareth in the story of Parisiensis) this foresaid year, A.D. 1231, that certain letters, under the pretended colour of the king's authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding; that such corn and grain, with other revenues, as were taken up for the pope, should be stayed, and fortheoming by a certain day in the said letters appointed; the which letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of Hubert, lord chief justice of England, who then, next under the king, ruled the most affairs of the realm. The words and contents of the letters be these.

"After divers and sundry griefs and oppressions which this realm, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the king himself, as also of the nobility of the same, concerning the advowsons of their churches, and about their tithes; who also go about to take from the clerks and spiritual men their benefices, and to bestow them upon their own nation and countrymen, to the spoil and confusion both of us and our realm; we therefore by our common consents have thought good, although very late, now yet, rather than any longer to suffer their intolerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others; whereby they may desist any longer to molest the realm. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that, as touching the farming of their churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you have presently in your hands, or else do owe unto the said Romanists, that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you have the said your rents and revenues ready by such a day, to pay and deliver unto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that all abbots and priors have the same in a readiness at the time appointed, in their own monasteries; and all other priests, clerks, and laymen, at the churches of the Romanists, there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuse thus to do, all that you have besides shall be by us burnt and spoiled. And besides, look what danger we purpose shall fall upon them, the same shall light upon your necks if you refuse thus to do. Farewell."

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certain soldiers thereunto appointed, to the which letters they had devised a new seal with two swords engraved, and between the swords was written, *Ecce gladili duo, &c.*, Behold these two swords, ready to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the form and order in these letters contained.

At that time, the sixteenth day before the kalends of January, about the beginning of the year 1232, there was kept at St. Albans a great consistory of abbots, priors, archdeacons, with divers both of the nobility and clergy, by the pope's commandment, for the celebration of a divorce between the countess of Essex and her husband. At the breaking up of which consistory, when every man was about to depart thence, there was a certain clerk, whose name was Cincius, a Roman, and also a canon of Paul's in London, taken by some of the said university not far off from St. Albans, and was carried away from his company by the soldiers. But Master John, archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, hardly escaping from that company, got to London, where he

hid himself; and durst not be seen. Cencius, after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent again without any more hurt to London.

Not long after this, about the beginning of January, the barns of a certain beneficed man, a Roman, and parson of Wingham, being full of corn, were broke up by a like company of armed soldiers, and the corn brought out to be sold and given away to the poor people. The farmer seeing this, and not able to resist, complaineth to the sheriff of the shire of this injury done to his master, and of breaking the king's peace; whereupon the sheriff sent certain of his men to see what was done. Who coming to the empty barns, and there finding the foresaid soldiers to them unknown, who had sold away the most part of the corn upon easy price, and some for charity had given to the poverty of the country about, required of them what they were, that so durst presume to break the king's peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and showed them the king's letters patents, (pretending at least the king's name and seal,) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the sheriff's servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

This coming to the knowledge of Roger, bishop of London, he (with the assistance of other bishops) proceedeth in solemn excommunication, first, against them that robbed Cincius the Roman; then of them which spoiled the barns of the parson of Wingham, another Roman; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seal of the king above specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that so cease, but the same year, about Easter next following, all the barns in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the corn sold to the best commodity of the poor commons. Of the which great alms were distributed, and many times money also with corn together was spared for the needy people to gather up. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were stricken in such fear, that they hid themselves in monasteries and cells, not daring to complain of their injuries received; but held it better to lose rather their goods than to lose their lives. The authors and workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed soldiers; of whom the principal captain was one naming himself William Withers, surnamed Twing.

This coming to the pope's knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediately to the king upon the same, with sharp threatenings, and imperious commandments, charging him for suffering such villany within his realm, straitly enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewise he sendeth the same charge to Peter, bishop of Winchester, and to the abbot of St. Edmund, to inquire in the south parts. Also to the archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Durham, and to Master John, canon of York, a Roman, to inquire in the north parts for the said malefactors, and, after diligent inquisition made, to send up the same to Rome, there needs to appear before him, &c.

Thus, after earnest inquisition made of all parties, and witnesses sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were factors, some that were consenters, of whom some were bishops and chaplains unto the king, some archdeacons and deans, with other soldiers and laymen. Among whom certain sheriffs and under-sheriffs, with their servitors under them, were apprehended and cast into prison by the king. Many for fear fled and escaped away, who being sought for could

not be found; but the principal of this number (as is aforesaid) was supposed to be Hubert, lord chief justice; who, both with the king's letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreover, in the same society of them which were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Twing above mentioned, a comely young man and a tall soldier; who, of his own voluntary accord, with five other servitors, whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the king, openly protesting himself to be the author of that deed doing, and said he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, because that by the sentence of the bishop of Rome, and fraudulent circumvention of the Italians, he was bereaved of the patronage of his benefice, having no more to give but that one; wherefore, to be revenged of that injury, he enterprised that which was done; preferring rather justly to be excommunicated for a season, than to be spoiled of his benefice for ever. Then the king, and other executors of the pope's commandment, gave him counsel, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the pope's sentence, he should offer himself to the pope to be absolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he justly and canonically was possessed of that church. The king moreover with him sent his letters testimonial unto the pope, witnessing with the said soldier, and instantly desiring the pope in his behalf that he might with favour be heard. At the request whereof Pope Gregory afterwards both released him of the sentence, and restored unto him his patronage, writing unto the archbishop of York, that he might again enjoy the right of his benefice in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

Hubert de Burgh, lord chief justice, being one of them which held against the Romish priests, as is afore signified, was therefore not a little noted of the bishops, who, to requite him with the like despite again, (after their accustomed manner of practice,) went about by subtle working to shake him out of the king's favour. And first cometh Peter, bishop of Winchester, to the king, grievously complaining of certain about the king; but especially of the foresaid Hubert, the king's justice; insomuch that he caused him to be removed from his office; notwithstanding he had the king's seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured Stephen Segrave to be placed in his function. And after a few days the king, more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the treasure which he was countable for by his exchequer office; also of all such debts by him due from the time of his father till his time; also of all the lordships which were in the possession of William, earl of Pembroke, chief justice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forests, warrens, shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the king's profit, of his liberties, how he did use them. Item, of injuries and damages wrought against the clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the pope's legates, for the redress whereof he would never adjoin his counsel, according as pertained to his office, being then chief justice of England. Also of scutages, gifts, presents, escapes of prisoners. Item, of maritages which King John committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these Hubert answered, that he had King John's own hand to show for his discharge, who so approved his fidelity that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such counts. Whereunto answered again the bishop of Winchester, saying, The charter of King John hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the same.

Over and besides these, other greater objections were laid to his charge by the king; as for sending and writing unto the duke of Austria that he might marry his daughter, to the prejudice of the king and of the realm, dissuading that she might not be given to him. Item, for counselling the king not to enter into Normandy with his army, which he had prepared for the recovery of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treasure was there consumed in vain. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the king of Scots, whom King John his father committed unto his custody for him to marry. Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a virtue to make him victorious in war; and for sending the same unto Leoline, prince of Wales: and that, by his letters sent to the said Leoline, William Brewer, a nobleman, was caused there traitorously to be hanged, &c. These, with other crimes, (whether true or false,) were suggested to the king against the said Hubert by his adversaries; whereunto he was required to answer by order of law. Hubert then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the king objected to him, which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September; but in the mean time, Hubert, being in fear of the king, fled from London to the priory of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before, for the love of the king, and defence of the realm, (saith mine author,) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the king's favour, was destitute of comfort on every side, save only that Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the king for him. By this example, and many like, is to be seen how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable princes is, to teach all such as have to do about princes how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ, the true Prince of all princes, which never faileth. By like example was Clito served of King Alexander, Joab of King David, Belisarius of Justinian, Harpagus of Astiages, Cromwell of King Henry, with innumerable more, which in histories are to be found.

When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping amongst the monks of Merton, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the king, that he should come up and appear in the court, there to answer to his charge. Whereunto he answered again, that he misdoubted the king's anger, and therefore he did fly to the church, as the uttermost refuge to all such as suffer wrong, from whence he would not stir, till he heard the king's wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this the king, moved and sore displeased, directeth his letters in all haste to the mayor of London, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and take up all the citizens that could bear harness in the city, and to bring to him by force of arms the foresaid Hubert, either quick or dead, out of Merton. Whereupon the mayor immediately, causing the great bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London; and opening before them the king's letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readiness to the executing of the king's will and message.

The citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, because of the execution of Constantine their citizen afore mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the citizens, namely, Andrew Bukerell, John Travers, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion, wisely pondering with themselves what inconvenience might rise hereof, went in haste to the bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwark, and, waking him out of his sleep, desired him of his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous distress, declaring unto him what peril might thereby ensue, as well to the church of Merton as also to the city, by the fury of the inordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and

spoiling, neither will spare shedding of blood, &c. Unto whom again the bloody bishop gave this bloody counsel (saith Matthew Paris): Dangerous it is, (quoth he,) both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the precept of the king, I counsel you plainly. At the which counsel of the bishop they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the business enjoined. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of the said Hubert.

The cause why Peter, bishop of Winchester, was so cruelly set against the justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Roman priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the king, coming to his lawful age before, (through the counsel of this Hubert,) loosed himself from the government of the said bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this bishop towards him.

On the next morrow, the Londoners, issuing out of the city, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying prostrate before the altar, commending himself to God.

In the mean season, while the citizens were in their journey, raging against the poor earl of Kent, it was suggested to the king, by Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and lord chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite up the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of sedition; lest peradventure the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the king would have them. Moreover, what shall be said (quoth he) among the Frenchmen and other nations, which of great things love to make them greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: See what a kind bird is the young king of England, which seeketh to devour his old nurse, under whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth. And thus the king, by the persuasion hereof, changing his counsel, sent in all hasty wise after the army again, willing them to retract their journey, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wills) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be observed another notable example of God's working providence. For when the king (saith the history) had sent by two messengers or pursuivants to revoke and call back again the army of the Londoners, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent justice, one of the messengers, posting with all speed possible with the king's letters, overtook the army; and coming to the foreward where the captains were, by virtue of the king's letters stayed their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger, crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said Hubert, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingered by the way of purpose (although being commanded to make haste); and when he came, went only but to the middle sort; more like a messenger meet to serve a dead man's errand, than to serve the turn of them which be alive. And so in like manner by the just hand of God it fell upon him. For the same messenger, stumbling with his horse, riding but a soft or foot pace, and rather walking than riding, fell down backward from his horseback, and there brake his neck, and died. This merciful message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Ralph, bishop of Chichester, lord chancellor, a virtuous and a faithful man, and one that could skill to have compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected archbishop of Canterbury, would not give one halfpenny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the pope; and afterward by the said pope was defeated and frustrated of his election, as relation was made afore. And thus, through God's providence, by the means of the king's letters the army returned, and Hubert's life, contrary to his expectation, was preserved.

After this, the archbishop of Dublin with much labour and great suit entreated and obtained of the king to grant unto the said Hubert respite till the twelfth day of January, to provide himself of his answer to such things as were commenced against him. Then Hubert, trusting to enjoy some safety by the king's permission to him granted, to breathe himself a little and to walk abroad, took his journey towards St. Edmundsbury, where his wife was; and, passing through the country of Essex, was inned there in a certain town belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Whereof, when the king was certified, fearing lest he would raise up some commotion in the realm, sendeth in hasty anger after him Sir Godfred Crancombe, knight, with three hundred men; commanding, under pain of hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of London; which commandment to accomplish there lacked no haste. Hubert, having intelligence of their coming, (rising out of his bed naked as he was,) ran unto the chapel standing near unto the inn, where he holdeth with the one hand the cross, with the other hand the sacrament of the Lord's body. Then Godfred, with his foresaid armed soldiers, entering into the chapel, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the chapel; and taking the cross and the sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and gyves under the horse's belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And so certifying the king what they had done, (who then tarried up waking for them,) he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merry to his bed.

The next morrow following after, Roger, bishop of London, having knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the chapel, cometh unto the king, blaming him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and protested that unless the party were loosed again, and sent to the chapel from whence he was drawn, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the deed-doers.

The king, as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he sendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the Tower unto the said chapel again, and by the same soldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giveth in strait charge and commandment, under pain of hanging, to the sheriffs of Hertford and of Essex, that they, in their own persons, with the strength of both shires, should watch and compass about the chapel, and see that the said Hubert in no wise might escape. Which commandment of the king was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert took all this patiently, and continued in the chapel, praying both night and day, and commending his cause unto the Lord; whom he desired so to deliver him from that instant danger, as he always sought the king's honour by his faithful and trusty service. And as he continued in his prayer, so the king, continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should entreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost only friend, ceased not to pray and weep to the king for him, desiring the king at least to intimate to him what he purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the king answering, said, that of these three things one he should choose, whether he would abjure the realm of England for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual prison, or else confess himself openly to be a traitor. But Hubert hereunto said, that he would choose none of these articles, as who knew himself neither guilty, nor worthy of any such confusion; but, to satisfy somewhat the mind of the king, he would be contented to depart the realm for a season, but to abjure the realm he would not so do.

In this mean time it befell that Ranulph, earl of Chester and of Lincoln, one of his sorest enemies, died. Hubert all this while remained in the chapel enclosed and guarded about with the power (as is said) of two shires, and so continued, till, at

length, by the commandment of the king, his two servitors, which ministered unto him within the chapel, were taken from him. Then Hubert, seeing no other remedy, but there to starve for famine, offered himself of his own accord to the sheriffs, saying that he would put himself rather in the king's mercy, than there desperately to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and, being fast bound in fetters, was brought again, and clapped, by the king's commandment, in the Tower of London.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the king by certain, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new templars in London. Whereupon the king, to try out the truth thereof, sendeth for the prior or master of the house; who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeed treasure brought into the house, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The king, desirous to seize upon the treasure, required and charged the master with his brethren, with threatening words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying that it was taken and stolen out of his treasury. But they answered again, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it go out of their hands, being trusted withal, without the assent of him which committed the same unto them. When the king could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst show any further violence against them, he sendeth unto Hubert in the Tower, requiring of him the foresaid treasures. To whom he, answering again mildly, yielded both himself, his treasures, and all that ever he had, unto the king's will and pleasure; and so sending word unto the master and brethren of the temple, willeth them to take all the keys, and deliver the goods with all that there was unto the king; who, receiving the same, and taking an inventory of that which was received, caused it to be brought unto his treasury; whereof the number, both of the plate, of coin, and of the jewels, was of price unknown. The enemies of Hubert, supposing thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the king, crying out against Hubert, that he was a thief, a traitor, and a robber of the king's treasure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged; and thus cried his accusers daily in the king's ear. But the hearts of kings (saith the wise man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after man's will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this king, having now his will and fill upon poor Hubert, and somewhat coming more unto himself, answered again in this wise, that there was no such need to deal so straitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine uncle, King Richard, then my father King John, in whose service, (as I heard say,) beyond the seas, he was driven to eat his horse, and in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the realm against foreign nations, who kept the castle of Dover against King Louis, and vanquished the Frenchmen upon the seas, also at Bedford and at Lincoln hath done such service. And though against me he hath dealt any thing untruly, which yet is not evidently proved, yet he shall never be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather be counted a king foolish and simple than to be judged a tyrant or seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine ancestors in many perils so dangerously, weighing more the few evils, which yet be not proved, than so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service done both to me and to the whole realm, &c. And thus the king, somewhat relenting to poor Hubert, his old servant, granted unto him all such lands as he had given by King John his father, and whatsoever else he had by his own purchase.

Thus Hubert, after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, set Laurence, his trusty friend, that never left him, one that belonged to St. Albans, to be his steward and overseer of those possessions granted unto him by the king. And

shortly upon the same, after the king's mind was seen thus something to relent, the envy also of the nobles being now partly satisfied, began to turn to mercy; insomuch that four earls, to wit, Earl Richard, the king's brother, William, earl of Warreine, Richard, earl marshal, and William, earl of Ferers, became sureties to the king for him. Upon whose surety he was transferred to the castle of Devizes, where he was under the keeping of four soldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that castle. But the bishop of Winchester, who always hunted after the life of Hubert, craftily cometh unto the king, and desireth the custody of the castle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner despatch him. Hubert, having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants, who, with compassion tendering his misery, watched their time, (the keepers being asleep,) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the parish church of the town, and there remained with him. The keepers, when they missed their prisoner, were in great perplexity; and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle again. For the which injury to the church the bishop of Sarum, understanding the order of the matter, cometh to the castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should be brought again into the church from whence he was taken. Which, when the keepers denied to do, saying they would rather he should hang than they, then the bishop gave sentence of excommunication against them. Which done, he, with the bishop of London, and other bishops, goeth immediately unto the king, complaining of the injury done unto Hubert, and especially of the contumely against holy church; neither would they leave the king before they had obtained that he should be reduced again into the church; and so he was. It was not long after, but the king in great displeasure sendeth to the sheriff of the shire to keep him well watched in the church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

It befell, in the mean season, that great dissension rose between the king and the nobles of the realm, by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard, earl marshal, into Wales, and there remained until the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so received (with the rest) the said Hubert again into his favour. Of the which dissension more shall be showed (Christ willing) hereafter.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of vexing the pope's barns; so likewise Roger, bishop of London, suspected for the same cause, was forced to travel up to Rome, there to purge himself before the pope. Where after much money consumed and robbed also by the way, he got nothing else, but lost his labour, and so came home again. Who then, doing the part of a good bishop, after his return from Rome, attempted to expel and exclude out of his diocess all those Italian usurers called, as beforesaid, Caursini. These Caursinites, coming with the pope's legates into England, and lending their money to religious houses, to colleges and churches, had their debtors bound unto them in such sort as was much advantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the form of their obligations in the story of Matthew Paris is largely expressed. Against these Caursinites the bishop of London, being worthily inflamed with zeal of justice, first with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their souls, afterward with sharp words began to charge them. But they, disregarding Christian counsel, and despising the bishop's threatenings, would not leave the sweetness of their occupation. Wherefore the bishop, proceeding unto the sentence of excommunication, precisely and distinctly charged them to depart his diocess. But they again, being confident and imboldened upon the pope's defence, not only set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such ways

with the pope, that they caused the said bishop of London, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the seas, there to answer to such objections as they should infer against him. And thus the bishop, minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

And thus much of the pope's merchants here in England, which were not so busy here for their part, but the pope, the great master of these merchant usurers, was as busy for his. And although his barns here in England were destroyed, and his bank something decayed, yet he thought to win it up another way; for he proclaimed the same year a general visitation through all the religious houses, exempt or not exempt, universally pertaining to his jurisdiction; where, by the cruel dealing of the visitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to Rome, to the great expenses of their money, and filling the pope's coffers. But as touching this visitation, to make short, (saith the story,) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of universal order. While all they, which before through all parts of the world followed only the rule of Benedict, now, through new-devised constitutions, are found in all places so divided and diverse, that of all monasteries, and other churches of religion, scarce may two be found which do agree in one rule and institution of life.

All this while that Hubert above mentioned was secluded from the king, Peter, bishop of Winchester, bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This bishop being in such principal favour with the king, as by whose counsel all things were administered, removed the natural servitors that were Englishmen out of their offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of Pictavia and of other countries, in their rooms. Among whom was thrust out William, under marshal, which supplied the room of Richard, great lord marshal of England; for the which cause the said Lord Richard was mightily offended. Also Walter, treasurer of the king's house, was not only expelled, but also merced at a hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the king's patent granted to him.

Moreover, by the counsel of the said bishop of Winchester, all the old counsellors, as well bishops as other earls and barons, and all the nobles, were rejected from the king in such sort, that he would hear and follow no man's counsel, but only the said Peter, bishop of Winchester, and his cousin Peter de Rivallis. Whereby it came to pass, that all the greatest holds and munitions in the realm were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the custody of the said Peter. Then the bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himself more strongly in the king's favour, adjoined to his fellowship Stephen Segrave, succeeding in the place of Hubert the justice: also Robert Paslew, who had the keeping of the treasure under the aforesaid Peter Rival. So by these three all the affairs of the realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more sure, by them it was provided, that soldiers and servitors from beyond the sea, as Pictavians and Britons, were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the king, partly were set in castles and holds within the realm, and had the oversight and government of shires and baronies, who then oppressed the nobles of the land, accusing them to the king for traitors; whom the simple king did lightly believe, committing to them the custody of his treasures, the sitting in judgments, and the doing in all things. And when the nobles thus oppressed came to complain of their injuries to the king, by the means of the bishop of Winchester. their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester moreover accused certain bishops also to the king, so that he did flee and shun them as open traitors and rebels.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard, the noble marshal of England, with others of the nobles joining with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing contrary to the laws and wealth of the realm came to the king, and blamed him for retaining such perverse counsel about him of the Pictavians and other foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural subjects, and of the liberties of the realm; humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reform and redress such excesses, whereby the whole realm seemed to lie in danger of subversion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he, with other peers and nobles, would withdraw themselves from his council, so long as he maintained the society of those foreigners and strangers about him.

To this Peter Winchester, answering again, said that the king right well might call unto him what foreigners and strangers him listed, for the defence both of his kingdom and of his crown; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subjects, and so to keep them in awe and good order. When the earl and the nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole realm, they would constantly join together to the parting of their life.

After this, the foresaid Peter, bishop of Winchester, with his complices, ceased not by all means to inflame the king's heart to hatred and contempt of his natural people, whom they so vehemently perverted, that he, counting them no other than his enemies, sought by all diligence the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more garrisons of the Pictavians, that in short space they replenished well near the whole land, whose defence the king only trusted unto; neither was any thing disposed in the realm, but through the guiding of this Peter and of the Pictavians.

The king, thus guarded and strengthened with these foreign aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were waited to be present. They, considering the indignation of the king conceived, would not appear. Again they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselves. The assembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the king looked. In this assembly or parliament, it was plainly told the king by a Dominic friar, preaching before him, that unless he removed from him the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rival, his kinsman, he should not, neither could, long enjoy peace in his kingdom. This, although it was bluntly spoken of the friar against the bishop, yet this remedy he had, the friar had nothing to lose. Yet was there another chaplain of the court, who, perceiving the king somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a court-like dexterity handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrily came to the king, asking a question, What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the seas? That, said the king, is best known to such as travel in that kind of traffic. Nay, (saith he,) this is easy to be told. The king demanding what it was, Forsooth, (quoth he,) stones and rocks; alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the bishop of Winchester, whose name and surname was Petrus de Rupibus, for so *petræ* in Latin signifieth stones, and *rupes* rocks. Notwithstanding, the king, either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again sendeth to his nobles to have them come and speak with him at Westminster. But they, fearing some train to be laid for them, refused to appear, sending plain words to the king by solemn message, that his Grace without all delay should seclude from him Peter, bishop of Winchester, and other aliens of Pietavia; or if he would not, they, with the common

assent of the realm, would displace him with his wicked counsellors from his kingdom, and have within themselves tractation for choosing a new king.

The king at the hearing of this message being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, especially having the late example of King John his father before his eyes, was cast in great perplexity, doubting what was best to be done. But Winchester with his wicked counsel so wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all severity against them; insomuch that in short time the sparkles of poisoned counsel, kindling more and more, grew to sharp battle between the king and Richard, earl marshal, with other nobles, to the great disquietness of the whole realm. The which war before was presignified by terrible thundering and lightning heard all England over in the month of March, with such abundance of rain and floods growing upon the same, as cast down mills, overcovered the fields, threw down houses, and did much harm through the whole realm.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this war between the king and the earl marshal, which continued near the space of two years, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof, what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole realm, what trains were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole countries ensued from Wales unto Shrewsbury, how the marshal joined himself with Leoline, prince of Wales, how the Pictavians were almost all slain and destroyed, how the king was distressed, what forgery wily Winchester wrought by the king's letters to entrap the marshal, and to betray him to the Irishmen, amongst whom he was at length slain; all this I refer to other authors, who at large do treat of the same. This is to be noted and observed, (which rather pertaineth to our ecclesiastical history,) to see what sedition and continual disquietness was in those days among all Christian people almost, being under the pope's catholic obedience; but especially, to mark the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the king and the people then so blinded in the principal point and article of their salvation, as we find in stories, which, making mention of a house or monastery of converts, builded the same year by the king at London, do express in plain words that he then did it for the redemption of his soul, of the soul of King John his father, and for the souls of all his ancestors, &c. Whereby may be understood in what palpable darkness of blind ignorance the silly souls redeemed by Christ were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and first principles of their redemption.

Mention was made a little before of dissolving the election of John, prior of Canterbury, which was chosen by the monks to be archbishop of the said church of Canterbury, but by the pope was defeated. After whom one John Blund was elected, who travelling up to Rome this year, A.D. 1233, to be confirmed of the pope, was also repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in England, and so complained of to the pope, that he had received of Peter, bishop of Winchester, a thousand marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said Winchester. Who by his money thought to make him of his side, and also wrote unto the emperor to help forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithstanding, both he with his giving, and the other with his taking of bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the pope, hating then the emperor, for the same cause admitted not the election; pretending the cause, for that he was proved to hold two benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandment of the pope, one Edmund, canon of Salisbury, was ordained archbishop, and had his pall sent to him from the pope. Which Edmund after for his virtues was canonized of the popish monks there for a saint, and

called St. Edmund. About which time also Robert Grossthead was made bishop of Lincoln.

This Edmund, accompanied with other bishops, during this trouble between the king and his nobles, being in council at Westminster, in the year next ensuing, which was 1234, came uttering their minds boldly in the name of the lords, and declaring unto the king, as became his faithful servants, that his counsel, which then he followed, was not sound nor safe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him and to the state of the realm, meaning the counsel of Peter Winchester, and of Peter Rival, with other adherents.

1. First, for that they hate and contemn the English nation, calling them traitors and rebels, and turning the king's heart from the love of his natural subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the earl marshal and others, sowing discord among them.

2. Item, by the said counsel, to wit, by the foresaid bishop and his fellows, King John the king's father lost first the hearts of his barons, after that lost Normandy, and afterwards other lands also, and in the end wasted all his treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had never any quiet after.

3. By the said counsel also, in their time and memory, the kingdom of England had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion she that was before the prince of provinces became tributary; and so war ensuing upon the same, the said King John his father incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, lacking both peace of his kingdom and of his own heart.

4. Item, by the said counsel the castle of Bedford was kept long time against the king, to the great loss both of men and treasure, beside the loss of Rupella, to the shame of the realm of England.

5. Moreover, through their wicked counsel, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang over the whole realm; for else if it had not been for their counsel, and if that true justice and judgment might have been ministered unto the king's subjects, these tumults had never been stirred, and the king might have had his land unwasted, and his treasure unconsumed.

6. Item, in that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they protested unto him that they said his counsel was not a counsel of peace, but of division and disquietness, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not aspire, by disturbing and disheriting others might be exalted.

7. Item, for that all the castles, forts, munitions, also all the officers of the exchequer, with all other the greatest escheats of the realm, were in their hands, of the which if the king would demand account, he should prove how true they were.

8. Item, for that neither by the king's seal nor commandment, except it bare withal the seal of Peter Rival, almost any business of any weight could be despatched in the realm, as though they counted their king for no king.

9. Furthermore, by the foresaid counsel, the natural subjects and nobles of the realm were banished the court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience, both to the king and to the realm; forsomuch as the king seemed more to be on their side than they of his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.

10. Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the said counsel standing of strangers and aliens, that they should have in their power both the king's sister, and many other noblemen's daughters and other women marriageable, with the king's wards and marriages, which they bestowed and divided among themselves, and men of their affinity.

11. Also the said counsel, regarding neither the laws nor liberties of the realm, confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and pervert all justice; wherefore it was to be feared that they would run under excommunication, and the king also in communicating with them.

12. Item, because they kept neither promise, nor faith, nor oath with any person, neither did observe any instrument made never so formal by law, nor yet did fear any excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for people desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honesty.

These things (said the bishops) we, as your faithful subjects before God and men, do tell and advertise your Grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remove and seclude from you such counsel; and, as the custom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will so govern in like manner your kingdom by your own natural liege people, and such as be sworn unto you of your own realm. For thus (said they) in verity we denounce unto you, that unless in short time you will see these things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the censure of the church against you, and all others that gainsay the same, tarrying no other thing, but only the consecration of this our reverend archbishop.

These words of the bishops thus said and finished, the king required a little time of respite, wherein to advise with himself about the matter, saying that he could not in such a sudden remove from him his council, before he had entered with them account of his treasure committed to them; and so that assembly brake up.

It followed then after this communication so broken up, that the king resorted to the parts of Norfolk, where, coming by St. Edmundsbury, where the wife of Hubert the justice was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the woman, who very humbly behaved herself to the king, did grant her eight manor places, which her husband before with his money had purchased, being then in the custody and possession of Robert Paslew, one of the king's new counsellors above specified. It was not long after this, that Edmund the archbishop was invested and consecrated in the church of Canterbury; and shortly after his consecration, about the month of April, coming with his suffragans to the place of council, where the king with his earls and barons was assembled, he opened to him the cause and purpose of his coming, and of the other prelates, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at Westminster; denouncing moreover to him expressly, that unless with speed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful nobles of his realm, he immediately, with the other prelates there present, would pass with the sentence of excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The king, after he heard the meaning of the bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them again, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after the king, coming to some better remembrance of himself, commanded the forenamed bishop of Winchester to leave the court, and to return home to his bishopric, there to attend unto the spiritual charge and care of his

flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded Peter Rival, the bishop's cousin, (some stories say his son,) who had then the disposing of all the affairs of the realm, to render unto him his castles, and to give account of all his treasures, whereof he had the keeping, and so to void the realm; swearing moreover unto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the church, else he would have caused both his eyes to be plucked out of his head.

He expelled likewise the Pictavians out of the court, and from the custody of his munitions, sending them home into their country, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the king, wisely despatching himself of his wicked counsellors, first did send Edmund the archbishop, with the bishops of Chester and of Rochester, into Wales to Leoline, and to Richard, earl marshal, and others, to entreat with them of peace. Also he received to his service again men of his natural country, to attend about him, offering himself willing to be ruled by the counsel of the archbishop and the bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his realm should be reduced again to a better quietness.

But in the mean time, while these things were doing in England, the foresaid Richard, earl marshal, by the falsehood of the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rival forging the king's letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracy of Gilbert de Marisco, being circumvented by the Irishmen in war, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of this surgeon, slain.

Great slaughter the same time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Almaine. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregory and the papists to be heretics, but what their opinions were I find it not expressed.

In like sort the Albigenses afore mentioned, accounted also of the pope's flock to be heretics, with their bishops, and a great number and company of them, were slain by the commandment of Pope Gregory at the same time, in a certain plain in Spain.

How the archbishop of Canterbury, with other two bishops, were sent into Wales for entreaty of peace, ye heard before. At whose return again after the time of Easter, the king, going toward Gloucester to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at Woodstock, there came messengers of Ireland, declaring to the king the death of Richard, earl marshal, and the order thereof, through the forged letters of Winchester and others; where at the king made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining that he left not his like in all the realm again.

After this, the king proceeding in his journey came to Gloucester, where the archbishop, with the other bishops, coming to the king, declared to him the form and condition of peace which they had concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the king had banished out of his realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them. Thus (said they) was Leolin contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the league of peace, saying and protesting this unto them, that he feared more the king's alms, than all the puissance both of him and of all his clergy within England.

This done, the king there remaining with the bishops, directed his letters to all the exiles and banished lords, and to all his nobles, that they should repair to him about the beginning of June, at Gloucester, promising to them his full favour, and

reconcilement to them and to their heirs; and that they should suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the archbishop and bishops.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said archbishop and the bishops, first cometh to the king Hubert, earl of Kent, offering himself to the king's good will and favour. Whom the king with cheerful countenance received and embraced, restoring him not only to his favour, but also to his household and council, with his livings and possessions, from which he had been disseized before. Then Hubert, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave praise and glory to God, by whose gracious providence he, being so marvellously preserved from so great distresses and tribulations, was again so happily reconciled to the king and his faithful friends. After him in like sort came in Gilbert Basset, a nobleman, Richard Suard, also Gilbert, the brother of Richard, marshal, that was slain, which Gilbert recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, and his service due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high marshal court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

In the same council or communication, continuing then at Gloucester, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the forged letters, wherein was betrayed the life of Richard, earl marshal, sealed with the king's seal, and sent to the great men of Ireland, read the same openly in the presence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof the king, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rival, he commanded his seal to be set to certain letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof he said and swore he never heard. Whereunto the archbishop answering again, desired the king to search well his conscience; and said, that all they which were procurers or had knowledge of those letters were guilty of the death of the earl marshal, no less than if they had murdered him with their own hands.

Then the king, calling a council, sent his letters for the bishop of Winchester, for Peter Rival, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Passelew, to appear and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his seal by them abused. But the bishop and Rivall, keeping themselves in the sanctuary of the minster church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appear. Stephen Segrave, who succeeded after Hubert the justice, and was of the clergy before, after became a layman, and now, hiding himself in St. Mary's church in the abbey of Leicester, was turned to a clerk again. Robert Passelew covertly hid himself in a certain cellar of the new temple, so secretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length, through the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, measures were taken, that a remote day was granted by the king for them to answer. At which day first appeared Peter Rival, then Stephen Segrave, after him Robert Passelew, each of them severally one after another showed themselves; but, not able to answer for themselves, like traitors they were reprov'd, and like villains were sent away.

While peace thus between the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, dissension and variance the same time and year began in Rome, between the pope and the citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the citizens claimed by old custom and law, that the bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the city, nor suspend the said city with any interdiction for any manner of excess.

To this the pope answered again, that he is less than God, but greater than any man; ergo, greater than any citizen, yea, also greater than king or emperor. And forsomuch as he is their spiritual father, he both ought and lawfully may chastise his

children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way again when they stray out of course.

Moreover, the citizens allege again for themselves, that the authorities of the city and senators do receive of the Church of Rome yearly tribute, which the bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient laws. Of the which yearly tribute they have been ever in possession before this present time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth.

Hereunto the pope answered and said, that although the Church of Rome in time of persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head rulers of the city with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custom; for that custom only ought to stand which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

Further and besides, the citizens said that they, at the commandment of the senators, would appropriate their country with new and larger limits, and enfranchise the same, being enlarged with fines and borders.

To this the pope again made answer, that certain lordships, and cities, and castles, be contained within the compass of the said limits, as the city Viterbium, and Montcaster, which they presume to appropriate within their precinct; but to ascribe to them, and usurp that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

For these and such other controversies rising between the pope and the Romans, such dissension kindled, that the pope, with his cardinals, leaving the city of Rome, removed to Perusium, (as partly before is recited,) thinking there to remain and to plant themselves; but the Romans prevailing against him, overthrew divers of his houses in the city, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then, flying to the emperor, desired his aid and succour; but he, belike to pleasure the pope, gathering an army, went rather against the Romans. Then the pope's army, whose captains were the earl of Toulouse, (to purchase the pope's favour,) and Peter, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester, (whom the pope for the same end had sent for from England, partly for his treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feats of war,) and the emperor's host joined together, and, bordering about the city of Rome, cast down the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, to the number of eighteen, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the city. Whereat the Romans being not a little offended, burst out of the city, with more heat than order, to the number of one hundred thousand, as the story reporteth, to destroy Viterbium, the pope's city, with sword and fire. But the multitude, being unordered and out of battle-array, and unprovided for jeopardies, which, by the way, might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number; so that on both parts were slain to the view of thirty thousand; but the most part was of the citizens. And this dissension, thus begun, was not soon ended, but continued long after.

## 52. The Schism between the Roman and Greek Churches

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how far the Church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ, which, by the rule and example of the gospel, ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate; not a revenger of herself, nor a seeker of wars, but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselves as servants; and not vicars of the Lord, but jointly like brethren serving together, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as masters separating themselves by superiority one from another, but briefly communicating together in doctrine and counsel, one particular church with another; not as a mother, one over another, but rather as a sister church, one with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own? And such was the Church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of persecution yet kept the bishops and ministers under in humility of heart and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; so that happy was that Christian then which with liberty of conscience only might hold his life, how barely soever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the world, as striving for patrimonies, buying of bishoprics, gaping for benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure and less desire so much as once to think upon them. Neither did the bishops then of Rome fight to be consuls of the city, but sought how to bring the consuls unto Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the city. Neither did they then presume so high to bring the emperors' necks under their girdles, but were glad to save their own necks in any corner from the sword of the emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, God's Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one catholic unity of truth and doctrine amongst all churches against errors and sects. Neither did the east and west, nor distance of place, divide the church; but both the east church and west church, the Greeks and Latins, made all one church. And albeit there were then five patriarchal sees appointed for order's sake, differing in regions, and peradventure also in some rites one from another; yet all these consenting to gether in one unity of catholic doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one faith, one baptism, one Spirit, one Head, and linked together in one bond of charity, and in one equality of honour, they made altogether one body, one church, one communion, called one catholic, universal, and apostolical church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality did join them in one unity together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased, one ready to help and harbour another in time of distress, as Agapetus and Vigilius flying to Constantinople were there aided by the patriarch; so that all this while neither foreign enemy, neither Saracen, nor soldan, nor sultan, nor caliph, nor Corasme, nor Turk, had any power greatly to harm it.

But through the malice of the enemy this catholic unity did not long continue, and all by reason of the bishop of Rome; who, not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend himself and to claim superiority above the other four patriarchal sees, and all other churches in the world. And thus as equality amongst Christian bishops was by pride and singularity oppressed, so unity began by little and little to be dissolved, and the Lord's coat, which the soldiers left whole, to be divided. Which coat of Christian unity, albeit of long time it had been seam-ripped by the occasion

aforesaid; yet, notwithstanding, in some sort it held together in some mean agreement, under subjection to the see of Rome, till the time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230, at which time this rupture and schism of the church brake out into a plain division, utterly dissevering the east church from the west church upon this occasion.

There was a certain archbishop elected to an archbishopric among the Grecians; who, coming to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted unless he promised a great sum of money. Which when he refused to do, and detested the execrable simony of the court of Rome, he made his repair home again to his own country unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole nobility of that land the case how it stood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others also, which, coming lately from Rome, and there had proved the same or worse, came in and gave testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the churches of the Grecians, the same time hearing this, departed utterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the days of this Pope Gregory the Ninth. Insomuch that the archbishop of Constantinople, coming afterward to the general Council at Lyons, there openly declared, that whereas beforetime he had under him above thirty bishoprics and suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreover, that all the Grecians, and certain others, with Antioch and the whole empire of Romania, even to the gates almost of Constantinople, were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome, &c.

By the occasion of which separation aforesaid of the Grecians from Pope Gregory it happened shortly after, being the year of our Lord 1237, that Germanus, archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the said Pope Gregory the Ninth, humbly desiring him to study and seek some means of unity, how the seamless coat of the Lord Jesus, thus lamentably rent, not with hands of soldiers, but by discord of prelates, may be healed again; offering this moreover, that if he will take the pains to stir out, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the midway, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and unity reformed between them.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had been the bishop's part again with like humility to have condescended to the same, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Christian unity in the church of Christ, and so to have showed himself the son of peace; but the proud bishop of Rome, more like the son of discord and dissension, standing still upon his majesty, refused thus to do; but writing again answer to his letters with great disdain, seeking nothing else but only how to advance his see above all other churches; and not only that, but also shortly after sent forth his preaching friars to move all Christians to take the sign of the cross, and to fight against the Grecians, no otherwise than against the Turks and Saracens; in somuch that in the isle of Cyprus many good men and martyrs were slain for the same, as by the letters of the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, is to be seen.

The tenor of the which letter to the pope, with the pope's answer again to him, being long and tedious to read, are extant in the history of Mat. Parisiensis, there to be seen and found. The summary effect whereof, notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notify for the simple and unlearned multitude, which, understanding not the Latin, may hereby perceive the fault of this schism not so much to rest in the Greek Church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the contents of his letter may appear.

In the which letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, writing to Pope Gregory, first, after his reverent salutation and preamble following upon the same, entering then towards the matter, showeth the occasion of his writing, which was by five Observant Friars repairing that way, whom he gently receiving into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterward perceiving the said friars to make their journey towards Rome, he thought therefore by them to write his letters. Wherein he first lamenting this division in the house of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, also of other such like, both private and public societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as amongst fishes the greater devoureth the lesser; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the study of unity.

And forasmuch as the pope had accursed (belike) those churches of the Greeks before, he therefore, taking his ground upon the words of St. Paul, (Gal. i.) where he accurseth every such person and persons, whatsoever they be, either man or angel of heaven, that shall preach any other gospel than hath been preached, willeth the pope to stand with him upon the same ground of the apostle's curse; so that if the stroke of that curse have lighted upon him or his churches, he desireth him to show the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to minister some spiritual plaster, to bind up the sore, and to save his brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man, "A brotherly friend is tried in adversity."

"But if we (saith he) of the Greek Church be free from the stripe of this curse of the apostle, and that you Italians and of the Latin Church be stricken therewith, and lie thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you, through ignorance and wilful obstinacy, will not so suffer yourselves to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

"And as touching this great discord between us, if either contrariety of doctrine, or swerving from the ancient canons, or diversity of rites received of our forefathers, be any cause thereof, we here take heaven and earth to witness, that we for our parts are ready, and desire also, upon due trial of profound truth by God's word, and invocation of the Holy Ghost, to join hands with you, or you to join with us. But, to say the very truth, and to tell you plain, this we suppose, that many mighty and noble potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, and inordinate provisions, wherewith you wring your subjects. By reason whereof have then amongst us cruel wars, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, bulls and interdictions set upon church doors, division of brethren, and churches of the Grecians left without service, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predefined and appointed from above long before to us Grecians, the time I mean of martyrdom, which also now hasteneth fast upon us, that the tribunal of tyrants should be opened, and the seats of torments be set, that the blood of martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of martyrdom, to fight for the crown of glory.

"This that I do speak, and wherefore I speak it, the noble island of Cyprus doth already know and feel, which hath made many new martyrs, and hath seen valiant soldiers of Christ, which of long time before, passing by water and tears of sorrow, now at last have also passed through fire, and so entered into the heavenly rest. How say you? be these good and seemly, O holy pope, the successor of St. Peter the apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meek and humble disciple of Christ?

Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his Epistle, where he writeth in this wise: The elders which are among you I beseech, which am also a fellow elder with them, and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be opened; feed the flock of God which is amongst you, having care and oversight of it, not of coercion, as compelled against your wills, but willingly, of your own accord; not for filthy lucre sake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing dominion and lordship over the church, but showing yourselves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Pastor shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of eternal glory, &c.? And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see which do not obey it. As for us, the other part of the said Epistle is sufficient; wherein he willeth them to rejoice which are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jesus, &c. But bear with me, I pray you, (O holy father, and of all your predecessors most meek,) and suffer my words, though they be something sharp, for they be sighings of a sorrowful heart.

"Wherefore gird about your loins with fortitude, and light up the candle of your discretion, and seek the groat that is lost, of the unity, I mean, of faith. And we will also with like compassion join with your Holiness, and I will not spare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way; for the more laborious the travel is, the more crowns it bringeth. And St. Paul saith, Every man shall receive reward according to his travail, &c.

"Neither are we ignorant (if it please your Holiness) that like as we Grecians for our parts do labour in all respects to keep and observe the sincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err nor swerve in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed apostles and ancient fathers; so the Church likewise of old Rome doth for her part labour also (we know well) to follow the sincere verity of Christian doctrine, and thinketh herself to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and saying of both the churches, as well of the Greeks as of the Latins. For no man can see any spot in his own face, without he stoop down to the glass, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even so have we many great and fair glasses set before us; first, the clear gospel of Christ, the Epistles of the apostles, and divinity books of ancient writers. Let us therefore look in them well; they will show every man's mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread down Satan speedily under our feet. The Author of peace confound the sower of discord. He that is the cause of all goodness destroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giveth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all joy and peace send to us, which are the shepherds of his sheep reasonable, the angel of peace, and the messenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the nativity of Christ, to the shepherds of brute sheep and unreasonable, and make us worthy to sing that joyful song of God's praise, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bona voluntas*; and to receive one another with a holy kiss. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the peace of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you al ways. Amen."

Another letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the pope's cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsel, and showeth what utility cometh by good counsel. He saith, "Forasmuch as God many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sparingly dispensed to divers, through common counsel and conference spreadeth to the public utility of many," &c. After

this, eftsoons he beginneth to exhort them, that they, like charitable ministers, and discreet counsellors, will take in hand the spiritual armour of God, to cast down the stop and partition wall of the old discord between the Greek and Latin Church, and that they will be a means to the bishop of Rome, that they, which so long have been dissevered by dissension, may now be conjoined in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

"Concerning which matter I have (saith he) already written to his Holiness. And now I beseech the King of heaven, which took the shape of a servant to help his miserable servants, and was exalted upon the cross to raise them up which were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling itself over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow servants, and to enlighten your consciences with the true light of understanding, that we may all together agree in one, and that there be no schism amongst us. Let us therefore, as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it be not said of us as it was of the Corinthians before us, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ; but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one mind, that is, to follow love and charity in Christ Jesus, having always in our hearts the words of the apostle, saying, One Lord, one faith, one baptism.

"And now, to be plain with you in that I have to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. The words (saith Solomon) of a wise man, telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep; and truth for the most part hreedeth enemies. And therefore, though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confess the truth unto you. Certes this division of Christian unity amongst us proceedeth of no other cause but only of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her); which children, how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the less she esteemeth them, and treadeth them under foot, not regarding the saying of the Gospel, Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.

"Let modesty therefore something temper you, and let the avarice of the court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease awhile, and let us together condescend to the trial of the truth; which truth being found out on both sides, let us constantly embrace the same.

"For why? we have been altogether sometimes both Italians and Grecians in one faith, and under the same canons, having peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the church. At what time many flying out of the west parts (while the tyranny of the heretics endured) made their concourse to us, and were received; and part fled unto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong tower of refuge; and so received they comfort in both places; and one brother was thus received into the bosom of another by mutual love for their defence.

"Then after, when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were ever ready to rescue and deliver them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flee unto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and, being honourably received, were here defended under our protection? although the like kindness was never yet showed of your part to us again in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be ungrateful; for so doth the sea participate her smooth and calm tides even unto the pirates. And so

'God causeth the sun to shine upon the just and unjust.' But (alas for sorrow!) what bitter division is this that hath thus sequestered us asunder? One of us detracteth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soul. What a mortal hatred is this come among us! If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a stumbling-block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the spiritual resurrection of our souls. So shall we acknowledge ourselves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly.

"But if the blame and first original of this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the successors of Peter the apostle, then read ye the words of St. Paul to the Galatians, saying, When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c. Howbeit this resistance was no cause of any discord or breach between them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, provoking temporal agreement. For they were fast joined together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of doctrine, separated by no ambition or avarice. In which points would God we also were like unto them. This to us in our minds gendereth a great offence, that you, gaping so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heap up gold and silver, and yet pretend that you be the disciples of him which said, Gold and silver I have none, &c. You make whole kingdoms tributary to you, and kings and princes your vassals You augment your money by usury, and by feats of merchandise. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words.

"Moderate yourselves therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is one brother to help another, Only God alone needeth no help or counsel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the blessed apostle Peter, the chief of Christ's apostles, the rock of our faith, I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rock was shaken and removed from the foundation at the sight of a silly woman; and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, which by the crowing of the cock brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he, being thus waked, washed his face with tears, confessing himself before God and all the world to be a true pattern of repentance, which before bare the keys of the kingdom, as saying thus unto us; May not he which falleth rise again? O you which are fallen, rise up and be hold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards paradise; the gates whereof to open I have received power.

"And thus do I write unto you, not for any instruction, but only to put you in remembrance; for I know how God hath endued you with all wisdom and knowledge, as Solomon saith, Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learn wisdom; Teach the just man, and he will be glad to take instruction.

"This one thing more I will say, and so make an end; there be great and mighty nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. First, the Ethiopians that inhabit the chieftest part of the East. After that the Syrians, and other more of greater number than they, and more disposed to virtue, as the Hiberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, with innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdom of great victory, that of the Vulgarians. And all these are obedient unto us as their mother church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true orthodox faith immovable.

"The God of all holiness, which for our sakes became man, and which only is the Head of his church and congregation, vouchsafe to gather us again to gether in

unity, and grant that the Grecian Church, together with her sister Church of old Rome, may glorify the same Christ, the Prince of peace, by the unity of faith, to the restitution of sound and whole some doctrine, wherein many years agoe they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God govern you all, holy cardinals, till that joy fully ye arrive in the haven of everlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all. Amen."

Shortly after the sending of these letters, Pope Gregory prepared to send men of war, signed with the cross, to fight against the Grecians; whereupon the archbishop of Antioch, with the said Germanus, solemnly excommunicated the pope, after he first had excommunicated them. In the mean time, by the tenor of these letters of the patriarch sent to the pope and to the cardinals, it is evident to all men that have eyes in their heads to see, first, how the whole universal church of Christ, from the east parts to the west, in ancient times were altogether united in one consent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as case required. Neither was then any one mother church above other churches, but the whole universal church was the mother church and spouse of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under which universal church in general were comprehended all particular churches in special, as sister churches together; not one greater than another, but all in like equality; as God gave his gifts, so serving one another; ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the catholic church, having in it true unity, universality, and free consent; unity in doctrine, universality in communicating and joining together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatsoever was taught at Rome touching faith and salvation, it was no other than was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

Secondly, how in process of time, through occasion of the bishop of Rome's tyranny and violent oppression, this ring of equality being broken, all flew in pieces, the east Church from the west, the Greeks from the Latins; and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissension.

Thirdly, here is also to be noted, after this pitiful breach of equality, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the Church of Rome, and especially about this time above specified of Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230; so that both before and after that time many councils were holden, and many things concluded, in the west Church, whereunto the one half of Christendom, lying in the east parts, did never agree; and, contrary, many councils holden with them which in the Latin Church were not received. So that the church now, as she lost the benefit of universal consent, so also she lost the name catholic. Where upon this question is to be asked, that when the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession, here in the west Church, without the free consent of the east Church, whether the same doctrine is to be counted catholic or not? &c.

Fourthly, in the departing of these churches from the bishop of Rome, here also is to be noted, that the same churches of the Greeks, notwithstanding they sequestered themselves, and fell out with the Church of Rome, and that justly, yet they kept their unity still with their God, and received still the true [Greek] that is, the true and sincere doctrine of faith, ready to debate and try the truth of their religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their own writings desire to have the truth examined, according as ye have

heard. Wherefore the Church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offered so gently to try and to be tried by the truth of God's word, not only would stand to no trial, nor abide conference, but also hath excommunicated them as heretics, which appear here to be more orthodox Christians than they themselves.

Fifthly, these things thus standing, then have we to conclude that the Church of Rome falsely pretendeth itself catholic. For if the name of catholic must needs import a universal consent of the whole, how can that be catholic where the consent of so many famous and true Christian churches hath been lacking; and furthermore, where the consent that hath been amongst themselves hath rather been coerced than any true or free consent? Which is easy to be proved; for let these fires and faggots cease, let kings and princes leave to press their subjects with the pope's obedience, let the Scripture and the bishops alone every one in his own diocess to govern their flock after the rule of God's word, and how few be there in this west end of the world (trow you) that would not do the same that these Grecians,ethiopians, and Syrians have done before us? And thus much by the occasion of this patriarch's letters sent to Pope Gregory concerning the Grecians.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judge their state happy, and blessed, in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the pope's tyranny; so, on the other side, considering with myself the wretched thraldom of these our churches here in the west part of the world under the bishop of Rome, I can not tell whether more to marvel or to lament their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his suspensions and excommunications much like to a mad-man's dagger, drawn at every trifle, that no Christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Again, so deep did he sit in their consciences, they falsely believing him to have the authority of St. Peter, that for conscience' sake neither king nor Cæsar durst withstand him, much less poor subjects once mute against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely, in this realm of England, were such, that neither the laity nor spirituality could bear them; yet was there no remedy, bear them they must, or else the pope's sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

### 53. More Dissensions about Ecclesiastical Appointments

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue to see the miserable captivity of the people, what they suffered under this thralldom of the bishop of Rome, whereof part hath been showed before, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I mind to express.

And first to begin with the elections of the bishops, abbots, deans, and priors within this realm, it cannot be told what mass of money grew to the pope's coffers thereby, especially in this king's days; forasmuch as in his time lightly no election happened, either of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or any room of dignity, but when the convent or chapter had chosen one to their mind, the king, who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set up another. By reason whereof, when the other part was fain to appeal to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small rivers of English money, besides expenses and travel by the way, went flowing to the pope's see. And although the election went never so clear, yet the new elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further by his oath was bound every three years, either in his own person or by another, to visit *limina apostolorum*.

So in the house of St. Albans, when John Herford was elected abbot, their public election was not enough; but, for the confirmation of the same, the monks were fain to send Reinold the physician, and Nicholas a monk, to Rome with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new abbot was sworn every third year by himself or another to visit the doorsills of the apostles.

Another such-like contention happened between the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Bale, whom the monks had chosen, but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messengers, Theobald, a monk of Westminster, and Master Alexander, a lawyer, with no small sum of money to evacuate the election of the foresaid William Bale; commanding, moreover, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy there to receive him in the house. Whereupon the said W. being excluded, after he laid his curse upon the whole city of Winchester, made his repair to Rome; where, for eight hundred marks being promised to the pope, his bishopric (spite of the king's heart) was confirmed, and he received.

After the death of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, ye heard before how the monks had elected Walter, a monk of Canterbury. But the king, to stop that election, sent up his proctors, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford, bishop of Rochester, to the pope, to evacuate that election, and to place Richard, chancellor of Lincoln. Which proctors perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the pope and cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money, rather than the king should fail of his purpose, they promised on the king's behalf to the pope, for maintaining his wars against Frederic the emperor, a disme or tenth part of all the movables in the realm of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which money the pope eftsoons, thinking to pass with the king, began to pick quarrels with the aforesaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Christ's descending to hell, making of Christ's body on the altar, the weeping of Rachel for her children, she being dead before, about the sentence of excommunication, and certain

causes of matrimony. His answers whereunto, when they were not to the pope's mind, he was therefore put back, and the king's man preferred, which cost the whole realm of England and Ireland the tenth part of their movable goods, by reason whereof what money was raised to the pope's ecclesiastical treasury I leave to the estimation of the reader, A.D. 1229.

And yet, for all this, the said Richard, the costly archbishop of Canterbury, within less than two years after, falling out with the king about the castle and lordship of Tunbridge, went and complained of him to the pope. In the traverse whereof it cost the king a great piece of money besides, and yet missed he his purpose. In the which journey the said archbishop, in his return homeward, by the way departed, A.D. 1231.

Of the like dissension ye heard before between the king and the convent of Durham, for not choosing M. Lucas, the king's chaplain, whom the king offered to be their bishop. About the suit whereof, when much money was bestowed on both sides well favouredly, the pope, defeating them both, admitted neither M. William nor M. Lucas, but ordained the bishop of Sarum to be their bishop, A.D. 1228.

Between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Litchfield rose another like quarrel, which of them should have the superior voice in choosing their bishop. In which suit, after much money bestowed in the court of Rome, the pope, to requalify again each part with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each part by course should have the choosing of their bishop, A.D. 1228.

What business fell likewise between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their bishop! And what was the end? First, the archbishop was fain to travel himself to the pope, and so did the convent also send their proctors. Who, belike being better monied, weighed down the cause, so that the good archbishop in that cause against the monks, and partly in another cause against the earl of Arundel, was condemned of the pope in a thousand marks. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the pope's coffers, A.D. 1238.

After the returning of the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, again from Rome, it chanced that the monks of Canterbury had elected their prior without his assent; for the which he did excommunicate the monks, and evacuate their election. Not long after this, the pope's exactors went about to extort from the churchmen the fifth part of their goods to the pope's use, fighting then against the emperor. This cruel exaction being a great while resisted by the prelates and clergy, at length the foresaid archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the monks, was contented to grant to the said exaction, adding moreover of his own for an overplus eight hundred marks; whereupon the rest of the clergy was fain to follow after, and contribute to the pope's exactors, A.D. 1240.

In the church of Lincoln (whose see before the conquest was in Dorchester, and afterwards by William Rufus translated from thence to Lincoln) rose a grievous contention between Robert Grosthead, then bishop, and the canons of the cathedral church, about their visitation, whether the bishop should visit them or the dean; which matter, being put unto arbitrators, could not so be composed, before the bishop and the chapter, after their appeal made unto the pope, went both unto Rome, and there, after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full sweetly for it, A.D. 1239.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

At what time the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew to their bishop, at the king's request the archbishop, with certain other bishops, taking part against the king's chaplain, repelled him, and set up Richard Witch. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto Rome, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well of the king's part as of the bishops'!

Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, (of whom relation was made before,) having a great care how to bring the privilege orders of religious houses within his precinct under his subjection and discipline, went unto Rome, and there, with great labour and much effusion of money, (as the story saith,) procured of the pope a mandate, whereby all such religious orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after the monks, not abiding that, (who could soon weigh down the bishop with money,) sent their factors to the pope, who with their golden eloquence so persuaded him, and stirred his affections in such sort, that soon they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary bishop. Whereof Robert Grossthead having intelligence made up to Rome, and there, complaining to the pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope Innocent, looking with a stern countenance, made this answer again, Brother, (said he,) what is that to thee? Thou hast delivered and discharged thine own soul. It hath pleased us to show favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himself, yet not so softly, but that the pope heard him say these words: O money, money, what canst not thou do in the court of Rome? Wherewith the pope, being somewhat pinched, gave this answer again: O ye Englishmen, Englishmen, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another, &c., A.D. 1250.

It happened moreover the same year, that the said Robert Grossthead excommunicated and deprived one Ranulph, a beneficed person in his diocess, being accused of incontineny, who, after the term of forty days, refusing to submit himself, the bishop wrote to the sheriff of Rutland to apprehend him as contumacious. Which sheriff, because he deferred or refused so to do, (bearing favour to the party,) and being therefore solemnly excommunicate by the bishop, uttered his complaint to the king. Whereat the king taking great displeasure with the bishop for excommunicating his sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth with a substantial messenger, (Master Moneta,) such as he was sure would speed, unto Pope Innocent, by virtue of whose words the pope, easy to be entreated, sendeth down a proviso to the abbot of Westminster, charging that no prelate nor bishop in the realm of England should molest or enter action against any of the king's bailiffs or officers in such matters as to the king's jurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended not without some help and heap of English money; so that no wind of any controversy here stirred in England, were it never so small, but it blew some profit for the pope's advantage, A.D. 1250.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the pope's coffers by the election of Boniface, the queen's uncle, a Frenchman, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A. D 1243, and of Ethelmare, the queen's brother, to be bishop of Winchester against the wills of the prior and convent there, A. D 1250, besides many such other escheats, which made England poor, and the pope rich.

## 54. Papal Greed and Corruption

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the pope's dispensations, provisions, exactions, contributions, and extortions in England in this king's days; for to discourse all, it is not one book will hold it.

Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and daughter of King John, who, by report of stories, had taken the mantle and ring. Wherefore the king, and his brother Richard, earl of Exeter, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earl Simon seeing, made a hand of money, and posting over to Rome, after he had talked a few words in Pope Innocent's ear, the marriage was good enough; and letters were sent to Otho, the pope's legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the earl. Notwithstanding, the Dominic friars, and other of the like religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the pope stoutly, saying that the pope's Holiness was therein deceived, and souls in danger; that Christ was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be any wise possible, that a woman which had vowed marriage with Christ could afterward marry with any other, &c.

As there was nothing so hard in the wide world wherewith the pope would not dispense for money, so by the said dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof the people, trusting upon the pope's dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they sware; as well appeared by this King Henry the Third; who being a great exactor of the poor commons, as ever was any king before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people sooner to his devotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereto bound himself with a solemn oath, both before the clergy and laity, to grant unto them the old liberties and customs, as well of *Magna Charta* as *Charta de Foresta*, perpetually to be observed. Whereupon a quindecim was granted to the king. But after the payment was sure, the king, trusting by the pope's dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his oath and covenant, went from that he had promised and sworn before.

In like manner the said king another time, being in need of money, signed himself with the cross, pretending and swearing deeply, in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the Saracens. But as soon as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his oath, being so put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not to pass of that perjury, forasmuch as the pope, for a hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations have proceeded also many other foul absurdities. For where many young men were in those days which enjoyed benefices, and were no priests, and when by the procurement of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders; they, laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the pope a dispensation to remain still as they were, that is, to have the fruits of benefices to find them at school or university, and yet themselves neither ministers to take charge, nor yielding any service for their profits taken; besides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding of the pope's dispensations, as dispensing one man to have sundry bishopries, to encroach pluralities of benefices, to

make children parsons, to legitimate bastards, with such other like; the particulars whereof, for brevity sake, I do omit to further opportunity.

Although these emoluments, thus rising daily to the pope's purse by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seem sufficient to satisfy his greedy appetite; yet so insatiable was the avarice of that see, that he, not yet contented here with, over and besides all this, sent every where almost some legate or other into this realm to take for his advantage. Insomuch that during all this king's time the realm was never lightly without some of the pope's leaguers, with all violence exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of cells, abbeys, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishoprics, and also laymen's purses, to the miserable impoverishing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder followeth.

First, after Pandulphus, was sent into this realm Cardinal Otho, procured by the king without the assent of his nobles, to the intent to assist him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of which legate great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in scarlet, in plate, in jewels, in money and palfreys, were given him. Whom the king also himself went as far as the sea-side to receive, bowing down his head in low courtesy to the cardinal's knees; to whom also the bishop of Winchester for his part gave, towards keeping of his house, fifty fat oxen, a hundred seams of wheat, and eight great vessels of pure wine. This legate, at his first coming, beginneth first to bestow such benefices as he found vacant upon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were meet or unmeet.

After this, the pope, hearing how the nobles and commons of the realm began to stomach the cardinal for his excessive procurations and exactions, sent for him home; but the king, by reason he stood in fear of his nobles, and thought to have a stay by the cardinal against all occurrents, entreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtain further licence for him to tarry; and so he did, not without some English money ye may be sure.

In this mean time of vacation, Otho, thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crumbs in Scotland, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the Church of Scotland to be reformed, and so cometh to the king of Scots, being then in York with King Henry, to have leave to enter. Unto whom the king thus made answer, that he never saw, to his remembrance, any pope's legate in his land, neither was there any such need (God he praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn, neither in the days of his father, or any his predecessors, that any such entrance to any legate was granted; so he for his part would not now begin. But yet, notwithstanding, forasmuch as I hear (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to yourself, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would wish; for they be a savage and unruly people, given much to murder and shedding blood, whom I myself am scarce able to bridle; so that if they fall upon you, I shall not be able to help you. And how they also invaded me, and sought to expel me from my kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think best to do. After the cardinal heard the king speak these words, he plucked in his horns, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of King Henry. Notwithstanding, shortly after, the same legate, coming to the borders of Scotland, there called the bishops to him; and so, when he had well filled his bags, came back again.

It was not long after, but licence came from Pope Gregory to his legate Otho, for his longer abode here in the realm, (as welcome as water in the ship,) with new authority also to proceed in the pope's affairs. Who first showing to the bishops and the clergy his letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forasmuch as no man, said he, warreth of his own charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was, to have of every able church four marks; and where one church was not able to reach thereto, that other churches should join withal to make the said money. Notwithstanding the bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof.

Besides, he assembled together all the black monks of St. Benedict's order, giving to them strict orders, which shortly after for money he released to them again.

Moreover, by the said Otho, and the pope's other exactions, with special bulls directed down for the same, collation of benefices being taken out of the hands of the patrons, were given to light and vile runnagates, coming from Italy and other places, such as pleased the pope and his legate to bestow them upon, to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Whereupon the earls, and barons, and nobles of the realm addressed letters to Pope Gregory by Sir Robert Twing, knight, for redress of such wrongs and injuries; who otherwise should be forced, they said, to invoke the succour of their king, who both was able, and was no less willing, according to his duty, they trusted, to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realm.

Not long after the same, in the year of our Lord 1240, came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, to the aforesaid Otho, that all beneficed men of the clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the pope the fifth part of their revenues. Whereupon, when the clergymen made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieved by him, the king answered them again, that he neither would nor durst stand against the pope in any case, and so without all hope of succour sent them away. Then were the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and prelates of the church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to hear the pope's pleasure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end thus the matter concluded, that the prelates desired a further time to be given them to advise upon the matter: and for that season the assembly brake up. Notwithstanding at last, after many excuses and exceptions laid in by the clergy; first, that because the money was gathered to fight against the emperor, they ought not to contribute their money, contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, for somuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the pope, upon condition that no more such payments should be required of them, much less now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done maketh a custom. Item, seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the court of Rome, if they should give this money against the emperor, it would turn to their danger coming through his land. Item, seeing their king had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieve the king with their money, they could not so do if the realm were thus impoverished. &c. All which excuses; with divers other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conform themselves to the pope's good pleasure, through the example given of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury; who, to obtain his purpose against the monks of Canterbury, (with whom he was then in strife,) began first to yield to the legates eight hundred marks for his part, whereby the rest also were fain to follow after.

Furthermore, the same year the pope agreed so with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederic the emperor, whatever benefices were to be given

in England, the same should he at their arbitrement to be bestowed upon their children. Whereupon commandment was sent to the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop, to the bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realm should be suspended, till provision were made for three hundred children of the citizens of Rome to be first served. Upon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, for sorrow to see the church so oppressed, departed the realm, and so continued in France, and died at Pontigny. Which Edmund was afterward made a saint, and canonized by Pope Innocent the Fourth.

This done, then went Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, and Ruffinus, into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds to the pope's use about All-hallow-tide the same year. At which time moreover cometh another harpy from the pope to England, named Mumelius, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the cardinal Otho, Peter Rubeus, Ruffinus, and Mumelius, on the other side, poor England was in a wretched case.

Another pretty practice of the pope to prowl for money was this: The aforesaid Peter Rubeus, coming into religious houses and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the pope's Holiness, by the example of this bishop, and that abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given so much and so much, and so seduced them. Also the pope craftily suborned certain friars, authorized with full indulgence, that whosoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repair to Rome for absolution; but paying so much money as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the said friars might he assoiled at home.

This passed in the year 1240. Now all these troubles laid together were enough to vex the meekest prince in the world; whereto, by way of access to the king's further molestation, he had much ado with the prelates and clergymen of his realm, who were always tampering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councils; to whom the king, to restrain them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by this evidence of record. The king sent Geoffrey Langley to the archbishop of York, and to other bishops, purposed to meet at Oxford, to appeal for him, lest, in the said council there called, they should presume to ordain something against his crown and dignity. This was done in the year of our Lord 1241. In which year also came a commandment apostolical to the house of Peterborough, that they at the pope's contemplation must needs grant him some benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were worth at least a hundred pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the convent excused themselves by the abbot being then not at home. The abbot, when he came home, excused himself by the king being the patron and founder of the house. The king, being grieved with the unreasonable ravening of these Romanists, utterly forbade any such example to be given. But what happened? The abbot, being therefore accused to the pope by one of the legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope Innocent, to the Council of Lyons, was so rated and reviled, and so shamefully thrust out of the pope's court, that for sorrow he fell sick upon the same, and there died.

In the time of which Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent the Fourth (forsomuch as the instrument or obligation whereby the realm of England stood tributary to the pope was thought to be burned in the pope's chamber a little before) brought forth

either the same or another chart like unto it, where unto he straitly charged and commanded every English bishop, being there present at the council, severally to set to his hand and seal. Which unreasonable petition of the pope, albeit it went sore against the hearts of the bishops, yet (see in what miserable subjection the pope had all the bishops under him) none of them durst otherwise do but accomplish the pope's request therein, both to their own shame, and prejudice to the public freedom of the realm. Amongst which bishops, the longest that held out, and last that put to his seal, was the bishop of London. Which act, when the king and the nobility understood, they were mightily and worthily therewith all offended.

After what time Cardinal Otho was sent for by Pope Gregory in all haste to come to the general council, two other in his room here remained, whose names were Peter Rubeus, and Peter de Supino. Of whom the one, bearing himself for the pope's kinsman, brought out his bills and bulls, under the pope's authority, to such an abbot, or to such a prior, or to such and such a bishop, and so extorted from them a great quantity of gold and silver. The other, to wit, Peter de Supino, sailed to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thousand and five hundred marks to the pope's use. All which money, notwithstanding gotten by both the collectors, in the carriage of it up to Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, happened into the hands of Frederic the emperor, who caused it again to be restored, as near as he could, to them of whom it was taken.

After these came in then Master Martin, a new merchant from the new Pope Innocent the Fourth, A.D. 1244, armed with full power to suspend all prelates in England from giving benefices, till the pope's kinsmen were first preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any benefice, unless it were above the value of thirty marks. At his first coming he required of prelates, and especially of religious houses, to furnish him with horses and palfreys, such as were convenient for the pope's especial chaplain and legate to sit upon; also with plate, raiment, provision for his kitchen and cellar, &c., and such as denied or excused he suspended, as the abbot of Malmesbury, and the prior of Merton. All prebends that were void he sought out, and reserved them for the pope's behoof; among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the chancellor of the choir, whom he preferred to the bishopric of Bath, and so seized upon the prebend being void, against the wills both of the bishop and the chapter. Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in the pope's chamber with his stamp and seal, wherein he might afterward write to whom and what he would; requiring furthermore. of the king, in the pope's behalf, to help his Holiness with a contribution to be taxed amongst his clergy, at least of ten thousand marks. And to the end that the pope might win the king sooner to his devotion, he writeth in the king's behoof to the nobles and commons of the realm, that they should not fail, upon pain of his great curse, to confer such subsidy of money to the subvention of the king, as he then had demanded of them; but they stood stiff in not granting to him.

While the insatiable avarice of the pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England, the nobles and barons, with the community as well of the clergy as the laity, weighing the miserable state of the realm, and, namely, of the church, which now neither had liberty left them to choose their own ministers, nor yet could enjoy their own livings, laid their heads together, and so exhibited an earnest intimation to the king, beseeching him to consider the pitiful affliction and oppression of his subjects under the pope's extortion, living in more thralldom than ever did the people of Israel under Pharaoh. Whereupon the king, beginning at last to look up, and

to consider the injuries and wrongs received in this realm, through the avarice of the court of Rome, directeth to Pope Innocent the Fourth this letter in tenor as followeth:

"To the most holy father in Christ, and lord, Innocent, by the grace of God chief bishop, Henry, by the same grace king of England, &c., greeting and kissings of his blessed feet. The more devout and obsequious the son showeth himself in obeying the father's will, the more favour and supportation doth he deserve to find at his father's hands again. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our realm have ever and in all things been hitherto at the devotion and commandment of your fatherhood; and that although, in some certain affairs of ours and of our kingdom, we have found your fatherly favour and grace sometimes propitious unto us, yet in some things again, as in provisions given and granted to your clerks of foreign nations, both we and our kingdom have felt no small detriment. By reason of which provisions the Church of England is so sore charged and burdened, that not only the patrons of churches, to whom the donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but also many other good works of charity thereby do decay, for that such benefices, which have been mercifully bestowed upon religious houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your provisions.

"Wherefore, forasmuch as your see apostolic ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be suitors to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your Holiness, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such provisions to be exacted. In the mean season, it may please your fatherhood, we beseech you, that our laws and liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be conserved whole and sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggestion in your court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your Holiness be any whit moved therefore with us, if in some such cases as these be we do or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandments; forsomuch as the complaints of such which daily call upon us do necessarily enforce us thereunto; which ought, by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foresee that no man in that which is their right be injured, but truly to minister justice to every one in that which duly to him appertaineth." — This letter was sent the eight and twen tieth year of the king's reign.

A man would think that this so gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope would have wrought some good effect in his apostolical breast, to withdraw his provisions, and to have tendered the king's so reasonable and honest request; but how little all this prevailed to stop his insatiable greediness, and intolerable extortions and oppressions, the sequel well declareth. For besides that shortly after the pope sent Master Martin with blanks, being bulled for contribution of ten thousand marks, in all haste to be paid also, even immediately upon the receiving of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the said Pope Innocent the Fourth, after all this great submission of the king, and so manifold benefits and payments yearly out of his realm received, was not ashamed to take of David, prince of North Wales, five hundred marks by year, to set him against the king of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obediehee due to his own liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welchmen had sworn their subjection before, as by the seals and obligations, as well of that David himself, as other Welch lords in this behalf, doth appear.

Neither did Master Martin in the mean while slip his business, in making up his market for the pope's money of ten thousand marks, but still was calling upon the

prelates and clergy. Who, first excusing themselves by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, afterward being called again by new letters, made their answer by the dean of Paul's, their prolocutor:

First, that the poverty of the realm would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal Otho for paying of the pope's debts, and knew the said money to be employed to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to misdoubt, lest this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior messenger than the cardinal, would come to the same or a worse effect.

Item, if they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custom, seeing that one action twice done maketh a custom.

Item, forasmuch as a general council is shortly looked for, where every prelate of the realm must needs bestow both his travel and expenses, and also his present to the pope, if the prelates now should be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide' this burden.

Item, seeing it is alleged, that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were that the mother so oppressed should be sustained of all her devout children meeting together in the general council; whereas by helps of many more relief might come more than by one nation alone.

Item, last of all, they alleged that, for fear of the emperor and his threatenings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talk between the pope's priests and the clergy of England, cometh in John Mariscal and other messengers from the king, commanding, in the king's name, that no bishop that held his baronage of the king should infief his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they owed only to him, &c.

Not long after this, in the year of our Lord 1245, the whole nobility of the realm, by general consent, and not without the king's knowledge also, caused all the ports by the sea-side to be laid, that no messenger with the pope's letters and bulls from Rome should be permitted to enter the realm, whereunto some were taken at Dover, and there stayed. Notwithstanding, when complaint thereof was brought to the king by Master Martin, the pope's legate, there was no remedy, but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored again and executed to the full effect.

Then the king upon advice caused a view to be taken through every shire in England to what sum the whole revenues of the Romans and Italians amounted, which by the pope's authority went out of England; the whole sum whereof was found yearly to be threescore thousand marks, to the which sum the revenues of the whole crown of England did not extend.

The nobles then, understanding the miserable oppression of the realm, being assembled together at Dunstable for certain causes, sent one Fulco, in the name of the whole nobility, unto Master Martin, the pope's merchant. with this message, that he without delay upon the same warning should prepare himself to be gone out of the realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which message the legate being sore aghast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom, when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the king, who bade

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him adieu in the devil's name, saith Matth. Paris; and thus was the realm rid of Master Martin.

As soon as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his legate, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembering how the French king and the king of Arragon not long before had denied him entrance into their land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and said, It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, whereby we may the sooner bring under these little petty kings; and so, the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents we shall handle at our own pleasures as we list.



**Lyons**

After this, immediately then followed the general Council of Lyons, to the which council the lords and states of the realm, with the consent of the commonalty, sent two bills; one containing a general supplication to the pope and the council, the other with the articles of such grievances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes: first, that men now in these days may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand to the pope's courtesy, whom rather they should have shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the pope might the better appear in his colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble suit of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to disdain rather and to stamp him under their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

*The copy of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to Pope Innocent the Fourth, in the general Council at Lyons, A.D. 1245.*

"To the reverend father in Christ, Pope Innocent, chief bishop, the nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, sendeth commendation, with kissing of his blessed feet.

"Our mother, the Church of Rome, we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought always to fly for refuge, whereby the grief lying upon the child, may find comfort at the mother's hand. Which succour the mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficial she findeth him in relieving her necessity. Neither is it to the said our mother unknown how beneficial and bountiful a giver the realm of England hath been now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly subsidy, which we term by the name of Peter pence. Now the said church, not contented with this yearly subsidy, hath sent divers legates for other contributions, at divers and sundry times, to be taxed and levied out of the same realm; all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.

"Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholics, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the souls' health, as well of themselves as of their progenitors and successors also, have founded monasteries, and largely have endowed the same, both with their own proper lands, and also patronages of benefices; whereby such religious persons, professing the first and chiefest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with more peace and tranquillity occupy themselves devoutly in God's service, as to the order appertained; and also the clerks, presented by them into their benefices, might sustain the other exterior labours for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch us also very near, and work intolerable griefs unto our hearts.

"And now see, we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors, who, not considering those our subsidies and contributions above remembered, do suffer also your Italians and foreigners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries aforesaid; which foreigners, neither defending the said religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet having the language whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them of wild wolves to be devoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepherds; whereas neither they know their sheep, nor the sheep do know the voice of their shepherds; neither do they keep any hospitality, but only take up the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realm, wherewith our brethren, our nephews, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and employ such exercises of mercy and hospitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for mere necessity are laymen, and fain to fly out of the realm.

"And now, to the intent more fully to certify you of the truth, ye shall understand that the said Italians and strangers, receiving of yearly rents out of England not so little as three thousand marks by year, besides other avails and excises

deducted, do reap in the said our kingdom of England more emoluments of mere rents than doth the king himself, being both tutor of the Church and governor of the land.

"Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacy we were in good hope, and yet are, that by means of your fatherly goodness we should enjoy our franchises, and free collation of our benefices and donatives, to be reduced again to the former state; now cometh another grievance, which we cannot but signify unto you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by Master Martin; who, entering late into our land, without leave of our king, with greater power than ever was seen before in any legate, although he beareth not the state and show of a legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legate, charging us every day with new mandates, and so most extremely hath oppressed us; first, in bestowing and giving away our benefices, if any were above thirty marks, as soon as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

"Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, unknown to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right.

"Thirdly, the said Master Martin yet also ceaseth not to assign and confer such benefices still unto the like persons; and some he reserveth to the donation of the apostolic see; and extorteth moreover from religious houses immoderate pensions, excommunicating and interdicting whosoever dare gainsay him.

"Wherefore, forasmuch as the said Master Martin hath so far extended his jurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realm, and no less derogation to our king's privilege, to whom it hath been fully granted by the see apostolic, that no legate should have to do in his land but such as he by special letters did send for; with most humble devotion we beseech you, that as a good father will always be ready to support his child, so your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to relieve us your humble children from these grievous oppressions.

"And although our lord and king, being a catholic prince, and wholly given to his devotions and service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his own body, will fear and reverence the see apostolic, and, as a devout son of the Church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to advance the estate and honour of the same; yet we which travail in his affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preservation of the public wealth, neither can patiently suffer such oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by God's grace will suffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and trust of you speedily to obtain. And thus may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you, to accept this our supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserve of all the lords and nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, condign and special thanks accordingly."

This supplication being sent by the hands of Sir H. Bigot, knight, and W. de Powick, esquire, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making haste to proceed in his detestable excommunication and curse against the good Emperor Frederic. The which curse being done, and the English ambassadors waiting still for their answer, the pope then told them that they should not have their request fulfilled. Whereat the Englishmen, departing in great anger, sware with terrible oaths, that they would never more suffer any tribute, or fruits of any

benefices, namely, whereof the noblemen were patrons, to be paid to that insatiable and greedy court of Rome, worthy to be detested in all worlds.

The pope hearing these words, albeit making then no answer, thought to watch his time, and did. First, incontinent upon the same, during the said council, he caused every bishop of England to put his hand and seal to the obligation made by King John for the pope's tribute, as is above specified; threatening moreover, and saying, that if he had once brought down the emperor Frederic, he would bridle the insolent pride of England well enough.

But here, by occasion of this Council at Lyons, that the reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the king did depend, it is material here to interlace the form of a letter sent by Henry the Third to the prelates of his land, before they were transported over sea to Lyons; wherein may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be shoving and heaving at his royalty; and therefore directed these letters unto them otherwise to prepare their affections; the tenor whereof followeth.

*A letter of charge to the prelates of England, purposed to assemble in the Council at Lyons, that they should ordain nothing, &c. to their king's prejudice.*

"The king to the archbishops, bishops, and to all other prelates of his land of England, appointed to meet at a Council at Lyons, greeting. You are (as you know) bound unto us by oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us in all things, concerning our royal dignity and crown. Wherefore we command you upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, enjoining that you do your uttermost endeavour as well to get as to keep, and also to defend, the right of us and our kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, or of the same kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights, which our predecessors and we by ancient and approved custom have used, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your Coucail at Lyons; nor that you give assent to any that shall procure or ordain aught in this case. upon your oath aforesaid, and the loss of your temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore in this behalf so behave yourselves, that, for our good dealing and virtue of thankfulness, we may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reprove your unthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness myself, &c., the nine and twentieth year of our reign."

In like sort wrote he to the archbishops and bishops, &c. of Ireland and Gascony.

After this council ended, in the beginning of the next year following, A.D. 1246, Pope Innocent came to Cluniack, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloquy between the pope and Louis the French king, who was then preparing his voyage to Jerusalem, in which colloquy the pope sought all means to persuade the French king, in revengement of his injury, to war *contra regulum*, as he termed him, that is, against the weak and feeble king of England, either to drive him utterly from his kingdom, or else to damnify him, whereby he should be constrained, whether he would or no, to stoop to the pope's will and obedience wherein he also would assist him with all the authority he could. Nevertheless the French king to this would not agree; first, for the consanguinity that was between them (for their two queens were sisters). Also for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly, for fear of the emperor, lest he should take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much spilling of Christian blood. And lastly, because he was preparing his voyage to the Holy Land,

where his coming was already looked for. And thus the French king, denying the pope's bloody request, refused not only to enter war against the king and the realm of England, but also shortly after concluded with him longer truce, A.D. 1246.

Straight upon the neck of this followed then the exaction of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the pope; which was to have the first year's fruits of all benefices and spiritual livings in England for the space of seven years together, until the sum should come to ten thousand marks. Whereat the king first was greatly grieved. But in conclusion he was fain at last to agree with the archbishop; and so the money was gathered.

Over and besides all other exactions wherewith the pope miserably oppressed the Church of England, this also is not to be silenced, how the pope, sending down his letters from the see apostolic, charged and commanded the prelates to find him some ten, some five, and some fifteen able men, well furnished with horse and harness, for one whole year, to fight in the pope's wars. And lest the king should have knowledge thereof, it was enjoined them under pain of excommunication, that they should reveal it to none, but to keep it in secret only to themselves.

The pope yet notwithstanding, partly being laboured by suitors, partly of his own mind thinking good somewhat to give to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to give something to their babes to play withal to keep them still, sent down this releasement to the king, that hereafter, whensoever any of the pope's nephews or of his cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of England, either he or the cardinals should first make the king privy thereto, and instantly crave his good will in obtaining the procuracion, or else the same to stand in no effect. Howbeit all this seemed to be done but of a policy to get the king's favour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to pass with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

For when the aforesaid Pope Innocent the Fourth had knowledge at the same time of certain rich clerks leaving great substance of money, which died intestate, as of one Robert Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, which died leaving thousands of marks and much plate behind him, all which, because no will was made, came to temporal men's hands; also of Master Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, being found worth a great substance when he died; and likewise of another, John Hotosp, archdeacon of Northampton, who died suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand marks, and thirty standing pieces of plate, with other infinite jewels besides; he sent forth upon the same a statute to be proclaimed in England, that whatsoever ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in England intestate, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the pope's use.

Furthermore, the pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to W., bishop of Norwich, for gathering up amongst the clergy and religious houses in England six thousand marks to the behoof of the holy mother church, without any excuse or delay, by virtue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the clergy, when it came to the king's ear, he eftsoons directeth contrary letters to all the prelates and every one of them, commanding them, upon forfeiting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy money should be gathered or transported out of the realm. But the pope again hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the prelates of England, that this collection of money, upon pain of excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new temple in London, by the feast of the Assumption next ensuing.

And furthermore, forasmuch as he perceived the king to go about to withstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdain, he was about the same time to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his cardinals, called Johan. Anglicus, an Englishman born, speaking for the realm of England, desired his fatherhood for God's cause to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his mind; which, said he, to tell you plain, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your fatherhood, quoth he, may consider that these days be evil. First, the Holy Land lieth in great perils to be lost. All the Greek church is departed from us. Frederic the emperor is against us, the mightiest prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we, which are the peers of the church, are banished from the papal see, thrust out of Rome, yea, excluded out of all Italy. Hungary, with all coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subversion by the Tartarians. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spain is fierce and cruel against us, even to the cutting out of the bishops' tongues. France by us is so impoverished, that it is brought to beggary, which also conspireth against us. Miserable England, being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to Balaam's ass, beaten and bounced with spurs and staves, beginneth at length to speak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burdens, being so wearied and damnified, that she may seem past all recovery; and we, after the manner of Ishmael, hating of men, provoke all men to hate us, &c.

Notwithstanding these words of Johannes Anglicus, his cardinal, the pope's choleric passion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandment with full authority to the bishop of Worcester, that in case the king would not speedily surcease his rebellion against his apostolical proceedings, he would interdict his land. So that, in conclusion, the king, for all his stout enterprise, was fain to relent at last, and the pope had his money, A.D. 1246.

Ye heard before of the Greek churches under the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestered themselves from the company of the Romish church. Insomuch that Germanus. the patriarch of Constantinople, and the archbishop of Antioch, did excommunicate the bishop of Rome. And after the said Germanus, another bishop of Constantinople, at the Council of Lyons, protested, that whereas before were thirty suffragans belonging to that province, now there were not three that held with the Church of Rome. And this breach, albeit it chiefly burst out in the time of Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230, to open war and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued long before, in such sort, as in the time of Pope Innocent the Third, if any priest had said mass in their churches, they would wash the altar afterward; as appeareth by the Acts of the Lateran Council, cap. iv. Wherefore Pope Innocent now, (as his other predecessors had done before,) hearing an old grudge against those churches of the Greeks, and neither willing by conference to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of arms to subdue them, and sent the provincial of the Grey Friars, with other associates of the same order, into England with his precept authentical, containing in it these articles.

"1. That the said provincial, or his friars, should inquire upon all usurers being alive; and of all such evil-gotten goods, gained *per usurariam pravitatem*, should make attachment for the use and preparation for this war against the Greeks, excommunicating all them by district censures of the church that repugned against it.

"2. That all they which took the badge of the cross, for the recovery of the said empire of the Greeks, or with goods and cattle would help sufficiently unto the same, should be absolved of all their sins.

"3. Item, that all the goods left in the testaments of them that were departed, being gotten by usury, should be taken up to the subsidy of the empire aforesaid, and whosoever repugned against the same should be excommunicated.

"4. Item, that such goods as in the testaments of the dead were left, or which should be left three next years to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had evil gotten, they should take up for the subsidy of the empire aforesaid, excommunicating, &c.

"5. Item, such goods as were left to be distributed in godly uses, after the arbitrement of executors, by the wills of the dead, or were not in their wills deputed to any certain places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said executors to the foresaid uses, they should collect to the use and subsidy aforesaid, and give certificate to the see apostolic of the quantity thereof, excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

"6. Item, that they should diligently inquire of such men's goods evil gotten or evil come by as were alive, and them they should attach for the subsidy aforesaid, in case the party, which ought to be satisfied for those goods evil gotten, could not be found, giving certificate thereof, and excommunicating, &c.

"7. Item, that the said provincial, or his friars, should have full power to absolve those that were excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid."

What man having eyes is so blind which seeth not these execrable dealings of the pope to be such, as would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually to renounce the pope, and well to consider the usurped authority of that see not to be of God? But such was the rude dulness then of miserable England, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they, feeling what burdens were laid upon them, yet would play still the ass of Balaam, or else the horse of Æsop, which, receiving the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his own misery, nor yet recover liberty. And so it fared with England under the pope's thralldom, as partly by these stories above hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seen.

For so it followeth in the history of the said Matth. Paris, how the pope, taking more courage by his former abused boldness, and perceiving what a tame ass he had to ride upon, ceased not thus, but directed a new precept the same year, 1246, to the prelates of England, commanding by the authority apostolic, that all beneficed men in the realm of England, which were resident upon their benefices, should yield to the pope the third part of their goods, and they which were not resident should give the one half of their goods, and that for the space of three years together, with terrible comminations to all them that did resist; and ever with this clause withal, *non obstante*, which was like a key that opened all locks. Which sum, cast together, was found to amount to sixty thousand pounds; which sum of money could scarce be found in all England to pay for King Richard's ransom. The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who, conferring about the matter with his brethren in the church of Paul's, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the

importable burden of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustain, suddenly cometh in certain messengers from the king, Sir John Lexinton, knight, and Laurence Martin, the king's chaplain, straitly in the king's name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of the whole realm.

This being done about the first day of December in the year above said, shortly after, in the beginning of the next year, 1247, about February, the king called a parliament, where by common advice it was agreed, that certain ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of Rome the exceeding grievances of the realm, delivering, moreover, these letters to the pope, in the name both of the temporalty and also of the clergy, as here followeth.

*Another letter sent to Pope Innocent the Fourth, in the names of the whole clergy and commonalty of England, A.D. 1247.*

"To the most holy father in Christ, and Lord Innocent, by God's providence chief bishop, the whole commonalty, both of the clergy and laity, with in the province of Canterbury, sendeth devout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the Church of England, since it hath first received the catholic faith, hath always showed herself faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our holy mother the Church of Rome, studying with all kind of service to please and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun; even so now the same church, most humbly prostrate before the feet of your Holiness, entirely beseecheth your clemency to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which so manifold ways, for the subvention of other nations; by the commandment of your Holiness, is laid upon us; considering that not only it is insupportable, but also impossible, which is enjoined us. For although our country sometimes yieldeth forth fruit for the necessary sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now-a-days is required. Which also being burdened and overcharged of late days with another such-like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answer unto that which is exacted.

"Furthermore, besides this commandment of your Holiness, there is required of the clergy a subsidy for our temporal king, whose necessities neither possibly we can, nor honestly we ought, to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the invasion of the enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and also recover again that hath been lost. In consideration whereof, we have directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your Holiness with our humble supplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniences which are like to ensue upon the premises, which by no means we are able to sustain, although notwithstanding we know ourselves by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And because our general community hath no seal proper, we have signed therefore these presents with the public seal of the city of London," &c.

The like letters were sent also unto the cardinals, to the same effect. The pope, understanding these things, and perceiving that there was no striving against such a general consent, and yet loth to forego his sweet harvest, which he was wont to reap in England, craftily devised to send this answer again unto the king, much like to the same which he sent before, which was, That although the pope in time past, upon his own will and pleasure, to the insupportable grievance of the realm of England, hath every where, and without respect, through the whole land made his provisions in

giving their benefices unto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest, said he, is overblown; so that hereafter, if the pope shall grant his provision for any of his nephews or of his cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant suit unto the king, without all enforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the king's free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good, &c.

This answer of the pope, albeit it was but a subtle shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the king. For shortly after, and within few days upon the same, and in the time also of the said parliament holden at Winchester, the pope sent two English friars into the realm, whose names were John and Alexander, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission to the king, while they had leave granted to range about the realm, afterward, coming to the bishops and rich abbots, showed themselves forth in their full authority, in such sort as they became rather tyrants than extortioners.

Among others, coming to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, who of all other bare a special mind to the order of Observants, these two friars, as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandate with the pope's bulls, required and eke commanded, under the pope's mighty curse, to have the gathering in his diocese of six thousand marks. Likewise of the abbot of St. Albans they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

The bishop, although well liking before that order of those friars, yet seeing the impudent behaviour and more impudent request of those merchants, thus answered to them again; that this exaction, saving the pope's authority, was never heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and, moreover, was such as did not only concern him, but the whole public state of the clergy, and of the whole realm in general; and therefore it should be absurdly and rashly done of him to give them answer herein, before the king and the rest of the council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto, &c., and so for that time he shook them off.

Furthermore, as touching the abbot of St. Albans, when he also alleged the same causes, he pretended moreover that he would appeal, and so did, to the pope and his cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent down from Pope Innocent another legate, called Johannes Anglicus, an English friar and cardinal, who, bringing down a new special precept to the aforesaid abbot, cited him either to appear at London the morrow after St. Giles's day, or to disburse to the use of the pope the aforesaid four hundred marks. By reason whereof the abbot was driven to send his proctors again, with a new supplication, to the pope at Lyons; who in the end, through great instance of monied friends, agreed with the abbot for two hundred marks, besides his other charges borne, and so was that matter compounded little to the abbot's profit.

To recite ali damages and grievances received by the bishop of Rome in this realm of England, neither is any history sufficiently able to comprehend, nor, if it were, scarcely is there any that would believe it. Notwithstanding, to those above declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they which now live in this age may behold and wonder in themselves to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the subjects, but kings also of this realm were brought, under the intolerable yoke of the pope's tyranny, which in those days neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example ensuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appear.

In the year of our Lord 1248, after that Pope Innocent the Fourth had taken such order in the realm, that all prelates of the church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the pope's kinsfolks and clerks of Italy had been first provided for, it happened upon the same, that the abbot of Abington had a commandment from the pope to bestow some benefice of his church in all haste to a certain priest of Rome; which the abbot, as an obedient child unto his father the pope, was eager and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the Roman priest, not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarry his time, to have such as were principal and for his own appetite, having a special eye to the benefice of the church of St. Helen in Abington, which was then esteemed worth a hundred marks by year, besides other vails and commodities belonging to the same; the collation whereof the priest required by the authority apostolical to be granted unto him.

As this passed on, it chanced at last the incumbent to die, and the benefice to be empty. Which eftsoons being known, the same day cometh a commandment, with great charge from the king to the abbot, to give the benefice to one Aethelmare, the king's brother by the mother's side, who at the same time was possessed with so many benefices, as the number and value thereof was unknown. The abbot here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratify his king or to obey the pope, took counsel with his friends; who, well advising of the matter, gave him counsel to prefer the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would undertake to stand in his defence against the pope, rather than the Romish priest, whom always he should have lying there as a spy and watcher of him, and like a thorn ever in his eye; and so the king, assuring the abbot of his undoubted protection, and indemnity against all harms, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the king's brother.

The Roman priest, not a little grieved thereat, speedeth himself in all haste to the bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of men) making it worse than it was. Upon whose complaint the pope eftsoons in great anger cited up the abbot personally to appear before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The abbot trusting upon the king's promise and protection, (which neither could help him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the pope,) being both aged and sickly, was driven to travel up to the court of Rome, in great heaviness and bitterness of mind. Where in conclusion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expenses, he was fain to satisfy the pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making him amends for his trespass of disobedience.

To this also may be added another like fact of the pope, as outrageous as this, against the house of Binham. For when the benefice of Westle, in the diocess of Ely, was void by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian, and one of the pope's chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priory of Binham, another Italian, which was a bastard and unlearned, born in the city of Genoa, called Heriggetto de Malchana de Valta, brought down the pope's letters to M. Berardo de Nymphba, the pope's agent here in England, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said benefice to be conferred in any case to Heriggetto. Yea, and though the benefice had been given already, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said Heriggetto preferred; yea, also *non obstante* that the said pope himself had before given his grant to the king and realm of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there; yet, for all that, the said Heriggetto upon pain of excommunication to be placed therein.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that read these stories, and see the doings of this western bishop, may consider what just cause these Grecians had to seclude themselves from his subjection and communion. For what Christian communion is to be joined with him which so contrary to Christ and his gospel seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his brethren, so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging, stirring up wars, depriving kings, deposing emperors, playing *rex* in the church of Christ, so erroneous in doctrine, so abominably abusing excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of God's fear, and briefly, so far from all the parts of a true evangelical bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the souls of men, which setteth in benefices boys and outlandish Italians; and further, one Italian to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flock, nor once would abide to see their faces? And who can blame the Grecians then for dissevering themselves from such an oppressor and giant against Christ.

Whose wise example, if this realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, great travels and charges, besides the saving of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said bishop full falsely hath raked and transported out of this realm of ours. But, not to exceed the bounds of my history, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common-places, I will pass this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the reader. For else if I listed to prosecute this argument so far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not only say, but could well prove, the pope and court of Rome to be the only fountain and principal cause, I say not of much misery here in England, but of all the public calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happened these many years through all these west parts of Christendom, and especially of all the lamentable ruin of the church, which not only we, but the Grecians also, this day do suffer by the Turks and Saracens; as whoso ever well considereth by reading of histories the course of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts passed by the said bishop of Rome, together with the blind leading of his doctrine, shall see good cause, not only to think, but also to witness the same.

## 55. The Third Crusade

Only one narration touching this argument, and yet not transgressing the office of my history, I mind (the Lord willing) to set before the reader's eyes, which happened even about this present time of this King Henry's reign, in the year of our Lord 1244.

In the which year it chanced that Louis, the French king, son to Queen Blanch, fell very sore sick, lying in a swoon or in a trance for certain days, in such sort as few thought he would have lived, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his mother, who, sorrowing bitterly for her son, and given somewhat (as commonly the manner of women is) to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy cross, with the crown and the spear, which piece of the holy cross Baldwinus, emperor of Constantinople, (whom the Grecians had deposed a little before for holding with the bishop of Rome,) had sold unto the French king for a great sum of money; and, blessing him with the same, also laid the crown and the spear to his body, making a vow withal in the person of her son, that if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmity, he should be crossed, or marked with the cross, to visit his sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the land which he had sanctified with his blood. Thus as she, with the bishop of Paris, and others there present, were praying, behold the king, which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and so stretching himself began to speak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which, as the king's mother, with others there, took to be a great miracle wrought by the virtue of the holy cross; so the king amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered received solemnly the badge of the cross, vowing for a free-will sacrifice unto God, that he, if the council of his realm would suffer him, would in his own person visit the Holy Land; forgetting belike the rule of true Christianity, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the Gospel, saying, that neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and verity, &c.

After this was great preparation and much ado in France toward the setting forth to the Holy Land. For after the king first began to be crossed, the most part of the nobles of France, with divers archbishops and bishops, with earls, and barons, and gentlemen to a mighty number, received also the cross upon their sleeves. Amongst whom was the Earl Atrebacensis, the king's brother, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant, the countess of Flanders, with her two sons, the earl of Brittany with his son, the earl of Barensis, earl of Saissions, earl of St. Paul, earl of Druis, earl of Retel, with many noble persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoever the pope could do to set forward this holy business, in sending his legates and friars into France, to stir the people to follow the king, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the king, to gather of the universal Church of France, by the pope's authority, the tenth part of all their goods for three years' space together, upon this condition, that the king likewise would grant to the pope the twentieth part for so many years after, to be gathered of the said Church of France. Which was agreed.

Shortly after this, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and forty-seven, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles being present,

there was declared how the king of Tartarians or Turks, hearing of the voyage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he will become his subject. In the which parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the feast of St. John Baptist the very next year ensuing. Also they that were crossed were sworn to persist in their purpose, and sentence of the pope's great curse denounced to all them that went from the same. Furthermore, for the better speed in his journey, the king through all his realm caused it to be proclaimed, that if any merchant or other had been injured at any time by the king's exactors, either by oppression or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, showing how or wherein, and he should be recompensed. At which time William Longspath, a worthy warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certain other great men in the realm of England, moved with the example of the Frenchmen, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

The next year after this ensuing, which was 1248, the French king yet still remaining in his purposed journey, Lady Blanch his mother, also the bishop of Paris his brother, with the lords of his council and other nobles, and his special friends, advertised him with great persuasions to alter his mind, touching that so adventurous and so dangerous a journey, for that his vow (said they) was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sickness, when his mind was not perfectly stablished; and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the king of England being on the one side, the emperor on the other side, and the Pictavians in the midst so fugitive and unstable; and as concerning his vow, the pope should friendly dispense with him, considering the necessity of his realm, and weakness of his body. Besides all this, his mother upon her blessing required him, his brethren of all loves desired him, to stay at home, and not in his person to adventure; others might be sent in his room, with no less furniture to achieve that enterprise, and to discharge him of his vow, especially seeing at the making thereof his senses were feeble, his body weak, and reason through sickness and very death almost decayed.

To whom the king again, Forasmuch (said he) as you say, that for feebleness of my senses I took this vow upon me, lo, therefore, as you here will me, I lay down the cross that I took. And putting his hand to his shoulder, he tare off the badge of the cross, saying to the bishop, Here I resign to you the cross wherewith I was signed. At the sight whereof there was no small rejoicing of all that were there present. To whom the king then, both altering his countenance and his speech, thus spake: My friends, said he, whatsoever I was then in my sickness, now I thank God I am of perfect sense, and reason sound, and now I require my cross again to be restored unto me: saying, moreover, that no bread should come in his head before he were recognised again with the same cross as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there present were astonished supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so moved no more questions unto him.

Upon this drew nigh the feast of John Baptist, which was the time set for the setting forth. And now, being in a readiness, the king in few days after was entering his journey; but yet one thing lacked. For the king, perceiving the mortal variance between the pope and good Frederic the emperor, thought best first before his going to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might he safer through the emperor's countries, and also less jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore, upon the same, he took first his way to Lyons, where the pope was, partly to take his leave, but most especially to make reconciliation between the emperor and the pope.

Where is to be noted, by the way, that as touching the good emperor there was no let nor stay. Who rather sought all means how to compass the pope's favour, and never could obtain it; insomuch that, before he should be excommunicated in the Council of Lyons, he not only answered sufficiently by Thadeus his attorney, discharging himself against whatsoever crimes or objections could be brought against him; but so far humbled himself to the pope and the council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done of his part, what amends soever the pope could or would require, he would recompense it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

Furthermore, if the pope (he said) could not abide his tarrying in his own dominions and empire, he would go fight against the Saracens and Turks, never to return into Europe again, offering there to recover the lands and kingdoms whatsoever did at any time belong to Christendom, so that the pope only would be contented that Henry his son (which was then nephew to King Henry here in England) should be emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

Then he offered, for truth of his promise, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his sureties, or else for trial of his cause to stand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

At last he desired that he might come himself and answer before the council. But the proud pope in no case would abide that, saying that he did not yet find himself so ready and meet for martyrdom, to have him to come thither to the council; for if he did, he would depart himself, &c.

This obstinate rancour and devilish malice of Pope Innocent and his predecessor against that valiant emperor, and against the Grecians, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole church, what strength it gave to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it impaired Christian concord, and weakened all Christian lands, not only the host of the French king did find shortly after, but Christendom even to this day may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in stories be found any greater cause which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the pestilent working of this pope in deposing and excommunicating this worthy emperor. For as there was never emperor of long time which more victoriously prevailed in bridling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would have done more against them, than the said Frederic if he might have been suffered; so after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as he was counselled, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartarians, being now joined together, neither yet could the emperor be suffered by the pope to rescue the king; it followed thereof, that the good king being taken prisoner, and all his army destroyed the Turks thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the Christians, that ever since they have burst in further upon us, and now have prevailed so far, as neither the power of the pope nor of all Christendom is able to drive them out, as hereafter by sequel of story is further to be declared.

In the mean time, to return where before we left, when the French king, coming thus unto the pope at Lyons to entreat for the emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heaviness departed, setting forward on his journey unto Marseilles, and so sailed to the isle of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter; so that, failing into penury and lack of victuals, he was fain to send to the Venetians, and other islands by, for help of provision. The Venetians gently sent unto him six great

ships laden with corn, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the relief of other islands more. But especially Frederic the emperor, understanding of their want, so furnished the French camp with all plenty of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king, moved with the kindness of the emperor, wrote his special letters to the pope in the emperor's behalf, but the hard heart of the pope would not relent. Blanch, the king's mother in France, hearing what the emperor had done to her son, sent him most hearty thanks, with presents and rewards manifold.

In this mean time, about the beginning of October, the Frenchmen got Damietta, being the principal fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the year one thousand two hundred and forty-nine. After the winning of Damietta, the prince and people of the Saracens, being astonished at the loss thereof, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions, more than ever belonged to Christendom before, so that they might have Damietta to them restored again. But the pride of the earl of Artois, the king's brother, would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damietta and Alexandria, the chief metropolitan city of all Egypt, to be delivered unto them. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greediness of the Frenchmen, in no case would abide it; which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Christians, as in the end it proved.

First, in the isle of Cyprus, and in the journey before, died the earl of Palatine, and one of the twelve peers of France, also the earl of St. Paul and Blesse, who had under him fifty ensigns, which were all after his death scattered abroad and dispersed; also died Johannes de Denis, a valiant captain, with many other noble personages, both men and women, which, by altering the air and diet, there deceased.

The next year ensuing, which was 1250, about Ash Wednesday, the Frenchmen, issuing out of their tents by the city of Damietta, flew upon the Saracens, which besieged them; and so, after a great number of the enemies slain, with victory and great spoils returned to their tents again. Now within the city of Damietta was the queen with her ladies, the pope's legate, and bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and footmen, for the defence of the city strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to have the like band of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gave a fresh assault upon them; but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselves, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more than they got the day before, and so, after a great slaughter of their men, retired unto their tents again. Whereupon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the city of Damietta, that no victuals could pass unto them. In like manner the soldan also, gathering all the galleys about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so enclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water.

At length, after long talk and consultation between them on both sides, the soldan advised them betimes to resign unto him the city of Damietta, with the furniture which they found therein, and they should have all the country about Jerusalem, with all the captives of the Christians friendly restored unto them; wherewith the Christians (said he) ought to be contented, and to seek no further, but only to have the land of Jerusalem; which being granted to them, they should not encroach into their lands and kingdoms, whereto they had no right. This form of peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poor soldiers, and divers others of the said council and nobility; so the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, in no case would as sent thereto, but still required the city of Alexandria to be yielded unto them. Which the Egyptians by no means would agree unto.

From that time the French army, being compassed by sea and by land, began every day more and more to be distressed for lack of victuals and with famine, being driven to that misery, that they were fain to eat their own horses in the Lent time, which should have served them unto other uses. Neither could any Christian, nor Frederic, being deposed by the pope, be able to send them any succour. Furthermore, the more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens press upon them on every side, detesting their forward wilfulness. Insomuch that divers of the Christian soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themselves, as they could, out of the camp to the Saracens, who were gladly received and relieved, and some suffered still to keep their faith, some marrying wives amongst them, and for hope of honour did apostatize to their law, and so wrought no little harm to the Christians. The soldan, being perfectly instructed by these fugitives of all things belonging to the king's army, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mattocks, forks, and rakes, his scythes, ploughs, and harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupy them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker? All this and much more the king with his French men were fain to take well in worth. It happened shortly after that this soldan died, being poisoned of his own servants; which was to the Christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said soldan had been a cruel tyrant to the Christians, yet was he hated of his own people, whereby his strength was the less; after whom succeeded another much more cruel. Who, as he was better loved, so he became much stronger by a general confederacy of all the Saracens which were in the east parts, joining now together. So that when the Christians desired now to have the form of peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to be feared, by their pride and over-much greediness grew more and more in contempt amongst their enemies, and now was utterly despised.

The Christians, thus seeing all things to go back ward with them, and how the infidel Saracens daily did prevail, began to murmur against God, and some also, which were well settled before, to stagger in their religion, casting out these words of infidelity; How is this (said they) that the Lord hath left us, in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by these Saracens and infidels, who with shedding of our blood have enjoyed great spoils and victories! First, this city of Damietta, which we Christians had gotten dearly, with effusion of so much Christian blood, afterwards we were constrained for nought to resign up again. After that, the army of the Templars, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, near to Antioch, was vanquished, and the standard-bearer slain in the fields. Again, within these few years, our Frenchmen, fighting in like manner against the Saracens at the city of Gazara, were put to the worst, and many afterward out of captivity ransomed, by Richard, duke of Exeter, brother to the king of England, Henry the Third. Then came in the Chosmorins, sent by the soldan of Babylon, which by a wile invaded the Christians in the city of Jerusalem, where almost all the Christian army being in the Holy Land were destroyed. And now here our most Christian king, together with the whole nobility, is like to be in danger utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus standeth against us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them than of us, &c.? Such murmuring words of an unstable faith many there began to cast out, as taking displeasure for their sufferings; but not considering on the other side what idolaters they were, what pride and discord was amongst them, what cruelty and murder they had showed at home in persecuting the poor Albigenes, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatry they proceeded, putting their trust in masses, in the pope's indulgences, in

worshipping of images, and praying to saints. And what helps then could they look for at God's hand, which had images in their temples, to fight against them which had none? Or what marvel, if the Lord of hosts went not with their army, committing such idolatry every day in their pavilions to their sacramental bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their own merits, and not only by the power of their faith in Christ, which is only the victory that overcometh the world? 1 John v. Finally, having in their camp the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemy; as by example of Frederic the emperor may be well perceived, who, after he was accursed by Pope Gregory a little before, coming the same thne in war against the Saracens in Palestine, God's blessing wrought so mightily with him, that without any bloodshed he recovered Jerusalem, and set all the country about it in great quietness, till at last the popish Templars, which at the pope's setting on went about to betray him to the soldan of Babylon, and so lost all again by their own malicious mischief that the emperor before had gotten.

But let us proceed further in this holy progress. The French king with his army seeing himself distressed, and no good there to be done against the soldan of Egypt, after he had sufficiently fortified the city of Damietta, with an able garrison left with the duke of Burgundy, he removed his tents from thence to go eastward. In whose army also followed William Longspath, (of whom mention was touched before,) accompanied with a picked number of English warriors retaining unto him. But such was the disdain of the Frenchmen against this William Longspath and the Englishmen, that they could not abide them, but flouted them, after opprobrious manner, with English tails, insomuch that the good king himself had much ado to keep peace between them.

The original cause of this grudge between them began thus: There was, not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a strong fort or castle, replenished with great ladies, and rich treasure of the Saracens; the which hold it chanced the said William Longspath with his company of English soldiers to get, more by good luck and politic dexterity than by open force of arms, whereby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive a heartburning against the English soldiers, and could not speak well of them after that. It happened again not long after, that the said William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens, going to a certain fair about the parts of Alexandria, having their camels, asses, and mules richly laden with silks, precious jewels, spices, gold and silver, with cart-loads of other wares, besides victuals and other furniture, whereof the soldiers then stood in great need. He having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so by night falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conductors, some he took, some he put to flight. The carts, with the drivers and with the oxen, and the camels, asses, and mules, with the whole carriage and victuals, he took and brought with him, losing in all the skirmish but one soldier, and eight of his servitors; of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being known in the camp, forth came the Frenchmen, which all this while loitered in their pavilions, and meeting their carriage by the way, took all the foresaid prey whole unto themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen for so adventuring and issuing out of the camp without leave or knowledge of their general, contrary to the discipline of war. William said again, he had done nothing but he would answer to it, whose purpose was to have the spoil divided to the behoof of the whole army: when this would not serve, he being sore grieved in his mind, so

cowardly to be spoiled of that, for the which he so adventurously had travailed, went to the king to complain. But when no reason nor complaint would serve, by reason of the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, which upon despite and disdain stood against him, he, bidding the king farewell, said he would serve him no longer. And so William de Longspath, with the rest of his company, breaking from the French host, went to Acre. Upon whose departure then said the earl of Artois, Now is the army of Frenchmen well rid of these tailed people. Which words, spoken in great despite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him.

Before the arriving of the French army in the land of Egypt, the soldan of Babylon, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the custody of Damietta unto a certain prince of his, whom he specially trusted, committing also to his brother the keeping of Cairo and Babylon. It followed now after the taking of Damietta, that the soldan of Babylon accused the prince which had the custody thereof, before his nobles, of prodicion, as giving the city unto the Christians. Who notwithstanding in judgment did sufficiently clear himself, declaring how he was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the king's arrival there. But, by distress of weather, he missing of his purpose, and the king landing about Damietta, by reason thereof the city was taken unprovided, he notwithstanding with his company resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed out, cursing (said he) Mahomet and his law. At which words the soldan, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a traitor and blasphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had sufficiently purged himself by the judgment of the court. His brother, which was the keeper of Cairo and Babylon, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, devised in himself how to give the said city of Cairo and Babylon to the French king, and so in most secret wise sent to the king, showing his full purpose, and what had happened; and furthermore, instructing the king in all things how and what he should do, and moreover requiring the sacrament of baptism, meaning indeed good faith, and sending also away all the Christian captives which he had with him in prison. The king, being glad hereof, sent in all haste for William Longspath, promising a full redress of all injuries past; who, upon hope of some good luck towards, came at the king's request, and so joined with the French power again.

To make the story short, the king, setting forward from Damietta, directed his journey towards Cairo, slaying by the way such Saracens as there were set to stop the victuals from Damietta. The soldan in the mean time hearing of the courageous coming of the French host, as being in great hope to conquer all, sent unto the king by certain that were next about him, offering to the Christians the quiet and full possession of the Holy Land, with all the kingdom of Jerusalem, and more; besides other infinite treasure of gold and silver, or what else might please them; only upon this condition, they would restore again Damietta, with the captives there, and so would join together in mutual peace and amity. Also they should have all their Christian captives delivered home, and so both countries should freely pass one to another with their wares and traffic, such as they lusted to adventure. Furthermore, it was also firmly affirmed and spoken, that the soldan with most of his nobles were minded no less than to leave the filthy law of Mahomet, and receive the faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enjoy their lands and possessious. The same day great quietness had entered (no doubt) in all Christendom, with the end of much bloodshed and misery, had it not been for the pope and his legate, who (having commandment from the pope, that if any such offers should come, he should not take them) stoutly *et*

*frontose contradicens* (as the words be of the story) in no wise would receive the conditions offered.

Thus, while the Christians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the soldan in the mean time got intelligence of the compact between the tribune of Cairo and the French king; where upon he sent in all haste to the city of Cairo to apprehend the tribune till the truth were fully tried, which seemed to him more apparent, for that the Christian prisoners were already delivered. Here upon the soldan, being in some better hope, and less fear, refused that which before he had offered to the Christians; albeit they with great instance afterward sued to the soldan, and could not obtain it. Then the soldan, being wholly bent to try the matter by the sword, sent to the east parts for an infinite multitude of soldiers, giving out by proclamation, that whosoever could bring in any Christian man's head should have ten talents, besides his standing wages. And whosoever brought his right hand should have five. He that brought his foot should have two talents for his reward.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to the necessity of war, the king cometh to the great river Nile, having gotten together many boats, thinking by them to pass over, as upon a sure bridge. On the other side the soldan pitcheth himself to withstand his coming over. In the mean time happened a certain feast amongst the Saracens, in which the soldan was absent, leaving his tents by the water-side. Which being foreseen by a certain Saracen lately converted to Christ, serving with Earl Robert, the king's brother, and showing them withal a certain shallow ford in the river of Nile, where they might more easily pass over, the said Earl Robert, and the master of the temple, with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army, issued over the river, after whom also followed William Longspath with his band of English soldiers. These, being together joined on the other side the water, encountered the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents, and put them to the worse. After this victory gotten, the French earl, surprised with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, dividing himself from the main host, thinking to win the spurs alone. To whom certain sage men of the temple, giving contrary counsel, advised him not so to do, but rather to return and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they said) they better knew, and had more experience thereof, than he; alleging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished soldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all, with other such-like words of persuasion. Which, when the proud earl did hear, being inflamed with no less arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole country, objecting unto them the common report of many, which said that the land of the holy cross might be won to Christendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hospitallers and their fellows, &c.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the temple answered again for him and his fellows, bidding him display his ensign when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him as he to go before them. Then began William de Longspath, the worthy knight, to speak, desiring the earl to give ear to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countries and people than he had, commending also their counsel to be discreet and wholesome; and so, turning to the

master of the temple, began with gentle words to mitigate himself likewise. The knight had not half ended his talk, when the earl, taking his words out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out of these cowardly Englishmen with tails. What a pure army (said he) should we have here, if these tails and tailed people were purged from it! with other like words of great villany and much disdain. Whereunto the English knight, answering again, Well, Earl Robert, said he, where soever you dare set your foot, my step shall go as far as yours, and, as I believe, we go this day where you shall not dare to come near the tail of my horse; as in the event it proved true.

In this mean time the French king, intending to advance forward his army, thought best to send away such as were feeble and lacked armour unto Damietta by boats, The soldan, bearing thereof, prepared a great number of boats to be carried by wain and cart to the water-side, which, meeting them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wild fire every one, so that of all that company of our Christians, of whom some were burned, some slain, some drowned, not one escaped alive, save one only Englishman, named Alexander Giffard, who, although he was sore wounded in the chase in five places in his body, yet escaped to the French camp, bringing word unto the king what was done. And this was upon the water.

Now upon the land, seeing Earl Robert would needs set forward, weening to get all the glory unto himself before the coming of the host, first, they invaded a little village or castle which was not far off, called Mansor. The country boors and pagans in the villages by, seeing the Christians come, ran out with such a main cry and shout, that it came to the soldan's hearing, which was nearer than our men did think. In the mean while the Christians, invading and entering into the munition uncircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the army sore maimed, and almost in despair. Then immediately upon the same cometh the soldan with all his main power; who seeing the Christians' army to be divided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so, enclosing them round about that none should escape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the earl began to repent him of his heady rashness, but it was too late; who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flee, seeing God (said he) doth fight against us. To whom the knight answering again, God forbid (saith he) that my father's son should run away from the face of a Saracen. The earl then turning his horse fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftness of his horse, and so taking the river of Thafnis, oppressed with harness, was there sunken and drowned. Thus the earl being gone, the Frenchmen began to despair and scatter. Then William de Longspath, bearing all the force of the enemies, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, until at length his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer stand, who yet notwithstanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at the last, after many blows and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the Saracens, setting upon the residue of the army, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man escaped alive, saving two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one poor rascal soldier, which brought tidings hereof to the king.

These things being known in the French camp unto the king and his soldiers, first of their drowning which were sent to Damietta, then of the ruin and slaughter of the army, with the king's brother, by the town of Mansor, there was no little sorrow and heaviness on every side, with great fear and doubt in themselves what was best to

do. At last, when they saw no remedy, but they must stand manfully to revenge the blood of their brethren, then the king with his host passed over the flood of Nile, and coming to the place where the battle had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens, for the reward before promised by the soldan or sultan unto them that could bring the head and hand of any Christian, had so mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies unto the wild beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the rueful ease of their Christian fellows, suddenly appeareth the coming of the soldan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. Against whom the Frenchmen eftsoons prepare themselves to encounter; and so the battle being stricken up, the armies began to join. But alack for pity, what could the Frenchmen here do, their number first so maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses for feebleness not able to serve them? In conclusion, the Frenchmen were overthrown, slain, and despatched; and seeing there was no flying, happy was he that first could yield himself. In which miserable conflict the king, with his two brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken captives, to the confusion of all Christian realms, and presented to the soldan. All the residue were put to the sword, or else stood to the mercy of the Saracens, whether to be slain or to remain in woeful captivity. And this was the end of that sorrowful battle, wherein almost all the nobility of France was slain; neither was there one man well near in the multitude which escaped free, but either was slain or taken prisoner. Further more, they that were slain or left half alive had every one his head and hand cut off, upon the soldan's proclamation above mentioned.

The sultan, or soldan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently suborning an army of Saracens to the number of the French army with the arms and ensigns of them that were slain, made toward Damietta, where the duke of Burgundy, with the French queen, and Otho, the pope's legate, and other bishops and their garrisons, were remaining, supposing under the show of Frenchmen to be let in; but the captains mistrusting their hasty coming, and misdoubting their visages, not like to the Frenchmen, shut the gates against them, and so returned they frustrate of their intent.

The purpose of the soldan was, if he might have gotten Damietta, to send the French king up higher in the east countries to the caliph, the chief pope of Damascus, to increase the titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazingstock to all those quarters of the world. The manner of which caliph was, never to let any Christian prisoner come out, whosoever came once in his hand. But forso much as the soldan missed his purpose, he thought, by advice of council, to use the king's life for his own advantage in recovering the city of Damietta, as in the end it came to pass. For although the king at the first was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than surrender Damietta again to the Saracens, yet the conclusion so fell out, that the king was put to his ransom, and the city of Damietta was also resigned; which city, being twice won and twice lost by the Christians, the soldan or saladin afterward caused it utterly to be razed down to the ground. The ransom of the king, upon condition that the soldan should see him safely conducted to Acre, (which I take to be Cesarea,) came to sixty thousand marks. The number of Frenchmen and others which miscarried in that war by water and by land come to eighty thousand persons.

And thus have ye the brief narration of this lamentable peregrination of Louis the French king. In which, when the Frenchmen were once or twice well offered by the soldan, to have all the kingdom of Jerusalem and much more in free possession, they,

not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greediness to have all, lost all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover lying dead upon the ground; and all through the original cause of the pope and Otho his legate. By whose sinister means and pestilent pride, not only the lives of so many Christians were then lost, but also to the said pope is to be imputed all the loss of other cities and Christian regions bordering in the same quarters; forsomuch as by the occasion hereof the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so encouraged, and the courage of the Christians on the other side so much discomfited, that in short space after both the dominion of Antioch and of Acre, with all other possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christ's church.

During the time of this good king lying at Acre, or Cesarea, Almighty God sent such discord betwixt the soldan of Halaphia, and the soldan of Babylon for letting the king so escape, that the said soldan or saladin of Babylon, to win the king unto his side, entered league with him, (whom both his brethren and all his nobles almost at home had forsaken,) and remitted his ransom, and also restored unto him such prisoners as were in the said battle found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh where man commonly forsaketh.

Another cause, moreover, why the ruin of this French army may worthily be imputed to the pope is this, for that when Louis the French king, perceiving what a necessary friend and helper Frederic the emperor might be to him in these his affairs against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest suitor for him to the pope to have him released; yet neither he nor the king of England by any means could obtain it. And although the emperor himself offered to Pope Innocent, with all humble submission, to make satisfaction in the Council of Lyons, promising also to expugn all the dominions of the Saracens, and never to return into Europe again, and there to recover whatsoever the Christians had lost, so that the pope would only grant his son Henry to be emperor after him; yet the proud pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed against him with both swords, that is, first with the spiritual sword, to accurse him, and then with the temporal sword, to depose him from his imperial throne. Through the occasion whereof, not only the French king's power went to wreck, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against Christendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the French king and his army, the Christians of Antioch, and of other Christian regions thereabouts, being utterly discouraged, gave over their holds and cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got such a hand over Christendom, as to this day we all have great cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where divers Christians were crossed to go over and help the French king, the pope for money dispensed with them to tarry still at home.

But, as I said, the greatest cause was, that the emperor, which could have done most, was deposed by the pope's tyranny, whereby all those churches in Asia were left desolate. As touching the which emperor Frederic, because we have divers and sundry times made mention of him before, and for that his story is strange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he sustained against four or five popes one after another, I thought (not out of story) in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the reader to consider what is to be judged of this cathedral see of Rome, which had wrought such abominable mischief in the world, as in the sequel of the story following, faithfully translated out of Latin into English, is to be seen.

## 56. The Emperor Frederick II.

Frederic the Second came out of the ancient house of the Beblins or Ghibellines, which Ghibellines came of the most famous stock of the French kings and emperors.

He had Frederic BarBarossa to his grandfather, whose son, Henricus the Sixth, was emperor after him, who of Constantia, the daughter (or, as some write, the niece) of Roger the First, king of Sicily, begat this Frederic the Second.

This Constantia was fifty years of age before she was conceived with him, whom the emperor, Henry the Sixth, to avoid all doubt and surmise that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the empire ensue, caused his regal tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might resort. And when the time of his queen's travail approached, Constantia, in presence of divers ladies and matrons, and other gentlewomen of the empire, a great number, was brought abed, and delivered of this Frederic, the seventh day before the kalends of January, in the year of Christ's incarnation 1193, who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.

HenriCus his father, shortly after he was born, obtained of the prince's electors, that, by their oath unto him giVen, they would choose his son Frederic for their emperor after his decease, and so did, and immediately called him Cæsar, being yet but in his cradle.

This Henry when he died (which was shortly after the birth of Frederic) committed the protection of him to Constantia his wife, to Philip his brother, chief governor of Etruria, and to the bishop of Rome, then Innocent the Third.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband, being sickly and growing into age, and thereby not so well able to govern the troubles and unquiet state of the empire, resigned, and willed by her testament the safety, both of her son Frederic, and also of his dominions, to the protection and government of Innocent the Third, thinking thereby safely to have provided, &c.

This Pope Innocent, as soon as he had the protection of the young emperor and his seignories, became, instead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions, both an enemy and conspirator. The examples are many. One is, he persuaded Sibylla, the late wife of Tancred, (whom Henry put from the kingdom of Sicily,) to recover the same again, and that she should thereunto require Philip the French king's aid. Whereupon one Walter, being of the noble house of the earls of Brenno, which in the province of Barrenceis had great living, and marrying with Ateria, the eldest daughter of Tancred, once king of Sicily, as is said, now, by the instigation, counsel, and aid of the French king with the pope, well hoping to recover the kingdom, entered and invaded with great power Campania and Apulia. At which time also the same worthy protector, Innocent the Third, sent his legates with letters of excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said Walter for their king.

Another was, that where the prince's electors and other nobles, as before is said, had promised by their oath to Henricus, that they would make Frederic his son emperor after his decease, (whom the pope saw to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to pass,) absolved them all from the oath which they had taken and given for

the election of Frederic the emperor, as one not content he should obtain the same. And further, he raised slanders and defamations against Philip, whom the electors had chosen to govern the empire, during the minority of Frederic his nephew. he wrote his epistle, which is yet extant, to the Duke Barthold of Zaringia to be emperor. Who for that he gave place to Philip, he went about to procure that Otho, the son of Henry Leo, should be made emperor, and that the princes and lords electors of Germany would crown him forth with after the manner of Aquitaine. He deprived all such bishops as he knew to favour Philip as emperor, in the defence of his nephew's right. But Philip, whose cause was better, his skill in martial affairs greater, and in power and strength mightier, after divers and great conflicts, the marvellous disturbance and vastation of the whole empire, by God's help, put the other to the worse. All which calamities and mischiefs Conrade Lichtenau, at that time living, in his annals most pitifully complaineth of, and accuseth the bishop of Rome and his adherents to be the chief authors and devisers of this great and lamentable mischief, as such that, for to make themselves rich by the spoil thereof, sought by all means and desired the same.

Not long after, a peace was concluded between Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled again to the pope; who within a while after, between Otho and him, was murdered in his chamber and slain. And then was Otho again brought to the imperial seat, and newly elected for emperor, with the counsel and consent of this Innocent the Third, and so continued, until that a great variance and discord chanced to arise between the said Otho and the pope. Whereupon Innocent sought by all means how against him likewise he might work mischief, and bring him unto his end. The occasion of this sudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) invaded and destroyed the dominions of Frederic, as Flaminia, Picenum, Umbria, Etruria, but chiefly Campania and Apulia, for that those properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederic.

Thus you see how, first by the counsel and consent of Pope Innocent, and by his instigation, besides his secret conspiracies, this good Frederic and his dominions were hurt and endamaged. Then again through his default what damage he sustained by Otho, who by him and his means was made so strong as he was; notwithstanding the great trust he was put in for the protection both of Frederic and his dominions.

At this time Frederic was come unto the age of twenty years; who in his youth, by the provision of Constantia his mother, was so well instructed in letters, and with other arts and virtues so endued, that at these years there appeared and did shine in him excellent gifts, both of wisdom and knowledge.

He was excellently well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues, although at that time learning begun to decay, and barbarousness to increase. He had also the German tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He daily exercised and put in practice those virtues which nature had planted in him, as piety, wisdom, justice, and fortitude insomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthiest and most renowned emperors his predecessors.

Fazellus (the historian of Sicily in this time) writeth, that Frederic was again after this had in great honour and estimation with Innocent; but yet notwithstanding he had no sure confidence in him, for that he had the suspected name of Frederic his grandfather often in remembrance, and for that occasion was much desirous to have him far from Italy.

When Frederic had gathered his power, he purposed to set upon Otho his enemy; of which thing Otho hearing, (as he was painful in travel,) came out of Italy with his army into Germany, thinking to have met Frederic at the river of Rhine, and to have stopped his passage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and Frederic was crowned, as the manner of Aquitaine is, before he came. And after that Frederic in the winter time took his journey to Frankfort; and after many meetings held in Nuremburg, and after that Otho was dead, he set the empire in a stay, and the whole country of Germany he in a manner appeased. And then with all his nobles and princes he returned to Rome, and by Honorius the Third was with great solemnity consecrated and called Augustus. Which Honorius succeeded Innocent the Third in the papal see, and was a great help to Frederic (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himself upon Otho.

After the consecration of Frederic the Second, he gave many great and liberal gifts, as well unto the bishop of Rome himself, as also unto the court of Rome besides. Also he gave and assured by his charter to the Church of Rome the dukedom of Fundanum. For by the insatiable covetousness of the Romish bishops this wicked use and custom grew, that unless the emperors elect and crowned would give unto them such like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their consecration or confirmation, which for that intent they devised.

Furthermore, Frederic the emperor, willing to show himself more bountiful and liberal unto the church, neither yet to restrain any privilege that might benefit the same, gave and admitted those constitutions which the pope himself would desire, and are yet extant in their civil law; by which his doings he delivered to their hands a sword, as it were, to cut his own throat; for the bishops of Rome now having even what they listed, and all in their own hands, might, by the pain of proscription, bring what emperor or king they listed under, and keep them by their own laws, as if they were bound in certain bands, out of which they might not start. For whatsoever he were which, for the diminution of the liberties of the church, were excommunicated, and so continued a year's space, then he should be within the danger of this proscrip, and should not be released before he had made satisfaction, and were admitted by the pope to the church and congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to pass, that whatsoever emperor, in the government of his dominions, should in any point displease or do contrary to the lust of the bishop of Rome, he then as enemy to the church was excommunicate. And unless within a year he were reconciled to them again, by this their principal law, he was in the proscrip. And often it chanced that princes, to avoid the pain of this proscrip, were ready to do whatsoever the pope would have them, and commanded them to do.

After the consecration of Frederic was with great solemnity finished, and that the pope and Church of Rome in all ample manner (as is partly described) were gratified, and yet larger constitutions to them confirmed, he departed from Rome, and went into Italy, there to set in order and stay the cities and great towns, for the better tranquillity of himself, and safety of his subjects, and from thence into his own provinces and dominions; where he heard of certain that began to raise and make new factions against him. Amongst whom were found Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocent the Third, earl of Anaquinos, that held certain castles in the kingdom of Neapolitans from him by force; which castles he besieged and beat down, and took from them all that he in them found. Richard he took and sent as a prisoner into Sicily; but Thomas escaped and came speedily to Rome, whither also repaired certain bishops and others that were conspirators against Frederic, as also such others as the fear of the

emperor's laws and their own guilty consciences caused to fly, and were (that notwithstanding) of this bishop of, Rome, Honorius the Third, to gratify again the liberality of the emperor bestowed upon him, under his nose succoured, maintained, and defended. Which thing when Frederic understood, he began to expostulate with the bishop, considering the unseemliness of that his deed. Against whom the pope on the other side was so chafed and vexed, that immediately without further delay he thundereth out against him, like a tyrant, his curses and excommunications.

Thomas Fazellus declareth the detestation or defiance to happen between them somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those which were found traitors to the emperor certain bishops, who, flying to the pope, requested his aid; whereupon the pope sent his legates to the emperor, and requested him that he would admit and receive to favour those bishops which he had banished and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any ecclesiastical charge wherewith he had not to do; and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him. And, moreover, that the oversight of those churches in that kingdom, from the which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged unto him.

Whereunto Frederic thus replieth: That forasmuch as now four hundred years and more from the time of Charlemagne, all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same such ecclesiastical functions and charges as within their territories and kingdoms fell, that he looked to have the like privilege and authority also that other his predecessors before him had. And further said; that he had the same and like authority in the empire that his father Henry; and Frederic his grandfather, and other his predecessors, before them had; neither had he so deserved at the hands of the Church of Rome, either of Honorius himself, to be deprived of those privileges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederic being chafed and moved with these demands of the pope, breaketh forth and saith, How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his covetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such-like words more, repeating certain injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocent the Third, his predecessor, as also other like injuries of popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and bear this so incredible boldness and intolerable insolency of so proud a bishop? Go, saith he, (unto the legates,) and tell Honorius, that I will hazard both the seigniory of my empire, and crown of my kingdom, rather than I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our majesty.

## 57. The Right of Princes to Appoint Bishops

Now because much disquietness and controversy hath arisen (for the most part through all Christendom in every kingdom and realm severally) for and about the authority of choosing and depriving of bishops, (as may be seen by the example of this Frederic,) which the pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himself, and saith it doth not appertain to another, I thought good not with silence to overpass; but somewhat to say and to prove the authority of Christian kings and princes in this behalf to be both sufficient and good. Which thing not only by the Holy Scriptures is right easy to be done; but also that it is by synodal decrees and councils divers and sundry established and confirmed may easily be proved; as also by the ancient custom and manner of the primitive church may further be corroborated and made good.

Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the decrees of Gratianus, and especially in these canons, 12; 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63, distinctions. Furthermore, when Christian kings and princes began to embrace Christ's religion, both for honour and order's sake it was granted, that when the people desired such ministers as were convenient, and by them thought meet, that they which were then in the ecclesiastical function, and chiefest in authority, should either confirm such as were presented, or else themselves, should place fit men in their churches as need required. So did the emperors of Constantinople (receiving the order and manner from Constantine the Great) use and give the right of ecclesiastical function, with the consent both of the people and ecclesiastical persons, and long so retained the same. As Honorius the emperor unto Boniface, can. 8; dist. 79, and can. 2, dist. 97.. Also by the example of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus; of which one in the reign of Justinian the emperor and Totila governing Italy, the other in the time of Mauricius the emperor, (when the Lombards possessed Italy,) were appointed bishops to the church of Rome.

And whereas Gratianus in the beginning of the 96th and 97th distinction doth declare, that, the rescript of Honorius the emperor is void and, of none effect, for that he determined the election of the bishop of Rome, contrary to the authority of the holy canons, when as yet neither to the civil magistrate, nor to any of the ecclesiastical order, can there be read of any licence given them to dispense it withal, each man may plainly see and discern his great folly and want of understanding. As though at that time any decrees were made which should debar emperors from the constituting of the ecclesiastical ministers; or that it were doubtful whether the emperors at that time had passed any constitutions touching the causes of ecclesiastical discipline, and the same laws then put in use; when the contrary most manifestly (both by the laws and histories of that age and time, as well of the church as of the empire) may appear. And, that we need not seek, far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proved by these titles; *De sacrosanctis ecclesiis, episcopis, clericis*, besides other ecclesiastical chapters and matters touching religion. All which are to be seen in the books of the principal and chiefest constitutions, collected and set forth. by Justinian. Amongst the which many of the chapters are said to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodosius; so in like case the 21st can. in the 63rd distinction doth declare, that the Grecian emperors, that next ensued after Justinian, did observe that manner of ordaining and election of the bishop of Rome, although then at that time it was somewhat spurned at. Amongst whom mention is made of Constantius the Fourth, which was surnamed Pogonatus.

Charlemagne in like manner followed their steps and manner in the, same, as in the 22nd canon and the same distinction is declared. And further, it was at a synodal council, in Lateran (Adrian being high bishop, where were convened and assembled one hundred and fifty-three other bishops) decreed; that the power and authority of creating the bishop of Rome, and ordaining of all other prelates and ecclesiastical orders, should be in the power and will of Charlemagne, as well in Italy as in his other dominions and provinces; and that whosoever was not promoted and allowed by him should not be consecrated of any; and that those which repugned and disobeyed this decree should incur the most sharp pain of proscription and publication of law. The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18th can. and 18th title. Yet, notwithstanding, Stephanus the Fourth, author of this rescript against the said decree, without the emperor's consent, was made bishop of Rome; who, to the intent he might elude the decreed and solemnized penalty, thereby to excuse himself went into France to Ludovicus Pius, the son of Charlemagne, and at Rheims crowned he him with the imperial diadem. Neither could this bishop here stay himself; but, spying the great lenity of the emperor, assayed to make frustrate the foresaid constitution. For his purpose was, and so he brought it to pass, as in the 27th can. and the same distinction appeareth, that it might be lawful for the ecclesiastical order, with the people and senate of Rome, (without the authority of the emperor,) to choose the bishop of Rome, reserving that he should not be consecrated without the will and consent of the emperor. Thus it is manifest that the bishops of Rome themselves, not regarding, but despising, the strict penalty and sanction of the foresaid decree of the Lateran council, were not only the first that brake the same, but also, by contrary rescripts and constitutions laboured and endeavoured to extol and set up themselves above all others.

Whereupon Lothaire, afterward being emperor, and nephew to Charlemagne, coming into Italy; there to dissolve the conspiracy and confederacy of Leo the Fourth, about the translation of the empire; renewed and established again the synodal decree of Lateran, touching the jurisdiction of the emperor for the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiastical persons. And hereof it came that those epistles were written of Leo in the 16th and 17th canon, and the same distinction, which also, as in the 9th can, and 10th distinction, made a profession, that the same imperial precepts should be kept in all ages. This Leo, when he was reproved of treason and other evils, pleaded his cause before Louis the Second, emperor of Rome, and son of Lothaire above recited, 2nd question, 7th can. 40.

But after this, as time grew on, the bishops of Rome, nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires, Otho, the first emperor of that name, deprived and put from the see of Rome that most filthy and wicked bishop John the Thirteenth, both for divers and sundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his royal person, and did substitute in his place Leo the Fifth; who, calling a synod at Lateran in the same temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new constitution, with consent of the senate and people of Rome, concerning the emperor's jurisdiction in the foresaid election; which in the 23<sup>rd</sup> canon is contained, and 63rd distinction. Whereby the old right and power of the emperor in the election of the bishop of Rome, and other ecclesiastical prelates, was again with sharper and stricter sanction confirmed and ratified. Again, John the Eighteenth, whom Crescentius the Roman (usurping the imperial crown) had made bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiastical order, having his nose cut off, and his eyes put out, and so thrust out of the capitol, was again of Otho

the Third established and made bishop. But when as yet notwithstanding the bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry endeavoured to abrogate that jurisdiction of the emperor over the bishop of Rome, (as people loth to be under subjection,) Henry the Third (then Leo the Ninth, being constituted bishop) did once again ratify the same, and caused the bishop (which extolled himself, before all his fellow bishops) to stoop and give place to Moguntius.

So after the death of Henry the Third, emperor, Nicholas the Second, although in his decree (which in the 1st canon and 23rd distinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the election of the bishop of Rome, by the means of the priests and people of Rome, unto the cardinals; yet he would after that that the prerogative therein should be reserved to Henry the Fourth; the young emperor, from whom the empire afterwards was for a time wrested and taken.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the Seventh, was pope, this prerogative of the emperor's in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the bishop was neglected and broken, the bishops of Rome not only did seek to diminish the authority thereof, but also to evacuate and quite undo the same. For he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the emperor, but also made restraint, that no emperor, king, duke, marquis, earl, or any civil magistrate; should assign and appoint to any, any ecclesiastical function and charge, neither that any of his prelates should be so hardy as to take them at any of their hands; as quest. 16, can. 7, 9, and 10, may be seen.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was proscript and thrust out of the papal seat, and Clement the Third put in his stead, Henry again challenged his imperial prerogative of election. But yet, when the bishops which succeeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogate from the imperial prerogative of election, and Henry on the other side, by all the means possible, sought to defend and maintain the same, by the subtle fraud and mischievous policy of the bishops, which set the son against the father, and found means to steal from him the hearts of his nobles and subjects, and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, he was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

And although Henry the Fifth (coming to Rome) brought Paschalis the Second to that point, that he, both in public council, and in writing sealed, and also by oath confirmed, restored again to the emperors of Rome the prerogative of election, and of giving ecclesiastical dignities; yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the emperor was gone from Rome, Paschalis the pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done, (in allowing and confirming the privileges of emperors through fear,) touching the giving and disposing of ecclesiastical functions, excommunicated the emperor, and in a synodal council at Lateran ordained and decreed that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any ecclesiastical function or preferment at the hands of a civil magistrate; whereupon were made these decrees, qtr. 16, chap. 7, 13, 14, 15, and 16.

Therefore when these decrees touching the designation of bishops, in spite and contempt of the emperor, were practised and put in use, and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the bishops) intestine and civil wars began to rise in the empire, the imperial jurisdiction in this matter was not only weakened and much debilitate, but also in manner utterly broken and lost. For when Henry the Fifth, emperor, was sharply of Lotharius and his vassals the bishops beset, and laid unto by the provocation of the pope, and was mightily, by the bishops that

took his part on the other side, requested and entreated (in hope of public peace and tranquillity) that he would condescend and somewhat yield to the pope's demands; he at length, (the more was the pity,) that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope Calixtus the Second, in the city of Vangio, departed from and with that his prerogative or jurisdiction of giving ecclesiastical preferments to the pope and his prelates, now more than three hundred years, from the time of Charlemagne, in the hands of the emperors of Rome, and until this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserved and kept; which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the church of Christ and Christian commonwealth.

Then first, and never before, obtained the bishop of Rome, and quietly enjoyed, that prerogative of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies, now secretly, now openly, and now with force, had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authority Gratianus will prove, that before this time the same authority was given to the city of Rome for the election of the pope without the consent of the emperor, he showeth, as in the 29th and 30th canon, and what good stuff he putteth in the latter, and how subtly that papistical flatterer or pontifical parasite hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinæus sufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the observation of times may of a mean historiographer, that hath read the French and German histories, soon be espied and discerned. For, first, five bishops one after another succeeded this Gregory the Fourth, upon whom the 29th canon is entitled or fathered; that is, Sergius the Second, John the Eighth, Adrian the Second, John the Ninth, and Adrian the Third. Which Adrian, by force, wresting the authority of the election from the people, was made pope; whenas Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the papacy before that the emperor had consented to his election. After this, Molinæus compareth Raphael Volateran with the 30th canon, which again is suspected. For why? When Eugenius was bishop, who was the successor of this Paschal, with whom Louis the Pious is said to have made a league or paction, the same Louis the Pious, with his son Lotharius, together with the help of the king of Romans, at Rome made laws both to all his subjects in the empire, as also to the Romans themselves; speaking nothing of the renewing of the decree made by Lotharius. Then again, how could Leo the Fourth write to Lothaire and Louis, emperors, that counterfeit or forged decree beginning with *Constitutio*, &c., when in the same mention is made of Henry the Fowler, and Otho the First, which reigned more than fourscore years after them, and Leo the Fourth, bishop of Rome?

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Otho the First to be author of the 31st canon, whenas Otho deprived the same John the Twelfth of the papacy; and not only took nothing from the imperial jurisdiction concerning the election, nor from the city of Rome, nor any other bishops subject to the Roman empire, but added somewhat more thereunto, as was said before. And yet, notwithstanding, so shameless and senseless was this Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the reader so manifest fraud and evident legerdemain, (feigned, and made of his own brains in the compiling of this decree,) being so necessary, as he thought, for the dominion and primacy of the Roman bishops, in the stead of good and true laws; neither fearing that the same might be after his days reprehended, neither to his great shame and discredit to him attributed. Where also, by the way, is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratianus, to please these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdom, would give so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all posterities, inserting for grounded truths and holy decrees such loud lies and

detestable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of writers in those days? what attempts might hope of gain cause them to work! by whom, and such like, is to be feared the falsifying of divers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written.

Thus when the bishops had once wrested this authority out of the emperor's hands, they then so fortified and armed themselves and their dominion, that although afterwards Frederic the First, grandfather unto this good emperor Frederic the Second, as also Louis the Pious, and Henry of Luxemburg, (as men most studious and careful for the dignities of the empire, unfeigned lovers and maintainers of the utility of the commonweal, and most desirous of the preservation and prosperity of the church,) did all their endeavours with singular wisdom and strength, as much as in them lay, to recover again from the bishop of Rome this authority of the imperial jurisdiction lost, most cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the destruction both of the empire, undoing of the commonwealth, and utter subversion of the church of God; yet could they not be able to bring the same to pass in those dark and shadowed times of perverse doctrine and errors of the people, and most miserable servitude of civil magistrates.

The same and like privilege also in the election of their bishops and prelates, and disposing of ecclesiastical offices, as the emperor of Rome had, every prince and king in their several dominions had the like. For by the decree of the Council of Toletan, which in the 25th canon and 63rd distinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and choosing bishops and prelates in Spain was in the power of the king of Spain. The like also by the histories of Clovis, Charlemagne, Louis the Ninth, Philip Augustus, Philip the Fair, Charles the Fifth, Charles the Sixth, Charles the Seventh, kings of France, is apparent and well known; for all these kings had the chief charge and government of the French Church, and not the bishops of Rome.

And by our English histories also, as you heard, it is manifest, that the authority of choosing ecclesiastical ministers and bishops was always in the kings of England, till the reign of King Henry the First; who, by the labour and procurement of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived and put from the same.

Also the princes of Germany and electors of the emperor, till the time of Henry the Fifth, had all (every prince severally in his own empire and province) the same jurisdiction and prerogative to give and dispose ecclesiastical functions to their prelates at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the people and prelates together. And how, in the reign of Frederic, the prelates gat unto themselves alone this immunity, John of Aventine in his seventh book of the Annals of the Boiores doth describe.

Also it is probable that the kings of Sicily had the same faculty in giving and disposing their ecclesiastical promotions and charge of churches. And that because Frederic defended himself against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, therefore (as Fazellus saith) he was excommunicated of Honorius; but that Platina and Blondus allege other causes wherefore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorant; howbeit, he that will compare their writings with others, that write more indifferently between Honorius and him, shall easily find that they more sought the favour of the Roman bishops than to write a verity. But now again to the history of Frederic.

## 58. The Emperor Frederick II. (Contd.)

Nicolaus Cisnerus affirmeth, that whilst Frederic the emperor was in Sicily, his wife Constantia died at Catiana, or Catana. In the mean time the Christians, which with a great navy sailed into Egypt, and took the city Heliopolis, commonly called Damietta, and long ago named Pelusinum, being in good hope to have driven Sultanus the soldan out of Egypt, had a great and marvellous overthrow by the conveying of the water of the flood Nile, (which then overflowed into their camp,) and were fain to accord an unprofitable truce with the soldan for certain years, and to deliver the city again; and so, departing out of Egypt, were fain to come to Acre and Tyrus, to the no small detriment and loss of the Christian army. Whereupon King John, surnamed Brennus, (being king of Jerusalem,) arrived in Italy, and prayed aid of the emperor against his enemies, in whom he had great hope to find remedy of the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, declaring unto him the great discomfit and overthrow past, as also the present peril and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid therein. By whose means (as Cisnerus saith) the emperor was reconciled again to the pope, and made friends together; to whom also King John gave Joel his daughter in marriage, which came of the daughter of Conradus, king of Jerusalem, and marquis of Montserrat; with whom he had for dowry the inheritance of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as right heir thereunto by her mother. By whom also he after obtained the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and promised that, with as much expedient speed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recovery again of Jerusalem, and be there himself in proper person; which thing to do for that upon divers occasions he deferred, (whereof some think one, some another,) Honorius, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to have made against him some great and secret attempt, had he not been by death before prevented.

After whom succeeded Gregorius the Ninth, as great an enemy of Frederic as was Honorius; which Gregory came of the race whom the emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of treason which they wrought against him. This Gregory was scarcely settled in his papacy, when that he threatened him greatly with excommunication, unless he would prepare himself into Asia, according to his promise, as ye heard before, to King John; and what the cause was why the pope so hastened the journey of Frederic into Asia you shall hear hereafter. In effect, he could not well bring that to pass which in his mischievous mind he had devised, unless the emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederic, it should seem, smelling a rat, or mistrusting somewhat, (as well as he might,) alleged divers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Fazellus, a Sicilian writer, saith that the special cause of the emperor's stay was, for the oath of truce and peace during certain years, which was made between the Saracens and Christians, as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same Fazellus also writeth thus of King John of Jerusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled together. And being called up to Rome to celebrate the marriage, Pope Gregory (as the manner of those proud prelates is) offered his right foot unto the emperor to kiss. But the emperor, not stooping so low, scarcely with his lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiss his foot; which thing the pope took in very evil part, and was

therewith marvellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time served to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same, as he might for that time, thinking to recompense it at the full, as time would serve and fall out therefore.

After this, it fortun'd that the emperor, hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the soldan in Syria, and that from Aracida there came a great power against the Christian princes, he made the more haste, and was with more desire encouraged to set forward his journey into Asia. Wherefore, assembling the nobility of the empire at Ravenna and Cremona, he gave in commandment to Henry his son, (whom not long before he caused to be created Cæsar,) that he should persuade the nobles and princes of the empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterprise. This writeth Fazellus. Howbeit, some others affirm that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoever the matter is, this thing is manifest, that Frederic, to satisfy the pope's desire, which never would give over, but by all means sought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promise, that by a certain time he would prepare an army, and fight himself against those which kept from him the city of Jerusalem, (which thing he also confesseth himself in his epistles, and also how he desired and obtained of the peers and nobility of the empire their aid thereunto,) and also appointed a convenient time when they should be at Brundisium.

In the mean season, he with all his power and endeavour made speedy and hasty preparation for the wars; he rigged and manned a puissant navy; he had the most picked men and best soldiers that were in every country; and made warlike provision and furniture for every thing that to such a voyage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slack'd, but at the time appointed great bands assembled and mustered, both of German soldiers and others, and, under their captains appointed, set forth and marched to Brundisium; (their generals were Thuringus and Sigibert, and Augustin the bishop;) where they long time lying, and attending the emperor's coming, being let by infirmity and sickness, great pestilence and sundry diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that country; and many a soldier there lost his life; among whom also died Thuringus, one of their generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recovered his health, with all his navy launched out and set forward to Brundisium. And when he came to the straits of Peloponnesus and Creta, being islands lying in the sea, and there for lack of convenient wind was stayed, suddenly the emperor (his diseases growing upon him again) fell sick; and sending before all or the most part of his bands and ships into Palestine, promising them most assuredly to come after and follow them so soon as he might recover and get never so little health, he himself with a few ships returned and came to Brundisium, and from thence, for want of health, went into Apulia.

When tidings hereof came to the pope's ear, he sent out his thundering curses and new excommunications against the emperor. The causes whereof I find noted and mentioned by his own letters; that is, how that when he had robbed and taken from Brundisius, prince of Thuring, his horses, his money, and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he sailed into Italy; not for the intent to make war against the Turk, but to convey his prey that he had stolen and taken away from Brundisius; and so, neglecting his oath and promise which he had made, and feigning himself to be sick, came home again: and that by his default also Damietta was lost, and the host of the Christians sore afflicted. Fazellus, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the pope alleged these also: that he defiled a certain damsel,

which was in the queen's nursery; and that he slew his wife when he had whipped her in the prison, for declaring the mischievous act to her father King John. But all the writers, and also Blondus himself, doth declare, that this Joel died after the publication of the proscript and excommunication; wherefore the pope could not without great shame allege the cause upon the death of Joel; for undoubtedly the truth is, that she of her son Conrad died in childbed. Then Frederic, to refel and avoid the foresaid slanders, sendeth the bishop of Brundis and other legates to Rome, whom the pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the councils of the cardinals, to make his purgation. Wherefore the emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the pope did so falsely accuse him of, both to all Christian kings, and especially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the empire, writeth his letters (which are to be seen) that those things are both false and also feigned, and of the pope's own head invented; and showeth how that his ambassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the pope's presence: also doth largely treat how unthankful and ungrateful the bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits which both he and also his predecessors had bestowed upon them and the Roman church; which letter, for that it is over-tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this.

He protesteth and declareth universally, that he had always great care for the Christian commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight against the Turk and Saracens. And for that occasion he made a promise to the prince's electors of Aquisgrane, how that he would take the war upon him. Afterward he renewed his promise at Rome when he was consecrated of Honorius; then when he married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, which was an heir of the same. And for because that kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and because he favoured it even as he did his own, he prepared a huge navy, and gathered together a strong army of men; neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the war. But when the time was come, and his band was gathered together, his sickness would not suffer him to be there. And afterward, when he had recovered the same, and came to Brundisium, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to sea, he fell into the same sickness again, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to prove by sufficient testimony. How the pope also doth lay the losing of Damietta, and other things which prospered not well with him, unjustly to his charge, whenas he had made great provision for the same journey, both of soldiers and other necessary things. But he that will understand these things more plainly, among other epistles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederic, let him read these especially which begin thus: *In admirationem, et justitiam, et innocentiam, et Levate oculos*. And truly, even as Frederic the emperor declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany do accord and agree in the same.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining unto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these: "And amongst other catholic princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters unto the king of England, embulled with gold, declaring in the same that the bishop of Rome was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest concupiscence, that he was not contented with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subjects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them, and put them from their kingly dignities; and that the king of England himself had good experiment

thereof, whose father (that is to say, King John) they so long held excommunicate, till they had brought both him and his dominions under servitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Also that many have experience of the same by the earl of Toulouse and divers other princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like servitude. I pretermitt (saith he) the simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are used amongst the ecclesiastical persons, besides, their manifest usury (yet so cloaked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithal they infect the whole world). They be sugared and embalmed simonists, the insatiable horse-leeches or blood-suckers, saying that the Church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the universal world, the root and right mother of all mischief, using and exercising no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient proof thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparent. Let the barons of England consider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by his bulls with one consent encouraged to rise and rebel against their sovereign lord and prince, King John, your father, as an obstinate enemy to the Church of Rome. But after that the king (far out of square) remembering himself had crouched unto him, and obliged both himself and kingdom to the Church of Rome, more like a woman than a man, and that the wise barons, whom the pope had first maintained and stirred up, without all shame, either of the world or fear of God, had done the same, he sought how he might with gaping mouth devour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betrayed and disherited, as the manner of the Roman bishops is. By whose greedy avarice it came to pass that England, the prince of provinces, was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our Roman bishops; behold the snares wherewith these prelates do seek to entangle men withal, to wipe their noses of their money, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seek to live in peace; being clothed with sheep's clothing, when indeed they be but ravening wolves; sending their legates hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend, as having power to punish whom they list; not sowing the seed, that is, the word of God, to fructify, but that they may bribe and poll men's persons, and reap that which they never did sow. Thus cometh it to pass that they spoil the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poor, and the mansion-houses of saints, which our devout and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refectation of poor men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate varlets, whom only letters have made both mad and malapert, do strive and gape to be both kings and emperors.

Doubtless the primitive church was builded and laid in poverty and simplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat she those her holy children, whom the catalogue of saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other church than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But this church, as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluity of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory; so is it to be feared lest the walls thereof in time fall to decay, and when the walls be down, utter ruin and subversion follow after. Against us, he knoweth that is the searcher of all hearts, how furiously these Catholics rage and go to work; saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take upon me the journey I have promised beyond the seas; whereas inevitable and most urgent causes and perils, as well to the church of God as also to the empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmity and sickness, do detain me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? Neither do we

think it safety to our empire, nor expedient to the Christian state, that we should now take our journey into Asia, leaving behind us at home such intestine and civil wars; no more than for a good surgeon to lay a healing plaster to a grievous wound new made and stricken with the sword. In conclusion also this he addeth, admonishing all the princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious iniquity) of like peril and danger to themselves, because that, as the proverb is, It behoveth him to look about that seeth his neighbour's house on fire."

But now, that Frederic the emperor might in very deed stop the slanders of the cruel pope, which did persist and go forward still in his excommunication against him; and that he might declare to the whole world, how that the last year he delayed not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by necessity; when he had devised and prepared all things meet for the war, and that he had gathered together and levied a great army of men, he departed from thence to Brundusium, committing the government of his kingdom to Reinald, the son of Duke Spoletus, and to Anselm, a baron of Instigensis, and came by sea to Cyprus with his host.

From Cyprus the emperor with his whole navy sailed into Joppa, which city he fortified, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies; and by sea he might not pass nor travel, by means of the extreme weather and tempest; whereby it came to pass that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sore afflicted with famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose tears his wrath being appeased, the great tempest and long continued foul weather ceased, whereby (the seas being now calm) they had both victuals, great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought unto them, whereby, immediately it came to pass, that both the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Joppa, were greatly refreshed and animated; and, on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the king of Egypt, who with great power, accompanied with Scarapho his brother, prince of Gaza, and the prince of Damascus, their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles, had encamped themselves within one day's journey of Joppa, thinking to have besieged the same, were contented upon the coming of the emperor's heralds unto them to treat of a peace. Whereupon ambassadors were sent unto them with the emperor's demands, right profitable to the Christian commonwealth. The Saracens (immediately consulting upon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten years was concluded, and was confirmed by solemn oath on the behalf of both princes, according to their several usages and manner, the form and condition of which articles of peace briefly collected are these:

First, that Frederic the emperor should be crowned and anointed king of Jerusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Jerusalem before him.

Secondly, that all the lands and possessions which were situate betwixt Jerusalem and Ptolomaida, and the greatest part of Palestine, and cities of Tyrus and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwin the Fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should be delivered unto him, only certain castles reserved.

Thirdly, that he might fortify and build what fortresses and castles, cities and towns, he thought good, in all Syria and Palestine.

Fourthly, that all the prisoners which were in the Saracens' hands should be ransomed freely and sent home; and again, that the Saracens might have leave without

armour to come into the temple where the Lord's sepulchre is to pray; and that they should hold and keep still Chratum and the king's mount.

Frederic now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be both necessary and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby as if the wars had continued he should, sent his legates with letters into the west to all Christian kings, princes, and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring unto them the circumstance and success of his journey and wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and profitable peace concluded; and desireth the pope, that forsomuch as he had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

In the mean season the emperor with all his army marcheth to Jerusalem; where, upon Easter day, in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdom, (only the patriarch of Cyprus, the king's legate, and Oliver, the master or captain of the temple, with his company excepted,) solemnly and with great applause crowned king.

After this, he re-edifieth the city and walls thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten down and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth up the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortieth Nazareth and Joppa with strong garrisons, victuals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold, I pray you, whilst Frederic was thus occupied in the kingdom of Jerusalem, what practices the pope had in Italy; not I warrant you any whit at all careful in the affairs of the Christian commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spite he might work against the emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied, partly for hate, and partly to enrich himself, in Asia and Jerusalem, so far out of Italy ye may be sure. First, he caused the soldiers, which the emperor sent, for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be stayed as they passed through Italy, letting them of their journey, and took from them and spoiled them of all such provision as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his own faction, that is, to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and soldiers that kept the temple and the hospital, enticing and inciting them to rebel against the emperor; which thing Blondus himself, that popish parasite or historiographer, dissembleth or hideth not. But furthermore, he dissuaded the princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederic, neither deliver up unto him the crown and kingdom of Jerusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his treachery and treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and sovereign, and mightiest potentate upon earth; so was it his will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last epistle unto the Christian princes he protesteth. The copy of which letters amongst his other epistles you shall have expressed.

Neither were the pope's letters written to that leavened and factious sect in vain; for the patriarch and his collegians, which took their name of the temple, did mightily repugn against Frederic. They raised a tumult in Ptolomaida against him; they accused him and his legates openly of treason; and did malapertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But, as God would,

by the help of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genoese, and the Dutch soldiers, both their false accusations were refelled, and also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when all other men rejoiced and were glad of the emperor's coronation, they, as wicked confederators, were heavy therefore, and detractors of his worthy laud and fame.

The pope, when he had thus conspired against Frederic, and had betrayed him to the public enemy of all Christian men, the Turk, he could not dissemble this his mischievous fact, nor content himself therewith, but he would devise and practise yet another. For by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his wife Joel, he incited John Brennus his father-in-law to make war against him, who caused the subjects of his empire to withdraw from him their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, and inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus joining themselves together, they craved further aid of the French king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their host in two armies, invading with the one the empire, and with the other the proper territories and dominions belonging to the inheritance of Frederic; John Brennus and Pandolph Savellamis leading the one (as generals) into Campania and the kingdom of Naples, and the other (with John Columna, cardinal, his legate, and that Thomas before convicted of treason, being his lieutenants) he sendeth into Picenum.

Of this treason of the pope against Frederic doth also Matth. Paris make mention, during his wars in Asia, who saith he purposed to have deposed him, and to have placed *alium quemlibet filium pacis et obedientiae loco ejus subrogare*; that is, any other, he cared not whom, (so that he were the child of peace and obedience,) in his stead. And, for the more certainty there of, the said Matth. Paris, pag. 71, repeateth the letter which a certain earl of Syria wrote unto him concerning the same, which letter hereunder ensueth word for word.

"To the high and mighty prince, Frederic, by the grace of God emperor of Rome, and ever Augustus, and most puissant king of Sicily, Thomas, earl of Actran, his faithful and trusty subject in all things, humble salutation. After your departure, most excellent prince, Gregory, the bishop of Rome, and public enemy to your magnificence, gathering together a great power and host of men by Johannes Brennus, late king of Jerusalem, and other stout captains, whom he hath made generals of the same his host, as a foreign enemy invading your dominions and possessions of your highness's subjects, against the law of Christianity, hath purposed and determined to vanquish and subdue you with the material or temporal sword, whom he cannot master and overcome with the spiritual sword, he saith. For the aforesaid John Brennus, gathering out of France, and other provinces near adjoining, a great army, giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together, by what means I cannot tell, great wages, in hope to recover and get from you the empire. And furthermore, the same John and others, the captains of the see apostolical, invading your land, burn and destroy all as they go, driving away and taking for their booties all that they can come by, as well cattle as other things, and such as they take prisoners they constrain, by afflicting them with grievous punishments, to ransom themselves for great sums of money; neither spare they man, woman, nor child, but take and keep your towns and castles, having no regard that you be in the service of Jesus Christ. And further, if any make mention of your Majesty unto him, he saith there is none other emperor but himself. Your friends and subjects, most excellent prince, much marvel hereupon; yea, and also the clergy themselves of the empire do marvel with what conscience, or upon what consideration, the bishop of Rome can do the same, making such bloody

wars and slaughter upon Christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he struck with the material sword, to put up the same into the scabbard, saying, All that strike with the sword shall perish with the sword. Or else by what law he daily can excommunicate such pirates, burners of men's houses, and robbers, when he is the patron and maintainer of such himself, hereat they greatly muse and marvel. Wherefore, most mighty and renowned emperor, I beseech your Highness to consider your own safety, for that the said John Brennus hath laid and fortified all the ports and havens with no small company of men and soldiers; that if, not knowing thereof, your Grace should arrive in any of them, the same garrisons of his may apprehend and take you as a prisoner, which thing to chance God forefend."

Thus, whilst the host of this hostile enemy the pope was encamped in the dominions of Frederic, he received the letters which Frederic by his legates sent into Europe, as you heard, whereby he understood the good success he had in Asia; who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appear what was the cause and meaning of the pope, that he was solicitous and urgent to have Frederic the emperor make a voyage into Asia. Doubtless even the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation he procured Jason with all the chosen youth and flower of Greece to sail into Colchis, to fetch away the golden fleece; and that by the opportunity of his absence he might use, or rather abuse, his power and tyranny; and that Frederic might either be long afflicted and molested in the Asian war, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

And when he saw that fortune neither favoured his fetches, nor served to his longing lust, he was, as a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous success of the emperor. He tore and threw his letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the legates for the emperor their master's sake; which thing also Blondus himself denieth not, though he write altogether in the favour of the pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage and unbridled fury with some cloak and colour of just deserved dolour, he feigned himself therefore so much to mislike therewith, as though the emperor therein had only respected his own private commodity, not regarding the utility of the Christians, for that the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon) to have repaired unto the sepulchre of Christ, and had left for them somewhat near the same an hostery or lodging-place; for which occasion (saith Blondus) his lord pope rebuked the emperor's legates by the name of traitors and suchlike other opprobrious words. Now go to, friend Blondus, by what strong arguments prove you and your lord pope, either that the peace which the emperor hath concluded was against the Christian commonwealth, or that the emperor was a traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things, either by reading of old and ancient writers, or else partly by me that have gathered and collected the same out of divers monuments and histories, and plainly perceiveth not the conspiracies and treasons of your good lord the pope, so notable and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamy? What! there be divers that write how the pope commanded these legates of Frederic to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded divers soldiers, returning out of Asia, to be slain, to the end that none should hear the report of those good news which were in Asia, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of those things which all the writers with most consent agree upon. This is most certain, that the pope caused this rumour to be spread of the death and taking of the emperor upon this consideration, that he might allure unto him the fidelity of those

cities in the kingdom of Naples which yet kept their allegiance unto Frederic, of whom they should now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the emperor, in his epistle entitled *Levate oculos*, greatly against him complain.

Great are these injuries of the pope against Frederic, and most wicked treasons. But herewith could not the cruel and tyrannical mind of him be contented, nor his lust satisfied, but it so far exceeded, as scarce is credible that it could; for he presumed not only to set variance between Henry (whom Frederic his father had caused to be made king of Germany) and him, but also by his allurements he caused him to become an enemy unto him. To whom when his father had assigned the duke of Boioria (named Ludovicus) to be his overseer and counsellor; neither knew he amongst all the princes of Germany a man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or else more virtuous, or else more grave and apt to be in authority; Henry, fearing lest he should understand and know of these secret counsels, which he with his conspirators had in hand against his father, or that he should utter the same unto him, or that he should go about to dissuade him from that he was purposed to do by authority of the court and senate of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one instant, but in divers and sundry places far one from another, sharp and cruel war might be made against the emperor, so that, his power being divided to the appeasing of variable contention, he might himself be the easier oppressed of a few.

When the emperor now understood what stir the pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and when he had somewhat reformed and appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the kingdom of Jerusalem, thinking to prevent the pope's purpose in that he went about, and also to confirm the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trusty subjects, he left in Asia Reinaldus, with his garrisons, commanding all the other bands to be under his appointment; and with all speed he came forth in certain galleys to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which unlooked for came thither, he assembled his power, and made with his friends all the speedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to Berletta, where he tarried twenty days, to whom came the duke of Spoletanum, with all his garrisons; and so from thence, with all his power, he came into Apulia, and removed John Brennus his father-in-law from the siege of Calatia, and within short time, by God's help, recovereth again all his holds and dominions there. And from thence, going into Campania, he winneth Beneventum, and as many other towns and holds as the pope had there, even almost to Rome, and so after that Umbria and Picena. And now, although the emperor (being moved thereunto upon good occasion, and upon the pope's worthy desert) had gotten and recovered this so, likely an entrance upon the pope's dominions, whereby he might have revenged him of all the injuries done to him; yet, notwithstanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Christian and public tranquillity, (for the love of which he restrained his wrath so vehemently urged and kindled,) he sendeth unto him his legates to entreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if no other conceived grudge towards him were than that he dissembled and pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himself unto the church, and also that for this cause he willingly offered unto him both duty and observance. Furthermore, to the entreating of this peace, and deciding of all controversies, he sent to the pope eight or ten of the noblest and chiefest about him that were princes and dukes of the empire; as Barthold, the patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho, prince of Dalmatia and Istria, Eberhardus Juvanensis, Sigifridus,

Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus, a worthy prelate, Leopold of Austria and Styria, and Bernhardus, being all dukes, besides others of the nobility to accompany them.

But yet so great was the insolence and pride of the stubborn pope, that by no gentleness or beneficence he could of those princes be brought that year to the profitable concord of the church and Christian commonwealth. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himself in the church of Christ, and, in respect of his own wilful revenge, setteth nothing by the health and utility of all Christendom! Then, therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these noblemen departed from Rome, the next year after, with much ado, a peace was made and concluded between them, by the help and industry of Leopold of Austria, Hermanus, captain of the Dutch soldiers, and the president of Messina. The pope then absolving the emperor Frederic of his excommunication, took therefore of him one hundred and twenty thousand ounces of gold, restoring unto him again the titles both of his empire and also of his kingdoms. Now, considering the uncourteous dealing of the pope with Frederic the emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse and marvel at the unshamefacedness of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederic than was meet or beseemed him to do? Who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinian concerning this matter, which saith that the pope doth occupy very profitable merchandise, which for so much money selleth that he received freely, paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Christ indeed, as he saith he had.

And yet although the emperor Frederic concluded with the pope this unprofitable peace for himself, yet he performed those things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to break his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace he made. For, by the way, to pass over other things, neither had he restored, as he promised, the customs of the land of Sicily, neither yet the city Castellana, which he before the peace concluded between them did occupy and enjoy. And that do both Frederic in his epistles testify, and also Fazellus in his eighth book, writing of the affairs of Sicily. Yet, notwithstanding, Frederic, for the quietness and utility of the commonwealth, purposed with himself to bear and suffer these small injuries, and further studied in all that he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwise, to have the pope to be to him a trusty friend. As when the Romans and others of the ecclesiastical number made war against the pope for certain possessions which he kept of theirs, he coming to him at Reat, and as one that tendered the unity of the church, and thinking to help the pope at his earnest request in these matters, sent his legates unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which against the pope they bare. And when that would not serve, at the pope's further request and desire, he levied an army against them at his own charge, and drave them from the siege of Viterbium, with other such-like assured tokens of amity and friendship which he showed him. Who, notwithstanding, so soon as the emperor was departed with a small company which he took with him into Sicily, leaving with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his wars, concluded a peace with the Romans, unknown to the emperor, whom he had procured to travel and labour therein with great expenses; affirming that, without his will and commandment, the emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederic also himself make mention in his

second and third epistle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the pope towards him.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserved, if he had written of these treacheries of the pope, than forgetting himself, as unto liars often it chanceth, in writing, both contrary to himself in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Frederic's story; which saith, that the Romans were incited to these new tumults by his enticing and setting on. As though simple men of understanding could not both by the offering of his son in hostage, by the great preparation of the wars, and by the event especially of the thing itself, gather the contrary. But too impudent will Blondus needs show himself.

Whilst that these things were done in Italy and Sicily, great rebellions were moved in Germany against the emperor by Henry Cæsar and Frederic of Austria, his sons, being the chief authors thereof. For Henry, being disappointed and shaken off from his lord pope, and other conspirators, by reason of the peace between his father and him, (as ye heard,) began now to make open challenge to the empire. And for that cause he (as before is said) put from him Louis, whom he knew to be unto the emperor his father so loving and assured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and smelling what mischief he went about) forsook his court, and came to Boioria; who had not there remained a year, but was, as he walked abroad at a certain time, stabbed in with a dagger of one Kelhemius, and presently died, his servants not being far from him; of whose death divers diversely write. Notwithstanding the sequel doth show them to write truliest, that affirm the said striker to be suborned by Henry Cæsar who, coming unto him in the habit of a messenger, delivered unto him certain letters, which he feigned to be sent from the emperor. And whilst Ludovicus was in reading the same, he struck him in with a dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with speed fled upon the same. After whose death succeeded in that dukedom his son Otho; who, when solemnly, according to the manner of the Boiores, he should have been created, was also let by the same Henry Cæsar; who forbade the assembly of the magistrates and citizens the same. They, notwithstanding, neglecting his unjust restraint, created him; wherefore he first besieged Reginoburgh, and with another company sacked, burnt, and wasted Boioria; with many more such great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the emperor, he sent his legates, and commanded that both the Cæsar his son, and other princes of Germany, which had assembled their armies, should break up and disperse the same. And because he saw and perceived now manifestly that his son made so apparent rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to ensue in Germany, he thought good to prevent the same with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haste to Germany with his army, from whence he had now been absent fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the pope privy. The pope promised the emperor hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalf to all the princes of Germany; but persuaded him to the uttermost of his power that he should in no case go into Germany himself. For why? His conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles in Germany, even from the beginning of his papacy, for the hate and grudge he had against the emperor, that they should not suffer him, nor any of his heirs, to enjoy the empire; and further, had stirred them all up to rebel against him; and had moved Henry the emperor's son, by his bribes and fair promises, to conspire against his father. And, to conclude, he was the author and procurer of the conspiracy which the Lombards made then against him; and fearing lest these things should come now to the emperor's ear, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the emperor, not thinking it good at so needful a time

to be absent, he, all doubt set apart, with his second son Conrad, went speedily into Germany. And assembling there a council in the city of Nuremburgh, Henry Cæsar his son, after his conspiracy was manifestly detected, which he had in practice with the Longobards, (whereof the pope was chief author,) was by judgment and sentence of seventy princes condemned of high treason, and being commanded by his father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to Apulia, where not long after in prison he died. In whose stead he ordained Conradus his second son Cæsar, by consent of all the peers and princes. Furthermore, by public commandment he renounced Frederic of Austria for his son, and he caused him to be proclaimed an enemy to the public weal. And further, when he saw that neither that punishment could cause him to remember himself, and acknowledge his abuse, the emperor with a great army, accompanied with divers of the noblemen of Germany, took from him all Austria and Styria, and brought them again under his own obedience and fidelity.

The same year married he with his third wife, named Isabella, the daughter of King John of England. Then, when he had set Germany in a stay and quietness, he left there Conrad Cæsar his son; and with his host returneth again into Italy, thereto punish such as had with Henry his eldest son conspired against him; whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Cæsar his son, chiefly set on by the pope. When the pope had understanding that the emperor with warlike furniture marched toward Italy, although he feigned himself reconciled, and to be a friend to Frederic, yet was he notwithstanding to him a most secret and infestive enemy. And understanding that he brought with him such a power, both of horsemen and footmen, to do execution of such as he understood to be conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion, those which were faulty herein and guilty, and all other that took their parts, he admonished to join themselves together, and that they should furnish strongly their cities with garrisons, that they should send for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able they should prepare them for the war. The rest of the cities also in Italy, whether they were the emperor's or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himself.

Furthermore, unto the emperor he sendeth his ambassadors; to whom, under the pretence of nourishing a peace, he had given a secret commandment, that they should interdict him and his host, so soon as he came within the borders of Italy. To the preservation of which peace, saith he, he had, but late since, promulgated a subsidy to be gathered amongst the Christians, when he began the holy war. And also to say, not by way of entreaty, but commandingly, that what cause of controversy he had with the Longobards, the same he should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the emperor replying maketh his legate this answer:

Shortly after, saith he, the peace was made between the pope and me, he called me for a chief defence, both of the church and himself, against the Romans which made war with him; and, at his request, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his war, and gave his enemies the overthrow. And further said, that he should not do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by law and right he might and ought to do; but rather he ought to dispose himself with force to distrain and expel them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselves from the subjection both of him and the empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the soldiers which the emperor sent for when he was in Asia, and divers others also, (which for necessary causes he had called to him,) which they had so wickedly dealt with and abused, he (as they had deserved) should rather desire to see punished and reformed, than to maintain them, under colour of peace,

being so wicked and manifest evil-doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he should commit and defer so great a cause, wherein the wealth and safety of the empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either assignment of any time when, or adding thereunto any condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the dignity and regality of his empire considered, he could not but marvel; seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit or commodity of the empire. To this effect also writeth Frederic in his last epistle unto the pope; the effect whereof amongst other epistles you may read.

And in the same his letters he showeth, that when the emperor at a certain time had been with the pope, at his going away he requested, that when he came again, he would come into Italy, but with his household band and family; for that if he should come as before he did accustom with his army, he should terrify them overmuch; amongst whom (saith he) you may assure yourself to be in great safety, and find all things in rest and quiet; when, quite contrary, (as the emperor for a certainty had tried,) he had there all things ready and prepared for his destruction; so that when he pretended unto him greatest friendship, he was busiest in conspiring his death. The certain time when the pope had this exercise in hand against the emperor I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles undated easily found out; but that of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I have assigned you to the emperor's epistle, where he maketh mention of the same.

The emperor then, as he had determined, prosecuteth his purpose, and marcheth into Italy, where he brought under his subjection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Ternisium, Patavium, and others. And then he afterward set upon the great host of the Mediolanenses, the Brixians, the Placentines, and other confederators, unto whom the pope's legate, Georgius Longomontanus, had joined himself; of whom he took one thousand prisoners, and also their general, being the chief magistrate in the city of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus, the duke's son of Venice, and slew divers captains more, and took all their ensigns. And in this battle, especially at the recovering of Marchia and Ternissana, he used the friendly aid of Actiolinus.

The pope now somewhat dismayed at this overthrow of his confederates and mates, though not much, began yet somewhat to fear the emperor; and whereas before that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to subdue and deprive the emperor. And although the emperor saw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so apertly stood with his conspirators against him, but also that on every side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word, how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughty reports, and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his subjects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and cease from such evil and wicked practices; yet, notwithstanding, for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he sendeth four legates to the bishop of Rome, which should answer unto and refute those iniquitous objections which he laid unto him, as also make him privy unto his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him in such causes, and simplicity.

The bishop, when he understood these ambassadors to be not far off from Rome, and knew the cause of their coming, he thought with himself, that, in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to desist from his purpose, and so degenerate from others of his predecessors, he refuseth to speak with them, and, at the day appointed, pronounceth the sentence of proscription against him, depriving him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatives, kingdoms, and whole empire. And that he had no occasion hereunto, as well Pandulph and Colonucius, as the letters of the emperor himself, do both right well declare. For it may appear he dedicated, as it were, himself to his utter ruin and destruction, when he did solicit against Frederic Jacobus Tenopolus, the Venetian duke; whom, for the displeasure he took with the emperor in the imprisoning of his son, he was in good hope he should allure unto him, he being in so troublous a time such a comforter and aider unto him, that, as Blondus writeth, in a certain epistle gratulatory, he calleth him lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and lord of half of the Roman empire. And calling unto him the Venetian and Genoese legates, he made a peace betwixt them, (which for certain causes about their sea-coasts were at variance,) and covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their public charges they should rig and man five and thirty galleys, which should spoil and burn all along the sea-coasts of the kingdoms and dominions of Frederic.

But the pope, when he saw the good-will and fidelity which the duke of Venice bare unto the emperor, and saw also what aid the emperor had of him, neither that he was like to win him to his purpose, then had he recourse again to his old crafty practices and subtleties. And further, he devised to put forth an edict at Rome to the universal church and people, the beginning whereof is, *Ascendit de mari bellica bestia*; wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giveth the emperor to the devil of hell, and hath dejected him from all his princely dignity. He in the same accuseth him of so many and so huge a heap of mischiefs, as to nominate them my heart detesteth. And besides that, he restraineth his sovereign lord and emperor of the appellation, which every private man by law may have. He slandereth him of treason, perjury, cruelty, sacrilege, killing of his kindred, and all impiety; he accuseth him for a heretic, a schismatic, and a miscreant; and, to be brief, what mischief soever the pope can devise, with that doth he charge him and burden him. All this doth he, saith the pope, that when he hath brought our Holiness and all the ecclesiastical estate to beggary, he might scoff at and deride the religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now for that the pope had a great and special trust in Albertus Behavus, of the noble house called Equestri, as crafty an apostle as the best, as one whom he saw ready to lean to his lust, to him the pope delivered two other mandates in several letters sealed, in which he commanded all bishops, prelates, and other of the clergy, that they should solemnly recite the same in their churches instead of their sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicated Frederic out of the fellowship of Christian men, put him from the procuration or government of the empire, and that he had released all his subjects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other Christian men, under pain of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the emperor, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the pope's special and trusty servitor, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of public unquietness, as shall after appear.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germany at that time, was Otho, the governor of the Rhine, and duke of Boioria, towards the emperor both most serviceable, and also a prince of great honour, riches, and estimation. This prince, both with fair

promises and also rewards, he enticed from him; for that he was made by him to believe that Louis his father, of whom we spake before, was by the emperor murdered and slain. And the same Otho again caused three other princes and dukes to revolt from the emperor to the pope, which were neighbours and near adjoining unto him, as Uvenceslaus and Belus, princes of the Hungarians, and Henry, duke of Polonia. To whom came also Frederic of Austria, his son; who, because he was proscrip or outlawed of his father, and had his dukedom wasted and burnt, as you heard, was easily won unto the pope. These, gathering a council, (when they had thought to have translated the empire unto the king's son of Denmark,) desired to have the pope's legates to be sent from him, to the effect of that election.

The emperor was at Patavium when these news were brought unto him what the pope had done at Rome. Therefore he commanded Peter of Venice, his secretary, (upon Easter day,) to make a narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the bishops and Church of Rome; and again, of the injuries of them toward him in recompence thereof; of his innocency also in that whereof he had accused him, and of the unseemliness of such an act or deed; of the right use of the ecclesiastical censure, and of the errors and abuse of the Church of Rome. By which oration of his he so removed the cloud from many men's hearts of blind superstition, and the conceived opinion of holiness of the Church of Rome, and bishops of the same, and also of their usurped power and subtle persuasion, that both they plainly saw and perceived the vices and filthiness of the Church of Rome and bishops of that see, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagitious doings, most vehemently lamenting and complaining of the same. Albert maketh mention of certain verses which were sent and written between the bishop of Rome and the emperor. The which verses, in the latter end of this present history of Frederic, you shall find.

The emperor moreover, both by his letters and legates, giveth intelligence unto all Christian kings, to the princes of his own empire, to the college of cardinals, and people of Rome, as well of the feigned crimes wherewith he was charged, as also of the cruelty of the bishop of Rome against him. The copy of which letter or epistle follows hereunder inserted.

*The emperor to the prelates of the world.*

"In the beginning and creation of the world, the inestimable foreknowledge and providence of God (who asketh counsel of none) created in the firmament of heaven two lights, (a greater and a less,) the greater he created to govern the day, and the less to govern the night; which two so do their proper offices and duties in the zodiac, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique aspect unto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other, but rather doth the superior communicate his light with the inferior. Even so the same eternal foreknowledge hath appointed upon the earth two regiments, that is to say, priesthood and kingly power; the one for knowledge and wisdom, the other for defence; that man, which is made of two parts, (over-wanton and dissolute,) might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, that peace thereby and love might dwell upon the face of the earth. But, alas, the bishop of Rome, sitting in the chair of perverse doctrine or pestilence, that Pharisee anointed with the oil of iniquity above the rest of his consorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from heaven, endeavoureth with his power to destroy and undo all, and thinketh, I believe, to stellify again himself there from whence he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our unspotted life, whilst that, altering the verity into lies, his papal letters, stuffed with all untruths, are sent into

sundry parts of the world; of his own corrupt humour, and upon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sincerity of our religion. The lord pope hath compared us unto the beast rising out of the sea, full of names of blasphemy, and spotted like a leopard. But we say that he is that monstrous beast, of whom it is said, and of whom we thus read: And there shall come another red horse out of the sea, and he that shall sit upon him shall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell upon the earth destroy him. For since the time of his promotion he hath not been the father of mercy, but of discord; a diligent steward of desolation, instead of consolation; and hath enticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right sense and interpretation, he is that great dragon that hath deceived the whole world; he is that antichrist, of whom he hath called us the forerunner; he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse us; the prince of darkness, which hath abused the prophets. This is the angel leaping out of the sea, having his vials filled with bitterness, that he may both hurt the sea and the land; the counterfeit vicar of Christ, that setteth forth his own imaginations. He saith that we do not rightly believe in the Christian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manner of deceivers, which to name God forbid we should open our mouth; seeing that openly we confess only Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour to be the everlasting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Ghost, begotten before all worlds, and in process of time sent down upon the earth for the salvation of mankind; conceived, not by the seed of man, but by the Holy Ghost; which was born of the glorious Virgin Mary, and after that suffered and died, as touching the flesh; and by his Godhead the third day he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of Mahomet hangeth in the air, and his soul is buried in hell; whose works are damnable, and contrary to the law of the Most High. We affirm also, that Moses was the faithful servant of God, and a true teacher of the law; and that he talked with God in Mount Sinai, unto whom the Lord spake, Exod. 4; by whom also God wrought miracles in Egypt, and delivered the law written to the Israelites; and that afterwards with the elect he was called, to glory. In these and other things our enemy and envier of our state, causing our mother the church to accuse her son, hath written against us venomous and lying slanders, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly understood the apostle's meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will, which beareth such sway with him, before reason; neither would he have sent out his mandates to the suggestion of those which call light darkness, and evil good; which suspect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and converteth all truth into falsehood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.

Truly my opinion (so indifferent on every side) ought not in any case to be infringed and averted from the faith to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Wherefore we greatly are enforced not a little to marvel, which thing also doth much disquiet us to see, that you, which be the pillars and assistants in office of righteous dealing, the senators of Peter's city, and the principal beams in God's building, have not qualified the perturbation of so fierce a judge; as do the planets of heaven in their kind, which, to mitigate the passing swift course of the great orb or sphere of heaven, draw a contrary way by their opposite movings. In very deed, our imperial felicity hath been, almost even from the beginning, spurned against and envied at of the papal see and dignity; as Simonides, being demanded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his state, answered and said, *Quia nihil feliciter gessi*. Because, saith he, I have had no good success in any thing that ever I took in hand. And so, for that we have had prosperous success in all our enterprises, the Lord's name be blessed

therefore, especially in the overthrow, of late, of our rebellious enemies, the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrel he promised life and absolution with remission of their sins, is the cause wherefore this apostolical bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now, not by your counsels, I suppose, he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his own power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, he impugneth it. But presently, where power and ability wanteth to redress, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mighty a king, and the worthiest prince amongst all the prophets, to desire and crave the restitution of God's Holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his office. But the proverb is, As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound are not to be bound. Which thing manifestly is proved in him. For why? The Scriptures of God do instruct men how to live; they mortify our souls which are immortal, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtless he is able to humble and bring down those that are unworthy of dignity as much as him pleaseth, and when him pleaseth. Doubtless, if the bishop of Rome were a true bishop indeed, innocent, unpolluted, and not associated with wicked livers and evil men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity; and would cense, not with the incense of grief and hatred, but with the sweet-smelling incense of concord and unity; neither yet would *alter suum pontificium in maleficio*; that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If he were such a bishop as he ought to be, he would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the word into the fruit and gain of his own dissension, neither should we be accused for such an enemy of our mother the true church, as is laid unto her son's charge by such a bishop. Which true and mother church with all reverence we honour, and benignity embrace, so beautified and adorned with God's most holy sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, feigning themselves to be our brethren by that mother, and yet are not, but of a strumpet begot; such, I say, as are subject and slaves to corruptible things, putting them from amongst us, we utterly reject; especially for that injuries by them done are not only transitory and mundane, wherewith our majesty is so molested, vexed, and grieved. Wherefore we cannot so easily mitigate our mood, neither ought we in very deed so to do, and therefore are we enforced the more to take the greater revenge of them. You therefore that are men of grave and deliberate counsel, having the excellent gift, as from God, of wisdom and understanding, refuse you that roaring enemy of ours in these his proceedings, whose be ginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past with those to come. Otherwise, you that are under our subjection, as well of our empire as other our dominions, shall feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and persecutor, as also of the princes that are his fautors and adherents) what revenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take upon them, God so permitting."

This done, he denounceth a solemn parliament or council of all the princes and other nobility of the empire at Ægra; whither came Conrad Cæsar, Moguntine the Presul, the Saxon dukes, the lords of Brandeburgh, Misna, Thuringus, and the legates of all the nobles of Brabant, to aid the emperor. But the princes Boiemus and Palatinus, being dissuaded by the legates, unto whom the Austrians had joined themselves, refused to come to the council holden at Ægra. And being at their wit's end, not knowing well what they might do, forsook at last the emperor, and took part with the pope and the other conspirators. Then Frederic of Austria, the emperor's second son, whom he disherited, as ye heard, by the aid of the Boiores and Bohemians, recovered again the dukedoms of Austria and Styria, putting to flight and discomfiting the emperor's bands and garrisons which he had there. And although the

cardinals, especially that honest man, Albertus Boiemus, had allured to the pope Otho the duke of Boioria, as ye heard, and divers other noblemen of Germany; yet, notwithstanding, certain bishops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Juvanensis, and Sigrefridus Reginoburgensis, being at that time the emperor's chancellor, Rudicenus Ratheviensis, Conradus Frisingensis, and others) left not nor yet forsook the emperor. All which the fore-said Albertus not only did excommunicate, but also by process sought to bring them up to Rome before the pope, giving commandment to their collegians and cloisterers that they should deprive them of their offices, and choose such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope understanding by Albertus, and of this their fidelity to the emperor, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to choose other bishops in their steads.

But the bishops and prelates, with one consent contemning the pope's mandates and writs, and also the curses and threatenings of Albert, accused, reprov'd, and greatly blamed his temerity and also tyranny which he usurped against the churches of Germany, and especially against the good emperor, that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperor's government against the old and ancient customs; and that he had excommunicated the emperor without just cause; that he had condemned the emperor's faithful subjects as enemies to the church, for standing with their liege and sovereign prince, (which allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity, they might not,) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations, and had also in that quarrel given such defiance to the emperor. They accused and condemned the same Albertus also for a most impudent impostor and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch and sore of the Christian commonwealth; and they do give him to the devil as a ruinous enemy, as well of the church as of his own natural country, and further think him worthy to have his reward with the rest of the pope's pursuivants, being the most wicked inventors and devisers of mischief that were in all Germany. This done, they make relation hereof to the emperor by their letters; and further, they advertise all the princes of Germany, (especially those which were of the pope's faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of Albertus,) that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtle deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the pope for all his words against the emperor. And doubtless by the counsel of the high prelate or archbishop of Boioria, (whose name was Juvanensis,) and by his industry and persuasion, Fredericus Austriacus was again reconciled unto the emperor his father, from whose aid and obedience after that, by no promises, threatening, bribes, nor pains, no, nor for the execrable curses of the pope's own holy mouth, he would be induced or removed. But Albert prosecuteth still his purposed mischief, alluring and enticing by all means possible, and that not amongst the worst, but the best, friends to the pope, and enemies to the emperor. Unto some he gave their tithes to fight against the emperor, to other some he gave the glebe lands of benefices, and to other some he gave the spoil of such colleges and monasteries as took not part with the pope; and to some other also he gave the colleges and monasteries themselves. And assuredly I find by Johannes Aventinus, that there were certain of the pope's own birds that had their ecclesiastical tithes taken from them; and other some had the rents and revenues of their colleges plucked away by force to the maintenance of the pope's quarrel against the emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they lusted, (every man according to his ravening and detestable lust,) and all things lay open unto their greedy and insatiable desires. Who listeth to hear more hereof, let him read Aventinus in his book before noted, and there shall he

see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germany, who largely treateth of the same.

While these things were thus in working in Germany, Frederic, leaving in Lombardy Actiolinus with a great part of his host, (he passing with the rest by Apeninum,) came to Hetruria, and set the same in a stay, after that he had allayed certain insurrections there; and from thence to Pisa, where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This city was always assured and faithful to the emperors of Germany. The pope understanding of the emperor's coming into Etruria, and knowing what power the emperor had also left in Lombardy, with a great army besieged the city Ferrara, that always loved the emperor full well; which city when the pope's legate had assaulted sharply the space of five months, and could not win the same, he devised with himself to send for Salingwerra out of the town, by way of a parley, promising his faith and truth to him for his safe return. Who, by the persuasion of Hugo Rambartus, that said without peril he might do the same, (being but by way of parley,) was coming to the legate; who, preventing him in his journey, took him as prisoner, contrary to his truth and fidelity. And thus got he Ferrara, and delivered the keeping thereof to Azones Astensis. And that the pope's legate thus falsified his truth, and circumvented the captain and old man Salingwerra, the same is confessed of the pope's friendly historiographers to be but a stratagem or warlike policy. But to return again. About the same time also the Venetian navy, at the mount Garganum, chased twelve galleys of the emperor's, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region; and further took one of the emperor's great ships, being driven by tempest and weather into the haven Sipontium, fraught with men and munition.

Frederic again getting on his side the Lucenses, the Volaterans, the Genenses, the Aretines, and divers cities besides in Hetruria to help that country, came to Pisa and Viterbium, which took part with him. Some say that the names and factions of Ghibellines and Guelphs sprang from Frederic, that by them he might spy and know, having recourse to all the towns and cities in Italy, which took part with and favoured the pope, and which the emperor; and called the one by the name of Ghibellines, and the other by the name of Guelphs. But for that both Blondus, and Platina, and some others, bring no sufficient proof thereof, but only slender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of Naucerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Florentinus, and other such writers, which say that these Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy took their beginning of Conrad the Third, Frederic his great uncle being emperor; and that these Guelphs were dedicated to the pope by Guelph, the younger brother of Henry the Proud; and that those which were called the Ghibellines were appointed either of Conradus himself, or else of his son, being brought up in the lordship of Vaiblingen. But to our purpose.

The pope, when he understood that Frederic was come to Viterbium, he was very heavy, for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which city the pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be drawn, portraying about the same the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharp and contumelious oration he much defaced the emperor; promising them everlasting life, and gave the badge of the cross to as many as would arm themselves and fight against the emperor, as against the most wicked enemy of God and the church. Now when the emperor, marching somewhat near to Rome gates, beheld those whom the pope had, with his goodly spectacle of St. Peter and St. Paul, and with his alluring oration, stirred up against him, and marked with the badge of the cross to come forth in battle against him, disdaining to be accounted for the enemy of the church, who had been thereunto

so beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them, he put them soon to flight; and as many as he took (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he, marching into Campania and his own kingdoms, levied a great mass of money, and mustered the new bands, and augmented his army; and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trusty unto him, he appointed them to inhabit in a city named Luceria. For which thing, although the papistical writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of Frederic, yet notwithstanding Nicholaus Machiavellus doth write, that therefore he retained them, lest that through the pope's execrable curses he should be quite destitute of soldiers, as was Frederic Barbarossa, his grandfather, a little before, when that of Alexander the pope he was excommunicated, as ye have heard.

After this, when the emperor had greatly afflicted by battle the pope's ecclesiastical consorts, such as conspired with the pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed Beneventum, the mount Casenum, and Sora, for that they took part with the pope against him, Frederic, when he had manned the city of Aquilia, marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Picenum, that he might vanquish his enemies in Italy. And by the way he besieged the strong town of war named Asculinum, which was also converted to the pope's faction and rebellion. He there having understanding what the pope's assistants had done with the prince's electors and other princes of Germany, especially with Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and Otho Palatine, writeth his letters unto them. In the which, first, he showed how that those contumelies and spiteful words, which the pope blustered out against him, are lighted upon himself, and how the bishops of Rome have taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so lofty, that not only they seek to bring emperors, kings, and princes under their obedience, but also seek how to be honoured as gods, and say that they cannot err, neither yet be subject or bound to any religion, and that it is lawful for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any, so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as princes they command, and that under pain of cursing, that men believe every thing they say, how great a lie soever it be. Insomuch that by this covetousness of his all things go backward, and the whole state of the commonwealth is subverted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtful or perilous to the church of God than he. He wrote unto them furthermore, that he, (to whom the greatest charge and dignity was in the whole commonwealth appointed and committed,) seeing and perceiving to his great peril their good hearts, wills, and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had given him do his endeavour, that he, which in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of Christ, and chief prelate in the church, showeth himself so very a wolf, persecutor, and tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful shepherd of God's flock may be appointed in the church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they desire the safety and preservation of the whole state of the commonwealth and empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings, lest otherwise they also should happen to fall into the same snare of servitude with the bishop of Rome. And further, he gave them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for, that is, to be emperor and king over kings, yet should that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Therefore, if they be wise, to withstand him betimes, lest hereafter, when they would, it should be too late, neither were able to withstand his tyranny. The effect of this epistle I took out of Aventine, which more

largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the emperor, by his legates, sent the same to Wenceslaus.

Boiemus, somewhat relenting at this letter, promiseth to accomplish the emperor's biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assembly of princes and nobles at Ægra; where by common consent they think to renovate with the emperor a new league and covenant. And furthermore, they find Otho Boius (which was absent, and would not be at this their assembly) to be the author of this defection, and an enemy to the commonwealth. Otho then seeing himself not able to stand against Cæsar and the other princes with whom he was associate, desiring aid of the pope by his letters, came with all speed to Boiemus his kinsman; whom when he could not persuade unto him again, neither would he to their parts also be won, he obtaineth notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and covenant (which they were in hand to make with the emperor) might for a time be deferred, and that another assembly might be made, whereat he also would be, and join himself with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched also his son, and brought him to be both a rebel and a traitor. In the mean season the pope sent his rescript unto the king of Bohemia, and to Otho, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the church, to take the emperor's part. And so much prevailed he by the means of Bohuslaus and Budislaus, which were the chiefest of the senate regal, and by his fair promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that again at Libussa by Boiemus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new emperor, in despite of Augustus the emperor and Cæsar his son. And whilst that this was thus in hand, Conrad Cæsar casteth Landshuta the wife of Otho, being absent, in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that unless her husband took a better way with himself, and showed his obedience to the emperor his father, that he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conrad Cæsar came thus: Frederic Barbarossa, in the year of our Lord 1180, at a parliament holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henry Leo of high treason, and deprived him of his dominions of Boioria and Saxony, and gave Boioria to Otho Wiltaspachius, for that he had done him so faithful service in his Italian wars. After that, Ludovicus, the son of this Otho, obtained of this emperor. Frederic the Second, in recompence of his assured and trusty fidelity, the dominion of Palatinatum Rheni so called, which gave also Agnetes, the daughter of Henry, earl of Palatine, to Otho his son in marriage. This Henry was the son of Henry Leo the traitor, unto whom Henry the Sixth, the father of Frederic, gave in marriage Clementia his brother's daughter, Conrad, Palatine of Rhenus, and gave unto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boioria, that he had also now long possessed by the heirs of Otho Wiltaspachius. But to our purpose again.

At the same time also the governor of Colonia Agrippina revolted to the pope; who not long after, in a skirmish between Brabantinus and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtless Fredericus Austriacus, after he was received into favour again with the emperor, (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelity renewed,) during this time made sharp war upon the Hungarians, which took part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germany, the emperor when he had gotten Ascalum and led his host into Flaminia, having Ravenna at his commandment, from thence came to Faventia; which city never loved the emperor, the circuit of whose walls is five miles in compass, and pitched his camp round about

the same. And although the siege was much hindered by austerity of the time and weather, being in the very dead time of winter, yet, notwithstanding, through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his soldiers in the painfulness of the laborious siege, he endured out the same, who thought it no little shame, having once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault given. And therefore when now the winter (so extreme cold and hard) was well near ended, and the spring time now hard at hand, and by long battery he had made the same in divers places assaultable, the citizens, being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof, sent their legates to the emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their lives, and so yielded themselves unto his mercy.

The emperor, having against them good and sufficient cause of revenge, yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the best revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men, he thought it better to grant them their requests, to save the city and citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by arms to make the same his soldiers' prey, to the destruction both of the city and great number of people therein. So doth this good emperor in one of his epistles, *Adacta nobis*, confess himself. Which epistle, to declare the lenity and merciful heart of so worthy a prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midst of the history here to have placed. But thus I have kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

In this siege the emperor, having spent and consumed almost all his treasure, both gold and silver, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the spread eagle, the arms of the empire, and made a proclamation that the same should pass from man to man for all necessities instead of other money; and therewithal promised, that whosoever brought the same money unto his exchequer when the wars were ended, he would give them gold for the same, according to the value of every coin limited; which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the historiographers do accord.

Thus when the pope, as before said, had stopped his ears, and would not hear the emperor's legates that came to entreat for peace, but rejected and despised his most courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy unattempted, or force unpractised, that with his confederates he thought himself either able to revenge or else resist; he by his legates calleth to a council at Rome all such prelates out of Italy, France, and England as he thought to favour him and his proceedings, that hereby, as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive Frederic of his empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the church. All which things Frederic having understanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by sea as by land, in all that ever he might. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his son Henry with certain galleys to go and keep the coasts of Sardinia, which kingdom the Italians call Entimum; and from thence to go to Pisa, and with the Pisans to rig out a navy to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the pope at Rome. The pope's champions understanding that by land they could not safely repair to Rome, they procured of galleys and ships out of Genoa (having Gulielmus Braccius for their chief captain or admiral) forty sail for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they should fortune to meet with any of the emperor's ships or galleys, which should lie for them in wait, they should be able to make their part good, and give them also the repulse. Encius in like manner and Huglinus (being captain and admiral of the Pisan

navy for the emperor) launched forth to sea with forty ships and galleys; and betwixt the isles of Liliun and Mons Christi, which lie between Liburnium and Corsica, they met with the Genoese ships; and straight-ways fiercely began to grapple with them and board them; in which fight at length were three of the Genoese ships both bulged and sunk, and two and twenty taken and brought away, with all the riches and treasure in them. In these were taken three legates of the pope's, whereof were two cardinals, Jacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, and Gregory of Romania, (all cruel enemies against the emperor,) and many other prelates more; besides a great number of legates and procurators of cities, with an infinite number of monks and priests, besides of Genoese soldiers six thousand, with divers others.

Pandolphus Colonutius, in describing the circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these champions of the pope by sea, amongst the rest declareth, that besides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they also found many writings and letters against Frederic, which much helped him in the defence of those causes wherein they had laboured against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the pope's side, by the emperor's soldiers which lay in the garrison at Ticinum, thus: There went forth upon a time out of Ticinum into the larders of Genoa, certain bands to give them larums in the country; which bands the scurriers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garrison of the pope's) descrying, told the captain of the town, that now a very opportune and fit time was to give an assault to Ticinum; for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a foraging. 'Whereupon they immediately calling together the captains and such as had charge, set their soldiers in array, and marched forward to Ticinum. And now when they were come almost thither, the Ticinian bands (whom they thought to have been far a foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them; who being dismayed at the suddenness of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slain) three hundred and fifty captains, and brought prisoners into Ticinum with all their ensigns with them.

News hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was removing from the siege of Faventia (as ye heard) to the city of Bononium, thinking to have destroyed the same. But upon the hearing of these good news he altereth his purpose, and thinking to have hereafter a more convenient time thereunto, leadeth his army towards Rome; and in the way he reconciled to him the city of Pissarum. But Fanum, for that the townsmen shut their gates and would not suffer the emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed. For the emperor, seeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawful excusation, he could do any good with him, thought that by his sudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to some uniformity, and caused to leave off his accustomed pertinacy. And although the emperor was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the public tranquillity of the empire; and that he might then take the Tartarian wars in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refused not so to entreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and fortune much his inferior.

Whilst that this ruffle was betwixt the emperor and the pope, Ochodarius, the emperor of the Tartarians' son, with a great power and provision made, invaded the borders next adjoining unto him, and there won Roxolanum, Bodolium, Mudanum, with divers other cities, towns, and villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman, and child, sparing none of any sex or age. At whose sudden invasion the people, being in such fear and perplexity,

(having no city, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them,) were fain to leave all that ever they had, and diverse themselves into woods, and fly into marshes and mountains, or wheresoever any succour else did offer itself to them. And by this time the Tartarian host was come as far as Uratislavia, where Henry of Polonia and the duke of Silesia with their armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and small strength they were of, had soon an overthrow, and almost all their soldiers being slain, they themselves were taken and put to the sword. From thence they came to Moravia, and from thence to the kingdom of Bohemia; which country, while the king kept himself in strong defended forts, and durst not come abroad, he invaded, and destroyed all Hungary, putting to flight and vanquishing Colmannus, the brother of Belus the fourth king of Hungary, by whom also was great spoil made in both the Pannonias, Misiarum, Bulgaria, and Servia. When Belus, the king of Hungary, had gotten to Pola, (which is a city of Istria,) unto Otho, the duke of Dalmatia, he sent his legates to Frederic the emperor, promising that if he would send him aid that the Tartarians might be expelled, then Hungary should ever after be under the jurisdiction of the emperor; which thing if he refused to do, that then the same were in great danger to be subject to the Tartarians, to the no little peril of the whole empire. And he said further, that the cause whereof he with more instance required the same, was, that so many Christian men and countries made such pitiful lamentation in this their great calamity and misery, and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole Christian state and empire. And also he said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make invasion upon the empire and provinces of the same.

The emperor, although he thought it very requisite, that with all convenient speed this mischief should be remedied and prevented; yet, notwithstanding, his great enemy the pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceived that he himself could do no good, and only laboured in vain in seeking peace with the pope, he gave commandment to Boiemus and Bolus to entreat and persuade with him; and (considering the imminent peril like to ensue by reason of such civil dissension to the whole state of Christendom) that he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. Wherefore, when he saw further, that neither by that means of entreaty, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborn and malicious froward purpose, he writeth again to the king of Hungary, that he was right sorry, and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redress the same, nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the bishop of Rome; who refusing all entreaty of peace, he could not without great peril to himself depart out of Italy, lest that when he should come to the aid of him, (by the pope's mischievous imaginations,) he should be in peril of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent Conrad Cæsar, king of Bohemia, and other princes more of Germany, to resist and withstand the enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great army and number of such soldiers as wore the cross by the pope's assignment deferred their journey against the Tartarians, and had commandment given unto them by one Albert, the pope's procurator, to tarry and abide at home, until they should be called for in battle to fight against the emperor. This was the loving zeal and affection of the pope and his adherents (to conclude) in this time of calamity towards the Christian state and commonwealth, that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the Christian and good emperor, than either he himself to withstand, or suffer and permit, by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most bloody and cruel Tartarian should be let and restrained

from so great havoc, spoil, and slaughter of the Christian men; and yet forsooth these men will seem to have the greatest regard of all others to the Christian preservation, and think to have the supremacy given therein: what thing else is this, but manifest mockery and deceiving of the people? But, notwithstanding, even in the midst of this spoil and havoc of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined, that at Libussa the princes confederate should be assembled about the deposing of the emperor, and creation of another.

But now, notwithstanding the provident foresight and wise policy of the emperor, (as you heard before,) in restraining the passages both by the sea and land, who had special regard thereunto, and gave most strict charge that none should pass without privy search and examination, as one having sufficient trial as well in his own person as by the example of his predecessors, what great mischief and dissension by their legates every way sent out they had procured, both to the imperial state and dignity, and to the whole country of Germany; yet found they such means, and wrought such policies, that they had not only secret passage and re-passage with their letters and spials into all Christendom where they listed, but also so laboured the matter, and handled the same, that the long-continued league of amity between the French king and the emperor, whose predecessors as also they themselves had many years reverently observed it in Christian concord and unity, was, by this seditious prelate and arrogant vicar of Satan, now either utterly infringed, or else in variable suspense; as by their letters each to other, and hereunder ensuing, is to be read and seen; which, for the more probability of this history of Frederic, not being long or greatly tedious, I thought meet here to intext and place.

"Hitherto, noble emperor, hath the good opinion and great confidence, many years in mutual love established betwixt us, lasted and continued well, hoping that no such cause should rise betwixt us to hatch either hatred or other occasion offensive between your Highness's empire and our kingdom. Especially, seeing that all our predecessors, kings of France, late of most worthy memory, till these our days, have been so zealously affected to the most high and regal state of your empire; and also that we, whom God hath placed successively to reign as king, have been no otherwise minded nor affected towards the same. None otherwise also on their behalf have the ancient and renowned emperors of Rome, our neighbours and your predecessors, showed themselves towards us, (each other esteeming the empire and kingdom of France as one,) and faithfully conserving together the unity of peace and concord. Insomuch that there hath not chanced between them these many years so much as one spark of discord and dissension. But, this notwithstanding, we for our part cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cause are troubled and vexed, that without desert or any offence you have taken the prelates of our realm upon the sea, making their repair to the see apostolical; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience, they stand bound and are obedient, neither could they withstand the pope's commandment; these have you imprisoned, and so still detain the same. Whereat (we do your Majesty to wit) we are not well pleased, neither yet take in so good part as you peradventure think ire do. For by their own letters we understand they had excogitate nothing prejudicial to your imperial estate and celsitude, although the pope had prosecuted therein more than became him to do. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause why you should detain them, it is meet, and becometh no less your magnificence, but that you restore unto us and set at liberty the said prelates of our realm; wherein also you shall appease our grudge, and keep us your friend, which account the displeasure you do to them as our own and proper injury. For why? It

were a great dishonour to our realm and kingly estate, if we would wink hereat and overpass the same with silence. Wherefore if you will consider and respect the thing that we have said, we doubt not but that you will release the bishop of Penestrumb, with the other legates and prelates of the church, which you to our prejudice do detain. In desiring of our aid doubtless we gave unto them a manifest nay; neither could they obtain in our kingdom any thing at all which seemed to be against or prejudicial to your Majesty. Let therefore your imperial providence ponder in the balance of justice those things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful request unto you be frustrate or made in vain. For our realm and kingdom of France is not so debilitate or impoverished that it will be spurned at, or trodden under your feet. Fare ye well."

*The rescript of the emperor to the same letter of the king of France.*

"Our imperial magnificence hath perused your kingly letters, wherein if we had not found manifest contradiction, they might peradventure have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leaven a whole lump of dough is soured, so a manifest untruth alleged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and unsavoury. It is apparent that you wanted the virtue of mediocrity in the conclusion of the same your Grace's letter; for that they themselves bewray no less than we give you manifestly to understand, and many more besides do know. It is notorious also, and to all the world revealed, in what sort that apostolical father had impugned our innocency, as well with the one sword as with the other; and how that whilst we at his commandment took our journey beyond the seas, the same our great enemy and hostile adversary invaded our kingdom of Sicily; and the same, not in one place or two, but in divers and sundry parts thereof, hath wasted, spoiled, and destroyed. After this, when with great entreaty, at our return from Asia, we had concluded a peace with him, which with us at his own pleasure he made, and had taken and received our devotion for the same, which in serviceable manner we granted him, the said apostolical father (that notwithstanding) hath since that time rather aggravated his displeasure toward us, than any thing at all qualified the same; and further, hath to our deprivation and subversion excogitate and devised against us all the mischief he might or hath been able, no cause in all the world given of us to provoke the same; and further, hath promulgated to our great defamation and shame, as well by his letters as legates, the sentence of excommunication against us unto all nations. Lastly, he, aspiring to our imperial state, and conspiring our supplantation, hath made war against us, as against King David, God's anointed; and hath unto a private council for that purpose called all the prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to set all the whole world together by the ears. But such is the marvellous wisdom of God, by whom we live and reign; who, beholding the wicked purpose he went about, confounding the crafty in their craftiness, hath given into our hands as well your prelates of the realm of France, as also of other regions and provinces; all which we imprison and detain, as enemies and adversaries to our imperial crown and person. For where there desisted not to be a persecutor, there hath not wanted also a sufficient withstander and defender. Let not therefore your kingly Highness marvel, although Augustus detaineth in prison your French prelates, which have endeavoured themselves to conspire, and so to disturb, our imperial estate and regiment. Fare ye well."

When Frederic now saw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the pope, he prosecuteth this war to the uttermost; and when he had gotten Tudertum, and reconciled the same, he destroyed the town of Geminum and Narvia, and giveth the spoil of them unto his soldiers; he gently

received the yielding up of Siburnum, and wasteth all the country round about Rome. The pope herewith dismayed and troubled with such as otherwise dissuaded and counselled him, and seeing that things prospered not so well with him and against the emperor as he wished and desired, being in despair of obtaining his purpose, died for very anger and thought.

What opinion the prelates of Germany at that time had of this Gregory is extant, and to be seen by the oration of Eberhardus, bishop of Juvanence, that he made to the nobility of Boioria, in the parliament at Reginoburgh, written by Johannes Aventius in his seventh book. Doubtless he not only brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole Christian commonwealth and also empire, whilst he sought thus to depress and bridle the emperor, and advance his papal see and dignity, but also brought into the church of God much horrible impiety, blasphemy, and wickedness, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Balæus, and others make mention; and, amongst others, that most detestable canticle *Salve Regina*, in the which he attributeth the honour and worship proper only to Christ unto the Virgin his mother. This is he in whose name the book of the decretals was set out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) Johannes Balæus calleth " the sink or puddle of foolishness and impiety." Doubtless Carolus Molinæus, a man both of singular judgment in that law, which in tribunal courts and judgments is used, as also in this, painted forth the decree of this Gregory in his book of annotations unto Platina, whose words thereof are these: Doubtless divers chapters in the same book of decretals be mangled and imperfect, that many contentious arguments therein might lurk. For when the ambitious desire of reigning like kings took them, they studied nothing else but how to enlarge and advance their see and dominion with the empire itself and other kingdoms, oft shaken and weakened through contention; and this purpose and end had they none other in all their constitutions. The proof whereof Molinæus declareth in his book *De Regibus Galliaë et Angliæ*. But many more examples by the emperors, princes, and lords electors of the empire may be gathered, whereof to speak more convenient place shall serve hereafter.

In the stead of this Gregory was placed Celestine, born in Mediolanum amongst the Castellians, who, as Blondus declareth, by feigned promises offered a league with Frederic, and the eighteenth day after he was created pope he also died.

Thus when the author of all this conspiracy was gone, Frederic now thinking himself free and void of that fear which before he had, and not daring to be absent out of Italy, with all his endeavour levieth an army, and prepareth his furniture and other necessaries for the delivery of the Christians, so mightily oppressed as ye heard by the Turk or Tartarians. Who, hearing of the coming of the emperor, left the straight way through Hungary, which they came, and returned by the river Danube to Taurica, and so through the fens of Meotida, and by the river Tanaum, into Sarmatia Asiatica. When the cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the pope, and would not agree upon the same, the emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the Christian commonwealth. His two epistles touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that only for the care and desire he had of peace and of the Christian unity and state he did the same; and for that (peradventure) the cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new pope: the one for more brevity I have omitted, and here inserted the other.

"Unto you I write, O you children of Ephraim, which evil have bent your brows, and worse have shot your arrows, filthily turning your backs in the day of battle; unto you I speak, O you children of Belial, and dispurpled flock, you insensible people and assistants of the great Judge; unto you I write, O you dissentious cardinals, whom the world for your deserts doth hate; for whose causes the whole world being at variance is evil spoken of. Doubtless, I cannot speak unto you, but to your detraction, because I am worldly and you spiritual. I am unperfect, wherefore I must do as the unperfect world doth; neither can the part be dissonant to the whole, nor I contrary to myself that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude epistle, wanting the dignity of rhetorical style. My provoked tongue bursteth forth into words, before my conceiving spirit hath delivered the same; and so, not attending to the higher regiment, hath hastened to express my words not fully conceived or premeditate. Thus, I say, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget disordered talk, and untimely uttereth the same. This therefore it is that our heart hath conceived, that we believe, and all men confess, that Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, who came from heaven to make peace upon the earth, is not divided and at variance, being also the Master and Lord of the apostles. But Satan, being divided in himself, that blustering prince is amongst you, as those to whom he ministereth; he, even he, the persuader of discord and dissension, that man-killer, father of lies, and spirit of darkness, that hath divided your tongues, and set dissension amongst yourselves; neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the world, being by you into so perilous a state brought; and the little ship of Peter, which is tossed upon the sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which ship, though it need not indeed utterly to fear drowning, yet suffereth it by your negligence many great storms and perilous tempests. Doubtless, if ye would diligently consider how the nations and people whom ye were wont to judge in scorn shake their heads at you, every one of you would be ashamed of another. And, to say the truth, they cannot do too much to detect your so detestable opprobry; for whilst every one of you aspireth to the chair, every one is at variance with his fellow; and whilst one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the cathedral dignity vanisheth. And thus by your discord the peaceable state and concord of the church is confounded, and the perfection of the faith and religion, whereby ye should live, perisheth. And surely through your default it perisheth; so that where nature hath placed the sense and understanding to be, that part, like a monster, remaineth with you both senseless and headless. And no marvel; for why? your hearing is impaired, and that sound of the mouth which shrilly was heard throughout the whole earth is utterly dumb, and become a scoffing echo. For why? The thunderings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard, the preachers are become dumb dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no bribes; for why? those that were wont to come from Saba and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the manger, and the celestial shining star refusing to be their guide. Moreover, ye want feet to walk withal; for seeing there is no man to give you ought, you will not remove one foot for any man's pleasure. Fie, shameless people, the least and simplest beast may learn you obedience; for the birds have their captain, and the silly bees their king, but you will come under no government," &c.

The emperor yet after this, at the request of Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, who came to Frederic to Parma, released the cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not only to gratify the emperor Baldwin, but also thinking that thereby things would have the better grown to public tranquillity on every side. When the cardinals were all assembled at Avignia, they made Sinibald, a Genoese, pope,

whom by a contrary name, for that he had determined (as I suppose) to be hurtful to the commonwealth, they called Innocentius the Fourth. Of which election when Frederic understood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the Christian commonwealth should by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both his legates and letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to understand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made pope; and what peace and quietness thereby he promiseth, as it were to himself, he maketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him observance, help, and aid in all things, commending his dignity to the public state and quietness of the Christian commonwealth and empire, &c.

He also wrote his letters to Otho, duke of Boioria, who, a little before, was reconciled to the emperor, that he which was elected pope was a good man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth as of the empire.

The legates of Frederic also, with the furtherance of Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, laboured very diligently for the conclusion of the promised peace. And, to be brief, every man was in good hope, and looked for no less. But far otherwise fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the pope, set on and encouraged by the cardinals and others against Frederic, secretly and amongst themselves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederic and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the pope's Holiness. For whilst the emperor's legates attended the answer of their peace before promised, Rainerus, the cardinal, went secretly to Viterbium with a certain number of soldiers, and took the town which before was on the emperor's part.

The emperor having understanding hereof, mustereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entereth the pope's dominion again to recover Viterbium; but yet, taking this war so in hand, (not thinking thereby to expel all conditions of peace,) at the request of certain of the cardinals he was contented to leave Viterbium, being furnished by the emperor of warlike provision before, and came to Aqua. From thence he sent again other ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, with the earl of Toulouse, who he thought were able to do much with the pope in the prosecuting of this peace. And although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to have been through, and peace concluded, for that his legates had sworn in the behalf of the emperor (and as he willed them) that he would submit himself to the pope; and again, for that the cardinals and others commonly called and named him Frederic the Christian prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through there withal, but that through this dissimulation and likelihood of peace, which they understood the emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could pass and come to Rome, whither a great multitude daily resorted and flocked for religion's sake. But when all came to all, and that the legates perceived no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalf, they began to despair of the matter; letting the emperor so to understand. The emperor yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if he might himself speak with the pope, he, upon reasonable conditions, should well enough accord with him; wherefore he, by his legates and letters, desired him to appoint a place where the emperor might resort to him. The pope seemed to be contented here-withal, and appointed a day at Fescennia, where they would talk together; and the pope promised that he would be there before him, and expect the emperor's coming. But the pope in this while had

made a confederacy with the French king against Frederic; who, when he knew those three galleys to be ready and brought unto Centincellas, which he before had spoken for unto the Genoese, secretly in the night with his company (hastening thither in post speed) took ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence to Lyons in France; where he, calling a council, with a loud voice summoneth Frederic, and appointing him a day, commanded him there personally to plead his cause.

And yet although he understood that the sudden departing of him out of Italy made plain demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and also knew the council which the pope had called, wherein he was himself both plaintiff and judge; and at the same council those, which he had by bribes allured, pretended the destruction of the emperor; with many other such evident demonstrations, both of his envious and hateful heart towards him; yet the most modest emperor, using the innocency and uprightness of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and Christian concord, sent the patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the bishop of Panormia, and Thadeus Suessanus, the president of his court, (a most skilful and prudent civilian,) to the council at Lyons; which signified unto them that the emperor would be there for the defence of his own cause; and, for that the day was very short, required a time more convenient for him thither to make his repair. The emperor also being onward on his way, and come as far as Taurinum, sent before other messengers, as the master of the Flemish order, and Peter of Venice, to give them understanding of the emperor's coming, and to entreat that he would prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or upon how just cause soever required, the pope would not give so much as three days' space, in the which time the ambassadors assured them of the emperor's presence; as though there had been no common proviso for every man in that case by the law to have used upon any reasonable let. What should I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the pope with his confederates, (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that council,) against God's law, against Christian doctrine, against both the prescript of the law of nature and reason, against the rule of equity, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of emperors, and also the decrees of the empire, without any observation of the law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be answered therein, taking upon him to be both adversary and judge, condemned the emperor being absent. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel fact, considering the person, might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could have been imagined or devised? And yet hereat were those bishops nothing ashamed; but meaning to leave their doings in writing, (as an impudent testimony to their posterity,) established the same for a law to continue.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The writers of the Annals record, that when Fredericus the emperor, and Conradus his son, being Cæsar, were both dead, the pope, gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicily, and thinking by force to have subdued the same, came to Naples with a great host of men, where was heard in the pope's court manifestly pronounced this voice, Thou wretch, come to receive thy judgment. And the next day after the pope was found in his bed dead, all black and blue, as though he had been beaten with bats, as before in the history of King John is declared.

When the emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the pope, passed and pronounced against him, considering his furious purpose and

mind therein, thought good by his letters to let all Christian princes and potentates understand, as well the injuries and manifold displeasures he had sustained by the four popes in all their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this pope, in pronouncing the sentence of judgment and condemnation against him, (passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason,) which letter as he wrote the same hereunder followeth to be seen.

"Although we suppose not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumour you have heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling thereof; yet for that more credit is commonly given to that the eye seeth than to that the ear receiveth, we thought good to present unto you the naked truth of such things which the popes successively have put forth and forged against us. To the perusing and consideration of which my case and letter, I beseech your gentleness, amongst other times of leisure, that you will spy out some fit and convenient time therefore. And all other whatsoever that shall have desire to hear princes' counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentively consider, first, whether our predecessors have been destitute or not of godly zeal, just dealing, and righteousness; and whether we may not lawfully revenge ourselves, being so much provoked, of such evils and injuries as have been wrought against us. Secondly, let them consider whether Christ's vicar doth follow Christ's steps or not; and whether Peter's successors do follow his example or not; and also by what law, equity, and right that sentence which they have pronounced against us may be maintained and allowed; as also what name they may justly give it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence which is given by an insufficient judge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath given full power in spiritual things unto his church, that whatsoever the same bindeth in earth is bound in heaven, and whatsoever the same looseth is also loosed; yet we read neither by God's law, nor by any law of man, that we ought of duty to be subject unto him, or that an empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may give any such sentence or judgment to punish princes temporally, and deprive them of their kingdoms. For why? Although our consecration belongeth unto him by right and custom, (as he challengeth,) yet our deposing and depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth that presumption belong to any other prelate of other realms, which do consecrate and anoint their kings, as the custom and manner is. Or put case it were so, (we nothing hindered hereby,) that he had such power; hath he that power to the intent to revenge himself upon whomsoever his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring them under his jurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against us, as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or process before; neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a lawful denouncer; neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But he peradventure will say that all things that he layeth against us were manifest and notorious. But that do we deny, and nothing to be notorious, but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approved and tried. For so may every judge himself (contemning the order of law) affirm what he lust to be notorious, and thus condemn whom he list. There were against us (as well it may be said in council) certain false witnesses, although not many, of whom the bishop of Calin was one, whose near kinsman or nephew (by our laws condemned for treason to be hanged) maketh also to us an infestine enemy." To such-like effect prosecuting the rest of his epistle, which for brevity sake I omit.

This policy used the pope to vex and disturb both the country of Germany and the whole empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same; by the ruinous decay whereof the pope and his prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that Germany was now newly again divided, some taking part with Frederic the emperor, and Conrad Cæsar, his son, and other nobles and princes of the empire, some with those that should by the pope's procurement be the electors of the new emperor, other some with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the public utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the public peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly-burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by public and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort endeavoured themselves with all their force and power to use and occupy the same, according unto the decree of the bishop of Rome, and to take it from Frederic: thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

By these civil wars Germany suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murder; the country spoiled, the towns and villages set on fire and burnt, the churches and temples, wherein the husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed; houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every man's cattle driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of deposing and choosing another emperor, in this faction of princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldness of divers private soldiers, and especially of such as were the horsemen, then counted the better sort of soldiers, was so great, and their unbridled and insatiable desire in robbing, spoiling, and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore, a little before the death of Gulielmus the king, threescore cities and towns which were belonging to Louis Palatinus, duke of Boioria and Rhenus, and Otho his son, and other princes, whose names Aventinus, in his seventh book of the Annals of the Boiores, maketh mention of, joined themselves in a league for the expelling of these rebels, and repressing of their so great injurious rapines and slaughter of men. Of which army the said Louis being captain, he chased and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermost parts of Germany, and pulled down and overthrew their castles and fortresses, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

Otho Boius yet notwithstanding keepeth his promise and faith most constantly made before to the Emperor Frederic and Conradus his son. Whereupon, Philippus Juvanensis, Albert, and others, calling a council at Mildorsus, (by the pope's commandment,) sent for Otho unto them, unto whom they opened the pope's pleasure and commandment. To all which, when he had heard, Otho answered, I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that whenas heretofore you persuaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the bishop of Rome, whom you yourselves affirmed to be antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor, why that you yourselves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good princes: and he said that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and deeds, which now call that wicked, unjust, and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, just, and right. He said further, that they were overcome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluity, won with bribes, gaping for honour and estimation; and that they neither regarded honesty, godliness, nor their duty and office; but studied how to make dissension and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battle.

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He said further, that for his part he would obey God and his prince, to whom he had sworn fidelity, and that he nought esteemed the feigned holiness and detestable practices of such prelates. He said he believed in Christ, and would trust to his mercy, and that he believed how those whom they cursed and gave to the devil were in greatest favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those prelates took in good part this expostulation of his, and seemed to bear Otho no malice or grudge for that he had said, but to be desirous of peace and unity; yet not long after Otho was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Albertus, the pope's champion now in Germany, playeth not only rex amongst the citizens, but also bethought him of a mischievous device against Conrad Cæsar, the emperor's son. When by fraud end subtlety he had gotten and taken many of the rich burgesses and citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the emperor good-will, and had sent them prisoners to Staffum, Conrad, joining with other noblemen of the empire, (after he had spoiled and wasted much of his lands and others his companions,) drave him so near, that upon certain other conditions he delivered again the citizens. And shortly after coming again to Reginoburgh, and being received and welcomed into the college of D. Hamaranus, Albert, with certain of his confederates, by the means of Ulricus, a chief officer of the monks, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Cæsar with a few others about him did lie; and falling upon them, some they took, and other some they slew; and finding no other body in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Cæsar had been slain among the rest. But he, hearing the noise, forsook his bed, and hid himself under a bench, and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proscribed the bishop and his mates, and also the monk's bailiff, of treason, and seized upon all the goods of the house. But at the suit of the guiltless monks he released all to them again, taking by way of fine one hundred pounds. Ulricus lost his office, and Albertus, thereby to escape danger of punishment, took upon him the habit of a monk. Conrad Hohenfelseus, which was the murderer of these men, though he escaped the punishment of man's hand, yet the vengeance of God for the fact he escaped not. For as he rode in the day time abroad, he was suddenly struck with a thunderbolt and died.

## 59. Frederic's Last Campaign and Death. Summary of his Character

During all this busy and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that Frederic the emperor lay not still, but had his hands full; who notwithstanding (by God's help overcoming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious popish tumults, and having done strict execution on those especially that had conspired against his person) calling a council, and setting in some stay the troublesome affairs of his kingdom, came to Cremona with Frederic, prince of Antioch, Richard, earl of Umbria, the governor of Flamminia, and Encius, king of Sardinia, with a great number besides of soldiers and men of war. And besides, he took with him (which he sent for out of every part) the wisest, most virtuous, and best learned men that there were, thinking with them to have gone himself to Lyons to the pope, and there to have with him communication, as well concerning the sentence definitive, as also about the conclusion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the journey in hand, and came to Taurinum, having with him both a great army of soldiers, and also a great company of legates and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within three days' journey of Lyons he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlaws of divers and sundry factions of the pope, his near neighbours and friends; as by the pope's legate, and other citizens, as of Brixia, Placentia, and such like. Which thing when he understood, and that the pope herein was the only and chief doer, he saw manifestly it should little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about; and then at length, when he saw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himself to the wars with all his force and might. Thus, altering his purpose and journey, he took the straightest way into Lombardy, and with an army of sixty thousand men he besieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the town plant his siege and battery without disturbance, first he entrenched his camp, and fortified the same about with bulwarks and other defensible munition. After that, he caused divers victualling houses and taverns in his camp to be slightly builded of timber; and without the camp be appointed the place where the market should be kept, and all victuallers resort that would. He appointed places for their churches and temples, and in seemly manner adorned the same; and for the most part their tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another Parma. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for this happy and prosperous success he called and named it Victoria, and had thought to have made the same to be in the stead of the city of Parma, the which he purposed to have made level with the ground. And in the beginning, both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederic, and had good success; for he sharply laid to their charges that defended and kept the city of Parma. And further, Robert Castilioneus, which was the emperor's lieutenant in Picenum, near unto Auximum, discomfited the pope's army, and slew of them more than four thousand, and took many such as were of the confederate cities prisoners. And when the factions or companies of the Ghibellines and Guelphs in Florentia were at controversy, when Frederic of Etruria came to the Ghibellines, to whom they had sent for aid, the Guelphs, therewith dismayed, fled from thence to Bononia, whose goods and substance came all to the emperor's coffers, and Florentia also itself to the emperor's obedience. But this good success and prosperous fortune

lasted not long. For as at a time Frederic to recreate himself (which seldom had his health) rode about the fields with certain of his horsemen to hawk and hunt, many of the emperor's soldiers, thinking nothing less than of such a matter to be attempted of a many starvelings within the town of Parma, wandered and ranged unarmed out of their city Victoria about the fields. The soldiers in Parma, having this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entered the emperor's camp or town Victoria; which being not strongly fenced, nor having gates to shut against them, was a thing easy enough to do. The sudden strangeness of the matter much abashed the soldiers, and they rang out their larum bell. The first assault was given upon Marcus Malaspina's charge; whom when the emperor, returning in all haste, found to be hard beset, he had thought to have rescued him. But when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that side, insomuch that the emperor was forced to take the trench, lest he should have been of the enemy environed; and from thence he retired into the city or camp, where he had thought to have gathered further aid. But the enemy, giving not so much time thereunto, with all force entered the city Victoria. The emperor now, when the enemies were entered, left the camp, and came to Dominum; who, when they had killed and slain a great number of the emperor's soldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same camp Victoria, came again to Parma. The emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, whereby the enemy had understanding as well of the emperor's absence, as also of the negligence of his soldiers, imprisoned certain of the chiefest about him, amongst whom also was Peter of Venice. Yet whilst he was at Dominum, gathering together his soldiers and residue of his bands, Encius getteth a great victory of the Mansuanos, who, coming to the rescue of Parma, lost fifty of their ships, and all that they had in them.

After this also, Richard in another conflict in Picenum discomfited the pope's soldiers, and slew their captain Hugolinus, besides two thousand others slain and taken prisoners. When now Frederic had gathered again, and new-mustered his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona; and notwithstanding that there he understood of the good success and victory that Encius had at Rhegium, yet for that he perceived the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardy from him, he determined to take his journey into Apulia. And when he had there levied a strong and sufficient power, he purposed to make a speedy return again into Lombardy. Therefore, in his journey through Etruria into Apulia, he joined with his son Frederic, which besieged Capras, and took the same; and led with him divers of the chiefest captains prisoners, and after that, subduing unto the obedience of the empire Miniatum, he came into Apulia.

When news was brought him thither, that Encius his son (coming to aid the Mutinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Mutina; and that in his absence the pope's captains, with their bands and garrisons, went throughout all Lombardy, Emilia, Flamminia, and Etruria, to stir and procure the cities to revolt from the obedience of the emperor; and working the same, partly by subtle policies, and partly by force and sinister means, to bring them to his purpose; he determined with himself, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make, to have begun afresh, and prosecuted his war to the uttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth) but that he would have wrought some marvellous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked-for death. For when he fell into this ague, being at a certain castle of his in Apulia, called Florentinum, and saw by the extremity thereof his days to be short, he remembered

that which was once showed him, how he should die at Florence; whereupon he made and ordained his testament. And when unto Conrad and other his children he had given and appointed the great and innumerable mass of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his wars, and godly purpose, (as it is called,) and unto them also had given all other his kingdoms and dominions, (to every one according to their ages and years,) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

Pandolphus writeth, that Frederic was very willing to die, and, as they made certain report to him which were present at his death, that his mind was altogether set and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing also William Putranus, Andrew Pandalus, and Manardus, the bishop, being Italian writers, do all affirm; of whom this last writeth, that he assuredly believeth Frederic to be one of the number of God's elect.

The writers, notwithstanding, are of sundry judgments and opinions touching this good emperor's death. Some write that he was traitorously poisoned by his cup-bearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow of Manfred, the son of Pherus. But Pandolph, as good a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but only that he died of an ague. The last opinion of Manfred he manifestly refuteth, and showeth that there is no manner of likelihood of the same; and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other writers that were of that time. He died in the year of our Lord 1268, the thirteenth day of December, in the seven and fiftieth year of his age, and seven and thirtieth year of his reign, whose corpse was brought to Panormum, and there entombed.

Frederic had three wives: the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon; of whom he begat Henry, the duke of Suevia and king of the Romans: the other Jole, the daughter of Johannes Brennus, king of Jerusalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily; of whom he begat Conrad, duke of Suevia, king of Jerusalem and Naples, being Cæsar: the third, Isabella, the daughter of King John of England; by whom he had a son named Henry, which is said to die in his childhood. This Frederic had not his peer in martial affairs and warlike policies to be compared unto him amongst all the princes of that age: a wise and skilful soldier he was, a greater endurer of painful labours and travels, most bold in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adversity most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature few there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any prince almost of such government and godly institution both in life and doctrine as is required of them; so neither was this Frederic without his fault and human fragility; for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not all clear thereof, forasmuch as by sundry concubines he had sundry children; as Encius, the king of Sardinia, Manfred, the prince of Sarentinum, and Frederic, king of Antioch. And this is all that I find of the description of Frederic by Colonucius, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable authors. But as touching the heinous acts and flagitious deeds which the pope burdeneth him withal, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of, Frederic not only purgeth himself thereof, but also divers historians (as well German writers as Italians) affirm the same to be false, and of the pope's own brains invented to do him injury. Of which matter those things which Pandolph, touching the commendation or dispraise of Frederic, writeth I thought good out of Italian to translate; whose words be these.

"Albeit the emperor Frederic was endued with many goodly gifts and virtues, yet, notwithstanding, was he accounted an enemy of the church, and a persecutor of the same; of which both Innocent the Fourth in his sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the same sentence have other popes registered in their six books of decretals, and stablished the same for a law, how that he ought to be taken for no less. Therefore peradventure it should not become me to falsify or call in question that which others have confirmed, or else to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet, notwithstanding, as much as his acts and deeds in writing declare, and the books of the chiefest authors affirm, as also his own epistles do testify, I cannot precisely say, whether the bishops of Rome so call him and judge him therefore; or else for that he was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the ecclesiastical order of their great abuses; or else, whether for that he would have had them gone somewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient fathers of the primitive church and disciples of Christ; or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the prerogative and dignities belonging to the empire or not; or else, whether they stood in fear and awe of the great power he was of in Italy, which thing indeed Gregory the Ninth in a certain epistle of his confesseth: but of these things let them judge and discern that shall read the monuments and histories of Frederic. Truly, saith he, when I consider with myself that Christ, whose vicar the Roman bishops boast themselves to be, said unto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitate his example, as of their Master and Teacher; and commanded them furthermore, how they should not draw the sword, but put up the same into the scabbard; and further, gave them in precept that they should not only forgive injuries seven times, but seventy times seven times to those that offended them; and when I now compare the lives of the bishops of Rome, how near they follow him whose vicar they say they be; and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, disloyalties, lyings in wait, and treacherous devices, so many legates of the pope's, (being ecclesiastical persons,) which will needs be called the shepherds of Christ's flock, to be such warriors and captains of soldiers in all the parts of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, (being the emperor's dominions,) in Picenum, Emilia, Flamminia, and Lombardy, to be sent out against him; and also when with myself I meditate the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subversion of such commonwealths, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much Christian blood; and lastly, when I behold so victorious, prosperous, and fortunate emperors to be, and so many miserable, unfortunate, and vanquished popes put to flight; I am persuaded with myself to think and believe, that the judgments of God are secret and marvellous, and that to be true which Æneas Sylvius, in his history of Austria, writeth, that there is no great and marvellous slaughter, no notorious and special calamity, (that hath happened either to the public weal, or else to the church of God,) of the which the bishops of Rome have not been the authors. Nicholas Machiavel also saith, that all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances that the whole Christian commonwealth and also Italy hath suffered, have been brought in by the popes and bishops of Rome.

Many epistles of Frederic there be which he wrote unto the bishops of Rome, to the cardinals, and to divers other Christian princes, all which I have read, and in them is to be seen nothing contrary unto Christian doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederic. But indeed I deny not the same to be fraught and full of pitiful complaints and lamentations, touching the avaricious ambition of the ecclesiastical persons, and pertinacy of the bishops of Rome, and that he would receive and take no

satisfaction nor yet excuse in the defence of the right and privilege of the empire which he maintained; also of their manifold and infinite conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him; and of the often admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order ecclesiastical to attend upon and discharge their functions and charges. And who that further is desirous to know and understand the truth, and coveteth to search out the renowned virtues of magnificent princes, let them read the epistle of Frederic, dated to all Christian princes, which thus beginneth, *Collegerunt principes, pontifices et Pharisæi concilium*; and another, wherein he persuadeth the college of cardinals to take up the dissension between the emperor and the pope, which beginneth, *In exordio nascentis mundi*; and also another which thus beginneth, *veritatis testem*; besides yet another, *Ad reges et principes orbis Christiani*; with divers others more, wherein may well be seen the princely virtues of this so worthy a peer: all which epistles, collected together in the Latin tongue, the learned sort I wished to read, whereout they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themselves. In his epistle last recited these are his words: Think ye not that we so earnestly desire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our Majesty were terrified with the pope's sentence of deprivation; when God, upon whom we trust and invoke, is our witness, and judge of our conscience, that when we went about to reform the ecclesiastical state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and should restrain their power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the same to the state and condition of the primitive church, we looked for no less at their hands.' For these causes peradventure those which had the government of the ecclesiastical dignity decreed and pronounced Frederic to be an enemy to the church; which, as I have said, I leave to others to judge thereof." Hitherto Pandolphus Colonucius.

And doubtless examples to the contrary do appear, that Frederic was no enemy to the Church of Rome, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great privileges and immunities, which things by his own constitutions, statutes, and customs may be perceived and understood. But rather contrariwise, that the bishops of Rome most filthily recompensed the same his great liberality and princely benevolence again, which he gave and bestowed upon the same, as partly in the discourse of this history you have heard; who, notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many injuries as you have seen, he nevertheless, forgiving and pardoning all the same, for the great zeal he had to the common Christian wealth, (whereof he more forced than of any other thing,) sought by all means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hinderance. Therefore, seeing he was of necessity by the bishops of Rome provoked to that war, if he did them any scath in revenge of his imperial dignity, let them thank their own selves, which might otherwise have remedied the same. Notwithstanding, upon this occasion divers (both Italian and German writers, which at that time sought for fat benefices, and ever since, even unto these our days, have done the like, by flattery rather to obtain that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful testimony of things as they were indeed) took great occasion to write and slander this good emperor. But let us pass over these parasites, and return to those which, although they themselves were of that calling, I mean of the ecclesiastical order, yet, notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the study of verity, and to reverence the truth before popish authority and flattering servitude, greatly extolled and commended this good emperor Frederic. So did Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal, in his writing affirm this emperor to be a Charlemagne, both for his wisdom and also diligent regard to the commonwealth. So also writeth Ægidius Biturigum, the bishop, in his books of the

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institution and bringing up of a prince, which he wrote to the French king, exhorting him and all others to take a pattern of this most worthy and excellent prince.

Wherefore, insomuch as it appeareth by the approved writers of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of prince Frederic this emperor was, and that because he diligently laboured as well in the preservation of the Christian commonwealth, as in the conservation of the imperial dignity, he procured to himself the great hatred and displeasure of the Roman bishops, (who have been to all the good emperors for the most part utter foes and enemies,) and with what wicked slanders and other injuries both by them and by their ministers they continually molested him; this lesson ought to be ours, that having the same in our memory, we imitate and follow his virtues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fathers that will so be called, and bishops of Rome; desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all kings and princes, that they may by his grace advance and set forth his glory, and reform the corrupt and vicious manner and order of the church to all sincerity and purity both of life and doctrine.

## 60. Gulielmus and Other Champions of Christ

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the popish church against their lawful emperor; so now shall ye hear (Christ willing) how God beginneth to resist and withstand the corruption of that whorish church, by stirring up certain faithful teachers in sundry countries; as in the country of Suevia about the time of this emperor, A.D. 1240, or near upon the same, where were many preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of Urspergensis, and also in Crantzius, which preached freely against the pope. These preachers, (as Crantzius saith,) ringing the bells, and calling the barons in Hallis of Suevia, there preached that the pope was a heretic, and that his bishops and prelates were simoniacs and heretics; and that the inferior priests and prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all seducers. Item, that no pope, bishop, or priest could restrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping of God, and therefore such cities or countries as were then under the pope's curse might, notwithstanding, lawfully resort to the receiving of sacraments as well as before. Item, that friars, Dominic and Franciscan, did subvert the church with their preaching. And that the indulgence of the pope and his popelings was of no regard; but that remission which they did preach unto them, they preached it not from the pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the resisting of the pope's usurped power and corrupt doctrine is no new thing in these days in the church of Christ, &c.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose up Arnoldus de Nova Villa, a Spaniard, and a man famously learned, and a great writer, A.D. 1250, whom the pope with his spirituality condemned among heretics for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was, that Satan had seduced the world from the truth of Christ Jesus. Item, that the faith (which then Christian men were commonly taught) was such a faith as the devils had; meaning belike (as we now affirm) that the papists do teach only the historical faith, which is the faith *historiæ*, *non fiduciæ*. Item, that Christian people (meaning belike for the most part) are led by the pope unto hell. Item, that all cloisterers are void of charity, and damned; and that they all do falsify the doctrine of Christ. Item, that the divines do evil in mixing philosophy with divinity. Item, that masses are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certain other opinions there be which the slanderous sects of monks and friars do attribute unto him; but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather upon envious taking, than of any just cause given.

And as this Arnold was condemned, so also the same time Johannes Semeca, the gloss-writer of the pope's decrees, and provost of Halberstat, was excommunicated and deprived of his provostship, for resisting Pope Clement the Fourth, gathering certain exactions in Germany; and therefore he appealed from the pope to a general council, and had many great favourers on his side, till at last both the pope and he died.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant champion of Christ and adversary of antichrist Gulielmus de S. Amore, a master of Paris, and chief ruler then of that university. This Gulielmus in his time had no small ado, writing against the friars, and their hypocrisy, but especially against the begging friars, both condemning their whole order, and also accusing them as those that did

disturb, and trouble all the churches of Christ, by their preaching in churches against the will of the ordinaries and pastors, by their hearing of confessions, and executing the charges of curates and pastors in their churches. All the testimonies of Scripture that make against antichrist he applieth them against the clergy of prelates, and the pope's spirituality. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the book, which is attributed to the, school of Paris, and entitled *De Periculis Ecclesiæ*, where he proveth by nine and thirty arguments that friars be false apostles.

Moreover, he doth well expound this saying of Christ, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me; declaring there poverty to be enjoined us of Christ, not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but inward affection of heart, when need shall require. As though the meaning and precept of our Lord were not, that we should cast away actually all that we have; but that, when the confession of the name of God and the glory of Christ shall so require, then we be ready to leave and relinquish what things soever for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth in us, after the like phrase, hatred of father and mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to dishonour father or mother, much less to hate them; but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the love of Christ. Many other worthy works he compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithstanding he was by antichrist and his rabble condemned for a heretic, exiled, and his books burnt; whose heretical arguments, as they called them, that thou mayest better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place.

Against false prophets, with signs to know them by, these his words do follow. For because these seducers (saith he) name themselves to be apostles, and say that they are sent of God to preach, to absolve and dispense with the souls of men, by means of their ministry, read the saying of the apostle in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi., For such apostles are subtle and crafty workmen, disguising themselves to be like the apostles of Christ. Therefore we mean to show some certain infallible tokens and probable, by the which false apostles may be discerned from the true preachers and apostles of Christ.

The first sign or mark is, that such as be true preachers do not enter into simple women's houses laden with sin, and take them as it were captive, as many of the false preachers do; as in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, the third chapter, is manifest, saying, Of those sorts are they which enter into women's houses, &c. Therefore those preachers which come into women's houses, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true preachers, but false apostles.

The second sign and token is, that those that be true preachers do not deceive simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their own trash and tradition, as all false prophets do, as in the last chapter to the Romans appeareth, saying, By their pleasant and sugared talk, and by their blessing and crossing, they deceive and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women. Glossary. Which gay, glorious words they extol and set forth their traditions, whereby they deceive simple men. Very greatly do they deceive the souls of simple men, which cause them to enter into their sect, which they term religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicity, after their entrance become subtle and false deceiving hypocrites, entering together with the rest into poor men's houses; yea, and oftentimes become worse than the others. Whereupon Matt. xxiii., Woe be unto you,

scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! which go about, &c. Therefore they which do this are no true messengers, but false apostles.

The third sign is, that the true apostles, if they be reprov'd, suffer the same patiently, 2 Cor. xii., saying, The tokens of my apostleship are accomplished among you in all patience and sufferance, meaning that patience which pertaineth to the manners of the preachers. Therefore they which suffer not correction or punishment be no true apostles, but rather show themselves to be no Christians at all: 1 Cor. xii., No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Glossary. It is meet that Christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselves to be reprov'd, and not to be holden up with yea and nay. And also such men do show themselves to be carnal, and not spiritual at all, although they feign themselves to be spiritual: Gal. iii., Therefore am I become an enemy unto you. Notwithstanding the Glossary saith, No carnal man will be reprov'd, although he err. Wherefore those preachers which suffer not correction seem not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourth sign is, that true apostles commend not themselves: 2 Cor. iv., For we dare not join ourselves, nor yet compare ourselves, unto others, which commend and boast of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all. Also true preachers, although they be indeed praiseworthy for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praiseworthy, and not to the outward show alone: 2 Cor. We commend ourselves (saith the apostle) to the consciences of all men. Then they do not commend themselves in comparison of others. Wherefore the Glossary saith upon the same place, Those that deserve no commendation but in comparison of others, do challenge to themselves other men's deserts and praise. Wherefore in the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the last chapter, it is said, Even as our well beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you. Glossary. The chiefest of the apostles hath here forgotten his papal authority, and also his keys that were delivered unto him; for he is astonished as it were at the great wisdom given unto his brother Paul. For indeed it is the manner of the elect children of God, to be more in love with the virtues of other men than with their own. Wherefore in Phil. ii it is written, Let those that are superiors esteem of themselves in all humility. They therefore that do the contrary, saying that their state or doings be better than other men's, although they be preachers, yet are they no true apostles indeed, but false prophets.

The fifth sign is, that true apostles need no letters of commendation, nor yet desire to have themselves praised of men; as in 2 Cor. iii. the apostle saith, We need not the letters of commendation of any man, that is to say, of false prophets.

The sixth sign is, that true apostles do not preach unless they be sent, as in the 10th chapter to the Romans, How shall they preach unless they be sent? There be no true apostles but those that be sent; for they have no need of signs which are true witness-bearers; but those that be not sent and do preach are false prophets.

The seventh sign is, forasmuch as false prophets have their authority in their own names; wherefore, in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, it is written, For we dare not boast of ourselves or make comparison; that is to say, with those that be false prophets, not taking their authority from God, but usurping the same, desirous to bear rule, claiming in their own name their authority. And therefore, although peradventure by presumption they say that they are sent of God, as all heretics will say; yet notwithstanding, unless they shall prove their sending either by spiritual prophecy, as John Baptist did, saying, I am the voice of a crier in the desert;

as out of the prophet Isaiah in the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel is alleged; or else by miracles, as Moses did, which turned his rod into a serpent, and again, from a serpent to a rod, as in Exod. vii.; they ought for to be excommunicated, till such time as they cease from preaching. Yet, notwithstanding, a miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, forasmuch as they be done oftentimes, and that of evil and wicked men: 1. q. 1. we may perceive towards the end. But miracles ought to be suspected, forasmuch as our Saviour saith, Matt. xxiii., Then shall false prophets arise, &c. Therefore they which do challenge authority in their own name, forasmuch as they have not their authority from God, they are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The eighth sign is, that false prophets, pretending great wisdom and holiness to be in superstition, have named their own traditions to be religion, the which are rather to be counted sacrilege or church robbery, and do usurp unto themselves, for due deserts of other men, by boasting, and bragging among strange and unknown people. Wherefore the apostle, speaking of false prophets in Col. ii., saith, According to the precepts of men, which having a face of wisdom, consist in superstition, interlaced with humility; that is to say, mingled with feigned religion, that it might be called religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but sacrilege, because it is contrary to all authority, that is, contrary to God himself, that any man should desire to have government of a multitude without public commandment; as in Deut. xxiii., Thou hast entered into thy neighbour's vineyard, that is to say, into the church of another bishop. May a man warn and admonish others, or else correct that congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take so great a charge on him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another bishop's diocess, it is apparent, because it is not lawful for the archbishop so to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. q. 3. And also it is written 9. q. 2. throughout. Therefore those preachers, which against God and his Divine Scriptures do call their own traditions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

The ninth sign is, by the authority which they have; for although they be no preachers of the gospel or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will live by the gospel, and not by the labour of their own hands, against the text in 2 Thess. iii., Neither have we eaten any man's bread for nought, or of free cost. Then those false prophets ought much more to live by their labour, which have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to say, to live by the gospel. And St. Augustine speaketh of this more expressly in his book De Opere Monachorum, by these words: Those our brethren do claim to themselves (very rashly, as me thinketh) that they have any such authority to live by the gospel. If they be preachers of the gospel, I grant that indeed they have such authority; if they be ministers of the altar, if they be disposers of the sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same, if at the least they have not wherewithal to sustain this present life without labour of their hands. As though he would have said, If they be not such manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the gospel. Therefore those preachers which have no authority to live by the gospel, or else minister the sacraments, because they have no congregation whereby to take charge of souls, and yet for all that will needs live upon the gospel, they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth sign is, that false teachers rejoyce more to be commended themselves, than that the word of God should have the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles are far otherwise minded, as 2 Thess., Not seeking the praise of men, &c. And herein he toucheth those false prophets, which

desire rather to be commended themselves, than that the word of God which they preach should have the commendation; but he is an apostle, which, not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come doth abase himself, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to have praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should have the praise, be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleventh sign is, that true apostles do preach only for God's cause, and for the health of souls, and for no temporal gain, as in 2 Cor. iv., saying, We preach not ourselves, &c. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in Phil. i. is said, Whether it be upon occasion given, or else for the verity's sake, let Christ be preached, &c. False prophets do preach the gospel upon some occasion, as either by seeking some commodity at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be ready and willing, as it should seem, to bear and sustain injuries; yet they seek not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon 2 Cor. xii., Because I seek not the things that be yours, that is to say, not your treasure, as gold and silver, but only you yourselves. For otherwise it could by no means be gathered that they should understand him to speak or mean of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might understand his great goodwill towards them. Therefore these evil and naughty preachers, which preach for worldly gain or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles, but false prophets. But it may be asked, How shall men understand when these good fellows preach for their own vain-glory sake? It may be answered thus, When they preach before they be called, as in 2 Cor. xi., Whosoever boasteth, let him boast and rejoice in the Lord. Which thing he cannot by any means do that hath not his authority from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his own glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authority of him, that is to say, of his church or congregation; as Heb. vii., No man taketh to himself any dignity, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was. He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The twelfth sign or token of a false prophet is, because such prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to men's souls than those that be their very governors and pastors have, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the Glossary speaketh, and 1 Thess. ii., We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the nurse which giveth her child suck. A woman nurseth other men's children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love, without respect of money. Therefore those preachers which feign themselves to have a greater love and affection to the souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true apostles. The apostles study not for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets do them both, as in 2 Cor. xi., If the simple and uneloquent man, &c. The apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence. Also upon the same another Glossary: The Corinthians were led away from the gospel by over-nice eloquence; 2 Cor. vii., Let us show ourselves before all men as the ministers of God. The ministers of God do not flatter as false prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true apostles have not their abiding in princes' courts and noblemen's houses, knowing this saying of Christ in St. Matthew's Gospel, Behold, those that are clothed with silks

dwell in kings' courts. And therefore true apostles are not conversant in princes' courts and noblemen's houses. Hard and strict life with the preaching of the gospel loveth not to come near princes' palaces and noblemen's houses. Oftentimes it cometh to pass that courtiers are found great flatterers; therefore those preachers that have their abode in princes' courts, or that in any other place do use to flatter, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth sign is, that true apostles or messengers do not circumvent or subtly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their lifetime, or else at the time of their death, as in 2 Cor. vii., We have falsely deceived no man; by the subtle and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great friendship. Also Matthew xxiii., Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, you hypocrites! which spoil widows' houses by your long prayers; which mean nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people, as Luke xx., Which devour widows' houses by dissembling of your long prayer. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burden of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forso much as by the same they deceive others; for by this, that they receive and take both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for souls' health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake: Matt. x., Be ye possessors neither of gold nor silver. If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the soul, but for lucre's sake. And so saith Jerome upon the prophet Malachi; Because some prophets took money, their prophecy became divination; that is to say, their prophecy appeared not to be prophecy, but divination, or enchantment; that is, that such prophecy proceedeth not from God, but from the devil. And this appeareth in 1. q. 1, having this beginning, *Nunquam divinatio, &c.* Therefore those preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their lifetime or after their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth sign is, that false prophets, when any verity is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withal, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chafe and bark against the same. Whereupon the apostle in the 3rd chapter to the Philippians saith, Behold the dogs. Understand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their usage and conditions, barking against the truth, which they were never acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to dogs, because dogs follow rather custom than reason; so false apostles do keep the custom of the law, and do bite and bark against the truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the Second Epistle to Timothy, the 4th chapter, saying, They get them instructors according to their own desires. Which may teach them what things they themselves are willing to hear, because the truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them. Therefore those preachers which bark against the late revealed truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept under, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fifteenth sign is, that the true apostles do not enforce any to receive or hear them which be unwilling thereunto, but send them away rather, lest they should seem to seek after some earthly and transitory thing: Matt. x., Whosoever will not receive you, get you out of that city, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c., that

you may thereby show that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those preachers which strive and wrestle, (as it were,) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true apostles, forso much as the apostle saith, 1 Cor. xi., If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of strife, such custom have we none, nor yet the congregation of Christ.

The sixteenth sign is, that the apostles did not procure the indignation of those princes with whom they were esteemed and regarded against such persons as would not receive them and hear them, according as we read in the life of Simon and Jude, the apostles. The chief ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the bishops might be cast into the same, and all other which went about to defame the doctrine of the apostles of Christ. But the apostles fell down before the emperor, saying, We beseech you, sir, let not us be the authors or causes of this destruction or calamity; nor let us, which are sent to be the preservation of men, and to revive those that are dead through sin, be killers of those that be alive. Therefore those preachers which seek to stir up the displeasure of princes against them (whose favours now they enjoy) that will not receive and hear them, or rather whom they themselves hate, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The seventeenth sign is, that the apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in Apoc. iii., The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before; obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the world. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the church in the later time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else, if they know them, they have not eyes behind and before, are no true apostles; therefore what time as they call themselves apostles they are false prophets.

The eighteenth sign is, that true apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are discerned from wolves, that is to say, from false prophets: Acts xx., I have desired no man's gold nor silver. By this are wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And again in the same place, For those things which I had need of, and these which were with me, these hands have ministered. This example also of labouring is a spectacle for bishops, whereby they are discerned from wolves. For such as ask or beg of those to whom they preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit simony, like Gehazi, of whom it is read in the Third Book of Kings, the 5th chapter, that he craved certain apparel of Naaman the Syrian, to whom his master Elisha had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those garments unwitting to his master. But some man perhaps will say, Cannot the preacher ask money or money's worth of those to whom he preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered, If the preacher by authority preach and feed his flock as a true pastor with the food of God's word, he may take money or money's worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by authority, as 2 Tim. ii., It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground should first and afore others receive the commodity of his increase. He putteth the virtuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make merchandise of the gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the Holy Scripture be found that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of Solomon, and St.

Augustine, and reproved by divers other holy men. Therefore it is manifest that the true apostles do not desire the temporal goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg or crave the same. They, therefore, that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true apostles, but false preachers.

The nineteenth sign is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, neither do they render evil for good: Matt. x., Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves. They that occupy the place of preaching ought not to procure any evil toward their brethren, as the example of Christ teacheth, 1 Pet. ii., saying, Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly. They, therefore, that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true apostles, but false apostles.

The twentieth sign is, that true apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith, Matt. xxiv., Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but yet at the length such get the victory, according to that saying of John, 1 Epist. v., Every thing that is of God overcometh the world. They, therefore, that in the beginning rejoice and are well entertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty-first sign is, that true preachers go not to preach unto those which have preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoice of a company belonging to another man's charge, as Rom. xv., I have preached the gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another man's foundation, And St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x., We are no boasters, nor busy in other men's matters; where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same chapter; Not having pleasure to boast of other men's labours; that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise Augustine saith, Honour ought to seek thee, and not thou honour. Also Chrysostom, Authority is in love with such a man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They, therefore, that procure and have a desire to preach unto the people committed to another man's charge, which is an office of honour, especially in councils, synods, and great assemblies, also in kings' and princes' courts, and prelates' palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

The twenty-second sign is, that true apostles, when they know themselves to do much good in the church and congregation of God, yet, notwithstanding, are not puffed up with pride: Ezek. O son of man, I have made thy face as an adamant stone. The adamant stone, when it draweth iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise, a true preacher, when he draweth sinners unto him by his preaching, (whose hearts were as hard as iron,) is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke xviii., When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants. Psal. cxv., Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory. They, therefore, that do arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they have done in the church of God, saying, We have given light to the universal church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the church of God, (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisy than either truth or verity,) they are not true prophets, but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalms, The mouth of them that speak proud things, &c.

The twenty-third sign is, that true apostles do not seek the favour of the world, nor yet how to please men, as Gal. i., If I should please men, that is to say, if I had a

desire to please men, I should not be the servant of God. Whereupon to Timothy, 1 Epist. ii., Not as men-pleasers; seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing spirit. Therefore those preachers that seek the favour of the world, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twenty-fourth sign is, that true apostles, when they have meat and drink, they are contented, neither do they desire over-dainty fare, according to the saying of Matthew, chap. x., Eating and drinking those things that are set before them. The gospel condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fare, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we have meat and drink, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith contented. Therefore those preachers which, although that neither they be sent, nor have authority to preach, and yet are offended when they have not fine and delicate fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twenty-fifth sign is, that true apostles do love more the law of God than their own estimation amongst their neighbours, according to that in Prov. vii., Keep my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same upon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart. Whereupon, in Psal. cxix., The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Charity doth more love the law of God, than to desire of gold and silver a thousandfold. He, therefore, that seeth the gospel of Christ trodden under foot, which is the eternal glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and contemn the same, or else, peradventure, consenteth unto the same, to the outward appearance of the world, and yet, because he will keep his temporal dignity and estimation, refuseth to stir up strife and contention about the same, and so to be evil spoken of, seemeth not to be an apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

The twenty-sixth sign is, that true apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest resting-places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in Matt. x., saying, Into what city or town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same city or town. Your host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be evil spoken of by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such men to run from house to house. Butwhom shall we call worthy of good report? Him who knoweth better to do other men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christ's cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true apostles receive nothing of such men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins; whereupon 2 Cor. vii., They have given themselves first to the Lord; because they now, amending their old errors and vicious manners, have vowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their brethren; for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes: but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings have just cause to give. Therefore those preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty men that have this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtlety, which give indeed to remove the shameless importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of present shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not

true apostles, but false prophets, according to that in 2 Cor. ix., The Lord doth love a willing giver. He that giveth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunity of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit; wherefore he that hath respect to these things doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift itself; as the apostle to the Philippians, chap. iv., saith, Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver.

The twenty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not endeavour themselves to seek and enjoy the fruit of other men's labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such men's god, according to that in 2 Thess. We have heard of some amongst you which walk inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately or idly; of other men's labours; and deserve they to be fed? The discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the belly is their god which provide to have more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers which so do are no true apostles, but false.

The twenty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not rejoice only of the miracles or other excellent works which the Lord doth by them; but they rejoice rather of the salvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in Luke x., saying, Rejoice ye not for that the spirits be subject unto you, but because your names are registered in heaven. They, therefore, that boast of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cause, that they are saved by the doing of them, as many do say, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty-ninth sign is, that the true apostles do never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in John vii., He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him (that is, of whom he is sent) is a true apostle. Therefore those which seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be assistant to those that bear rule and authority, according to that saying of Boetius, De Consolatione, Those that do desire to be extolled, either they reign and bear rule themselves, or else do desire to be near about them that have such dominion. Another is, they desire to have the fame and victory of that which they have nothing at all deserved before God. Whereupon is written that saying of the apostle, in Gal. v., Let not us become desirous of vain-glory. To be desirous of vain-glory is to have victory without any merit or desert; and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither their salutations, nor feasting, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and seek the company and fellowship of men, their feasting, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true apostles, but false.

The thirty-first sign is, that true apostles do not commonly resort to other men's tables, lest that they should for a meal's meat become flatterers, as in 2 Thess. iii., That we should give an example to follow us. He that cometh oftentimes to another man's table, being given to idleness, cannot choose to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christ's religion calleth men to liberty, and to no such bondage; they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their own minds, to other men's tables, (living idly,) are not true apostles, but false.

The thirty-second sign is, that true apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught, Matt. v., saying, Love your enemies, do

well to them which hate you; but false prophets do hurt and defame their neighbours, according as Jeremiah saith, chap. xiv., The prophets of Jerusalem have defiled the whole earth. They are not contented to hurt their neighbours only, but also whom they before this time have hated they defame and speak evil of in every place they come; therefore those preachers which hate them whom they think are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirty-third sign is, that false prophets, when they are examined and proved whether they be true apostles or liars, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same men, which also join themselves together by secular power, even as certain false prophets did in the primitive church against the bishop of Ephesus, to whom the Lord said, Apoc. ii, I know, that is to say, I do allow, thy works and thy labour, that is, thy tribulation, because thou canst not away with those that be evil men; but that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them, and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. The evils which these false prophets, joined together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-fourth sign is, that true apostles go not to preach to those which are converted already by other men, but rather do convert those which are not yet converted, lest that they should build upon another man's foundation, as St. Paul, Rom. xv., saith, I have laboured so, that from Jerusalem to Illyricus I have replenished the gospel in every place; that is, I have preached the same abundantly, in whom the great virtue of the Holy Ghost appeareth, because so many nations, that is, the Gentiles, have received the gospel by me preaching. But I have preached the gospel there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build, upon another man's foundation. I should not preach to those that were converted by another man. Also 2 Cor. x., We are not such as boast and glory in other men's labours; where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately. Also in the same place, Not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience. Of other preachers; because the apostle did preach to those to whom the gospel was never preached, that he might get praise by his own proper labour. Therefore those preachers which go not to that people which have need to be converted, but to those which are converted already, which have apostles of their own, that is to say, bishops and priests, and yet do boast over another man's flock, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-fifth sign is, because true apostles, when they are sent, go to their own diocess, and not to another man's diocess, even as Paul, being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach: Acts xiii., Separate Paul and Barnabas for the business which I have chosen them unto. According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher unto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand upon their feet, that is to say, those preachers which have but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to go which way soever it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those which be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we read in Ezek. ii., After that the spirit of the Lord set Ezekiel upon his feet, and he said unto him, O son of man, behold, I send thee to the nations which which have start back from their profession, which have gone from me; that is, to the Jewish heretics, and to those nations which sometime have been Christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that observe the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are

already instructed, having both apostles, bishops, and priests of their own, they go not into their own diocess, but into another man's diocess, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, unless they be thrust out of the same betime; even as Jonas, when he was sent to Nineveh of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill, that is, to the infidels we spake of before: They go not to those infidels, according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, take their journey into Tarshish, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they go unto those which receive them with joy and gladness, and do well provide for them, that is to say, to godly and devout Christians; and therefore it is to be feared, lest the ship in which they be (that is, the church) be in great peril, unless they be thrown forth. And therefore the apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause, 2 Tim. And shun thou those; that is, such men as those be.

The thirty-sixth sign is, because true apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute unto themselves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, Rom. xv., saith, I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me; that is, I speak only those things which by me, that is, by my ministry, Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much unto themselves which they never did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not apply themselves or lean at logical or philosophical reasons. Therefore those preachers which do endeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not love carnally or after the flesh, but hate what thing soever doth resist them in the service of God; as Luke xiv., He that doth not hate his father and mother, his son, and sister, and also himself, he cannot be my disciple; that is, he that doth not hate whatsoever doth resist or let him in the service of God, is not worthy to be a disciple, neither can he abide in that office. Therefore forasmuch as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that those preachers which do promote their nephews and kinsfolk, how unworthy soever they be, to ecclesiastical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the service of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-ninth sign is, that true apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world is the enemy of God; therefore those preachers which purchase the friendship of this world are not true apostles, but false prophets. Therefore forasmuch as the Scripture is infallible, as in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, saying, Heaven and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for ever; and the Holy Ghost which spake in the apostles cannot lie; for prophecy (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as it is read in the First Epistle of Peter, the first chapter; it remaineth that all men which are bound to defend the church may rise up in the defence of the same, according unto that in the twenty-fourth chapter of Proverbs, Deliver those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are drawn to destruction. Neither may he allege vain accusations, because it is said in the same place, If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of men's hearts shall know it, &c. Whatsoever perisheth in the church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them in the day of judgment; as Jacob

confesseth to Laban, whose sheep he fed, Gen. xxxi., I did restore all the loss, and that which was stolen I made answer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands, Ezek. iii. This is said to the pastor or prelate. But if the other things which we have spoken of before could not move the prelates and cardinals, this at the least should move them; because that then the spiritual power, which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and enjoining of penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the wolf devour the poor and needy man; quest. 3. chap. 1. When the authority ecclesiastical therefore shall be quite taken from them, and disposed to others, such as either by their order or apostolical grant do challenge to have the same, then doubtless shall neither the jurisdiction of civil causes and pleadings, nor any authority that such prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporal goods of the church, any longer remain amongst them. Shall such have the temporal goods of the church which minister not the spiritual treasure thereof? 1 Cor. ix., Know ye not that they which kill the sacrifice ought to eat of the sacrifice? and they that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar? For as the body without the soul cannot stand; so corporal things without spiritual things cannot continue, 1. q. 1, if any shall take away the same. Thus have you had the thirty-nine arguments, for the which both he, the said Gulielmus, was condemned and his books burned.

In the days of this Gulielmus there was a most detestable and blasphemous book set forth by the friars, which they called, The everlasting Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Ghost. In which book many abominable errors of the friars were contained, so that the gospel of Jesus Christ was utterly defaced, which, this book said, was not to be compared with this everlasting gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkness to light, &c. Moreover, that the gospel of Christ shall be preached no longer but fifty years, and then this everlasting gospel should rule the church, &c. Item, that whatsoever was in the whole Bible was in the said gospel contained. At length this friars' gospel was accused to the pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole university to peruse and judge of the book; as Christianus Canonicus Balvacensis, Odo de Doaco, Nicolaus de Baro, Johannes de Sicca Villa Anglus, Johannes Belim a Gaul. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and devilish book. These six, after the perusing of the book, were sent up to Rome. The friars likewise sent their messengers withal, where they were refuted, and the errors of the book condemned; but so that the pope with the cardinals commanded the said book to be abolished and condemned not publicly, (tendering the estimation of the religious orders, as of his own most chief champions,) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the books of the foresaid Gulielmus to be burned withal.

Besides other his books, two sermons we have of his yet remaining; one upon the Gospel of St. Luke, of the Pharisee and the publican, the other upon the Epistle read in the church on May-day; where, in the first he resembleth the Pharisees to our monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Pharisees described in the gospel. The publican he resembled to the laity, such as because the sooner they are reduced to acknowledge their sins, the more hope they have of mercy. The other, because they stand confident in their own righteousness, are therefore further from their justification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall upon the church by these religious orders of monks and friars.

Among the other besides of that age, which withstood the bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one Lawrence, an Englishman, and master of Paris;

another was Petrus Johannes, a Minorite. Of whom the foresaid Lawrence was about the year of our Lord 1260, who in his teaching, preaching, and writing did stoutly defend the part of the aforesaid Gulielmus and the rest of his side against the friars. Against the which friars he wrote two books; one in the defence of William aforementioned; the other upon this argument and title, To beware of false prophets, &c. Certain other things also he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and testimonies he argued and proved that antichrist was nor far off to come.

The other, Petrus Johannes, was about the year of our Lord 1290, which taught and maintained many things against the pope, proving that he was antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote upon Matthew, upon the Epistles, and upon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Johannes is made in Nicolaus Emeritus, in libr. Inquisitionum, &c. And he saith moreover, that Michael Cesenas (of whom, Christ willing, shall follow hereafter) took of him a great part of his opinions; and because the pope could not burn him alive, after his death he caused his bones to be taken up and burned.

To these, and with these above specified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being born of a right noble parentage, for devotion sake was made a Dominic friar, about the same year of our Lord above touched, A.D. 1290. This man, as appeareth by his writing, had divers and sundry visions, whereof part is annexed with the visions and prophecy of Hildegardis. His visions all tend against the spirituality of Rome, where in the first chapter he calleth plainly the pope an idol, which having eyes seeth not, neither lusteth to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessive enormity of their voluptuousness, but only to see to the heaping up of his own treasure; and having a mouth speaketh not, but saith, I have set good men over them (which is sufficient for me) to do them good, either by myself or by some other. And it followeth in the same chapter, Woe to that idol! woe to the mighty and proud! Who shall be equal in all the earth to that idol? He that exalted up his name in earth, saying, Who shall bring me under? Is not my house compared with the mighty potentates of the land? I am higher than dukes; knights on their horseback do service unto me; that which my fathers had not before me, that have I done to me. My house is strewed with silver; gold and pearl are the pavement of my palace, &c.

Again in the twelfth chapter, and also in the first, under the name of a serpent he painteth out the pope, whom he declareth to extol himself above measure, and to oppress the few that be godly, and to have many false prophets about him, which, neglecting the word and name of Christ, do preach and extol him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The Church of Rome and the pope he describeth in these words: I was praying (said he) on my knees, looking upward to heaven near to the altar of St. James in Paris, on the right side of the altar, and saw in the air before me the body of a certain high bishop all clothed in white silk, who, turning his back on the east, lift up his hand towards the west, as the priests are wont in their mass, turning to the people, but his head was not seen. And as I was considering advisedly, whether he had any head or no, I perceived a certain head in him all dry, lean, and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the Spirit of the Lord said to me, This signifieth the state of the Church of Rome.

Moreover, the same author in his visions, well describing the manner of the school sophisters and Sorbonists, addeth in this wise: Another day, as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit, and, behold, I saw a man apparelled like to the other before, which went about having fine bread and excellent wine that hanged

about him on both sides; and the same, having in his hand a long and a hard flintstone, was gnawing hungerly upon the same, as one being hungry is wont to bite upon a loaf of bread; out of which stone came two heads of two serpents, the Spirit of the Lord instructing me, and saying, This stone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious questions, wherein the hungry do travail and labour, leaving the substantial food of their souls. And I asked what these two heads did mean. And he said, The name of the one is vain-glory, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of religion.

Also concerning reformation of the church, this vision he declareth: It happened as I was (saith he) in the same city in the house of a certain nobleman, a Briton, and was there speaking with certain, I saw a cross of silver very bright, much like to the cross of the earl of Toulouse. But the twelve apples which did hang beside in the arms of the cross were very vile, like the apples which the sea is wont to cast up. And I said, What is this, Lord Jesus? And the Spirit answered me, This cross which thou seest is the church, which shall be clear and bright in pureness of life, and shall be heard and known all over through the shrill voice of the preaching of sincere verity. Then, being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signify. And he said, It is the humiliation of the church, &c.

This godly man did forewarn (as in a certain chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simony and avarice of the clergy with such a plague, that rivers should run with blood, &c. It is said that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad, for these that be abroad are but a brief extract out of his visions and revelations.

## 61. Robert Grossthead

After that we have thus long strayed in these foreign stories of Frederic, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other countries, now, after this sufficient digression, it is time that we return to our own country again. Wherein, following the continuation of time and course of the church, we will now adjoin to these good fathers and writers the history of the learned bishop of Lincoln, named Robert Grossthead, a man famously learned (as that time served) in the three tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, also in all liberal sciences; whose works and sermons yet to this day are extant, which I have seen in the queen's Majesty's library at 'Westminster. Wherein is one special sermon written and exhibited in four sundry scrolls to the pope, and to other four cardinals, beginning *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, &c. Nicolas Trivet, in his chronicle, writing of this bishop, affirmeth that he was born in Suffolk, in the diocess of Norfolk; who, giving him the praise to be a man of excellent wisdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all virtue, witnesseth that he, being master of arts, wrote first a commentary In Librum Posteriorum of Aristotle. Also that he wrote tractations, *De Sphæra, et de Arte Comput.*, and that he set forth divers books concerning philosophy. Afterward, being doctor in divinity, and expertly seen in all the three tongues, drew out sundry treatises out of the Hebrew glosses, also translated divers works out of the Greek, as namely, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the books of Dionysius, commenting upon the new translation with his own gloss. Many other works and volumes besides were written by the said Grossthead, besides divers epistles, sermons, and invectives sent to the pope for his unmeasurable exactions, wherewith he overcharged and oppressed the Church of England.

This godly and learned bishop, after divers conflicts and agonies sustained against the bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederic, Gallus, and others after named, at length after great labours and travails of life finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the month of October, A.D. 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris, p. 278: Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy bishop of Lincoln, Robert, at his manor of Bugden, in the even of St. Dionysius; who was an open reprover of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the priests, an instructor of the clerks, a favourer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings. What a mall he was to the Romans in the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall better appear. The story is this:

It so befell among other daily and intolerable exactions, wherein Pope Innocent was grievous and injurious (manifold ways) to the realm of England, he had a certain cousin or nephew, (so popes were wont to call their sons,) named Frederic, being yet young and under years, whom the said Innocent the pope would needs prefer to be a canon or prebendary in the church of Lincoln, in this time of Robert, bishop of the said church; and upon the same directed down letters to certain his factors here in England for the execution thereof. The copy of which letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of God, came to my hands, as I was penning this present story, written in the end of an old parchment book, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found; and it is this.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Unto our beloved sons, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and to Master Innocent, our scribe abiding in England, greeting and apostolical benediction. Forsomuch as our well-beloved son G. of S. Eustace, deacon cardinal, upon our special commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved son Frederic de Lauavia, a clerk and our nephew, a canonship in the church of Lincoln, with full power and grant of the same; investing him also corporally and presently with his own ring in the said canonship, to be from henceforth canon of Lincoln, and to have full power of the said canon-ship in the church, and a prebend when any shall fall in the church of Lincoln; from that time since which our former letters of late, concerning this receiving and provision to be given to him in the said church, were presented and exhibited to our reverend brother the bishop of Lincoln, or else after the next avoiding the said prebendship to be reserved to the apostolical donation, and to be given to him, making it void and frustrate if the said prebendship shall be given to any other man beside, and also denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all them that shall rebel and gainsay the same, as in the letters of the said cardinal is more fully contained.

"We therefore, graciously inclined by the devout supplication of the said Frederic, ratifying and gratefully approving that which hath been done by the said cardinal in the premises, we thought good by the authority apostolical to confirm the same. Wherefore we give in commandment by our letters apostolical to your wisdoms, that you will see the said Frederic, or his proctor in his behalf, to be really and corporally possessed in the said canonship or prebend by our authority, and also defend the said party being therein possessed, denouncing sentence of excommunication against all such as shall withstand the same, all manner of customs or statutes to the contrary notwithstanding, corroborated either with oath, or confirmations of the see apostolic, or by what stay or let soever; or whether that the said Frederic be not present to take the oath accustomed to be given for observing the customs of the said church, or whether it be given and granted by the said see to the foresaid bishop, or to the chapter of the said church jointly and severally, or to what person or persons else, that no man by compulsion should have admission or provision for any person in their church whereby they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicate by the letters apostolical obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, under what form or words soever; yea, although the whole tenor of the said indulgence be inserted word for word in the said your letters, or by any other indulgences to what person or persons soever, of what estate, dignity, or place soever, under any manner or form of words, granted hereafter by the see apostolic, by the which indulgences the effect of the said provision may be by any manner of ways hindered or deferred; yet of our certain knowledge we will that they shall want their strength in the provision made or to be made for the said Frederic in the church of Lincoln. And if any, upon the premises, or any of them, shall allege against the foresaid Frederic, or his procurator, that you will cause them to be cited on our behalf; so that they, being cited peremptorily, shall within the space of two months of your citation personally appear before us there according to the law, to make answer to the said Frederic upon the premises, any privileges or indulgences whatsoever given and granted, either generally to the kingdom of England, or peculiarly to any other person, of what state, degree, and place soever, granted by the foresaid see, under whatsoever manner and form of words, for them not to be called up beyond the see, or out of their own city or diocess, by letters apostolical, under whatsoever form of words obtained, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. All which privileges and indulgences we will in no case shall stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreover, the day

and form of the citation we will that ye faithfully do intimate unto us by your letters, containing the tenor thereof; and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithstanding that one of you do execute the same without fail. Dated the 7th kal. February, the tenth year of our popedom."

As there is no man which hath any eyes to see, but may easily understand, in reading this letter of the pope, how unreasonable his request is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threateneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the church of God, in placing boys and strangers in the ministry and cure of souls, and also in making them his provisoes, to ravin up the church goods; so is it no great marvel if this godly bishop Robert Grosthead was offended therewith; who in my mind deserveth herein a double commendation, not only that he so wisely did discern error from sincerity and truth, but also that he was so hardy and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope, according as in this his answer to the pope again may appear, as followeth.

*The answer of Robert Grosthead.*

"Salutem Pleaseth it your wisdom to understand, that I am not disobedient to any the apostolic precepts, but both devoutly and reverently with the natural affection of a son obey the same, and also am an utter enemy to all those that resist such apostolic precepts, as a child zealous of his father's honour. And truly I am no less than bound thereunto by the precept and commandment of God. For the apostolic precepts are none other, nor can be, than consonant and uniform to the doctrine of the apostles, and of our Saviour Christ, being the Master and Lord of all the apostles; whose type and person, specially in the consonant and uniform hierarchy of the church, the lord pope seemeth to bear the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, 'Whosoever is not with me, the same is against me. Therefore, against him neither is nor can be the most divine sanctity of the see apostolical. The tenor then of your foresaid apostolical letter is not consonant to true sanctity, but utterly dissonant and disagreeing to the same. First, for that the clause of this your letter, and many such other letters like, which clause always ye so much do urge, (*Non obstante,*) induced and brought in upon no necessity of any natural law to be observed, doth swarm and flow with all inconstancy, boldness, pertinacy, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and is also a sea of mistrust in giving credit to no man. Which as it swarmeth with these, so in like manner with innumerable other vices, which hang and depend upon the same; moving and disturbing the purity of Christian religion and life agreeable to the same, as also the public tranquillity of men. Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, (which shall be in the latter time, to wit, of antichrist, the child of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth,) there is not, nor can be, any kind of sin so repugnant and contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and Holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Christ himself more hateful, detestable, and abominable, than to destroy and kill men's souls, by defrauding them of the mystery of the pastoral office, which by the ministry of the pastoral cure ought to save and quicken the same. Which sin, by most evident places of the Scripture, such men are discerned and known to commit, which, being in the authority of the pastoral dignity, do serve their own carnal desires and necessities with the benefit of the milk and wool of the sheep and flock of Christ, and do not minister the same pastoral office and charge to the benefit and salvation of those their sheep. The same therefore by the testimony of the Scripture is not the administration of the pastoral ministry, but the killing and destruction of the sheep. And that these two kind of vices be most vile and wicked, (although after a different sort,) and far exceeding all other kind of

wickedness, hereby it is manifest, for that the same are directly contrary to two virtues most chiefly good (although differing in themselves) and unlike together. For that is called most wicked which is contrary to a thing most good. So much then as lieth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly against the Deity, which of himself is always essentially and supernaturally good; the other is against the deification and the image of God in man, which is not always, but by the participation of God's lightsome grace, essentially and naturally good. And forso much as in things being good the cause of good is better than the effect; and like as again in evil things, the cause of evil is worse than the effect of evil proceeding thereof; hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wicked destroyers of God's image and deification in the sheep of Christ (that is, the church of God) are worse than those chief destroyers, to wit, Lucifer and antichrist.

"And as in these degrees of wickedness how much more excellent such be, who, having a great charge committed to them of God, (to edification, and not to destruction,) the more are they bound to keep away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the church of God; so much is it also off that this holy seat apostolical, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ hath given all manner of power, (to edification, as the apostle saith, and not to destruction,) can command, or will go about any such thing, urging unto so great wickedness, so odious, detestable, and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind. For this should be a great defection, corruption, and abuse of the said seat and fulness of power, and an utter separation from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a near neighbourhood unto the two most principal princes of darkness, sitting in the chair of pestilence, prepared to the pains of hell. Neither can any man, which is subject and faithful to the said see, and not cut away from the body of Christ, and from the said holy see, with sincere and unspotted conscience obey such manner of precepts and commandments, or whatsoever other attempts proceeding, yea, though from the high order of angels themselves; but rather ought of necessity with all their strength to withstand and rebel against the same. Wherefore, my reverend lord, I, like an obedient child, upon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the parents of this holy apostolic see, and partly for love of unity in the body of Christ joined with the said see, do not obey, but withstand and utterly rebel against these things in the said letter contained, and especially which urge and tend to the foresaid wickedness, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the holy apostolic see, and so contrary to the unity of the catholic faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine any extremity to me, because all my doing and gainsaying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the Divine precept, and honour due both to Father and mother. Briefly, therefore, repeating my words, I say that this holy apostolic see cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction; for this is the fulness of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these which you call provisions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The holy apostolic see, therefore, neither can nor ought to attempt any such thing, because that flesh and blood, which cannot enter into the kingdom of God, hath revealed the same, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in heaven."

Then followeth it in the story both of Matth. Paris and of Florilegus, that when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying, What old dotting, frantic wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings? By sweet St. Peter

and Paul, were it not but that upon our own clemency and good nature we are restrained, we should hurl him down to such confusion, that we would make him a fable, a gazingstock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our vassal? and, to say more, our maniple or page, (to use the very words of mine author,) which may at our pleasure and beck both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? This when the pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him, that it was not expedient for them to proceed against that bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confess the truth to your Holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therefore. He is a catholic man, yea, also a holy man, more holy and also religious than we ourselves, a man of excellent wit and excellent life, so as it is thought among all the prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknown both to the French and English clergy universally, neither can our contradiction prevail against him. The truth of this his epistle perhaps is known now to many, and shall stir up many against us; for he hath the name to be a great philosopher, and singularly seen in all the tongues, both Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; zealous in justice, a reader of divinity in the schools, a preacher amongst the people, a lover of chastity, and a persecutor of simony. These words spake L. Giles, a Spanish cardinal, to the pope, and others more, moved by their conscience to speak. And this counsel they gave to the pope, that he should dissemble and wink at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise, perhaps, some tumult might rise and spring thereof; especially seeing this is manifest and known to all men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the Church of Rome.

Not long after this, about the canicular days, this reverend and godly Robert, bishop of Lincoln, lying at his manor place in Bugden, fell grievously sick; and thereupon within few days departed. In the time of his sickness he called to him a certain friar of the Preaching order, named M. John Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physic and divinity, partly to receive of him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters. Thus upon a certain day the said bishop, conferring with the foresaid M. John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the pope, did grievously rebuke and reprehend his fellow brethren the Preaching friars, and the other order also of the Minorites; that forsomuch as their order being planted in wilful poverty of the spirit, to the intent they should more freely carp and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharply to rebuke and reprehend the same; the said friars, contrary to their profession, did not boldly enough cry out and inveigh against the abuses of their superiors and men of power; nor did uncover nor detect their faults and wickedness; and therefore, said the bishop, I judge them to be no better than manifest heretics. And he addeth moreover, (demanding of M. John,) what is heresy? and that he should give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the friar did stay and pause, not remembering the solemn definition of that matter, the bishop thereupon inferreth, giving this definition in Latin by the true interpretation of the Greek word: Heresy is a sentence taken and chosen of man's own brain, contrary to Holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended. And this definition given, consequently he inferred, sharply reprehending the prelates of the church, but especially the Romans, which commit the charge of souls unto their kinfolks, being both in age unworthy, and in learning insufficient. To give, saith he, the charge of souls unto a boy is a sentence of a prelate chosen and taken of man's own head, only for carnal and earthly respect, and also is contrary to Holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made ministers or pastors which

are not sufficient to drive away the wolves. And moreover it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly borne abroad and commanded with charts imbulled both with wax and lead; and finally, it is stiffly defended. For if any man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and excommunicated, and open war cried out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of a heretic doth agree, he is a very heretic. But every faithful Christian man ought to set himself against a heretic as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can resist him, and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of Gregory, He lacketh not conscience of secret society which ceaseth to resist open impiety. But the friars, both Franciscans and Dominics, are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the said office by reason of their poverty; and therefore they do not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the apostle to the Romans, saying, Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent, are worthy of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the pope, unless he cease from that vice, as also the same friars, unless they show themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetual damnation. Item, saith the canon decretal, that upon this vice of heresy the pope both may and ought to be accused.

After this, the vehemency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were somewhat longer, the third night before his departure, the bishop, feeling his infirmity to grow upon, willed certain of his clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Unto whom the bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loss of souls, through the avarice of the pope's court, said on this wise, as by certain aphorisms.

1. Christ came into the world to save and win souls; therefore he that feareth not to destroy souls, may he not worthily be counted antichrist?

2. The Lord created the whole world in six days, but in restoring of man he laboured more than thirty years. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that about which the Lord so long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and antichrist?

3. The pope shameth not impudently to annihilate and disannul the privileges of his holy predecessors of Roman bishops, by this obstacle, (*Non obstante,*) which is not done without the prejudice and manifest injury of them. For in so doing he doth reprove and destroy that which so many and so holy men have builded up before, and thus seemeth he to be, a contemner of the saints. Worthily therefore he that contemneth shall be contemned, according to the saying of Isaiah, Woe to thee that doth despise! for shalt not thou thyself be despised? And who shall keep his privileges, which so breaketh the privileges of others?

4. The pope answering thereunto thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal hath no superiority over his equal; therefore no pope hath power to bind me, being pope as well as he. To this answer again quoth the bishop, It seemeth to me that he that now presently is sailing in the dangerous seas of this world, and he that is safely arrived in the haven, having passed all jeopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that some popes be saved (God forbid any should say contrary); then saith our Saviour, He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John Baptist, a greater than whom did never rise amongst the children of men. Is not therefore some

pope greater, being a giver and confirmer of privileges, than this that is alive? Truly, methinks, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion over his inferior.

5. Doth not the pope thus say, speaking of all his predecessors for the most part, This our predecessor, and this our predecessor, of most worthy memory, &c.? And again, We (saith he) cleaving, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then do such popes as come after destroy these foundations which their predecessors have laid?

6. Many apostolic men coming after have confirmed some privilege being granted by others before; and be not many bishops, being already saved by the grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one bishop, which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtain that which the other have got already?

7. Also other former fathers and bishops of the apostolical see, in preferment of time, go before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth advance, such are we bound to esteem and to have in more reverence. This did the holy man Benedict well consider, who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time, whatsoever men they were before them which (albeit being more ancient in years) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their superiors, and to have the pre-eminence. Which being so, (as it is true and certain,) how cometh then this injurious and rash presumption, which dare repeal and disannul the old privileges of many ancient holy bishops, in time and in reverence going before them?

8. Moreover, and though many popes have been grievous to the church, yet this pope most specially hath brought it most into servitude, and manifold ways hath damnified the same. For these Causini, these open usurers, whom our holy forefathers and doctors, whom we have seen, and namely, our learned master in France, preacher; also the abbot of Flay, a Cistercian, Master Jacobus de Veteri, and Master Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, in the time of his banishment, and also Master Robert Curcun, with his preaching banished out of France; for before that time these kind of usurers werenever known in England; the same Causini, these wicked usurers, I say, were by this pope induced, supported, and maintained; so that if any do speak against them, he is miserably tossed and trounced for his labour, whereof partly Roger, bishop of London, hath some experience.

9. The world doth know that usury is counted a detestable thing in both the Testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the pope's usurers or exchangers, the very Jews crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their usury, to the great damage and detriment of all ecclesiastical persons, but especially houses of religion, compelling such as be in poverty to counterfeit and to put to their seals to forged writings, which is no less than to commit idolatry and to abrenounce the verity, which is God himself. As, for example, I borrow a hundred marks for a year instead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled to make my writing, and to seal the same, confessing that I have received and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaid again at the year's end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring again the principal to the pope's usurer, he will receive no less notwithstanding than his full hundred pounds; which condition of usury is much worse than that of the Jews. For to. the Jew what principal you bring, he will require no more than proportionally for the commensuration of so much time wherein his money hath been out of his hands.

10. Moreover, we have seen and known the pope to have given in charge and commandment to the friars, Preachers and Minorites, to inquire diligently for such as lie sick and like to die; and so coming to them diligently to persuade them to make their wills and testaments favourably to the profit and subsidy of the Holy Land, and to take the cross upon them, that if they do amend, they may wring them in the law, and if they die, they may wrest the money from their executors.

11. We have known likewise and seen men that have taken the vow and sign of the cross upon them to be sold unto laymen, as sheep and oxen were wont in time past to be sold in the temple.

We have seen with our eyes the pope's letter, in which we have found this to be written; that they which bequeath any thing to the behoof or subsidy of the Holy Land shall receive so much indulgence as they have disbursed money.

12. Over and besides all this, the pope, in divers and sundry his letters, hath willed and commanded prelates to receive into ecclesiastical benefices, and to provide some such living in their churches as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger, (being both absent and also unworthy,) which have neither learning, nor yet the language of the country; whereby they are neither able to preach, nor to hear confessions, nor to keep residence for to refresh the poor and wayfarers.

13. Item, we know and have seen ourselves that the pope hath written to the abbot of St. Albans, to provide for one called John de Camezana, whom we never saw, some competent benefice. Whereupon, in few days after, when provision was made for him in a certain church, worth forty marks by the year and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the pope; who then writing to the foresaid abbot, commanded him to provide for the foresaid M. John some better thing, reserving notwithstanding the gift of the former benefice to himself.

14. Again, not long after came also to the house of the foresaid abbot two other persons, like begging vagabonds, bringing with them the pope's letters; in the tenor whereof the abbot was commanded, that, immediately upon the sight thereof, he should give and disburse to the said persons for the expedition and despatch of his affairs ten marks in hand, without any delay or sticking; the which persons uttering unto the abbot proud and threatening words, he was fain to agree with them and send them away.

15. Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which have left the world for the following of God in such order as they ought not to turn back again, the pope maketh his collectors and bankers to get in his money; the which charge they are compelled against their wills to take upon them, lest they should seem to be disobedient, and so of spiritual men are made more secular than the most secular. And so the baseness of their gowns or robes which they wear doth prove them to be liars, whilst under the habit of poverty and humiliation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. And because no legate may be sent into England, but being first required of the king, the pope sendeth sophisticated legates, and such as be disguised and counterfeit in apparel, and are guarded with great might and power, neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof; for so many such daily do come into the realm, that, to hear the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to hear.

16. Furthermore, (as we have seen ourselves,) the pope granteth for secular favour, that a man may have a bishopric, and yet be no bishop consecrated, elect for ever. Which is as much to signify to have the milk and the wool of the sheep, and not

to keep the wolves away from the sheep; to retain the rents of a bishop, and not to discharge the function of a bishop.

Afterwards he went about more to prosecute how the foresaid court, like a gulf never satisfied, and ever gaping so wide, that the flood of Jordan might run into his mouth, aspired how to usurp the goods of them that die intestate, and of legacies bequeathed without form of law; and whereby, more licentiously to bring this to pass, they used to join the king to be fellow and partaker with them in their spoils, extortions, and robbing. Neither, saith he, shall the church be delivered from the servitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloody sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light matters, yet shortly more great and grievous things than these shall be seen.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue and breath began to fail; and so, the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an end both of his speech and life.

And forso much as mention hath been made before of the insatiable avarice of the pope's court by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is testified by the said author, Matth. Paris, that the foresaid Robert Grossthead, being bishop of Lincoln, caused to be viewed and considered diligently of his clerks, what the revenues of foreigners and strangers within England, sent in by the pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this pope now present, Innocentius the Fourth, did impoverish the universal church throughout Christendom more than all his predecessors from the time the pope first began. So that the revenues of foreigners and clerks, placed by him here in England, mounted unto the sum of threescore and ten thousand marks and above; whereas the mere revenues of the crown came not to thirty thousand.

Of this Robert Grossthead writeth Cestrensis, in his seventh book of his history, that partly for that it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the pope in this realm, and partly because he refused to admit a certain young nephew of the pope to be canon of his church, (as hath been before recited,) he therefore, writing unto the pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his church, which neither knew themselves nor the tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to Rome, and there excommunicated, but then appealing from the pope, he shortly after departed, which was in the year of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two years after his decease, the said Pope Innocent, being asleep, a certain bishop, appareled bishop-like, appeared unto him, and striking him with his staff on the left side, said, *Surge miser, veni in iudicium* that is, Rise, wretch, and come to thy judgment. The next day after the pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staff. This Robert, though he was greatly commended for his sanctimony, and, as Cestrens saith, for his miracles; yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to be inscribed in the catalogue of saints. And thus much out of Cestrensis concerning this matter. But Matthew Paris and the author of Flores Historiarum, prosecuting this story more at large, addeth this more unto it, and saith that Pope Innocent the next year following, which was A.D. 1254, being passing angry, contrary to the mind of his brethren the cardinals, would have the bones of the foresaid bishop of Lincoln cast out of the church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an ethnic, a rebel, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his letters to be written and sent down to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladly

serve him therein, to have the spoil of the bishop and of his church. But in the night following the said bishop of Lincoln appeared unto him as coming in his pontificalibus, and with a severe countenance, stern look, and terrible voice speaking unto him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke with the end of his cross staff, thus said: O thou scurvy, lazy, old, bald, wretched, doting pope, hast thou purposed to cast my bones out of the church to the shame and slander of me? How cometh this rash wilfulness in thy head? It were more meet for thee, being thus advanced by God and honoured, to make much of the zealous servants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to have any more power over me. I have written unto thee in the spirit of humility and love, that thou shouldst correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eye and disdainful heart hast despised my wholesome admonitions. Woe to thee that despisest! shalt not thou also be despised? And so the bishop departing from the pope, stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for half dead, and so lying in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the pope to know what him ailed. To whom the pope, much troubled and vexed, in spirit, said that great terrors in his sleep vehemently disturbed and molested him, in such sort that he thought he should never recover it, nor be restored to himself again. Oh (saith he) how sore is my side, and how eagerly it vexeth me, as being run through with a spear! Neither did the pope eat or drink all that day, but, feigning himself to be sick of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the ireful hand of God (saith the story) so left him not.

For after these wholesome admonitions given to him by the servant of God, the pope, not regarding them, but all set upon war, suppression of his enemies, and secular affairs, gave his mind wholly unto them; and yet all his labours, counsels, and expenses bestowed upon them could never prosper after that day in that he went about. For the pope, the same time having war with the Apulians, all his army, fighting under the pope's nephew their captain, were slain and confounded to the number of many thousands; whose lamentable slaughter all the country of the Romans, did much bewail. The pope, not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his journey towards Naples, although sore vexed in his side, like a man sick of a pleurisy, or smitten rather with a spear, neither could any physic of his cardinals help him. For Robert of Lincoln (saith the story) did not spare him; and he that would not hear him gently correcting him being alive, his stripes did he feel when he was dead; so that he never after that enjoyed any lucky or prosperous day till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet night until the morning. And so continued he unto his death, which shortly after ensued, at Naples, A.D. 1255. And thus have ye the whole discourse between Robert Grossthead and Pope Innocent.

In the which story is to be noted, gentle reader, that although in the story of Cestrensis, of Matthew Paris, and of Flores Historiarum, it is expressly testified and reported, that the pope was smitten with the staff of Robert, the foresaid bishop of Lincoln; yet thou must wisely understand, that howsoever God's hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoever the image of things not seen, but fantasied, offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man, his senses being asleep, by the operation or permission of God, working after some spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is that no dead man materially can ever rise again or appear before the judgment day to any man, with his staff or without his staff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

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After the death of this Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, great dissension fell between the archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface, and the canons of the said church of Lincoln, about the right of giving prebendships, and about the revenues of the said church, in time of the bishop's see being now vacant. Which right and power the archbishop claimed to himself, but the canons of that church, maintaining the contrary side) stood against him, and for the same were excommunicated of the archbishop. Among whom one Master Woolfe, resisting the archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made up his appeal to Rome, where much money on both sides was spent. At length after this Grossthead was elected Henry Lexinton in the see of Lincoln.

## 62. The Wickedness of the Jews



**Jews burnt at the stake**

About [this] time the wicked Jews at Lincoln had cruelly crucified, whipped, and tormented a certain child named Hugo, of nine years of age, A.D. 1255, in the month of August. At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast in a pit, two and thirty of those abominable Jews were put to execution. Whereof Matthew Paris reciteth a long story. The same or like fact was also intended by the like Jews at Norwich twenty years before upon a certain child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole year in custody, intending to crucify him, for which the Jews were sent up to the Tower of London, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison. Of this wicked Jewish people I find also in the book Flores Historiarum that about this year of our Lord, 1255, they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandment of the French king, being then in Palestine, warring against the Turks; by the occasion that it was objected then by the Turk against him and other Christian princes, for the retaining the Jews amongst them, which did crucify our Saviour, and warring against them which did not crucify him. Of these Jews moreover King Henry the same year, 1255, exacted to be given unto him eight thousand marks, in pain of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leave to be given them of the king, that they might depart the realm, never to return again. But the king committed the doing of that matter unto Earl Richard, his brother, to enforce them to pay the money, whether they would or no. Moreover of the same Jews mention is made in the story entitled Eulogium. Of the Jews in Northampton, who had among themselves prepared wild-fire, to burn the city of London, for the which divers of

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them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said city of Northampton, which was two years before, about the year of our Lord 1253. And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Jews, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certain Jew, who not long after this time, about the year of our Lord 1257, fell into a privy at Tewkesbury upon a sabbath day; which, for the great reverence he had to his holy sabbath, would not suffer himself to be plucked out. And so Lord Richard, earl of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the dung.

### 63. Other Events in the Reign of Henry III

And to note the blind superstition of that time, not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians; to omit divers other stories, as of Walter Gray, archbishop of York, who coming up to the parliament at London, A.D. 1255, with inordinate fasting did so overcharge nature, and pined himself, and (as the story mentioneth) did so dry up his brain, that he losing thereby all appetite of stomach, going to Fulham, there within three days died, as in the compiler of Flores Historiarum is both storied and reprehended. Let this also be adjoined, which the forenamed author, and in the same year, is recorded of one named Peter Chaceporce, who dying in France, A.D. 1255, left in bequest of his testament six hundred marks for lands to be purchased to the house of Merton, for God to be served there perpetually, for his soul's health, and all faithful souls; as who would say, Christian faith were not the ordinary means sufficient to salvation of faithful souls, without the quire service of the monks of Merton.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the usurped power of the pope hath violently and presumptuously encroached upon the Church of England, in giving and conferring benefices and prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruin of Christ's flock manifold ways. This violent injury and oppression of the pope, as by no lawful and gentle means it could be reformed, so by occasion and means inordinate about this time it began somewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the collector of Flores Historiarum recited: In the year of the reign of this king forty and four, the bishop of London, named Fulco, had given a certain prebend, in the church of St. Paul, to one Master Rustand, the pope's messenger here in England. Who entering into the profession of the Grey Friars, and shortly after dying on the other side of the sea, the pope immediately conferred the said prebend to one of his specials, a like stranger as the other was before. About the same instant it befell that the bishop also of London deceased, whereby the bishopric now vacant fell into the king's hands; who, hearing of the death of the forenamed Rustandus, gave the said prebendship, given of the pope before, to one John Crakehale, his under treasurer, whowith all solemnity took his installation, not knowing as yet that it was bestowed of the pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noised at Rome, forthwith cometh down a certain proctor, named John Gras, with the pope's imbulled letters, to receive the collation of the benefice by his commission procuratory given by the pope, wherein John Crakehale had been already installed, as is aforesaid, by the king's donation. This matter coming in travise before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, he inquiring and searching which donation was the first, and finding the pope's grant to be the former, gave sentence with him against the king; so that in conclusion the Roman clerk had the advantage of the benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the possession thereof before. Thus the pope's man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded, after the party had been invested and stalled after the use and manner, he thinking himself to be in sure possession of his place, attempted with the rest to enter the chapter house, but was not permitted so to do; whereupon the pope's clerk, giving place to force and number, went toward the archbishop to complain. This being known, certain recluses pursued him; and he being so compassed about, one in the thickness of the throng, being never after known, suddenly rushing upon him, a little above his eyes so pareth off his head,

that he fell down dead; the same also was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This heinous murder being famed abroad, strait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be known; and although great suspicion was laid upon Crakehale, the king's chaplain, yet no proof could be brought. But most men thought that bloody fact to be done by certain ruffians or other light persons about the city or the court, disdainning belike that the Romans were so enriched with Englishmen's livings, by whom neither came relief to any Englishmen, nor any godly instruction to the flock of Christ. And therefore, because they saw the church and realm of England in such subjection, and so much to be trodden down by the Romans and the pope's messengers, they thought thereby something to bridle, as with a snaffle, the pope's messengers from their intemperate ranging into this land.

Here by the way is to be noted, that unto the death of this aforesaid Fulco, bishop of London, continueth the history of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Alban's, which was to the year of grace 1260. The residue was continued by another monk of the same house, but not with such-like commendation, worthy to make any authentic story, as I have seen it noted in a written book.

It were too curious and tedious in order to prosecute what happened in every year through this king's reign; as how it was provided by the king, that whosoever could dispend fifteen pounds land by year should be bound to make to the king a soldier; that watch should be kept every night in cities; that whosoever was robbed, or otherwise damnified, in any country, he that had the custody should be compelled to make up the loss again, or else to pursue the malefactor, which was A.D. 1253, witnessing Flores Historiarum. Item, how the king, making his voyage into Gascony, his expenses were reckoned to amount to two hundred and seventy thousand marks, besides thirty thousand marks bestowed upon his brethren by the mother's side, and besides other great gifts given abroad. By reason whereof great taxes, and tolls, and tenths were required of his subjects; especially of the churchmen, who, being wont to receive tithes of others, now were constrained to give tithes to the laity, Flores Historiarum, A.D. 1254. Item, how, in the year next following, the Londoners offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the king, with a precious cup of gold, at his return out of France, were shortly after compelled by the king to pay three thousand marks for the escape of a certain prisoner, being a clerk, condemned; which clerk being granted of the king to the bishop, and he having no prison sufficient for him, borrowed of the Londoners the prison of Newgate, to have him kept in, who, escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid, A.D. 1255. Item, how the king, greatly complaining of his debts the same year, required the whole tenths, which should be gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once. To whose request the nobles and commons agreed to strain themselves, so that the charter of their liberties and customs might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed; and so for that year they were, Flores Historiarum. Item, how Pope Alexander the Third, to destroy the city Michera, with King Manfred, the son of Frederic the emperor, sent forth the same year Octavianus, his cardinal, with a puissant army; who, coming to the city with his siege, through the counsel of Marchisius, one of the chief captains, discharged a great part of his host, whereby the most of the pope's army was slain and destroyed; almost all, save only the family of Marchisius, A.D. 1255.

Many other things during the time of this king might be congested, as the rising of Lewlinus, king of Wales, and of the Welchmen, against the king, and wasting the land unto the town of Chester; who destroyed divers of the Englishmen's horsemen taken in the marsh; with whom at length they fell to agreement, by the

means of Octobonus, that his successors should be only called princes of Wales, and should do the king his homage; and the king should receive of him three thousand marks. And this, being established in writing, was confirmed by the pope's seal, in the year of our Lord 1257.

About the same time such famine and lack of victuals oppressed the land, that a load of corn was then sold for six and twenty shillings; insomuch that the poorer sort was forced to eat nettle roots, thistle roots, and whatsoever they could get; although some refer this to the year 1262.

Hereunto, moreover, might be adjoined, how Pope Alexander, abusing and mocking the king's simplicity, made him believe that he would make his son Edmund king of Apulia, so that he would sustain the charges and cost thereof, to maintain the war which thereto should appertain. Whereby the king, cast in a sudden hope, caused his son incontinently to be proclaimed king of Apulia; and upon the same sent up to the pope all the riches he could well make in his realm. And thus was the realm manifold ways miserably impoverished to enrich the pope. About which season Richard, earl of Exeter, the king's brother, was made king of Almaine by the electors.

Here might be showed, moreover, and added to the stories above, how, the next year following, which was 1259, as Nicholas Trivet writeth, the king, entering into France, required the restitution of such lands in Normandy and Anjou as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the French king again alleged, saying, that the country of Normandy by old time was not given away from the crown of France, but usurped, and by force extorted by Rollo, &c. In conclusion, the king, fearing and suspecting the hearts of his nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durst not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon such peace and conditions as he could get, which was this: That he should have of the French king thirteen hundred thousand of Turin pounds, with so much lands else as came to the value of twenty thousand pounds in yearly rent; so should he resign fully and purely, to the hands of the French king, all such lands and possessions which he had in France. Whereby the king, giving over his style and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to be called duke of Normandy, or earl of Anjou.

Albeit it be true that Gisburn writeth, that the king, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the money in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to entitle himself duke of Normandy. But after him, his son Edward and his successors in their style left out the title to be called duke of Normandy.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I overpass also the sore and vehement conflict, not between the frogs and the mice which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field, fought in the year of our Lord 1259, between the young students and scholars of the university of Oxford, having no other occasion, as I read in Matth. Paris, but only the diversity of the country where they were born. For the northern men joining with the Welchmen, to try their manhood against the southern part, fell both parts together in such a broil, with their ensigns and warlike array, that in conclusion divers on both sides were slain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this, that the northern lads with the Welch had the victory. After that fury and fiery fierceness had done what it could, the victors bethinking at length with themselves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall upon them, especially seeing the brother of Leolin, prince of Wales, and son of Griffin, was newly

dead in prison, drawing their counsel and helps together, they offer to King Henry four thousand marks, to Edward his son three hundred, and to the queen two hundred, to be released of their trespass. But the king answering them again, that he set more price by the life of one true subject than by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receive their money. And so the students without hope of peace went home with small triumph, learning what the common proverb meaneth, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. Notwithstanding, the king being then occupied in great affairs and wars, partly with Leolin and the Welchmen, partly inwrapped with discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these university men, which was A.D. 1259. Likewise concerning the dissension following the next year after in the university of Paris, between the students there and the friars; the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons were scarcely able to sustain them with their alms. Also between the universities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certain prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuary the same year, as is testified in Matthew Paris, A.D. 1259. In like manner touching the variance between the archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of Lincoln. Again, between the said archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the archbishop but with this exception, *Salvis jure et libertate ecclesie Londinensis, quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus, &c.*, recorded in Flor. Hist. All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others reigning daily in the church at those days, if I had so much leisure to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce us to understand what small peace and agreement was then joined with that doctrine and religion in those days during the state and reign of antichrist.

These, with many such other matters more, which here might be discoursed and storied at large, being more foreign than ecclesiastical, for brevity I do purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seem more curious to write upon, than necessary to be known.

## 64. Quarrel of King Henry III and the Nobles

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season, because it is lamentable, and containeth much fruitful example, both for princes and subjects, to behold and look upon, to see what mischief and inconvenience groweth in commonwealths where study of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where neither the prince regardeth the offending of his subjects, and where the subjects forget the office of Christian patience in suffering their princes' injuries by God's wrath inflicted for their sins; therefore, in explaining the order and story thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the reader with a little more tarriance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the public weal.

And first, to declare the occasions and first beginnings of this tumult, here is to be understood, which before was signified, how King Henry married with Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Provence, a stranger, which was about the year of our Lord 1234, whereupon a great door was open for strangers, not only to enter the land, but also to replenish the court; to whom the king seemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment, than his own natural English lords, which thing was to them no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the king by Isabella his mother, who was a stranger, had divers brethren, whom he nourished up with great livings and possessions, and large pensions of money, which was another heartsore to divers, and also a hinderance. Over and besides hath also been declared what unreasonable collections of money from time to time, as quindecims, subsidies, tenths, mercements, fines, payments, loans, and taxes, have been levied by the king, as well of the spiritually as of the lay sort, partly for maintaining the king's wars against Wales, against Scotland and France, to recover Normandy; partly for helping the king's debts, voyages, and other expenses; partly for the kingdom of Apulia, which was promised the king's son by the pope; partly for moneying and supporting the pope in his wars against the emperor. By reason of all which sundry and insupportable collections the commonwealth of the realm was utterly excoriated, to the great impoverishment of poor Englishmen. Neither did it a little vex the people, to see the king call in so many legates from Rome every year, which did nothing else but transport the English money unto the pope's coffers. Besides all this, what variance and altercation hath been between the king and his subjects about the liberties of Magna Charta, and De Foresta, granted by King John, and after confirmed by this king, in the former council holden at Oxford, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some piece of a cause that the king, considering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the lords and barons to his father King John before him, did bear some grudge therefore, or some privy hatred unto the nobility, to revenge his father's quarrel; but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of history, that the year next ensuing, which was 1260, thus writeth Nic. Trivet, that the king's justices, called *itinerarii*, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled; the cause being alleged, for that they were against the king in proceeding and enterprising against the form of the provisions enacted and stablished a little before at the town of Oxford.

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In this year it pleased the king, after suit to him made, to license a university or academical school to be planted in the town of Northampton; and of a special favour which he pretended to bear, and like enough did indeed, unto the scholars that went there to seat themselves, and to prosecute the exercises of studies, wrote his letters mandatory unto the chief officers and others of the said borough in the said students' behalf; the tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the record.

*The king's letter to the mayor, bailiffs, and others the inhabitants of Northampton, in the behalf of certain scholars minded to plant themselves there as in a university.*

"The king to his beloved and trusty the mayor, bailiffs, and other honest men his subjects of Northampton, greeting. Whereas certain masters and other scholars do purpose to tarry in your town corporate, there to exercise scholarly discipline, as we hear; we hereupon regarding the service of God, and the great profit of our kingdom, taking in good part the coming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, do will and grant that the said scholars in the said town corporate, under our protection and defence, do safely and securely abide, and there exercise and do such things as to such scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you, and straitly charge you, that when the said scholars shall come unto you, to tarry in your said corporate town, you receive them courteously, and as becometh the state of scholars use them, not doing or suffering to be done unto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patents to be made. Witness the king at Windsor, the first day of February, in the five and fortieth year of his reign."

It befell moreover in the same year, above other times, as Walter Hemingford writeth, that a great number of aliens, coming out of France and other provinces, resorted into England, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the realm under the king; unto whom the rewards, and reliefs, and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound; which thing to see did not a little trouble and vex the nobility and baronage of England. Insomuch that Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the realm, conferred together with other lords and barons upon the matter, who then coming unto the king after a humble sort of petition, declared unto him how all the doings of his realm, and his own affairs, were altogether disposed by the hands and after the wills of strangers, neither profitable unto him, nor to the weal public; forasmuch as his treasures being wasted and consumed, he was in a great debt, neither was able to satisfy the provision of his own house, but driven to tally for his own cates, to no small dishonour unto his own state. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your Highness to be informed by our advice, and to commit your house to the guiding and government of your own faithful and natural subjects, and we will take upon us to discharge your whole debt within one year of our own proper goods and revenues, so that we within five years may clear ourselves again. Neither will we diminish your family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; providing so for the safety and seeing to the custody of your royal person, as your Highness shall find and understand our diligence most trusty and faithful unto you in the end.

To these words so lovingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the king as willingly condescended, assigning unto them both day and place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which should be at Oxford the fifteenth day after Easter. At which day and place all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realm, were summoned to appear at the said town of Oxford,

for the behalf of the king and the realm convented together. Where first of the king himself, then of the lords, an oath was taken, that what decrees or laws in the said assembly should be provided to the profit of the king and of the realm, the same universally should be kept and observed to the honour of God, and utility of his church, and wealth of the realm. Besides these lords and the king, were also nine bishops, which, swearing unto the same, did excommunicate all such as should withstand the said provisions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

There were at that present in the realm four brethren of the king's, (most part of them by the mother's side,) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the city of Winchester, and forcibly keep the same. Wherefore the lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stiffly to persist in their stubborn sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, returning to Oxford again, prescribed to them these conditions, that they, departing the realm, should repair to their own lands and possessions, which they had beyond the sea, and that forthwith they should put this injunction in execution. Notwithstanding that the king made for them great intercession, yet it took no place. And because this should seem to proceed of no special displeasure against them, they enacted, moreover, that all strangers, and aliens, of what state or condition soever, should forthwith avoid the realm on pain of death. Divers other provisions the same time were ordained and stablished, that if any did hold of the king in whole or in part, and should chance to depart, (his heir being under age,) the wardship of him should belong the king, as hath partly before been specified.

Moreover, it was there decreed that the wool of England should be wrought only within the realm, neither should it be transported out to strangers.

Item, that no man should wear any cloth but which was wrought and made only within the realm.

Item, that garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

Item, that all excessive and prodigal expenses, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other laws and decrees (saith the author) in this assembly were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fifteen days, and many of them were imprisoned, of whom was the abbot of Westminster, a man in that order much commended. Also William, brother to the earl of Gloucester. Also the earl himself, being imprisoned, hardly escaped with life, his hair and nails falling off his body, whereof the author not long after was taken, and duly executed at Winchester. In the mean time, the nobles, considering those dangers and jeopardies, were constrained to break off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of October next following to convent together at London with weapon and harness, to prosecute and finish the residue that was in the said council to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

After the promulgation whereof many things therein displeased the king, and it began to repent him of his oath. But because he could not at that present otherwise choose, he dissembled for a season. Thus time passing on, within a year following,

which was in the year of our Lord 1261, the king, seeing himself more and more to grow in debt, and not to be relieved, according to promise, made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren, taking it to stomach, sent up to the pope both for him and his son Edward to be released of their oath made before at Oxford. The benefit of which absolution being easily obtained, (or rather bought at the pope's hand,) the king, stepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth another parliament at Oxford; where he before the lords and nobles declared, how in the late council of Oxford they had agreed among themselves, for the common utility of the realm and of the king, as they pretended, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt to be diminished; and thereupon bound themselves with an oath, causing also himself and his son Edward to be bound unto the same. But now by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwise than their promise was, and that they, contrary to their covenant made, sought not so much the profit of him and of the realm as their own, taking him not as their lord, but going about to bring him under their subjection as an underling; and for that moreover his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increased, and his princely liberality was cut short and trodden under foot; they should not marvel therefore if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their council, but would provide himself of some other remedy, such as he might. And moreover, as touching the oath wherewith he and his son stood bound unto them, he had sent already to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him and his son Edward also, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be restored again to that state and condition he had enjoyed in times past.

To this again gave answer the state of nobility on the other side, being in the same place present; in the number of whom was Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester, Humphrey Ronne, earl Ferrence, with a great number of barons, as Lord John Fitz-John, Lord Hastings, Lord Geoffrey Lucy, Lord John Vescy, Lord William Segrave, Hugh Spenser, Lord Robert Vespoint, with divers and many more; whose answer to the king again was this: That the provisions made at the council at Oxford (whereunto they were sworn) they would hold, defend, and maintain to their lives' end; forasmuch as they did sound, and also were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the prince, and stable wealth of the realm, &c. And thus parts on both sides discording amongst themselves, they would so have departed, had not certain of the bishops, coming between both, laboured between them to take up the matter. By whose means (saith Walter Gisburn) and procurement the determination of the cause was brought in compromise, and referred to Louis, the French king, to judge betwixt them, who, hearing both the allegations, (saith he,) like no equal judge, but a partial friend, inclined wholly and fully to the king's sentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores Historiarum saith, that by the mediation of discreet men two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom the third also was annexed, who, hearing as well what was brought of the king's part, as also what was answered of the other, should define between them both, and so peace was between them concluded till the coming of Edward. All this while as yet the pope's absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought down in solemn writing, neither was Prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

At length the writing of the king's absolution being brought from Rome, the king soon commanded the same to be published throughout the realm, and sendeth to the French king and other strangers for help; moreover, he seizeth all his castles into

his own hand, rejecting the counsel of the lords, to whose custody they were before committed; also removing the former officers, as justices, and the chancellor, with others placed afore by the lords, he appointed new in their stead.

To this foresaid absolution, procured from Rome for the king and his son, Edward, returning out of France, at that time did not give his consent, but held with the lords. Who then putting themselves in arms, with a great power repaired up to London, keeping there in the suburbs and places about, while the king kept within the Tower, causing the city gates to be watched and locked, and all within the said city, being above the age of twelve years, to be sworn unto him. But at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation was somewhat appeased, at least some hope of peace appeared; so that the matter was taken up for that time without war or bloodshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretended dissemblers there were, which, secretly disclosing all the counsels and doings of the lords unto the king, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpose of the lords came not to so good effect as otherwise it might.

In this year the archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, (after their wonted manner,) standing against the king, had made their appeal to Rome; whereupon the king was fain to answer by proxy, as appeareth by this brief note drawn out of record: "The king hath appointed and made John Hemingford his proctor in a cause of appeal which is moved in the court of Rome, between the king on the one part, and the archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans on the other part, about certain ordinances, constitutions, and decrees lately in a council provincial at London by them published, to the prejudice of the king's right, his dignity royal, the liberties, laws, and customs of his kingdom."

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end authorized by the king to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of process was held and maintained against him, to the impeaching of his royalty. Whereof the king had a special regard, perceiving the waywardness of his own clergy, or rather rebelliousness, in daring to decree and ordain laws against him. And therefore he was the more careful to have all matters depending in the court of Rome, concerning him and his, to be earnestly followed. Inasmuch as he joined to the foresaid Hemingford, in the charge of procuracy, one Roger Lovell; unto which two, residing at Rome, the king sent his letters, charging them so to manage his affairs, as that nothing might pass to the derogation of his royal title: the copy of the said letter followeth, agreeing with the prototypon or original.

*A letter of the king sent to his proctors at Rome, concerning a case of his in the said court depending.*

"The king to Master John of Hemingford, and Roger Lovell, his proctors, pleading in the court of Rome, greeting. Forasmuch as upon you our trusty and vowed servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie, and (as we hear) certain of our realm, pleading in the court of Rome, do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to prevail against us, we command you, and straitly charge you, that on our behalf you straitly forbid all and every of them, that they presume not any further to undertake such things as tend to the hurt of our majesty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear so to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and every of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made known, and

thereupon by you or some of you to be certified of the contemners of the same. Witness the king at Westminster the six and twentieth of March, in the six and fortieth year of his reign."

In this present year also (as affirmeth the forenamed author) it was rumoured abroad, (as Flores Historiarum reporteth,) that all the bishops of England went about to recover again, out of the hands of religious men, all such churches and benefices which were to them impropriated or appropriated; and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent up to Rome both messengers and money, nothing misdoubting to obtain their purpose. But as little good fruit in those days used to spring out of that see, so I do not find that godly suit and labour of the bishops to take any fruitful effect. The same year died Pope Alexander, after whom succeeded Pope Urban the Fourth.

Of the which Pope Urban the king also obtained, or rather revived, a new releasement from his oath made to the provisions and statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the foresaid laws and provisions through England to be dissolved and broken. This done, the king with the queen taketh his voyage into France, where he fell in great infirmity of sickness, and the most part of his family was taken with the fever quartan, of which many died. In the number of whom, besides others, died Richard, the worthy earl of Gloucester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his son.

The Welchmen this year, breaking into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the lands of Roger Lord Mortimer; but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the invaders. About which time the king, through some discreet counsel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his nobles, granting of his mere voluntary will the constitutions and provisions of Oxford to take place in the realm, directing his commandment to every shire. Albeit the realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

In the latter end of this year, the king's palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an evil prognostication against the king.

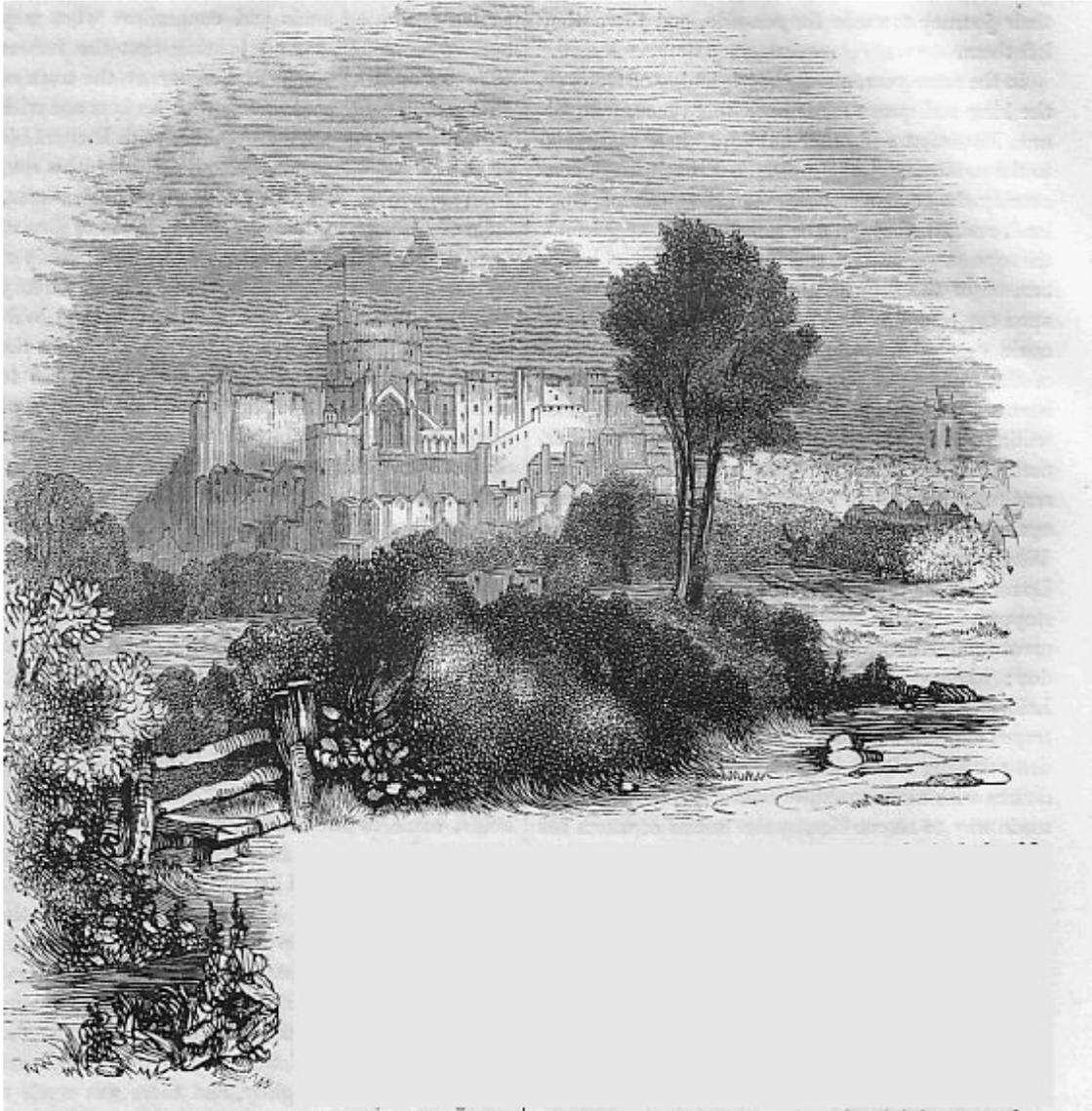
In some English chronicles it is also recorded, that the same year five hundred Jews at London were slain for taking usury more than twopence a week for twenty shillings, being before forbidden by the king to take above that rate by the week.

After this followeth the year 1263, in which the barons of England, confederating themselves together, for maintaining the statutes and laws of Oxford, and partly moved with old grudge conceived against the strangers, (maintained by the king and the queen, and Edward their son, in the realm of England,) joined powers in all forceable wise, and first invaded the said strangers, namely, them which were about the king. Their goods and manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they were persons ecclesiastical or temporal. Among whom, besides others, was Peter, a Burgundian, (bishop of Hereford, a rich prelate,) with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled; also his countrymen, whom he had placed to be canons of the same church. With like order of handling other aliens also, to whom was committed the custody of divers castles, as of Gloucester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Briefly, whatsoever he was in all the land that could not utter the English tongue was of every rascal disdained, and happy if he might so escape. By reason whereof it so came to pass, that a great number, as well of other

foreigners as especially religious men and rich priests, (which here had gathered much substance,) were urged to that extremity that they were glad to flee the land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principal, named John Maunsell, a priest notoriously grown in riches and treasures not to be told, having in his hand so many and rich benefices, that near no bishop of this realm might compare with him in riches. Who, notwithstanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled privily to void the realm, and was pursued by Henry, the son of Richard, king of Almaine. Certain other strangers there were, to the number of two hundred and more, which having the castle of Windsor, there immured and intrenched themselves, to whom at length Prince Edward also adjoined himself.

In the mean time, while this stir was abroad, the king, keeping then in the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his nobles and commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the barons, and was contented to assent again to the ordinances and provisions of Oxford; albeit the queen by all means possible went about to persuade the king not to assent thereto; who, as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord between the king and the barons. Insomuch that when as the said queen Eleanor should pass by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing upon the bridge, with their exclamations, cursing, and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the form whereof was this: First, that Henry, the son of Richard, king of the Romans, should be delivered by the king and queen. Secondly, that the castles again should be committed to the custody of Englishmen, not of strangers. Thirdly, that the provisions and statutes decreed at Oxford should, as well by the king as by all others, inviolably be observed. Fourthly, that the realm henceforth should be ruled and governed, not by foreigners, but by personages born within the land. Fifthly, that all aliens and strangers should void the land, not to return again, except only such whose abode should by the common assent of the king's trusty subjects be admitted and allowed.

Thus the king and the nobles joining together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themselves in arms with all their power to recover the castle of Windsor out of the strangers' hands. But Edward, in the midway between London and the castle, meeting with his father and the barons, entered communication upon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to return into the castle again, by the policy of the earl of Leicester, and William, bishop of Worcester, he was not permitted to re-enter. Whereupon the strangers within the hold, destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approaching, rendered the castle unto the king and the barons upon this convention; That with horse and harness they might be suffered safe to depart the land, not to return any more. Which being granted, certain of the barons conducted them in their journey towards the sea-side, and there they left them.



**Windsor Castle**

In the same year, about the beginning of October, the king and queen made over to France, with Simon Mountfort and other nobles, to hear and stand to the arbitrement of Louis the French king, concerning the controversy between the states of England, and all through the procurement of Eleanor the queen. For she, not forgetting the old contumely of the Londoners, exclaiming against her upon the bridge, wrought always what revenge she could against them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, partly hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do add moreover, that the king continuing long in France, word was sent to him out of England, that unless he returned again to the realm, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king, returning out of France to Dover, would have entered the castle, but he was stopped. Wherefore the king in fierce anger and great indignation prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort, the worthy earl of Leicester, through a subtle train, was almost betrayed and circumvented in Southwark, by the sudden pursuing of the king's army, had not the Londoners with more speed, breaking bars and chains, made way to rescue him, by the means of whom the earl at that time escaped the danger.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king. Forasmuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified, he in a great frequency both of French and English persons about him, considering and poising the cause on both sides, between the king and the nobles, clearly and solemnly pronounced on the king's side against the barons, ordained that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored again to his pristine state, notwithstanding the provisions made at Oxford, which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it gave to the king of England with his retinue no little encouragement, so it wrought in the nobles' hearts great indignation; which, notwithstanding that partial decreement of the French king, sped themselves home out of France to defend themselves with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the king, by whose train Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, as is above recited, was well near circumvented in Southwark. Then the king, calling his council together at Oxford, from whence he excluded the university of students for a season, who were then at Northampton, as you have heard before, there consulted, conferring with his friends and counsellors what way best to be taken. And hearing that the barons were assembled in a great number at the town of Northampton, he went thither with his host and with his banners displayed, accompanied with Richard his brother, king of Almain, also with Edward his son, John Comp, of Scotland, with many other Scots, John of Dalliolo, lord of Galloway, Robert of Bruce, Lord Walter of Anand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmion, John of Waus, Roger of Laiburne, Henry Percy, Philip Basset, Roger of Mortimer, and William of Wallace, and many others. Therefore the king commanded the barons that were within to yield unto him presently the city and the pledges, or else he would immediately destroy them. But they, counselling with the younger Simon de Mountfort, which by his father's commandment had got the residue thither to take counsel together, (for his father and the earl of Gloucester were not yet come,) boldly and with one mind answered, that they would not obey the king's will, but would rather defend themselves and the city, if need were, even to the death. Which the noblemen of the king's part hearing, sent word again, that at the least they should come to the wall of the city to speak to the king, if by any means peace might be made. And they, suspecting no deceit, followed their counsel, and leaving their holds, came to the wall towards the meadow, for there lay the king and his strong host hard by. But in the mean space, whilst divers matters were reasoned and treated of between the king and the lords, the Lord Philip Basset, (which before was appointed to work that feat,) with mattocks and other instruments of iron and men prepared for the onset, near to the monastery of St. Andrew, did undermine the wall of the city; and by this means the wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great plain, so that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty horsemen. And of this subtlety the alien monks that were there were thought to be the workers, because they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that passed by saw this, and the king's banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noise of the people came to the ears of the barons, and they made speed to resist them; but it was all in vain, because they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midst of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the king's son came, was by his commandment taken and led away prisoner. But the clerks of the university of Oxford (which university by the barons' commandment was translated thither) did work against the king's men more

hurt than the other barons, with their slings, long bows, and cross bows; for they had a banner by themselves, and that was set up on high against the king. Wherewithal the king being greatly moved, sware at his entering in that they should all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them shaved their crowns, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could. And when the king entered the city, many fled in their armour into the castle, others left their horse and harness and ran into churches, and a few were slain, and those were of the common people; but there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done as upon the sudden. When the city was at length set in quiet, the king commanded his oath to be executed upon the clerks. But his counsellors said unto him, This be far from thee, O king; for the sons of thy nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdom, were there gathered together into the university; whom, if thou wouldest cause to be hanged or slain, even they that now take thy part would rise up against thee, not suffering to the uttermost of their powers the blood of their sons and kinsfolk to be shed. And so the king was pacified, and his wrath against the clerks was stayed.

In the same day, after little more than an hour, the king's host assaulted the castle, and the new hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not victuals and other things necessary for their resistance; therefore they sent immediately messengers unto the king, and yielded themselves to the king's mercy. There were taken that day these knights and barons underwritten: Lord William de Ferrers, Lord Peter Mountfort, companion of the said Simon de Mountfort the younger, Lord Baldwin de Wake, Lord Adam de Newmarch, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon, the son of Simon a valiant warrior, which first erected his banner against the king, Lord Berengarius de Waterville, Lord Hugo Gubium, Lord Thomas Maunsell, Lord Roger Botemlam, Nicholas Wake, Lord Robert de Newton, Lord Philip de Dribie, and Grimbald de Pauncefoot. All these did the king take prisoners, and many more, of whom he committed some to Lord Nicholas of Haversham, to be kept in the same castle well defended; some he led away with him, and some he sent to divers castles, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be cast into Windsor castle. And all these things, as touching the taking of Northampton, were done on the sabbath day in Passion week, being the third of April, in the year of our Lord 1264; and the king went forward even to Nottingham, burning and wasting the manors of the lords and other his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increased his number.

When this ill luck was told, of them that there were run away, to the Earl Simon, which was coming towards Northampton with a great host, he was in a great rage, and yet was not discouraged; but immediately going to London, he caused a chariot to be made him after the manner of litters or coaches, wherein he might ride as though he were sick; for he feigned himself to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant warrior: and there gathered to him other noblemen that were confederate with him, earls and barons, every one bringing with them their several armies; and preparing their engines of wood, they went to besiege Rochester; for the earl of Worcester in the king's behalf kept both the town and castle. When they had gotten the first gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded, and compelled to retire; and there that valiant knight, Roger de la Bourne, was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilst they continued siege there a while, it was told them that the king was coming towards London with a mighty host. And they said one to another, If the king at his coming should take London, we shall be shut in it as it were in a strait corner; let us therefore return unto London, that we may keep in safety both the place and the people. Therefore, appointing certain persons to keep the siege, they returned

to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the citizens to meet him, not with flowers and palms in their hands, but with swords and spears. The king shunned them; and after he had the castle of Kingston, which was the earl of Gloucester's, he went from thence to Rochester, where, after he had killed a few, he brake the siege; and from thence the king went to Tunbridge; and the town and castle now being given up to him, he took there the countess of Gloucester, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberty whither she would. And he left for the custody of the castle and city a great part of his host, to the number of above twenty picked out ensigns, for that it was commonly said that the earl of Gloucester would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to Winchester, where he received to peace the seamen of the haven towns. And three days after, upon the Sunday following, he came to the town of Lewes, and was received unto the abbey, and his son Edward into the castle. Then the barons sent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

"To their most excellent Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his barons and others his faithful subjects, being willing to keep their oath and fidelity to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of your Grace's assistants have reported to your Majesty many lies of us, working mischief as much as in them lieth, not only against us, but against you also, and your whole realm; be it known to your Highness, that we have been always willing to defend the health and safeguard of your person, with all our power and fealty due to your Grace, purposing to vex to the uttermost of our power and estate, not only our ill-willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of your whole realm. If it be your good pleasure, give no credit to them, we shall be always found your faithful subjects. And we, the earl of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of others, for us and them have put to our seals."

These letters being read and heard, there was a council called, and the king writ back to them, and specially to the two earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in manner and form following.

"Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, &c., to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. Forasmuch as by the war and general disquietness by your means raised up in our whole realm, and also the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifestly that you keep not your fidelity to us-ward, nor care any thing for our health or safety; and for that ye have unorderly grieved our nobles, and others our faithful subjects, sticking faithfully and constantly to us, (as you have certified us,) we accounting their loss as our own, and their enemies as ours; and seeing these my aforesaid faithful subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do assist us manfully and faithfully against your unfaithfulness; we, therefore, care not for your fidelity or love, but defy you as our and their enemies. Witness myself at Lewes, the day and year aforesaid."

Also Richard, king of Almaine, and Lord Edward, the son of King Henry, writ to the barons in this wise:

"Richard, by the grace of God king of the Romans, always Augustus, and Edward, eldest son of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles constantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the foresaid king of England, to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singular others their adherents

in their conspiracy. By your letters which you sent to our lord, the noble king of England, we have understanding that you defy us, although before any such word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel persecution in burning our possessions, and spoiling our goods. We, therefore, give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do defy you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not cease, wheresoever it shall lie in our power, to the uttermost of our force and might to subvert your persons, and all that you have. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counsel to our lord the king, you say not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirm the same in our lord the king's court, we are ready to get safe-conduct for you to come to the said court, to try and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworn traitors, by some man equal with you in nobility and stock. All we are contained with the seals of the foresaid lords, the Lord Richard, and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid."

Both which letters being read, they drew near to the king; for they were not far distant from the place which is called Lewes. And for that there wanted to the king's store provision for their horses, it was commanded them on Tuesday to go forth to seek for hay and provender; which, when they were gone forth, were prevented of their enemies, and most of them killed; but the residue returning, saw their enemies coming very early on the Wednesday morning, and making outcries, stirred up the king and his host to arm themselves. Then the barons, coming to the full plain, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, made fit their harness to them. And there the Earl Simon made the earl of Gloucester, and Robert de Vere, and many other new knights. Which being done, he divided and distinguished his host into four several battles, and he appointed noblemen to guide and govern every battle. And over the first battle were ordained captains, Henry Mountfort, the eldest son of the Earl Simon, and Guido, his brother, Lord John de Bruch the younger, and Lord Humphrey de Bohun. Over the second battle, Lord Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, Lord John, the son of Lord St. John, and Lord William of Mountchery. And over the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request, the Lord Nicholas Segrave was assigned; which required also very instantly, that they might have the first stroke in the battle, at the adventure, come what come would. But over the fourth battle the earl himself was captain, with the Lord Thomas of Pinelston. In the mean season came forth the king's host, preparing themselves to the field in three battles; of which Edward the king's son led the first, with the earl of Warwick, and Valence, the king's brother; and the second the king of Almaine, guided with his son Henry; but the king with his nobles guided the third; and the fourth legion the king appointed not, by reason he had left many of his chief soldiers behind him to keep the castle and town of Tunbridge against the earl of Gloucester. And the most part of the king's army were but young men, for the king thought not that his barons had been come so nigh hand. Their armies being on both sides set in array and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly; and after they buckled together, the battle was great, and many horsemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by Edward, the king's son, with his band, as a fierce young gentleman and valiant knight, fell upon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giving back that the foremost were slain) ran many of them away; and, taking water to pass over, were almost threescore soldiers drowned, and a few of them being slain, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners, which had asked the first fight, knowing not how the battle went, took their heels; whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two

or three miles; for he hated them, because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was carried by barge upon the Thames from the Tower to Windsor, as is before touched.

Whilst that Prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the vaward of the barons' battle, in the mean time the main battle of the barons set upon the king's main battle, of the which the king of Almaine, the brother of King Henry, had the leading; which being soon discomfited, and he with his son Henry, and Robert de Bruce, John Coven, with divers other captains, taken prisoners, the rereaward, wherein the king himself fought, being immediately so hardly beset, and he seeing his knights and soldiers on every side about him beaten down and slain, and divers others of his soldiers to forsake the field and shift for themselves, thought good to take again the town, and so retired into the abbey from whence he came, shutting and rampering up the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with soldiers. To be brief, the barons thus getting the field, after a long fight, and many men on either side slain, entered also the town of Lewes, pursuing in chase such soldiers as thither fled for succour.

In the mean time Prince Edward, returning from the chase of the Londoners, as ye heard, who desired to give the first onset, and espying the chariot of the Earl Simon, (which he caused purposely to be made for him,) and the horses in the same, without either waggoner or any other to govern the same, fell immediately upon the chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and slew two burgesses that were within the same. But when he came nearer to the place where the bloody battle had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and overthrow which in his absence with great mortality and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismayed, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting and encouraging his knights and soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in battle array he marched toward the town; against whom came the barons again with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh field and new battle, and many men slain on either side. But at length the earl de Warenia, with the king's two brethren, forsook the field and fled; after whom went more than seven hundred chosen soldiers, which were of their house and family, who the same day came to Pevensey, and there took shipping over the sea. Also Hugh Bigot with divers others fled, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field; which thing he also perceiving took the town. And when he found not the king his father at the castle, he went from thence to the abbey where he was. In the mean season the town was divided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties; neither could scarcely one of them know and discern another, whether he were his friend or enemy. But when within a while the barons had assembled some company, they gave an assault upon the castle, thinking to have rescued John Gifford and others, whom the king's soldiers had taken prisoners and put therein. But the soldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out balls of wild-fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the town. Then the barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to have set upon the abbey, where the king and Prince Edward his son was, which also was set on fire by the assault given to the castle; but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. Then Edward, the king's son, perceiving the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with courageous knights and soldiers, as were yet remaining and within the abbey, to have issued out, and to have given a new charge upon them. But the barons, perceiving that, sent unto the king messengers to entreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace between them.

This battle was fought upon the nineteenth day of May, being the year of our Lord 1264.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two Preaching friars between the king and the barons, with certain articles and demands of peace, so that with certain others these conditions were agreed on: That on the morrow, being Friday, the prince should give himself in hostage for the king his father, and others of his part. And Henry, the king's son, of Almaine, also should give himself the like for his father. That those things which should be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the realm, and peaceable quietness thereof, might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side should be freely ransomed and sent home.

The next day, which was Saturday, the king discharged all his soldiers, and others that were with him in the abbey, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the advice of his son and the barons, he gave commandment to those which he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the barons, but, in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart every man to their houses and habitations. But they, giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to Bristow, where they kept themselves in garrison, until the escaping of Edward the king's son out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquished in battle, and that the Londoners in the foreward were put to flight by Prince Edward, (by a messenger that escaped from the same,) and that also the same Londoners were at Crowdown, they set upon them in the eveningtide, and, taking from them much spoil, slew also many of them.

But when Roger Mortimer's part began to decrease, and Simon the earl's part on the other side to increase, he bare himself more stout, for that both the king and all that was his did depend upon the good-will and favour of the earl, and led with him the king's son to such holds and castles as he thought to be most strong; as though all were in his hands to do as him liked; and he kept the hostages more straitly than he was wont to do. Insomuch that when it was blown abroad that the king's son was kept as prisoner, divers that were his friends counselled him that he should desire to disport himself at the barriers, that the people might have a sight of him. But he, being narrowly guarded, as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsel, and so did.

You are therefore to note, that at this time the prelates of England stood upon their pantofles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Alfred of Lincoln, being, as is supposed, a baron of this realm, there is found (inter alia) as followeth: "That the aforementioned Alfred held a certain piece of the park of Dunetish and Tilei of the abbot of Cerne, by service of holding his stirrup when the abbot should take horseback, and to give him place in the shire at such time as he should be present." The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giveth probable cause to conjecture that the occasion of this matter came by this means: viz. That whereas the said Alfred was desirous to enlarge his park, and could not so do but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adjoining, whereof the said abbot was owner, he was therefore constrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my lord abbot; who, like a lord, (as you see,) was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is above said. Wherein would be noted the pomp of

prelates in those days, and how near they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose treading they traced.

But leaving these affairs of the church and churchmen, wherein we have been somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporal state. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the king and his barons in the year of our Lord 1264, the same having been admitted by mutual and common consent of the temporality and clergy. Nevertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to pass among the lords and barons, betwixt whom no such firm reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon ensued, after secret grudge and privy hatred, open arms and conflicts. For in this year 1265 the sons of Simon the earl, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puffed up, and with the pride of their success elevated, did that which nothing contented the earl of Gloucester; insomuch that he challenged Henry, the eldest son of the Earl Simon Mountfort, at the barriers, to be tried at Northampton. But that challenge was taken up, lest some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the earl of Gloucester, being moved therewith in his mind, sent unto his father the earl that he should deliver him such prisoners, being noblemen, as he took at the battle of Lewes; among whom the king of Almaine was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and satisfy him, for that he had saved and preserved to him his lands that day the battle was fought at Lewes; and that furthermore he would not send him such prisoners as he demanded; and that he himself kept more noble than they in the castle of Dover; among whom was John Basset, which undermined and burst down the walls of Northampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.

The earl of Gloucester being herewith displeased, so soon as he heard this answer, sent incontinently to the Lord Roger Mortimer, which always took the king's part, desiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the king. Who, doubting some deceit, desired sureties and pledges for his safe return, and he would come and talk with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the earl of Gloucester showed him all that he was purposed to do; and that further he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the king; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the king again to his kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Therefore they sent secretly to Robert, the brother of the earl of Gloucester, which was near about the Earl Simon, and made him to consent with them therein. And to work this thing more circumspectly, when opportunity served thereunto, Roger Mortimer sent unto the king's son, a horse excelling all others in footmanship, unto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince Edward desired leave of the earl to prove his courser against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they might when they listed. As soon as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied divers of their horses; at the last, getting up upon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a servant on horseback coming toward him with two swords, he turned about unto his keeper, whose name was Robert de Rose, and to others his play-fellows that were with him, saying, My loving lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies; and now, not purposing to use your companies any longer, I betake you to God. And, quickly turning his horse about, put to the spurs, and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger

Mortimer coming from his castle of Wigmore, accompanied with many armed men, to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wise as when they came forth. And when this the prince's escape was divulged, much people came unto him out of every quarter with great joy thereof. Amongst whom the first was the earl of Gloucester, and the other soldiers of the king, which had now long lien at Bristow, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mighty host.

Which thing when the Earl Simon understood, he much doubted and mistrusted himself; and sending into Wales, he gat from thence a great many men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of England. He sent also Simon his son to the noblemen of the north parts, that with all possible speed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at Kenilworth awhile they stayed, and there pitched their tents. But leaving Kenilworth for a certain time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same, and then returned again to Kenilworth. And when this was declared to Edward the king's son, who then was at Worcester, by a certain spial, which he had gotten after he came from Gloucester a little before, he prepared himself with his soldiers in the night season to go to the place where the spy should bring him, which was into a deep valley, near unto the place where Simon and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themselves, and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies coming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselves against their coming, and so had been betrayed, they set forth in battle-array, marching forwards, till that they met certain of their enemies straggling in long wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, and to have sought for victuals; whom they took, and with their fresh horses new horsed their soldiers that had their horses tired with long travel. And so, marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustily about them, they slew divers; some they took, the rest they put to flight; and fifteen of their chiefest ensigns they took, with many other rich spoils. But young Simon himself lodged in the castle, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of August, A.D. 1265.

But when Edward heard that Earl Simon was coming toward Kenilworth, to join with his son's battle, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at Evesham, where he divided his host into three battles, he himself having the leading of one, the earl of Gloucester the second, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came upon their backs. The king's son Edward came northward, as though he came from Kenilworth to Evesham; and because he would not be descried, he caused his own standards and ensigns to be taken down, and young Simon's which he had taken before to be advanced. But the Earl Simon's scurrer, whose name was Nicholas, showed the earl that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to have been Simon his son's power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before, gave small credit thereunto, till that the said Nicholas, the better to view and descry them, went up to the abbey steeple of Evesham, where he might plainly discern them all and their standards; for by this time they were mounted the hill which they laboured to attain, thinking to have that vantage when they should give their charge as they had purposed; and had also advanced again his own standards, and pulled down Simon's, whereby they were the more easier descried and known. Then he cried aloud to the Earl Simon, and said, We are all but dead men; for it is not your son, as you suppose, that cometh, but it is Edward the king's son that cometh from one part, and the earl of Gloucester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from

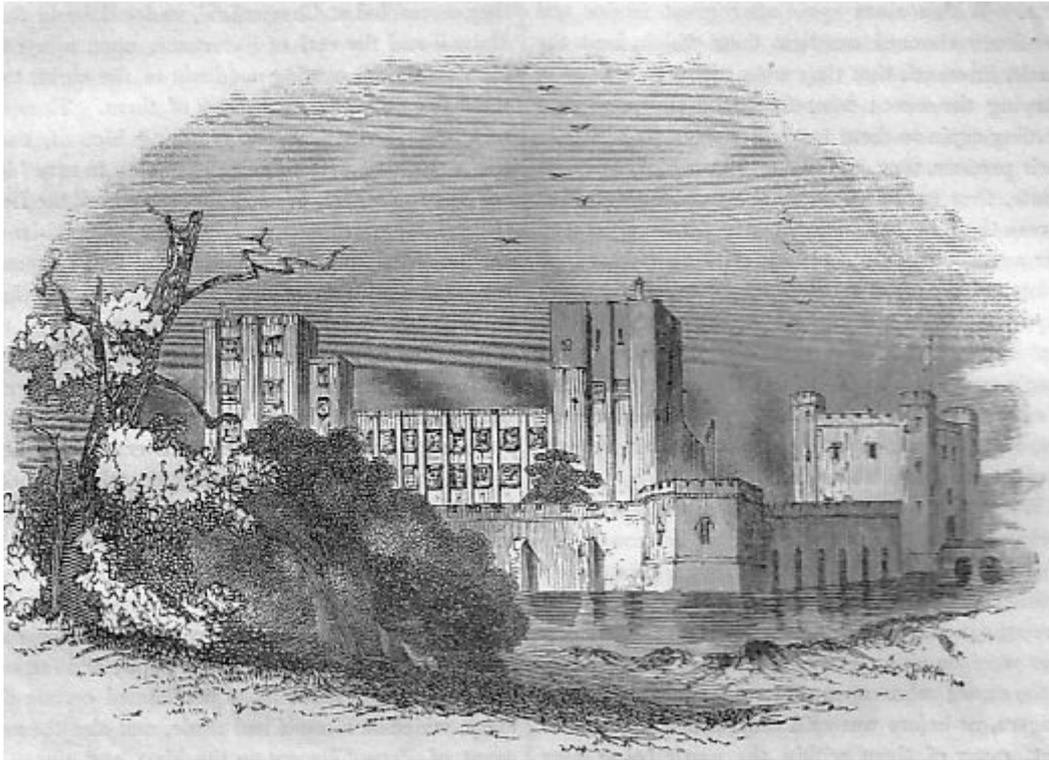
the third part. Then said the earl, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, forasmuch as our bodies and lives are now in their hands; commanding that every man should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for their laws, and in a just quarrel. And such as would depart he gave leave to go their ways, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

Then came unto him his eldest son Henry, and comforted him, desiring him to have no despair, nor yet mistrust in the good success of this victory, with other such cheerful words. No, my son, (saith he,) I despair not; but yet it is thy presumption, and the pride of the rest of thy brethren, that hath brought me to this end you see; notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel. After words of comfort given to all his host, and the oration made, as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The king also (whom the earl always kept with him) he armed in an armour of his own; and then, dividing their battles, they marched towards their enemies. But before they joined, the Welchmen ran their ways, and thinking to escape over the river of Dee, were there some drowned, and some slain. Then when the battles joined and came to handy strokes, within short space many of the earl's part fell and were slain; and the king himself being struck at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying, "Kill me not, I am Henry your king." And with these the king's words the Lord Adam Monthaut knew him, and saved him. At whose voice and cry came also Prince Edward his son, and delivered him to the guard and custody of certain knights. In the mean season the Earl Simon was hard bestead and beaten down, and also slain, before Edward the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fell, whenas he fought for life, and Henry his son, and other noblemen on his part, were about him, he brake out into these words unto his enemies, saying, What, is there no mercy and compassion with you? Who again answered, What compassion should there be showed to traitors? Then said he, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, our bodies are in your hands. And so soon as these words were spoken, they mangled his body, and divided his members, and cut off his head, which head Roger Mortimer sent unto his wife. And not far off from him also was slain Henry his eldest son, the Lord Hugh Spenser, the Lord Radulph Basset, the Lord Thomas de Hestele, the Lord William Mandeville, the Lord John Beauchamp, the Lord Guido Baillofer, the Lord Roger Rowley, and many other noblemen besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battle was fought in the month of August, and continued from one of the clock till it was night; in the which was not so much as one man on the earl's part, of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battle lost his life; more than the Lord John, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten, that the same day, being Tuesday, at that instant hour when the battle began, which was at one of the clock at afternoon, there was such a darkness over all, such thunder and such tempest, that the like before tha time was never seen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which seemed (saith mine author) to give a plain demon stration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

After this great slaughter and overthrow, there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earl of Gloucester, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be considered, that the king, although he was in the camp of the earl of Leicester, being then in custody, and his son, Edward with the earl of Gloucester; yet the king was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said parliament the king was restored to his kingly dignity, which was before that time under the custody of the barons. But after the battle was ended and do certain of them that loved the earl upon an old ladder

gathered up such parts of his body as remained, and, covering the same with an old gown, brought it to Evesham, where they putting the same in a fair linen cloth, buried it in the church. But not long after, such as thought not themselves sufficiently revenged with his death, (to wreak them of the dead corpse,) took up the same, and threw it in another place, saying that he which was both accursed and a traitor was not worthy of Christian burial.

The same year also died Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Winchester, after whom succeeded Nicolas of Ely, the king's chancellor.



**Kenilworth Castle**

The same year the king, perceiving that unless the castle of Kenilworth were recovered, and the boldness of them restrained that kept the same, many evils and inconveniences might ensue thereupon, to the prejudice of his kingdom; for that the number increased every day more and more, wasting and spoiling the country all about; therefore he gathered an army, and came down to Warwick, where he awhile tarried, expecting the meeting and assembling of his marquises and lords, with ensigns and other munition suitable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after Midsummer day he displayed his banner, and began his voyage, marching towards Kenilworth, and besieged the same. During which siege, by the advice and counsel of the king, the pope's legate, and other noblemen, twelve persons were chosen which should have the disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the realm, and of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who, amongst other things, made and established this one proviso, that was commonly called Kenilworth decree: That all those which had lost their lands by attainder (although not yet attainted) should fine therefore at the king's pleasure, and take their lands of him again; paying some three years', some, four years', some two

years' revenues of the same, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which provisos or provisions were established and confirmed, as well by the corporal oath as by signment of the same with the hands and seals of all the prelates and clergy of England, there assembled for that purpose by the pope's legate upon the feast of All saints. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the king's behalf, as well to those that kept the castle of Kenilworth, as also to those that were assembled in the Isle of Ely; willing them to come under the protection of the king's peace, and yield to the foresaid provisos, established by the twelve commissioners. Who all together answered and said, that they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents, not being called unto it, and also for that the said decree was over strait and intolerable. Within short space after great famine and pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the castle, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same; wherefore, soon after, the king sending again to them to yield the castle and take their pardons, they, consulting together of their own estate, thus answered the king's messengers: If it please the king and his council to permit us to send our messenger to the Lord Simon Mountfort, which is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the mean space we be not disturbed by the king's army that hath environed us till the return of our messengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yield up the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and movables.

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the king their answer, he, consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed unto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his camp, after that sufficient hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same; whereupon they set forward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that, many of them within the castle being very grievously vexed with the bloody flux, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered up the castle before the return of the messengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering up of the castle, the king committed the custody thereof to his son Edmund, and so with his host departing from his siege, came upon Christmas even to Osny, where he with great solemnity and triumph kept his Christmas during seven days, and from thence with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few days he marched towards Ely; in which island he besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The same year Pope Clement the Fourth promoted Master Walter Gifford, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of York.

In which year also the Church of England began to pay the tenths of all their revenues, as well spiritual as temporal, to the king, to continue for three years' space; and this was done by the authority apostolical.

Within a while after, the barons which were yet remaining gathered themselves together again; amongst whom John Daiwill, being a subtle and stout man of war, began to have a name, and was well esteemed amongst them, who all together did what mischief they might; and in the month of May they assembled at Chesterfield, under the said John Daiwill and the earl of Ferarence, upon whom the king's soldiers coming suddenly in the night, took them sleeping, and slew many of

them. Then the said John Daiwill, quickly arming himself, came forth, thinking with more defence both to save himself and to escape. Who in the way struck the Lord Gilbert Humsard such a blow with his demi-lance, that he felled both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus, while the poor soldiers fought and were slain, the barons fled away and saved themselves. Also the Earl Ferarence fled, and hid himself in a church; but being bewrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northampton, where he disherited all those that took part with the Earl Simon and all their children. Where also the pope's legate Octobonus held a convocation, and excommunicated all such bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the king; of whom divers he sent up to Rome, to be absolved of the pope; and further, the said legate caused to be proclaimed certain decrees, which he himself had made, and also the new grant of Pope Clement to the king and queen of all the tenths for seven years to come. And shortly after, a tax also was fined upon the country of Norfolk, to the gathering whereof Walter, the bishop of Norwich, was appointed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1267, King Henry besieged again the castle of Kenilworth, from the seventh day before the first day of July, until the beginning of December, whither came Octobonus, the pope's legate; by whose entreaty Henry Hastings delivered the same unto the king, which stoutly had defended the same, and resisted the king, having pardon granted, both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods, and cattle. In which time also the barons again assembled with John Daiwill, in the isle of Axioline, and so proceeded till they came to Lincoln, which they also took, and spoiled the Jews, and slew many of them; and entering their synagogue, tare and rent the book of their law, and burned the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he sent his son Prince Edward; but as soon as they heard that, they fled into the Isle of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarks as strongly as they might at every entrance into the same. This was in the month of April when Edward the king's son came thither; who, for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no means enter the island, till at length, by the counsel of the inhabitants of that province, he caused with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to convey away the water; and so long they used the counsel of them, in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at the last they entered the island, who, as soon as they were entered, the barons fled to London, where they were of the Londoners well entertained. The rest which were in the island yielded themselves, (amongst whom was Roger Wake, Simon the younger, and Peches,) saving their lives and members. After this, both the king and Edward his son came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the city by the barons and citizens for the space of forty days. And Octobonus, the legate, (who, for fear, was fled into the Tower,) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length, by the entreaty of the earl of Gloucester, and other earls that were his friends, both the barons and citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the king's favour. And four bishops and eight other noblemen were chosen, such as were at Coventry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the king and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the form of their peace and ransom. And proclamation was made upon the feast of All-saints of perfect peace and accord throughout all the realm.

In the fifty-second year of this King Henry's reign, eight days after the feast of St. Martin, he held a parliament at Marlborough, in the year of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wise and discreet men, and withal the consents of the

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

nobles, he ordained and enacted divers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the realm and execution of common justice, which are called the statutes of Marlborough.

The same year, upon St. Gregory's day, Octobonus, the legate, called a council at London, where were five archbishops, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and other prelates; which council also within three days brake up again.

## 65. Prince Edward's Crusade

The same year, upon St. John's day the Baptist, Edward, the king's son, and divers other noblemen of England, took upon them the cross by the legate's hands at Northampton, to the relief of the Holy Land, and the subversion of the enemies of the cross of Christ. Which done, the legate the same year went out of England, not purposing after that to return again. This holy legate, (saith mine author,) which might well be resembled to a lynx, the monstrous beast whose quick sight penetrateth every thing, enrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the churches in the realm of England so narrowly, as by any means possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was he that made all the cathedral and conventual churches to pay pensions; so that those churches which gave not the vacancy of their benefices to their clerks and strangers, should pay unto them a certain yearly pension, during the vacancy of the benefices which they should have.

The same year died Pope Clement the Fourth, after whose death the Church of Rome was two years vacant; and then was chosen an archdeacon cardinal, whose name was Theardus, as he was taking his journey into the Holy Land, and they called him Gregory the Tenth.

Then also did Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, and second son of King Henry, take to wife the earl of Albemarle's daughter, and the niece of the earl of Gloucester; at which marriage was the king and the queen, and all the nobility of England.

The same year was the body of St. Edward the king and confessor, by Walter Gifford, archbishop of York, and other bishops, entombed in a new and rich shrine of gold and silver, beset with precious stones, in the presence of Henry the king of England. In which year also fell a great rain and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seen, which increased and continued the space of forty days, and more.

The same year died Walter de Laiwill, bishop of Sarum, the third day before the nones of January. After whom succeeded Robert of Northampton, the dean of the same church. And because the see of Canterbury was then vacant, he was confirmed by the chapter of Canterbury; which chapter had always the jurisdiction in spiritual causes, during the vacancy of that see, in as ample manner as the bishop himself had being alive. After this, the bishop elect coming thither, thinking to have had his consecration, was, notwithstanding, put back for two causes: one was, for that there was present then no more but one bishop; the other was, for that all the other bishops had appealed, that he might not be consecrated to their prejudice; that is, by the authority of the chapter of Canterbury, saying that they would not be under the obedience of the monks.

After this, solemn messengers were for this cause sent to the cardinals of Rome, for that then the see of Rome was vacant; who received answer, that during the vacation of that see the confirmation and consecration of the bishop elect pertained to the aforesaid chapter of Canterbury.

The same year also was the Lord Henry, the son and heir of the Lord Richard, king of Almaine, and brother to King Henry the Third, slain at Viterbium, in a certain

chapel hearing mass, by the Lords Simon and Guido, the sons of the Lord Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester.

During this king's reign there was made a great and general expedition of divers and sundry Christian princes to Jerusalem, taking upon them the Lord's character, that is, the cross; among whom was also Edward the king's son, unto the which expedition was granted him a subsidy throughout all the realm. And in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1270, or, as saith Florilegus, A.D. 1269, he set forward on his journey.

About the time when Prince Edward was preparing his journey toward Asia, Boniface, of whom ye heard before, the archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life in the country of Sabaudia, going belike to Rome, or coming thence. After whose death the monks of Canterbury, proceeding to a new election granted by the king, agreed upon the prior of their house, named Adam Chelindon. But the king and his son Prince Edward, consenting and speaking in the behalf of Robert Burnell their chancellor, did solicit the matter with the monks, partly entreating, partly threatening them, to choose the said Robert to be archbishop. Notwithstanding, the monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous request, nor yet bow to their boisterous threats; but, constantly persisting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the pope. Prince Edward being now on his journey, and seeing himself thus frustrated of the monks, writeth back to the king his father; devoutly praying and beseeching him in no wise to admit the election of the foresaid monks. And so, passing to Dover with Henry, the son of Richard his uncle, king of Romans, with their wives, they took their passage in the month of August. After this, the prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the king to be archbishop, went up to Rome.

In the mean time, the monks, in the absence of their elect, ordained one Geoffrey Pomenall to be their official; who seeing himself advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against the prior of Dover, caused him to be cited up to appear in the chapter house of Canterbury. The prior of Dover seeing this citation to be prejudicial to him and to the church of Dover, and knowing that the monks of Canterbury have no such jurisdiction, (the see of Canterbury being vacant,) but that all things appertaining to that church ought to be reserved whole to the consecration of the new archbishop; therefore, for the state both of him and of his church, he appealed up also unto Rome. But to return to the archbishop again.

The second year after Chelindon, the foresaid archbishop elect, remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned up his election to the pope's hand, being Gregory the Tenth; who then gave the same to Robert Kilwarby. Who then coming to Dover, restored again the prior of that house, being before excluded upon certain causes. By these contentions judge, good reader, of the religion of these men, and of these times. And now to return to our former story.

About this time came out the great Concordance by an English friar, called John Dernington.

It was above declared, how a general voyage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a subsidy being collected in England upon the same, Prince Edward with others was appointed to take their voyage, and now were onward in their journey. Who, at Michaelmas following, with his company came to Egermorth, which is from Marsilia eight leagues westward; and there taking ship again, (having a merry

wind and prosperous,) within ten days arrived at Sunes at Tunicium, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the Christian princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Louis died a little before, of Charles the king of Sicily, and the two kings Navarre and Arragon. And as the Lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry, the son of the king of Almaine, for his father; who, at his return from the voyage, was slain in a chapel at Viterbium hearing mass, by the Lords Simon and Guido, the sons of the Lord Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester.

When Prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him again, and said, The prince of this city, said they, and the province adjoining to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every year. And now, for that the same hath been for the space of seven years unpaid and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be justly demanded, hath now according to our own desires satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute beforehand.

Then said he, My lords, what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and have taken upon us the Lord's character, to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so; for now the land is plain and hard, so that we may approach the holy city Jerusalem. Then said they, Now have we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for us to break the same; but let us return again to Sicily, and when the winter is past, we may well take shipping to Acre. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he show himself well pleased therewith; but after that he had made them a princely banquet, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They, notwithstanding, continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took shipping; and, for want of ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and piteously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward, being somewhat moved with compassion, came back to the land, and received and stowed them in his own ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven days after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicily, over against the city Trapes, casting their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burden and thoroughly fraught. And from the haven of the city they sent out barges and boats to receive and bring such of the nobility to land as would; but their horses, for the most part, and all their armour, they kept still within board. At length, towards the evening the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against another's sides; and drowned there were of them, at that tempest, lying at anchor, more than a hundred and twenty, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable souls besides; and that wicked money also, which they had taken before, likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of Prince Edward's, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that, as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea-side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, which were in number fifteen hundred, besides the common soldiers, there were no more saved than the mariners of one only ship, and they in this wise. There was in that ship a good and wise matron, (a countess, or an earl's wife,) who perceiving the tempest to grow, and fearing herself,

called to her the master of the ship, and asked whether, in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to save themselves. Who answered, that to save the ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by God's help he doubted not. Then said the countess, For the ship force no whit, save the souls therein, and have to thee double the value of the ship. Who, immediately hoisting the sails, with all force ran the ship aground so near the shore as was possible. Thus, with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal, he burst the ship, and saved all that was within the same, as the master of the same ship had showed and said before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwreck) returned home again every one unto their own lands; only Edward the king's son remained behind with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved. Then Prince Edward (renovating his purpose) took shipping again, and within fifteen days after Easter arrived he at Acre, and went a-land, taking with him a thousand of the best soldiers and most expert, and tarried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learn and know the secrets of the land. After this, he took with him six or seven thousand soldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acre, and took Nazareth; and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to Acre. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some strait or other advantage, they were by the prince premonished thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackhow, which was forty miles from Acre, he marching thither set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than one thousand, the rest he put to flight, and took rich spoils, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum Peregrinorum, situate upon the sea-coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acre. In the mean season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noblemen of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying they would keep their own land, and go no farther. Then Prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and join in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying that at his commandment they were bound to do no less, for that his predecessors were sometimes governors of their land, and that they ought always to show their fidelity to the kings of England. Then the Christians, being herewith animated, made a third 'viage' or 'rode,' and came as far as the fort called Vincula St. Petri, and to St. George's; and when they had slain certain there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired again from whence they came.

When thus the fame of Prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they devised among themselves how by some policy they might circumvent him and betray him. Whereupon the great prince and admiral of Joppa sent unto him, feigning himself under great deceit to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honourably entertained and used of the Christians. This talk pleased the prince well, and persuaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing again; who also by the same messenger sent and wrote back unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, saith mine author, was one of the stony-hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the prince's servants searched, according

to the manner and custom, what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the prince's chamber; and after his reverence done, he pulled out certain letters, which he delivered to the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday somewhat before night; at which time the prince was laid upon his bed bareheaded in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these news by the prince to the standers-by liked them well, drawing somewhat back to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the mean time, the messenger, kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince, questioning further with him, put his hand to the belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an envenomed knife, thinking to have stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay; but the prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arm. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince again with his foot took him such a blow, that he felled him to the ground. With that the prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himself therewith in the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The prince's servants, being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the bustling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead on the floor, one of them took up a stool, and beat out his brains; whereat the prince was wroth, for that he struck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof, as it was strange, so it soon went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the captain of the temple, and brought him a costly and precious drink against poison, lest the venom of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming-wise said unto him, Did I not show your Grace before of the deceit and subtlety of this people? Notwithstanding, saith he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound; my life for yours. But straightway the surgeons and physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrify, and the flesh to look dead and black; whereupon they that were about the prince began to mutter amongst themselves, and were very sad and heavy. Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them, Why mutter you thus amongst yourselves? What see you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one said to him, And like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to suffer. May suffering, saith he again, restore health? Yea, saith the other, on pain of losing my head. Then, said the prince, I commit myself unto you, do with me what you think good. Then said one of the physicians, Is there any of your nobles in whom your Grace repositeth special trust? To whom the prince answered, Yea, naming certain of the noblemen that stood about him. Then said the physician unto the two whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord John Voisy, And do you also faithfully love your lord and prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then saith he, Take you away this gentlewoman and lady, (meaning his wife,) and let her not see her lord and husband, until such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they took her out of the prince's presence, crying out and wringing her bands. Then said they unto her, Be ye contented, good lady and madam; it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should weep a great season. Then upon the

morrow they cut out all the dead envenomed flesh out of the prince's arm, and threw it from them, and said unto him, How cheereth your Grace? We promise you within these fifteen days you shall show yourself abroad (if God permit) upon your horseback, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to pass, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great soldan heard of it, and that the prince was yet alive, he would scarcely believe the same; and sending unto him three of his nobles and princes, he excused himself by them, calling his gods to witness that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloof off from the king's son, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground. You, saith the prince, do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an interpreter. Nevertheless, he honourably treated them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when Prince Edward had been eighteen months in Acre, he took shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seven weeks he arrived in Sicily at Trapani, and from thence travelling through Palestina and Metmes, and so through the midst of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honourably entertained. From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowess was there much bruited among the common people, and envied of the nobility, especially of the earl de Chalons, who sent unto him, and required him that he might break a staff with him at the tilt in his country. Which thing to do, for that the prince would not diminish his honour and fame, (although he might have well alleged a sufficient cause and excuse by means of his travel,) yet he would not, but willingly consented thereunto; whereupon it was proclaimed that Prince Edward, by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all comers at the tilt and barriers. Whereupon great assemblies were made in the country all about, and divers, as well horsemen as footmen, had conjured amongst themselves, and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armour beforehand, and drinking one to another good success in spoiling them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the mean time sent into England for divers earls and barons, which came unto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more than one thousand horsemen, which were knights, besides his footmen; but yet there were as many more on the other side, both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties should meet, the French footmen, which had before conspired, began both to spoil, rifle, and kill. The Englishmen resisted and defended themselves both with bows and slings; many of them they slew, and drave them to the gates of their city; the other they chased over a river, where many of them were drowned. In the mean season the earl, with fifty of his knights which followed him, came forth and joined together so many for so many, and a long time together they tried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the earl, perceiving himself not able to match with him at the arm's end, enclosed with him, and, taking him about the neck, held him with his arms very strait. What mean you, my lord, saith the prince, think you to have my horse? Yea, marry, quoth the earl, I mean to have both thee and thy horse. Hereat Prince Edward, being indignant, lifted up himself, and gave him such a blow, that therewithal he, forsaking his horse, hung still about the prince's neck, till that he shook him off to the ground. Herewith the prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the press to take the air, thereby to refresh himself. But when he saw the injury of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slain many of them, he then said unto them, that they used rather the exercise of battle than of tourney. Spare ye not therefore (saith he) from henceforth any of them all, but give them again as good as

they bring. Then they assailed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their swords walk.

And when by this time the English footmen were again returned, and saw the conflict of horsemen, and many other Englishmen overthrown, they put themselves amidst the press; and some paunching the horses, some cutting asunder the girths of the Frenchmen's saddles, they overthrew the riders, and gave them holy bread. Then when the foresaid earl was horsed again by some of his men and amongst the throng, Prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coupled again with him; to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yield himself as vanquished, but that he would not do. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himself unto a simple knight, according as Prince Edward him bade, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saved themselves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slain, and our men returned, having the victory. But when after this they thought themselves to be quiet and at rest, they were killed of the citizens by two and by three at once as they went in the streets. Which thing, when the prince heard, he sent for the mayor and burgesses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediately; for otherwise, of his knighthood he assured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the city, and make it level with the ground. Whereupon they went their ways, and set watchmen in divers places of the same to keep the peace, by which means the prince and men were in safety and quiet. Thus in this pastime of tourneying and barriers much blood was spilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed.

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the French king honourably entertained; and after certain days he went from thence into Gascony, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

In the year of our Lord 1272 died Pope Clement the Fourth: after whom succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth; who, in the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1273, called a general council at Lyons, about the controversy between the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and for the vacancy of the see apostolical, &c.

Having thus accomplished the life and history of King Henry the Third, with such accidents as happened within this realm, I thought good to adjoin unto the same some other foreign matters, not unworthy the note, incident in other countries during the time of the said king; namely, from the year of our Lord 1217 unto this year 1272; which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that, even from and about the beginning of this king's reign, sprang up the very well-springs of all mischief, the sects of monkish religious and other swarms of popish orders, which with their gross and horrible superstitions have encumbered the church of Christ ever since.

First, to omit the repetition of Pope Innocent the Third, the great grandsire of that foul monster transubstantiation and auricular confession, with the friars Dominic, and Franciscan friars, Thomas Aquinas, Jacobus de Voragine, Vincentius, with Pope Honorius the Third, coiner of the canon law, and the Cardinal Postiensis, as also Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, with Pope Urban the Fourth, first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the sacrament, besides Durandus and many more; it followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarians, about the year 1240, issuing out of Muscovia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendom; so much the rather, because the princes about Polonia, being at variance amongst themselves, used none other remedy for their

defence but heaps of masses, invocation of the dead, and worshipping of images, which indeed did nothing relieve them, but rather increase their trouble.

The next year following, the whole nation of the Scythians, mustering like locusts, invaded the parts of Europe with two mighty armies; whereof the one, entering upon Polonia, made great havoc, and carried away many Christians from thence captives; the other, overrunning Hungaria, made no less spoil there. Add hereunto another fresh army of Tartarians, to the number of five millions, who at the very same time joining themselves together, entered into Muscovia and Cracovia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sex nor age, noble nor un noble, within the land. From thence passing to Lower Sclavonia, they made great spoil there also; and thinking there to win the castle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and prayers of good people, discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thunder and lightning falling upon them from heaven in most terrible wise.

The same year, immediately after Easter, another army of Tartarians were gathered against Lignitz, drawing near to Germany; by the bruit whereof the Germans, being put in great fear, were altogether dismayed, but yet not able to help themselves, by reason they lacked a good guide and governor amongst them. All which came to pass, specially by the mischievous practice of the Roman popes, raising variance and discord among them. Notwithstanding, Henry, prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did encounter with him; but, in fine, his whole army was vanquished, and the king himself slain. Notwithstanding which overthrow of Christians, it pleased God to strike such a fear into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approach any further or nearer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country again; who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Christians that were slain, found the slaughter so great, as that they filled nine great sacks full of ears. Nevertheless, after this, in the year 1260, the same Tartarians, having the Muscovites to their guides, returned again into Polonia and Cracovia, where, in the space of three months, they overran the land with fire and sword to the coasts of Silesia; and had not the princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had utterly wasted the whole land of Polonia, and the coasts thereabouts.

This year also, in the month of April, Richard, king of Almaine, died at the castle of Berkhamsted, and was buried at the abbey of Hanes, which he built out of the ground. The same year also at Norwich there fell a great controversy between the monks and the citizens, about certain tallages and liberties. At last, after much altercation and wrangling words, the furious rage of the citizens so much increased and prevailed, and so little was the fear of God before their eyes, that all together they set upon the abbey and priory, and burned both the church and bishop's palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very sorry to hear of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At the last, King Henry, calling for certain of his lords and barons, sent them to the city of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest malefactors; insomuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawn by the heels with horses throughout the streets of the city, and after in much misery ended their wretched lives. The same year Adam, the prior of Canterbury, and bishop elect, in the presence of Pope Gregory the Tenth refused to be archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the pope gave the same archbishopric to Friar Robert Kilwarby, the provost of the Preaching friars, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canterbury the fourth day of March by six bishops of the same

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province. The same year also, at Michaelmas, the Lord Edmund, the son of King Richard of Almaine, married the sister of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Also in this year of our Lord 1273, the sixteenth day before the kalends of December, upon St. Edmund's day, the archbishop and confessor, died King Henry, in the six and fiftieth year of his reign, and was buried at Westminster, leaving after him two sons and two daughters, to wit, Edward the prince, and Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice, and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the king of Scots. This King Henry in his lifetime began the building of the church and steeple at Westminster, but did not thoroughly finish the same before his death.

## 66. King Edward I.



IN the time of the death of King-Henry, Edward, his eldest son, was absent in Gascony, as a little before you heard; yet, notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and nobles, he was ordained heir and successor after his father; who, after he had heard of his father's death, returned home to his country, and was crowned in the year of our Lord 1274, who then laid down his crown, saying he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the same.

This Edward, as he had always before been a loving and natural child to his father, whom he had delivered out of prison and captivity; and hearing afterward both together of the death of his son and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father than for his son, saying to the French king, which asked the cause thereof, that the loss of his child was but light; for children might after increase and be multiplied, but the loss of his parent was greater, which could not be recovered: so Almighty God, for the same his piety to his father showed, rewarded him again with great success, felicity, and long reign; insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at chess with a certain soldier of his, suddenly having occasion given, rose up and went his way; who had just voided the place, when incontinent fell down a mighty stone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he sat, able to have quashed him in pieces, if he had tarried never so little more. In the preservation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty providence of the living God; so, in the king's order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension, for that he, receiving such a lively benefit at the hand of the living Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gave thanks, not to our Lord only, but rather to a rotten block. Of the gentle nature of this courageous prince sufficient proof is given by this one example; that what time he, being in his disport of hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his hawk; the gentleman, being on the other side of the river, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the river was between them. With this answer, the courageous blood of this prince being moved, upon present heat he leaped straight into the flood, both of a swift stream and of a dangerous deepness, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger present, and having a good horse, ventureth his own death to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his sword drawn he pursueth his provoker. Who having not so good a horse, and seeing himself in danger of taking, reineth his horse, and returning back barehead unto the prince, submitteth his neck under his hand to strike. The prince, whose fervent stomach the water of the whole river could not quench, a little submission of his man did so cool that the quarrel fell, his anger ceased, and his sword was put up without any stroke given. And so both returned to their game, good friends again.

In the first beginning of his reign the king had much ado in Wales, where he had divers conflicts with the Welchmen, whom at last he subdued, and cut down their woods, suppressed rebellions; and, vanquishing their kings, Llewelyn and his brother,

ordained his eldest son Edward, born in the same country, to be prince of Wales. This Llewelyn, captain of the Welchmen, here mentioned, rebelling against King Edward, asked counsel of conjuration, what event should come upon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should go forward boldly; for doubtless he should ride through Cheapside, at London, with a crown on his head. Which so came to pass. For being slain, his head was carried through Cheap, with a crown of silver, to London bridge. Whereby men may learn not to seek nor stick to these vain prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they trains of the devil to deceive men.

About this time was a great earthquake, and such a rot that consumed a great multitude of sheep in the land, through the occasion, as they say, of one scabbed sheep that came out of Spain. The king, returning from Wales to England, ordered certain new laws for the wealth of the realm. Among many others, this was one, that authority was given to all mayors, bailiffs, and other officers, to see execution and punishment of all bakers making bread under the size, with pillory. Of millers stealing corn, with the tumbrel, &c. And within two years after the statute of mortmain was first enacted, which is as much to say, that no man should give unto the church any lands or rents without a special licence of the king.

About which time also, being the seventh year of his reign, two hundred and ninety-seven Jews for money-clipping were put to execution. In which same year began first the foundation of the Black Friars by Ludgate. And the town of Boston was greatly wasted the same year with fire. The halfpenny and farthing began first to be coined the selfsame time, which was the eighth year of his reign. The great conduit in Cheap began the fourth year after to be made, A.D. 1284. And the next year following the new work of the church of Westminster, begun, as is afore premonished, in the third year of Henry the Third, was finished, which was sixty-six years in edifying. The Jews were utterly banished this realm of England the same time, for which the commons gave to the king a fifteenth, &c.

After that, the country of Wales was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing down of the woods, and casting down the old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end about the twenty-fourth year of this king's reign. Then ensued another broil, as great or greater, with Scotland, to the great disquiet of the king and the realm of England many years after. This trouble first began by the death of Alexander, king of Scots, who died without issue left alive behind him. Although Fabian, in the seventh book of his chronicles, affirmeth, that he left three daughters; the eldest married to Sir John Baliol, the second to Robert Bruce, the third to one Hastings. But this in Fabian is to be corrected, as which neither standeth with itself, and is clearly convicted by the witness and history of Rob. Avesbury, and also of Gisburne.

For, first, if King Alexander had left his eldest daughter married to Sir John Baliol, then what controversy might arise among the lords about succession, needing so diligent and anxious deciding by the king of England? Secondly, what claim or title could the king of Norway have to the crown of Scotland, which was one of the challengers, claiming the said crown in the behalf of Margaret, the niece of the foresaid King Alexander, her grandfather, if the eldest daughter of the father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the foresaid story it is testified, that King Alexander had two wives? Of the second whereof he had no issue. Of the first he had two children; Alexander, which died before his father, and Margaret, married to the king of Norway, which died also before her father, of

whom came Margaret, the niece of Alexander, and daughter to the king of Norway, afore mentioned. And she also died in the journey between Norway and Scotland, the fourth year after the decease of her grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most clear, so let us now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that followeth. After that Alexander thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also Margaret, his niece, in Norway was deceased, the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland, especially twelve by name, to whom the right of the crown should next pertain. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgment of King Edward of England; who, after sufficient proof made to the Scots, and firm evidence brought out of all the ancient histories both of England and Scotland, testifying from time to time that he was chief head and sovereign of the realm of Scotland, first, by necessity of the law, and by all their consents, took full possession of the same; and, that done, adjudged the right of the crown to John Baliol, who descended of the daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to David, king of Scotland, in the days of King Henry the Second. This Earl David had three daughters: Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; Margaret, to Allen, earl of Galloway; and Ellen, to Henry Lord Hastings. Allen, earl of Galloway, had Ellen, married to Roger Quincy, earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland; and Dorvagle, married to John Baliol, father to Edward king of Scots.

When these things were thus finished in Scotland, and Sir John Baliol as most rightful inheritor had received the crown of Scotland at the hands of King Edward thankfully, and for the same in the presence of the barony of England and of Scotland did unto the said King Edward his homage, and sware to him fealty, the Scots with their new king returned into Scotland, and King Edward removed again to England.

But not long after the falseness of this Scottish king soon appeared. Who, repenting him of his homage done untruly, forsook his former oath and promise, and made war against King Edward, through the counsel of the abbot of Melrose. Wherefore the king with a great host sped him into Scotland, and in process laid siege to the town of Berwick, which the Scots did eagerly defend, not only to the discomfiture, but also to the derision, of the king and his English host. But, in conclusion, the Englishmen prevailed and won the town, where were slain of the Scots the number of twenty and five thousand. And while the king was there busied in winning other holds about the same, he sent part of his host to Dunbar, where the Englishmen again had the victory, and slew of the Scots twenty thousand; Gisburne saith but ten thousand; so that very few were lost of the English company. The king, with a great number of prisoners returning into his realm, shortly after sped him over unto Flanders, where he sustained great trouble by the French king, till truce for a certain time was between them concluded. But in the mean while that King Edward was thus occupied beyond the seas, the French king (resorting to his practised manner) set the Scots secretly against the Englishmen to keep the king at home. Which Scots, making themselves a captain, named William Wallace, warred upon the borders of Northumberland, where they did much hurt. At length the king, returning from Bourdeaux into England, shortly upon the same took his journey into Scotland. Where, meeting at York with his host, he marched into the realm of Scotland, winning, as he went, towns and castles, till at length, coming to the town of Frankirk on Mary Magdalene's day, he met with the power of Scotland, and had with them a sore fight, but through God's providence the victory fell to the right cause of Englishmen; so that of the Scots were slain in the field, as it is of divers writers

affirmed, above the number of thirty and two thousand; and of Englishmen, but barely twenty-eight persons. Whereupon the king, again taking possession and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

And yet the false untruth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but rose up in a new broil; so that the king was enforced to make his power again the year following into Scotland, where he so suppressed the rebellion of the lords and of the commons, that they, swearing to the king's allegiance, presented themselves by great companies, and put them wholly in the king's grace and mercy; so that the king, thinking himself to be in peaceable possession, and in a great surety of the land, caused to be sworn unto him the rulers of the boroughs, cities, and towns, with other officers of the land, and so returned unto Berwick, and so into England, and lastly to Westminster.

These martial affairs between England and Scotland, although they appertain not greatly to the purpose of our story ecclesiastical, yet so much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby that which followeth in the sequel hereof might the better be understood by these premises. As the Scots were thus warring and raging against the king, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent privily to Pope Boniface for his aid and counsel; who immediately sendeth down his precept to the king to this effect, that he should hereafter surcease to disquiet or molest the Scots, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his chapel. And therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the city of Jerusalem must needs defend his own citizens; and, as the Mount Sion, maintain such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the king briefly maketh answer again, swearing with an oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known to all the world, &c. Thus the Scots bearing themselves bold upon the pope's message, and also confederating themselves with the Frenchmen, passed over that year. The next year after that, which was twenty-nine of the king's reign, the said Pope Boniface directeth his letters again to the king, wherein he doth vindicate the kingdom of Scotland to be proper to the Church of Rome, and not subject to the king of England. And therefore it was against God, against justice, and also prejudicial to the Church of Rome, for him to have or hold dominion over the same, which he proved by these reasons:

First, that when King Henry, the father of this king, received aid of Alexander, king of Scots, in his wars against Simon Mountfort, he recognised and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he received the same of King Alexander, not of any duty, but of special favour.

Item, when the said King Alexander, coming to England, did homage to the said King Henry, he did it, not as king of Scotland, but only for certain lands of Tyndall and Penreth, lying in England.

Item, whereas the said King Alexander left behind him Margaret, his heir, being niece to the king of England, and yet under age; yet the tuition of the said Margaret was committed, not to the king of England, but to certain lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreover, when any legacy was directed down from Rome to the realm of England, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the said legacy took no place in the realm of Scotland, and might well be resisted, as it was in King Alexander's days, except another special commission touching the realm of Scotland were joined withal. Whereby it appeareth that these be two several dominions, and not subject under one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdom of Scotland first was converted by the relics of the blessed apostle St. Peter, through the Divine operation of God, to the unity of the catholic faith.

Wherefore upon these causes and reasons Pope Boniface, in his letters to the king, required him to give over his claim, and cease his wars against the Scottish nation; and to release all such both of the spirituality and laity as he had of them prisoners. Also to call home again his officers and deputies which he had there placed and ordained, to the grievance of that nation, to the slander of all faithful people, and no less prejudice to the Church of Rome. And if he would claim any right or title to the said realm, or any part thereof, he should send up his procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himself allege, unto the see apostolic, there to receive what reason and right would require.

The king, after he had received these letters of the pope, assembled a council or parliament at Lincoln; by the advice of which council and parliament he addressed other letters responsal to the pope again; wherein first in all reverent manner he desireth him not to give light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and imaginers of mischief. Then he declareth out of old records and histories, from the first time of the Britons, that the realm of Scotland hath always from time to time been all one with England, beginning first with Brutus, in the time of Helt and Samuel the prophet; which Brutus, coming from Troy to this isle, called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three sons: Locrinus, to whom he gave that part of the land, called then of him Loegria, now Anglia; Albanactus, his second son, to whom he gave Albania, now called Scotia; and his third son Camber, to whom he gave Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

The year following, which was from Christ 1303, the said Pope Boniface, the eighth of that name, taking displeasure with Philip, the French king, did excite King Edward of England to war against him, promising him great aid thereunto. But he, as mine author saith, little trusting the pope's false, unstable affection toward him, well proved before, put him off with delays. Whereupon the French king, fearing the power of King Edward, whom the pope had set against his friendship, restored unto him again Gascony, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out, the sequel hereof, Christ willing, shall declare, after that first I have finished the discourse begun between England and Scotland.

In the year 1303 the aforesaid William Wallace, which had done so many displeasures to the king before, continuing still in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king, till at length the year following he was taken and sent up to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the king then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, above mentioned, earl of Dunbar, earl of Arles, and Sir John Comyn, with divers other; the which voluntarily were sworn to be true to the king of England, and to keep the land of Scotland to his use against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruce, who, as is said, married the second daughter of Earl David, forgetting his oath before made unto the king, within a year or two after this, by the counsel of the abbot of Stone, and bishop of St. Andrews, sent up unto Pope Clement the Fifth for a dispensation of his oath made, insinuating to him that King Edward vexed and grieved the realm of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the pope wrote unto the king to leave off such doings. Notwithstanding which

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inhibition of the pope, the king prosecuting his own right, after he had the understanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischief of Robert Bruce, (who had slain with his own hands Sir John Comyn, for not consenting with him and other lords at his parliament,) arreared his power and strength of men, preparing himself toward Scotland; where he, joining with the said Sir Robert and all the power of Scotland in a plain, near unto St. John's town, put him to flight, and so chased the Scots, that of them were slain to the number of seven thousand. In the which victory such bishops and abbots as were taken he sent to the pope; the temporal lords and other Scots he sent unto London, &c. Sir Robert Bruce, after this discomfiture, when he had thus lost both the field and his chief friends, seeing himself not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept his abode during the time while King Edward lived. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded thanks to God for his victory; and so setting the land in a quiet and an order, he returned unto London, which was the thirty-fifth year and last of his reign, &c.

## 67. Quarrel of King Philip of France and the Pope

Now to return to that which I promised before, touching the variance and grievous dissension between Philip the French king, and Pope Boniface, the eighth of that name. After the bishopric of Rome had been long void through the dissension of the cardinals, for the space of two years and three months, at length Pope Celestinus was chosen successor to Pope Nicholas the Fourth. Which Celestinus in his first consistory began to reform the clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches. Wherefore he procured to himself such hatred among his clergymen, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a reed by his chamber wall, nightly admonished him, as it had been a voice from heaven, that he should give over his papacy, as being a burden bigger than he could wield.

This Pope Celestine, after he had sat six months, by the treachery and falsehood of this Boniface, was induced to give up and resign his bishopric, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for fear; being told of certain craftily suborned in his chamber, that, if he did not resign, he should lose his life. Who then after his resignation, going to live in some solitary desert, (being a simple man,) was vilely taken and thrust into perpetual prison by Pope Boniface; craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred unto Celestine, but that seditious persons might not have him as their head to raise up some stir in the church. And so he was brought to his death. Wherefore this Boniface was worthily called the eighth Nero; of whom it was rightly said, He came in like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.

This Pope Boniface succeeding, or rather invading, after Celestinus, behaved himself so imperiously, that he put down princes, excommunicated kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his cardinals he drove away for fear; some of them as schismatics he deposed and spoiled of all their substance. Philip, the French king, he excommunicated for not suffering his money to go out of the realm; and therefore cursed both him and his to the fourth generation. Albert, the emperor, not once nor twice, but thrice, sought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unless he would promise to drive the French king out of his realm. In the factious discord in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which the part of a good bishop had been to extinguish, so little he helped to quench the smoke, that he of all other was the chiefest firebrand to increase the flame. Insomuch that upon Ash Wednesday, when Porchetus, an archbishop, came and kneeled down before him to receive his ashes, Pope Boniface, looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the Ghibellines' part, cast his handful of ashes in his eyes, saying, Remember, man, that a Ghibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt go. This pope, moreover, ordained first the jubilee in Rome; in the solemnizing whereof the first day he showed himself in his pontificalibus, and gave free remission of sins to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The second day, being arrayed with imperial ensigns, he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice, Lo, hear the power and authority of both the swords, &c.

From the which very year (as most stories do record) the Turks do begin the first count of their Turkish emperors, whereof the first was Ottomanus, as you shall hear discoursed hereafter, by God's grace, in the history of Turks.

By this said Pope Boniface divers constitutions, extravagancies of his predecessors, were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and so made the book called Sextus Decretalium, &c. By whom also first sprang up pardons and indulgences from Rome.

These things thus premised of Boniface the pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife between him and the French king. Concerning which matter, first I find, in the history of Nicholas Trivet, that, in the year of our Lord 1301, the bishop of Oppanuham, being accused for a conspiracy against the French king, was brought up to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope hearing this, sendeth word to the king by his legate to set him at liberty. The French king, not daring to the contrary, looseth the bishop. But when he had done, he dischargeth both the bishop and the legate, commanding them to void his realm. Whereupon Pope Boniface revoketh all the graces and privileges granted either by him or his predecessors before to the kingdom of France; also not long after he thundered out the sentence of his curse against him. Moreover, he citeth all the prelates, all divines and lawyers, both civil and canon, to appear personally before him at Rome, at a certain day, which was the first of November. Against this citation the king again provideth, and commandeth by strait proclamation, that no manner of person should export out of the realm of France either gold or silver, or any other manner of war or merchandise, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and their bodies at the king's pleasure; providing withal, that the ways and passages should diligently be kept, that none might pass unsearched. Over and besides, the said French king defeated the pope in giving and bestowing prebends, and benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings, contrary to the pope's profit. For the which cause the pope writeth to the aforesaid king in form and effect as followeth.

"Boniface, the servant of God's servants, &c. Fear God, and observe his commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in spiritual things and temporal; and that no gift of benefices or prebends belongeth to thee; and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reserve the profits of them to the successors. But if thou have given any, we judge the gift to be void, and call back, how far soever thou hast gone forward. And whosoever believeth otherwise, we judge them heretics."

Unto this letter of the pope King Philip maketh answer again in manner and order as followeth, which is this:

*Philip, by the grace of God king of Francc, to Boniface, not in deeds behaving himself for pope, little friendship or none.*

"To Boniface, bearing himself for chief bishop, little health or none. Let thy foolishness know, that in temporal things we are subject to no man, and that the gifts of prebends and benefices, made and to be made by us, were and shall be good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the possessor of the said benefices. And we think them that believe or think otherwise fools and madmen. Given at Paris the Wednesday after Candlemas, 1301."

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the year of our Lord 1304. In the which year, about the nativity of our Lady, came a garrison of harnessed soldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French king, partly by the cardinals of Columna, whom the pope before had deposed, unto the gates of Arvagium, where the pope did hide himself, because he was born in the town. The captains of which army

were one Schaira, brother to the foresaid cardinals; and another, William de Longareto, high steward to the French king. Who, invading the pope's town, and finding the gates open, gave assault to the pope's frontier, where the pope with his nephew, a marquis, and three other cardinals, were immured. The townsmen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the pope, caused the common bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a common council, ordained Adolphus, one of the chiefest rulers of the town, for their captain; who, unknown to them, was a great adversary to the pope. This Adolphus bringing with him Reginald de Supine, a great lord in Campania, and the two sons of John Chitan, a nobleman, whose father the pope had then in prison, at length joined with the French company against the pope, and so beset his palace on every side. And first, setting upon the palaces of the three cardinals, which were then chief about the pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The cardinals by a back door hardly avoided their hands. But the pope's palace, through munition and strength of the marquis, was something better defended. At length the pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired truce with Schaira and his company, which was to him granted from one till nine. During which time of truce the pope privily sendeth to the townsmen of Arvagium, desiring them to save his life; which if they would do, he promised so to enrich them, that they should all have cause never to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer again, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their ability to do him any good, for that the whole power of the town was with the captain. Then the pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto Schaira, beseeching him to draw out in articles wherein he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. Schaira to this maketh a plain answer, signifying to him again, that he should in no wise escape with his life, except upon these three conditions. First, to restore again the two cardinals of Columna his brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all other of their stock and kindred; secondly, that after their restitution he should renounce his papacy; thirdly, that his body should remain in his power and custody. These articles seemed to the pope so hard, that in no case he would agree unto them; wherefore, the time of truce expired, the captains and soldiers, in all forcible means bending themselves against the bishop, first fired the gates of the palace, whereby the army, having a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoil the house. The marquis, upon hope to have his life, and the life of his children, yieldeth him to the hands of Schaira and the other captain; which when the pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, through windows and doors at length with much ado they burst in to the pope, whom they treated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choice, whether he would presently leave his life, or give over his papacy. But that he denied stiffly to do, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue, Lo here my neck, lo here my head; protesting that he would never while he lived renounce his popedom. Then Schaira went about, and was ready to slay him; but, by certain that were about him, he was stayed; whereby it happened that the pope received no harm, although divers of his ministers and servants were slain. The soldiers, which ranged in the mean time through all the corners of the pope's house, did lade themselves with such treasure of gold, silver, plate, and ornaments, that the words of my author, whom I follow, do thus express it; That all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasury in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the pope's palace, and of the palace of the three cardinals and the marquis. Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods, remained in their custody three days. During which space they had set him on a wild and unbroken colt, his face turned to the horse tail, causing the horse to run course, while the pope was almost breathless. Moreover,

they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby near famished to death. After the third day, the Arvagians and people of the town mustering themselves together, (to the number of ten thousand,) secretly burst into the house where the pope was kept, and so slaying the keepers, delivered the pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the town, gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for his life saved; promising moreover, that forasmuch as he was out of all his goods, having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth, God's blessing and his to all them that now would relieve him with any thing, either to eat or drink. And here now see what poverty and affliction can work in a man; the pope before in all his pomp and most ruffling wealth was never so proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that every poor simple man, as mine author testifieth, might have a bold and free access to his person. To make the story short, the pope, in that great distress of famine, was not so greedy of their victuals as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon the women and people of the town came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the pope's chamber was too little to receive the offering; insomuch that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine to win the pope's holy blessing. Thus Pope Boniface, being refreshed by the town of Arvagium, took his journey from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of harnessed soldiers to Rome, where he shortly upon the same, partly for fear which he was in, partly for famine, partly for sorrow of so inestimable a treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedict the Eleventh. And thus have ye the whole story of Pope Boniface the Eighth, author of the Decretals. Which story I thought the more diligently to set forth, that all the Latin Church might see what an author he was, whose laws and decretals so devoutly they follow.

## 68. King Edward I (Contd).

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the French king and Pope Boniface, let us proceed in our English story. About this time, in the days of King Edward, the Church of Rome began daily more and more to rise up, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no king almost in his own country could do any thing but as pleased the pope, who both had and ruled all in all countries, but chiefly here in England, as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage before signified may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments sent down, also by his donations and reservations of benefices and church livings; also in deposing and disposing such as him listed in place and office to bear rule; insomuch that when the king and the church of Canterbury in their election had chosen one Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Boniface of his own singular presumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust in another, named John Peckham; for among all other this hath always been one practice of the court of Rome, ever to have the archbishop of their own setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the king and other, whatsoever need should happen. To this John Peckham Pope Boniface directed down a solemn bull from Rome, as also unto all other quarters of the universal church. In the which bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and Christian obedience, that no church, nor ecclesiastical person, should henceforth yield to his king or temporal magistrate either any giving or lending, or promising of tribute or subsidy, or portion whatsoever, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all such subjection of tallage or subvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the prince and his affairs. Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the commanded ordinance of God, and the apostolical canon of St. Peter, and all other examples of Holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth spiritual men more than temporal from obedience and subjection of princes; so if it chance the prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the prince's mind, and so (with prayer and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to help and amend that which is amiss.

This bull being directed (as is said) from Rome to the archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise through the whole universal church, under the pope's authority, it chanced not long after the king held his parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where was granted to him all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commons a twelfth, of their goods. Only the clergy, by virtue of his bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselves upon the matter; and after long advisement, so to give him answer against the next parliament, which should be holden the next Hilary term at London.

In conclusion, the parliament came, the clergy persisteth still in the denial of their subsidy, alleging the pope's bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the king likewise secludeth them from under his protection and safeguard of his laws. And as concerning the archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, because he was found more stubborn than the rest, and was the inciter to the other, he seized upon all

his goods, and caused an inventory of the same to be enrolled in the exchequer. Notwithstanding, divers of the other bishops relented soon after to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

In the life of this king's father, it was declared before how the said King Henry the Third, father to this king, after divers wars and commotions had with his barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in *Magna Charta*, and in *Charta de Foresta*. Concerning which matter much business happened in this king's days also in the realm, between the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A pack of wool, which before paid but a mark to the king, was now by this king raised up to forty shillings. After this the king having a journey to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and divers other to give their attendance and service in the same, which they refused and denied to do. Notwithstanding, the king persisting in his purpose, with such a power as he had prepareth toward his journey. To whom, being in his way at Winchelsea, the aforesaid earls and barons and commons sent certain petitions contained in writing under the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, earls, and barons, with the commonalty of the realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redress and amend certain grievances among them. And first they declared, in the name of the whole commons, that the promotion or writs directed to them for their attendance upon his Grace into Flanders was not sufficient; for that there was no certain place in the said writs specified unto them, whether to come for making their provision, and preparing money and other things according to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet, because none of their ancestors ever served the king over into Flanders before, the commons, therefore, thought themselves not bound to any service in that country. And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being so heavily oppressed with so many tallages, taxes, tolls, customs, and prices of corn, oats, tin, wool, leather, oxen, kine, flesh, fish, &c. And besides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges. Over and besides, the lack of the king's wages not paid them, their own poverty like a heavy burden did so miserably lie upon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their own ground. They alleged, moreover, that they were not now handled after the old laws and customs of the land, as their ancestors were wont. Many also found themselves grieved, in that they were not used according to the articles contained in *Charta Magna*; and again, that the *Charta de Foresta* was not observed nor kept as it was wont to be. Wherefore most humbly they beseeched the king, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of these things they might find redress. For the custom, moreover, of woo], the whole commons bewailed to the king their grief, in that for every pack of wool was fined to the king forty shillings, and for every sack of tosed wool seven marks. The which wool of England, as it doth rise up to the value of half the realm, so the tollage of the same surmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land. And because, therefore, the commons wished the honour and preservation of their king, (as they were bound to do,) they thought it not good for his Grace to sail over to Flanders, unless he had better assurance of their fidelity, especially at this time, the Scots being so busy; who, if they began to rebel, he being at home in his land, much more were they like to stir, he being abroad out of the land. And that not only for the Scots, but also for that the like peril was to be doubted of other foreign nations and kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with England.

To these petitions the king said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that some of his council was gone over already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwithstanding, at his return again from Flanders, which he trusted should be speedily, they should then hear his answer, and know more of his mind concerning the same. In the mean time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What answer the king had minded to make them at his return it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody answer; but occasion served otherwise, and turned all to agreement. For the Scots, with their captain, William Wallace, above specified, in the mean time, the king being absent, invaded the realm with such violence, that Prince Edward, the king's son, who was left to rule in his father's stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the earl of Hereford, the earl of Norfolk, high marshal of England, earl of Essex, high constable, with other earls, barons, knights, and esquires, to treat peace and concord between his father and them. Who, coming up to London with fifteen hundred well-armed soldiers, and obtaining the gates of the city with their own men, fell at length to agreement with the prince upon composition to have the articles of *Magna Charta* and of *Charta de Foresta* confirmed; and that by his means and mediation they might be assured of the king's displeasure to be removed from them. The which foresaid articles of *Magna Charta*, with the other articles adjoined withal, here follow under written.

First, no tollage or subsidy by the king or his heirs to be imposed or levied hereafter within the realm of England, without the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and commons of the realm.

Item, no taker or servitor of the king, or of his heirs, henceforth within this realm to take grain, wool, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and consent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any pack of wool.

Item, to be granted by the king and his heirs after him, both to the clergy and laity of this foresaid realm, to have and to enjoy their laws, liberties, and customs, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or statutes shall hereafter be made and set forth contrary to these foresaid articles, the same to stand void and of no effect for ever.

Besides these articles also, in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure between the king and the barons for not going to Flanders ceasing, the earls and barons might be assured to be received again into the king's favour.

These things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the prince also confirmed and sealed with the king his father's seal, so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no less strength of the realm against their enemies; and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and wise nature of the king, who, as he was gentle in promising his reconciliation with his subjects, so no less constant was he in keeping that which he had promised.

After the death of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, who in the parliament had resisted the king in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the crown, touching patronages and such church matters, succeeded Robert Winchelsea, with whom also the king had like variance, who accused him to the pope

for breaking the peace, and took part with them that rebelled against the king about usages and liberties of the realm. Wherefore, the king being cited up to the court of Rome, and there suspended, by the means of the said archbishop, directed his letters again to the pope, taken out of the parliament rolls, where I find divers letters of the king to Pope Clement against the said Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, the contents whereof here follow in substance. And as this king was troubled in his time with both the archbishops, John Peckham, and also Robert Winchelsea; so it happened to all other kings, for the most part, from the time of Lanfranc, (that is, from Pope Hildebrand,) that every king in his time had some business or other with that see. As William Rufus and Henry the First were troubled with Anselm; Henry the Second with Thomas Becket; King Richard and all England with William, bishop of Ely, the pope's legate; King John with Stephen Langton; King Henry the Third with Edmund, archbishop, called St. Edmund. Likewise this King Edward the First with John Peckham and Robert Winchelsea aforesaid. And so other kings after him with some prelate or other. Whereby ye have to understand how and about what time the Church of Rome, which beforetime was subject to kings and princes, began first to take head above and against kings and rulers, and so hath kept it ever since.

By this John Peckham afore mentioned it was ordained, that no spiritual minister should have any more benefices than one, which also was decreed by the constitutions of Octo and Octobonus, the pope's legates the same time in England.

About the beginning of this king's reign, after the decease of Walter, archbishop of York, William Wicewanger succeeding in that see, minding to go on visitation, came to Durham to visit the church and chapter there. But the clergy and the people of the city shut the gates against him, and kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The archbishop let fly his curse of excommunication and interdiction against them. The bishop of Durham again, with his clergy, despised all his cursings, grounding themselves upon the constitution of Innocent the Fourth. And so they appealed to Rome, saying that he ought not to be received there before he had first begun to visit his own chapter and diocess, which he had not done. For so say the words of the constitutions, "We ordain and decree, that every archbishop that will visit his province, first must procure to visit his own church, city, and diocess," &c.

Among other things in this king to be noted, that is not to be passed over, that where complaint was made to him of his officers, as justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, eschetors, and such other, who, in their offices abusing themselves, extorted and oppressed the king's liege people, otherwise than was according to right and conscience, the said king, not suffering such disorder to be unpunished, did appoint certain officers or inquisitors, to the number of twelve, which inquisition was called Traibaston, or Trailbastoun; by means of which inquisition divers false officers were accused, and such as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their office at the king's hand, to their no small loss, and great gain to the king, and much profit to the commonwealth.

In the chronicle of Robert Amesbury, it is recorded of the said king, that he being at Amesbury to see his mother, (who was then in that monastery professed,) there was a certain man, that feigned himself blind a long time, brought to the presence of the said Eleanor, the king's mother, saying how that he had his sight again restored at the tomb of King Henry, her late husband, insomuch that she was easily persuaded the miracle to be very true. But King Edward her son, knowing the man a long time to be a vile dissembler, and a wicked person, used to lying and crafty

deceiving, persuading his mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew so well of the justice of his father, that, if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes than once restore him one. Notwithstanding, the queen his mother, remaining still in the former fond persuasion, would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her son, that she bid him depart her chamber; and so he did. By the example whereof may easily be conceived how and after what sort these blind miracles in those days, and since, have come up among the blind and superstitious people. For had not the king here been wiser than the mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a miracle, and perchance King Henry been made a saint.

But as this was a feigned miracle, and false no doubt; so in the same author we read of another manner of miracle, sounding more near the truth, and so much the more likely, for that it served to the conversion unto Christian faith; to which use properly all true miracles do appertain. The miracle was this. In the reign of this king, and the latter year of his reign, Cassanus, king of the Tartarians, (of whom come these whom now we call Turks,) fighting against the soldan, king of the Saracens, in the plain of Damascus, slew of them a hundred thousand of Saracens; and again at Babylon, fighting with the said soldan, slew him in the field, and two hundred thousand of the Saracens, calling upon the help of Christ, and thereupon became Christian. This Cassanus, I say, had a brother a pagan, who being in love with the daughter of the king of Armenia, a Christian woman, desired of her father that he might marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, unless he promised to be a Christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power, and threatening to get her by war, the king at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child being born betwixt them was overgrown and all rough with hair, like the skin of a bear; which child being brought to the father, he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. But the mother, desiring first to have the child baptized, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptism received, incontinently was altered and turned from all his hairy roughness, and seen as fair and smooth-skinned as any other. The which thing after the father saw and beheld, he was christened himself, and all his house, &c.

In the reign of this king Walter Merton, bishop of Rochester, builded Merton college in Oxford. In whose reign also lived Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Dantes, and others; also Scotus, called Duns, who, in his fourth book of Sentences, Dist. 18, complaineth of the abuse of excommunication and of the pope's keys. Whereas before excommunication was not used but upon great and just causes, and therefore was feared; now, saith he, it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the priests' wages, &c., and therefore, saith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the same king, about the beginning of his reign, was the year so hot and so dry, that from the month of May until the month near of September fell no rain; insomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the said dry year long after.

After Pope Benedict above mentioned succeeded Pope Clement the Fifth, who translated the pope's court to Avignon in France, where it remained the term of seventy-four years after. At the coronation of this Clement was present Philip, king of France, Charles, his son, and Duke John, duke of Brittany, with a great number of other men of state and nobility. At which coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp, or procession, a great wall brake down and fell upon them; by the fall whereof

Duke John with twelve other were slain, King Philip hurt and wounded, the pope struck from his horse, and lost out from his mitre upon his head a carbuncle, esteemed to the value of six thousand florins. By this Clement was ordained, that the emperor, though he might be called king of the Romans before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the emperor before he was by him confirmed. And that the emperor's seat being vacant, the pope should reign as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the order of the Templars (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the council of Vienna, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, assigning indulgences to such as heard the service thereof. And as Pope Boniface before heaped up the book of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium; so this Clement compiled the seventh book of the Decretals, called of the same Clement the Clementines. In the time of this pope, Henricus, the sixth of that name, emperor, was poisoned in receiving the sacrament, by a false dissembling monk called Bernard, that feigned himself to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the pope's legate. The emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away; for else the Germans would surely have slain him; who although he escaped himself, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slain.

As this Pope Clement the Fifth had well provided now, as ye have heard, against the empire of Rome to bring it under his girdle, insomuch that, without the pope's benediction, no emperor might take the state upon him, &c., now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. Where he first exerciseth his tyranny and power of excommunication against Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 1306, declaring him to be a schismatic and heretic, because he neither would nor durst suffer the Grecians to make their appeal from the Greek church to the pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior, &c. Whereby it may appear, that the Greek church did not admit the pope's superiority as yet, nor at any time before; save only about the time of Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1202, at what time the Frenchmen with their captain Baldwin, earl of Flanders, joined together with the Venetians, were set against the Grecians, to place Alexius in the right of the empire of Constantinople, upon condition (as writeth Platina) to subdue the Greek Church under the Church of Rome. Which Alexius being restored, and shortly after slain, the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the space of fifty-eight years, till the coming of Michael Paleologus, in the days of Pope Gregory the Ninth, who restored the empire from the Frenchmen unto his pristine state again. During all which time of the French emperors the Greek Church was subject to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth may appear. Then followed after this, that the foresaid Michael, emperor of Constantinople, being called up to a council at Lyons, by Pope Gregory the Tenth, about the controversy of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, (as is above specified,) and obedience to the Church of Rome; there, because the said Michael the emperor did submit himself and the Grecians to the subjection of Rome, as testifieth Baptist Egnat., he thereby procured to himself such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due hononr and place of burial. The son of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus above mentioned; who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the Grecians not to admit any appellation to the bishop of Rome, was accursed by the pope's censures for a heretic. Whereby appeareth, that the Grecians, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time unto the Church of Rome, which was the year of our Lord 1327, &c. After this Clement the Fifth followed Pope John the Twenty-second, with whom Louis the emperor had

much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded Pope Benedict the Twelfth. Which Benedict, upon a time, being desired to make certain new cardinals, to this answered again, that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is for these cardinals that be made already. And thus much of the popes; now to return a little back to the king's story again.

In the year of our Lord 1307, which was the thirty-fourth of the reign of this king, in the beginning of Hilary term, the king kept a parliament at Carlisle, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancients of the realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money by the pope's legate William Testa, (otherwise termed Mala Testa,) lately brought into the realm of England. The coming of which William Testa was upon this occasion, as followeth: Pope Clement, who, as ye heard before, had translated his court from Rome into France, where he had been archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remain at his own see, the princes of Rome thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy Peter's patrimony. And so by that means, falling into bareness and poverty, he lived only of such money of bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other shifts and gifts. So that by this means, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly under the name of courtesy and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing, he had within the first year 9500 marks of silver, all his other charges and expenses, which he largely that year bestowed, clearly borne. Besides this, he sent moreover the foresaid legate William Testa into England with his bulls; in the which he reserved the first-fruits of the first year of all churches being vacant at any time, or by any man, within the realms of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbeys and priories within the said realms, &c. Whereupon the king with his nobles, seeing the inconvenience and harm thereof ensuing to the whole realm, in the foresaid parliament, holden at Carlisle, withstood the said legate, charging and commanding him by the assent of the earls and barons, that henceforth he should abstain from all such exactions. And as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certain his messengers unto him purposely for the same matter appointed; by the which ambassadors the king wrote unto the aforesaid pope, declaring and admonishing the pope, as right and reason was, that he should not exact the first-fruits of churches and abbeys, by his predecessors and noblemen of the land, founded for the honour and maintenance of God's service, for alms and hospitality; which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this means the pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning abbeys. But after that the fruit of English churches was granted to the king for two years, in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid churches, &c.

During the which parliament afore specified, as men were talking many things of the pope's oppressions, which he began in the English church, in the full of the parliament suddenly fell down, as sent from heaven, among them a certain paper, with this superscription.

*An epistle of Cassiodorus to the Church of England, concerning the abuses of the Romish Church.*

"To the noble Church of England, serving in clay and brick as the Jews did in time past under the tyranny of the Egyptians; Peter, the son of Cassiodore, a catholic soldier, and devout champion of Christ, sendeth greeting, and wishing it to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.

"To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? To whom shall I match thee, O daughter of Zion? Great is thy perturbation, like unto the sea. Thou sittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heaviness. Thou art given up into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without help of one to lift thee up; for the scribes and Pharisees, sitting upon the chair of Moses, the enemies of the Romans are as thy heads and rulers; enlarging their guarded phylacteries, and seeking to be enriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heavy burdens, and not able to be borne, upon thy shoulders, and of thy ministers, and they set thee under tribute, (which of old time hast been free,) beyond all honesty or measure. But marvel not thereat, for thy mother, which is the lady of people, like a widow having married and coupled herself to her subject, hath appointed him to be thy father; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, who showeth no point of any fatherly love towards thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the uttermost his authority over thee, and by experience he declareth himself to be the husband of thy mother. He remembereth oft with himself the prophetic saying of the prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great book, and write therein quickly with the pen of a man: take the spoil, rob quickly. But is this it which the apostle saith that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Every bishop, taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that belong to the Lord; not to spoil, nor to lay on them yearly taxes, nor to kill men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins, and to sorrow with them that be ignorant and do err. And so we read of Peter the fisher, (whose successor he boasteth himself to be,) that after the resurrection of Christ he returned with other apostles to the office of fishing; who when he could take nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ turned to the right side, and drew to the land a net full of fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministry of the church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the devil is overcome, and plenty of souls be lucrified and won to Christ. But certainly the labour on the left side of the ship is far otherwise; for in it the faith stumbleth, heaviness beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking is not found. For who is so foolish to think that he can both at one time serve God and man, and to satisfy his own will, or to stick to the revelations of flesh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtless that shepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And now behold, I say, O daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy father, such as have not been heard of before; he driveth away the good shepherd from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead bishops to rule, but not to profit, his nephews, cousins, and parents; some that know no letters, and other some dumb and deaf, which understand not the plain voice of the sheep, not curing their wounds that be hurt of the wolves; but, like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other men have sown; whose hands moreover be always ready in their baskets and pouches, but their backs are turned from their burdens. By which thing it is manifest that the priesthood is clean changed at these days, the service of God decayed, alms diminished and brought to nought, the whole devotion of kings, princes, and Christians is banished. May not this be thought wonderful in the eyes of all men, that whereas Christ commanded tribute to be paid to kings for him and for Peter, he now goeth about by dominion of his style to subdue to him both realms, and princes of realms, against his will, whose vicar he saith he is, and who refused the realms and judgments of the world, which this bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which he in his style writeth to be his? Alack, O daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? Mark, he draweth from thee whatsoever pleaseth him, and

yet he thinketh not himself content to have the tenth part only of thy goods from thee, except he have also the first-fruits of the benefices of the ministers, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himself as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the first founders. Over and besides all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his legates and messengers, whom he sendeth into England; which not only take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but also tear in pieces like dogs your flesh and skins. May not this prince be compared to King Nebuchadnezzar, which destroyed the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the silver and golden vessels thereof? The very same doth this man also; he robbed the ministers of God's house, and left them destitute of due help. In like manner doth he. Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, than they which be pined with hunger; for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrenness of the earth. O daughter, all they that pass by, let them have pity and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker than coals, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more known in the streets; thy foresaid ruler hath placed thee in darkness, and hath given thee wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the sorrow and sighings of thy people; behold, Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid man is more indurate than the heart of Pharaoh. For he will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not only miserably upon the earth, but also after their death he intendeth to encroach the goods of all Christians under the name and title of dying intestate, or making no will. Therefore let the chivalry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times past, directing their greedy eyes on the realm of England, laboured with all their power how to bring the same under their subjection. But it is to be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the realm, and spoiling of the church's goods, the realm shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to help itself against the enemy. Therefore, O daughter, and you the ministers thereof, suffer not yourselves to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Christian king and the powers of the realm, which have endued thee with great benefits, and you also which are endued with their benefits, do labour with all your power how to resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person; who not for any zeal of God, but for the enriching of his parents, and for his own kindred, (exalting himself like an eagle,) by these and such other exactions goeth about, after another kind of extortion, to scrape up and devour all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicity of the realm in this behalf do bring utter subversion, and afterward be compelled to seek remedy when it is too late, I beseech the Lord God of hosts to turn away the veil from the heart of that man, and to give him a contrite and a humble mind, in such sort as he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darkness, and be enforced to relinquish his old sinister attempts; and that the vineyard which the Lord's hand hath planted may be replenished continually with the preachers of the word. Let the words of the Lord, prophesied by the mouth of Jeremiah, stir up your minds to withstand and resist the subtle practices of this man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold, I will come and visit upon thee, and upon the malice of thy studies; neither shall there be any of thy seed which shall sit upon the seat of David; neither which shall have power any more in Judah. So that thy nest shall become barren, and utterly subverted, like Sodom and Gomorrah.

"And if he, being terrified by these words, do not leave off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those things which he hath received, then let all and singular persons sing for him, being indurate, to Him that seeth all things, Psal. cviii., Deus laudum, &c. For truly, as favour, grace, benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so again the gentle benignity of man, being too much oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from the same, striveth and searcheth to have the truth known, and casteth off that yoke by all means possible that grieveth him," &c.

What effect this letter wrought in them to whom it was directed is not in story expressed. This by the sequel may be conjectured, that no reason or persuasion could prevail, but that the pope retained here still his exactions, whatsoever was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England, now to slip a little into the matters happening the same time in France, under the reign of the foresaid King Philip above mentioned; forasmuch as about this time, A.D. 1307, was commenced a parliament by the said king of France against the pope, touching the jurisdiction both temporal, pertaining to princes, and ecclesiastical, belonging to the church, I thought it not unprofitable for the reader to hear and learn the full discourse and tractation hereof, according as we have caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true copy and records of Peter Bertrand, bishop of Edven, and chief doer and prolocutor in the said parliament upon the pope's side, against the king and state temporal.

Forasmuch as the high prelate of Rome, otherwise called antichrist, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himself above all princes and potentates of the world, as in other countries, so also in France, extended his usurped jurisdiction above the princely authority of the king, claiming to himself full government of both the states, as well secular as also ecclesiastical; the king therefore, not suffering the excessive proceedings of Pope Clement the Fifth, above specified, directeth his letters mandatory to the prelates and barons of the realm of France, to convent and assemble themselves together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the year above, prefixed; the tenor of which letters of the king directed to the prelates followeth in this form and manner.

"Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to our well beloved bishop of Edven, greeting and salutation. Reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The more sight and knowledge you have in divinity and the Holy Scriptures of God, with the practice and experience of other good qualities and virtues, you know the better a great deal how that the clergy and laity of this our realm (as members of one body) ought to cleave and stick together; and how by their helping hand unity and peace should be maintained of all, and the contrary eschewed and avoided, every state contenting itself, and not encroaching one upon another. And because we are advertised, how that our barons and officers (as well in time past as of late) have diversly in divers points injured you, as semblably you and yours in many causes have wrongfully damaged them; by occasion whereof the knot of unity and concord, which ought to have flourished among you, is quite loosed and undone: to the end therefore, by God's grace, some good reformation and redress may be had herein, we, most studious of unity and concord, require you, and by these our letters command you, to appear personally before us at Paris the fifteenth day of December next ensuing the date hereof, and there before us to make relation of such wrong as ye

have received at the laity's hands. And we likewise straitly charge and command you, our barons, bailiffs, and officers, not to fail, but to make your personal appearances before us the day and place above written, and there to exhibit before us a bill of such complaints wherewith you burden our prelates and clergy, with their officials; that we, with our council, consulting thereupon with due regard, may see redress therein; whereby perpetual love and charity may ever hereafter reign and remain among them for ever. Given at Paris the first day of September, A.D. 1309."

At the day in the letters above specified the prelates and clergy assembled themselves before the king at his palace in Paris; that is to say, the Lord Bituricen, the lord of Auxitan, the Lord Turonen, the Lord Rothom, and the Lord Senon, all archbishops; the Lord Belvacen, the Lord Cathalen, the Lord Laudun, the lord of Paris, the Lord Novionon, the Lord Carnoten, the Lord Constan, the Lord Andegaven, the Lord Pictaven, the Lord Melden, the lord of Cameracen, the lord of St. Feri, the Lord Brioce, the lord of Cabilion, and the lord of Edven, all bishops. Where, after due reverence done unto the king's Grace, there sitting in his own person, with his barons and council about him, a certain noble and wise person, Lord Peter de Cugneriis, (being one of the king's council,) rose up, and openly in the parliament house spake in the king's behalf on this wise, taking for his theme, Give and render unto Cæsar that which is his, and unto God that which is God's; which he very artificially prosecuted and applied, dividing it into two parts. First, that obedience and reverence is due unto the king. Secondly, that there ought to be a difference between the jurisdiction of the clergy and laity, so that spiritual matters should be defined and ordered by the prelates and spiritual men, and temporal causes ruled and determined by the king, his barons, and temporal men. Which all he proved by many reasons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the answer of the bishop of Edven. Finally, he concluded, that the clergy ought only to deal and have to do with spiritual matters; in defence whereof the king's Highness would stand their good lord and maintainer. His oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the French tongue, which imported that the king's will and pleasure was in some points to renew the temporal state and jurisdiction; and therewith he exhibited a certain bill in French, whereof also he gave a copy to the prelates, containing certain points and articles under-written; the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertain to the order and jurisdiction of the spirituality, but only to the temporally, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding the premises, and for all this his complaint, he said that the prelates should have time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the king.

After the Lord Peter had thus spoken, the prelates required to have time to answer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next ensuing was appointed for the same. On the which day the bishop Edven, and archbishop of Senon elect, in the name of the whole clergy answered for them all before the king, holding his parliament as that day at Vicens.

In the said session the aforesaid bishop of Edven, prolocutor, inferred many things beside, and answered particularly to the articles above specified, and exhibited by the Lord Peter in writing to the king and parliament; which, because they touch more the subtilty of the law and styles of the courts than are necessary to this our history, and because we would not burden the volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpose, for brevity's sake, omitted them, passing to the next sitting, which was the Friday next following the same, as ensueth.

The next Friday after this the prelates assembled at Vicenas before the king to hear their answer; where the foresaid Lord Peter of Cugneriis, being prolocutor for the king, spake on this wise, taking for his theme, I am peace unto you, do not fear, &c. Which he prosecuted, admonishing that they should not be troubled in any thing that there had been spoken; for that the intent and mind of the sovereign lord their king was, to keep the rites of the church and prelates, which they had by law and by good and reasonable custom; where, between the first and second conclusion, he went about to prove, that the cognition of civil causes ought not to appertain to the church; for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the temporally, as spiritual things to the spiritually. And besides his other reasons, he alleged the declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the clerks' crowns were shaven, in sign that they should be free from all worldliness, and forsake all temporal things. Furthermore, he declared, that the bishops had cognition in certain cases expressed by law. Wherefore these said cases ministered a certain rule against him. Also he affirmed, that, by reason of sin, the decretal Novit. could not make for them. For the same did speak of the king of France's state, which hath no superior; but in other persons it was, he said, otherwise. And these things thus being proved, then said he, and concluded, That nevertheless their lord and king was ready to hear the information of them which would instruct him of any custom; and those customs which were good and reasonable he would observe. Which answer, because it did not seem to please and suffice the prelates, incontinently the bishop Edven answered for them all in manner following. First, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise: The prince of the people (said he) shall be praised for the prudence of his talk, commending therewith, as touching the former good general answer of the king, his purpose and talk propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord Peter, which engendered and brought darkness and obscurity, and might give occasion to the temporal lords to break and infringe the rites and customs of the church, his answer seemed not full and plain to the prelates. Speaking, moreover, to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her Son; Son, why did you so to us? And so he prosecuted the same, both marvelling with himself, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterward, answering to those things which the Lord Peter affirmed, and first to the chapter, *ad verum*, he said, that it was before answered, touching the division of the two jurisdictions, that they may be in one subject, as before is proved. Neither doth it let which the Lord Peter said, that these two jurisdictions could not be in one subject, because that things which be in themselves diverse, and be under one genus, as a man and an ass, cannot be in one subject. But if they were under divers kinds, as whiteness and sweetness in milk, they might be well in one subject. It was answered, that this rule was not true, because justice and temperance are two diverse virtues, and under one kind, and yet be in one subject. Besides these differing species, a man and an ass be not compatible in one subject. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shaving of the crown, it was answered, that the crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the shaving did signify, that they ought not to heap up store of temporal things so to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be subject to them, and not they to the temporality, as is proved in the said chapter, *duo sunt genera*. Also as concerning the thing which was talked of *de regula*, he answereth, that this maketh for the church, as before was proved, yea also, the custom doth make the rule for the church. Also laws in all kind of sense do always except the custom. And, therefore, his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the Lord Peter spake about the decretal Novit., that the case was only in the king's person; yet for all that it is

expressly said in the same text, of every Christian man. And although their law doth speak only of the pope, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their diocese. Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king that it would please his Grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all pensive and sad, whereby occasion might be given to the laity to impugn the rights and liberties of the church; and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their sovereign lord and king. In the end it was answered to them in the behalf of the king, that his mind and intent was not to impugn the customs of the church.

The Sunday following the bishops assembled themselves again before the king at Vicenas, where the lord bishop of Edven repealed their last supposition, with the last answer made unto them in the behalf of the king, when the bishop of Byturien had given them to understand how the king willed them not to fear, for that they should suffer no hinderance or damage in his time; yea, and he would defend them in their rites and customs, because it should not be said that he would give ensample to other to impugn the church, assuring them that even the king's Grace willed him so to declare unto them. The said lord bishop of Senon in the name of the whole prelates gave humble thanks to the king therefore, and the said bishop of Senon beseeched that such proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the king himself answereth with his own mouth, that they were not published at his commandment, neither did he know of them nor ratify them. Thirdly, the bishop proposed, that those abuses which the temporalty complained of should be so ordered and reformed, that every man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the king's Highness that he would of his gracious goodness give them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the Lord Peter in the name of the king, That if the prelates and bishops would see reformation of those things which were to be amended, whereabouts he would take respite between this and Christmas next following, his Grace would innovate nothing in the mean season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reform that which was amiss, his Majesty would appoint such order and remedy, that should be acceptable both to God and his subjects. After this, the prelates had leave of the king to depart, and went home.

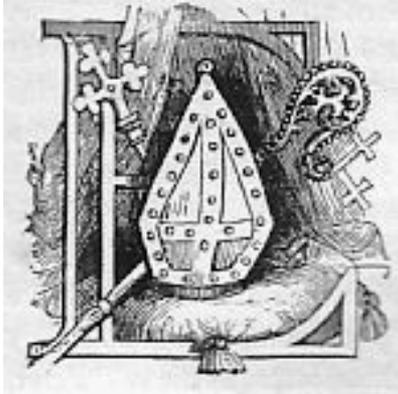
And thus much concerning French matters, which, because they be ecclesiastical, and bear with them some utility to the diligent reader, such as list to search, note, and observe the acts of men, and course of religion, I thought, therefore, here to place and adjoin them next after the other contention before proceeding between Philip, the French king, and Pope Boniface. Albeit, as touching the perfect keeping of years and time, I am not ignorant that this aforesaid parliament, thus summoned and commenced against the French prelates, falling in the year of our Lord 1329, was to be referred rather to the reign of King Edward the Second, of whom now remaineth, by the grace of Christ, in order of history to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father given to him in the time of his departing. The year of our Lord 1307, and the last year of the king, the foresaid King Edward, in his journey marching towards Scotland, in the north fell sick of the flux, which increased so fervently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore, calling before him his earls and barons, he caused them to be sworn, that they should crown his son Edward in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the land to his use till he were crowned. That done, he called before him his son Edward, informing and lessoning him with wholesome precepts; and he charged him also with divers

points upon his blessing: first, that he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good, and especially to the miserable to be merciful. After this, he gave him also charge not to be too hasty in taking his crown, before he had revenged his father's injuries stoutly against the Scots; but that he should remain in those parts to take with him his father's bones, being well boiled from the flesh; and so, being enclosed in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots; saying, that so long as he had his father's bones with him none should overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to love his brothers Thomas and Edmund; also to cherish and tender his mother Margaret, the queen. Over and besides, he straitly charged him upon his blessing, (as he would avoid his curse,) that he should in no case call to him again, or send for Peter Gaveston; which Peter Gaveston the king before had banished the realm, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his son Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsel. For the which cause he banished both Peter Gaveston utterly out of the realm, and also put the said Edward his son in prison. And therefore so straitly he charged his son in no wise to send for this Gaveston, or to have him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to have returned in his own person to the Holy Land, (which for his manifold wars with the Scots he could not perform,) therefore he had prepared thirty-two thousand pounds of silver, for the sending of certain soldiers with his heart unto the Holy Land. Which thing he required of his son to see accomplished; so that the aforesaid money, under his curse and malediction, be not employed to other uses. But these injunctions and precepts the disobedient son did nothing observe or keep after the decease of his father. Who, forsaking and leaving off the war with the Scots, with all speed hasted him to his coronation. Also, contrary to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, he sent for the aforesaid Peter Gaveston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his peers and nobles; and therefore reigned unfortunately, as by the sequel of the story here following, by the grace of Christ, shall be declared. Thus King Edward, first of that name, leaving behind him three sons, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortal life, A.D. 1307, after he had reigned near thirty-five years.

In the time and reign of this king many other things happened which here I omit to speak of, as the long discord and strife between the prior of Canterbury and the prior of Dover, which continued above four years together, with much wrangling and unquietness between them. Likewise another like contention growing between John Romain, archbishop of York, and the archbishop of Canterbury, upon this occasion; that when John, archbishop of York, after his consecration returned from the pope, coming to Dover, contrary to the inhibition of Canterbury, he passed through the middle of Kent, with his cross borne up, although the story reporteth that he had the king's consent thereunto, A.D. 1286.

Item, between Thomas, bishop of Hereford, and John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this king. Which bishop of Hereford, appealing from the archbishop to the pope, went up to Rome, and in his journey died. Who with less cost might have tarried at home, A.D. 1282.

## 69. King Edward II.



EDWARD, the second of that name, and son of Edward the First, born, as is aforesaid, at Carnarvon in Wales, after the departure of his father, entered the government of the land, A.D. 1307; but was not crowned before the next year following, A.D. 1308, by reason of the absence of Robert Winchelsea, who was banished by King Edward the First. Whereupon the king this present year writeth to the pope for the restitution of the said archbishop, for that, by an ancient law of the realm, the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceed without the archbishop

of Canterbury. Which Edward, as he was personable in body and outward shape, so in conditions and evil dispositions much deformed; as unstedfast of his word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsel; also, refusing the company of his lords and men of honour, he much haunted among villains and vile personages; given moreover to overmuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon be wont to ensue. And as of his own nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evil-disposed persons, as first of Peter, or Pierce, Gaveston, before touched. Then, after him, of the two Spensers and other, whose wanton counsel he following, gave himself to the appetite and pleasure of his body; nothing ordering his commonwealth by gravity, discretion, and justice; which thing caused first great variance between him and his nobles, so that shortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his kingdom. In the first year he took to wife Isabel, daughter of Philip, king of France; with whom (the year after) he was crowned at Westminster by the bishop of Winchester, for that Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding, the barons and lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Gaveston from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the next parliament to have their requests accomplished, and so he was crowned. In the mean season, the foresaid Peter, or Pierce, bearing himself of the king's favour bold, continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and nobles of the realm, so that he ruled both the king and the realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the king any delight else, or kept company with any, but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This, as it seemed strange unto the lords and earls, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that, through the exciting of the nobles, the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gaveston, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion whereof the king, the same first year of his reign, being grieved with the bishops, writeth to the pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter, unless he departed the realm within a time certain. The which letter of the king, what answer again it had from the pope, I find not set down in story. Over and besides, it befell in the said first year of the king, that the bishopric of York being vacant, the king gave the office of the treasure to one of his own clerks; whereof the pope having intelligence writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withal citeth up to Rome the said clerk, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his cardinals, upon whom he had bestowed

the said dignity; whereunto the king maketh answer: "That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceed to the impeachment of our kingly jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our crown, (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concern our estate should be prosecuted in any other place than within this our realm, by any manner of ways, &c.) certes, although we ourselves would wink thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to pass our hands; yet the states and nobles of our kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and sworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the crown of England, will in no wise suffer our right and the laws of the land so to be violated."

Besides this, the aforesaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certain counsellors of King Edward his father, lying sick, utterly ignorant thereof, a certain restraint was given out, charging his nuncios and legates, whom he had sent for the gathering of the first-fruits of the benefices vacant within the realm, not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the king maketh answer:

"Most holy father, it hath been given you to understand otherwise than the truth of the matter is; for most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good act of parliament, holden at Karlin, upon certain causes concerning the execution of such collections, (the said our father not only being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his own mere knowledge agreeing to the same,) in the presence not only of his own earls, barons, states, and commons of the realm, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto."

Item, upon other letters brought from the pope to the king, for the installing of one Peter de Sabaudia his kinsman into the bishopric of Worcester, being then vacant, and withal requiring that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the prior and convent of the same place; the king therewith grieved, maketh answer by his letters to the pope and sundry his cardinals: "That forasmuch as elections of prelates, to be placed in cathedral churches within his kingdom, are not to be attempted without his licence first had and obtained;" therefore he could not abide that any such strange and unaccustomed reservations should or could take place in his realm without manifest prejudice of his kingly estate; requiring further, that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought in into his kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him have accustomed to do.

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the parliament appointed came, A.D. 1310, which was the fourth of this king's reign. The articles were drawn by the nobles to be exhibited to the king, which articles were the same contained in *Magna Charta* and in *Charta de Foresta* above specified, with such other articles as his father had charged him with before; to wit, that he should remove from him and his court all aliens and perverse counsellors; and that all the matters of the commonwealth should be debated by common counsel of the lords, both temporal and spiritual; and that he should stir no war out of England in any other foreign realm without the common assent of the same, &c. The king perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder Peter Gaveston from his company, and seeing no other remedy, but needs he must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said Gaveston should be banished into Ireland. And so the parliament breaking up, the lords returned to their own well appeased; although of the other articles they could not speed, yet that they had driven Peter Gaveston out of the realm at this time it did suffice them.

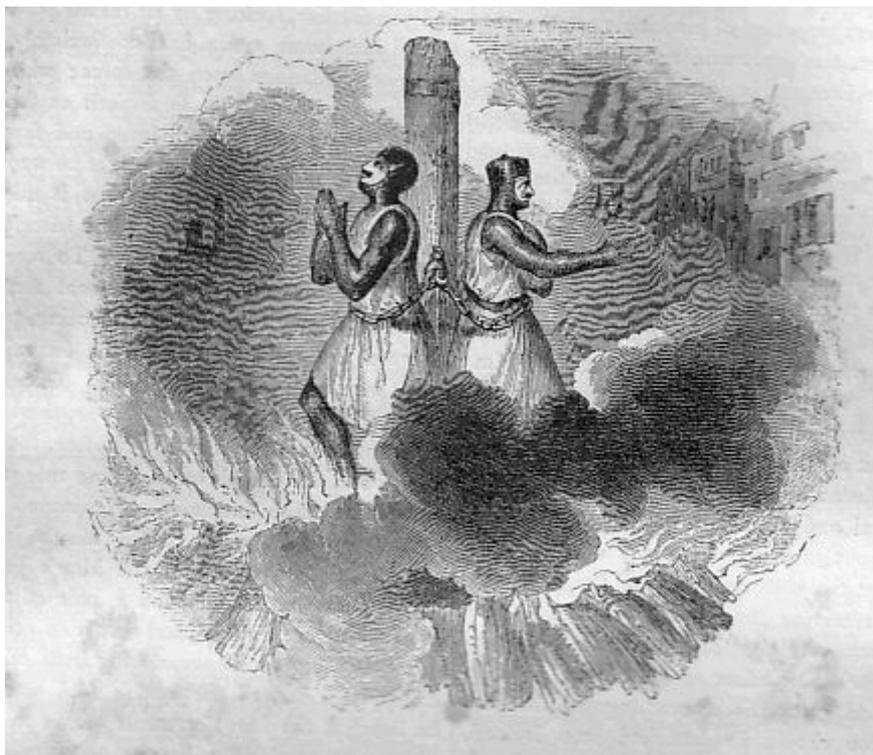
## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

This Peter Gaveston was a certain gentleman's son of Gascony; whom being young King Edward the First, for the good service his father had done him in his wars, received to his court, and placed him with his son Edward, now reigning. Who, in process of time growing up with him, incensed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonness. By whose occasion first he began, in his father's days, to break the park of Walter bishop of Chester, then chancellor of England, and after executor to the king; for the which so doing the king, as is partly touched before, imprisoned his son, and condemned this Peter to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding the young king, after the death of his father, as ye have heard, sent for this Gaveston again. And withal he so persecuted this fore-said bishop, that he clapped him in the Tower, and seized upon all his goods. Moreover, he caused most strait inquisition to be made upon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might have been found, it would have cost him his life.

And thus much of Peter Gaveston, and of his origin. Now to the matter.

The king, thus separated from his old compeer, (that is, from the company of Peter Gaveston, now exiled into Ireland,) continued in great mourning and pensiveness, seeking by all means possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him upon the same; who did insinuate to the king, that forasmuch as the earl of Gloucester was a man well loved and favoured in all the realm, if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gaveston, it might be a mean both for him to obtain more friendship, and for the king to have his desire. To make short, Peter Gaveston in all haste was sent for, and the marriage, through the king's procuring, proceeded between the earl's sister and the foresaid Peter, albeit sore against the earl's mind. Gaveston, thus restored and dignified, was so surprised in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more increased. Insomuch that he, having the guiding of all the king's jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the king's jewel-house at Westminster a table and a pair of tressels of gold unto merchants beyond sea, with other jewels more, to the great impoverishing both of the king and queen, and of the land. And over all that, he brought the king, by mean of his wanton conditions, to manifold vices, as adultery, and such other like. Wherefore the lords, seeing the mischief that daily increased by occasion of this unhappy man, took their counsel together at Lincoln, and there concluded to void him again out of England; so that shortly after he was exiled again, and went into Flanders; for in France or his own country he durst not appear, for fear of Philip, the French king, to whom the queen of England his daughter had sent over great complaints, of the said Gaveston; who had so impoverished her and the whole court, that she had not wherewith to maintain her estate. Upon which complaint the French king through all his dominions laid strait watch to apprehend the said Gaveston; but he, not unwarned thereof, secretly coasted into Flanders, from whence it was not long but he was fetched again by the king, as in further process followeth; so much was the king's heart infatuated by this wicked person.

About this year, or the next before, came in first the Crouched Friars; and also first began the knights of the order of St. John Baptist, otherwise called the knights of Rhodes, for that they by manly knighthood put out the Turks from the Isle of Rhodes.



**Knights Templar burnt at the stake**

In the history of King Edward, this king's father, before precedent, mention was made of Pope Clement the Fifth, who succeeded after Benedict; also of putting down of the Templars, which in this year happened by means of the French king; who, as he caused to be burned in the city of Paris this year fifty-four Templars, with the great master of the same order; so, by his procurement the foresaid Pope Clement, called a council at Vienna, where the whole order and sect of Templars, being condemned, was shortly after by the consent of all Christian kings deposed all in one day. After whom the French king thought to make his son king of Jerusalem, and to convert to him all the lands of the said Templars. But Clement the pope would not thereto agree, transferring all their lands to the order of Hospitallers, for the great sum of money given for the same. The cause why these impious Templars were put down was so abominable and filthy, that for the reverence of chaste ears it were better not told, if it be true that some write.

Another matter worthy to be noted, of like abomination, I thought here to insert, touching a certain nunnery in France called Provines, within the which, at the cleansing and casting of a fishpond, were found many bones of young children, and the bodies also of some infants as yet whole unconsumed; upon occasion whereof divers of the nuns of the said nunnery, to the number of twenty-seven, were had to Paris, and there imprisoned; what became of them afterward I find not in mine author.

In the same council also was decreed by the said Clement, that all religious orders exempted should be subject under the common laws as other were. But the Cistercian monks with money and great gifts redeemed their privileges and exemption of the pope, and so had them granted. These Cistercians sped better herein than did the Minorites of the Franciscans in their suit. Of which Franciscans, when certain of them had offered unto the said Pope Clement forty thousand florins of gold, beside other silver, that the pope would dispense with them to have lands and possessions

against their rule; the pope asked them where was that money. They answered, In the merchant-men's hands. So the space of three days being given them to bring forth these merchants, the pope absolved the merchants of their bond made to the friars, and commanded all that money to be employed and reverted to his use; declaring to the friars, that he would not infringe or violate the rule of St. Francis lately canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich friars lost both their money and their indulgence.

Concerning this Pope Clement the Fifth, Sabellicus writeth, that he excommunicated the Venetians, for aiding and preferring of Azoda unto the state of Ferrara; and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giving their goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which caused them to sustain great harm. But Francis Dandulus, a nobleman of Venice, being ambassador from the Venetians to the said Clement, for the obtaining of their absolution and safeguard of their city and country, and for the pacifying of the pope's fury toward them, was fain so to humble himself before this proud, tyrannical prelate, that he suffered a chain of iron to be tied about his neck, and he to lie down flat before his table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had been a dog, till the pope's fury was towards them assuaged; so that after that he, in reproach, because he so humbled himself for the behalf and helping of his country, was of some called a dog. But the city of Venice showed themselves not unkind again to Dandulus for his gentle good will declared to his country; for as he had abased himself before in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his country's sake; so they extolled him with as much glory again being returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chief princely ornaments of the city, to make him amends for his former reproach received.

Concerning the Constitutions of this Pope Clement, and of his Decretals and Clementines, and how Henricus the emperor in his days was poisoned in receiving of the sacrament, ye have heard before. About this time Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, (whom this king's father had banished before,) was released and returned home from Rome.

These things thus declared, let us proceed (by the Lord's grace) to the next year, which is of the Lord 1311, and the fifth year of this king's reign. In the which year, counting the year from Michaelmas to the same feast again, as then the usage of the realm was, Peter Gaveston, who had wandered the countries about, and could find no safe resting-place, (notwithstanding he was utterly banished, upon forfeiting life and goods, out of the realm, yet trusting upon the king's favour, and the good will of the earl of Gloucester, whose sister he had married,) secretly returning into England with a certain company of strangers, presented himself to the king's sight. At the beholding of whom the king for joy ran to him, and embracing him, did not only retain him, but also for his sake undid all such acts as had been in the parliament before enacted. The queen and the whole court, seeing this doting of the king, made a heavy Christmas. After this return of Gaveston was noised among the commons, the peers and nobles of the realm were not a little stirred, casting with themselves what way were best to take. If he were suffered still, they saw not only themselves rejected, but also that the queen could not enjoy the love of the king, neither could there be any quietness in the realm. Again, to stir up war in the land, it were not the best; to vex or disquiet the king also they were afraid. But forasmuch as they could not abide all the nobility so to be thrust out and vilipended for the love of one stranger, and also the realm so to be spoiled and impoverished by the same; this way they took, that

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, should be elected among them the chieftain, and chief doer in that business; to whom all other earls, and barons, and prelates also did concordly condescend and consent, except only Walter, bishop of Coventry, whom Robert the archbishop therefore afterward did excommunicate. Which Thomas of Lancaster, by the public assent of the rest, sent to the king, lying then at York, humble petitions, in the name as well of the whole nobility as of the commons; desiring his Grace to give the foresaid Gaveston unto them, or else, according to the ordinance of the realm, that the land might be avoided of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the love of one stranger than by his whole realm beside, neither would hearken to their counsel, nor give place to their supplications; but in all hasty fury removed from York to Newcastle, where he remained almost till Midsummer.

In the mean season the barons had gathered a host of sufficient and able soldiers, coming toward Newcastle; not intending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the laws upon the wicked Gaveston. The king, having wherewith to resist their power, removeth in all speedy manner to Teignmouth, where the queen lay. And hearing there that Newcastle was taken, he taketh shipping and saileth from thence; (notwithstanding the queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears and all instance desireth him to tarry with her, as safely he might;) but he, nothing relenting to her, took Peter his compeer with him, and coasted over to the castle of Scarborough; where he leaving Peter Gaveston to the safe keeping of his men, himself journeyeth toward the coast beside Warwick. The lords, hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power; so that at length Gaveston, seeing no remedy but he must needs come into their hands, yieldeth and submitteth himself; requiring none other condition, but only that he might talk but a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gaveston being apprehended, the king hearing thereof sendeth unto the lords, requiring his life to be spared; and that he might be brought to his speech; and promised, that in so doing he would satisfy their minds and requests, whatsoever. About this advisement was taken; but then the earl of Pembroke, hearing the king's promise, persuaded the barons to grant unto his petition; promising himself, upon losing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the king's speech, and so to be recommitted to them again. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaveston with him, to bring him where the king lay. And so coming to Dedington, not far from Warwick, he leaveth him in the keeping of his soldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from thence.

The same night it chanced Guido, the earl of Warwick, to come to the same place where Gaveston was left; who, taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carrieth him to the castle of Warwick, where incontinently they would have put him to death; but, doubting and fearing the king's displeasure, a little they stayed. At that time one of the company, (a man of sage and wise counsel, as mine author writeth,) standing up among them, with his grave oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedness of his own condition, the realm by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expenses they had been at in so long pursuing and getting of him; and now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them so to use and take the occasion now present, that hereafter, being out of their hands, they afterward might seek, and should not find it.

Briefly, in such sort he persuaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in stories I find to be called Gaveshead; but that name, as I think, was derived upon this

occasion afterward. And thus he, that before had called the earl of Warwick the black dog of Ardeine, was thus by the said dog worried, as ye have heard, &c. His carcass the Dominic friars of Oxford had in their monastery interred the space of two years; but after that the king caused the same carcass to be taken, up and buried within his own manor of Langley.

After this, great disturbance began to rise between the king and the lords; who, having their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message unto the king at London, to have their former acts confirmed. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew, who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles, with the bishops and prelates of the realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At which time also came two cardinals from Rome, with letters sent unto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at St. Albans, that as touching themselves, they should be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their letters, forasmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms, therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent again, that they would grant at least but to speak with the pope's legates, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and unity in the realm. They answered again, that they had bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsel they would be led only, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said precisely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their business and affairs pertaining to the realm. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earl of Gloucester, the matter at length was so taken up, that the barons should restore to the king, or his attorney of St. Albans, all the treasure, horses, and jewels of the foresaid Gaveston taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

Shortly upon the same Isabella the queen was delivered of a fair child at Windsor, whom Louis the French king's son, the queen's brother, with other Frenchmen there present, would have to be called by the name of the French king; but the English lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his father. At the birth of which Edward great rejoicing was through all the land; and especially the king his father so much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gaveston's death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a good towardness; which more and more might have been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan, the author and sower of discord, stirred up his instruments, (certain Frenchmen, titivillers and make-baits about the king,) which ceased not, in carping and depraving the nobles, to inflame the king's hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renewed afresh, the king in his parliament, called upon the same, began to charge the foresaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaveston. Neither were the nobles less stout again in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserved rather thank and favour with the king than any displeasure, in vanquishing such a public enemy of the realm; who not only had spoiled and wasted the king's substance, but also raised much disturbance in the realm. And forasmuch as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expenses, they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short, great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter like to have followed. But again, through the diligent mediation of the queen,

the prelates, and the aforesaid earl of Gloucester, the matter was taken up and brought to reconciliation upon these conditions; that the lords and barons openly in Westminster Hall should, humble themselves before the king, and ask pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receive a letter of the king's pardon for their indemnity and assurance. And so passed over that year, within the which year died Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury. In whose room Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canterbury to succeed; but the pope, frustrating the election, placed Walter Reinold, bishop of Worcester.

In the mean time the Scots, hearing this civil discord in the realm, began to be busy, and to rebel of new through the means of Robert Bruce; who being chased out of Scotland by King Edward the First, as is above premised, into Norway, was now returned again into Scotland; where he demeaned himself in such sort to the lords there, that in short process he was again made king of the realm, and warred so strongly upon them that took the king's part, that he won from them many castles and strong holds; and invaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entereth the realm of Scotland. Against whom encountered Robert de Bruce with his Scots at Estrivelin, where was fought a strong battle; in the end whereof the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noblemen were slain, as the earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmund Maule, with other lords, to the number of forty-two, and knights and barons two hundred and twenty-seven, besides men of name, which were taken prisoners; of common soldiers ten thousand, or, after the Scottish story, fifty thousand slain. After which time, Sir Robert Bruce reigned as king of Scotland.

About which time, and in which year, died Pope Clement, who, keeping in the realm of France, never came to the see of Rome; after whose death the papacy stood void two years.

The Scots after this, exalted with pride and fierceness, invaded the realm of England so sore, killing and destroying man, woman, and child, that they came winning and wasting the north parts as far as to York. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penury of all things, so oppressed the whole land, such murrain of sheep and oxen, as men were fain to eat horse-flesh, dogs, cats, mice, and what else they could get. Moreover, such a price of corn followed withal, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his own household. Moreover, some there were that did steal children and eat them, and many for lack of victual died. And yet all this amended not the king of his evil living.

The cause and origin of this great dearth, was partly the wars and dissension between them and the Scots, whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was the intemperate season of the year; which, contrary to the common course, was so moist with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the sun, nor grow to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be satisfied with saturity, but eftsoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to steal and rob; the rich were constrained to avoid and diminish their households; the poor for famine died. And not so much the want of victual, which could not be gotten, as the unwholesomeness of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reason of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious, that many died of the flux, many of hot fevers, divers of the pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the

putrefaction of the herbs and grass fell into as great a murrain; so far forth, as that the eating of flesh was suspected and thought contagious. A quarter of corn and salt, from the month of June to September, grew from thirty shillings unto forty shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to steal fat dogs, and to eat them; some were said in secret corners to eat their own children. Some would steal other men's children to kill them and eat them privily. The prisoners and thieves that were in bands for hunger fell upon such as were newly brought in unto them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extreme penury had extinguished and consumed, as it was thought, the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king by the advice of the Londoners given forth commandment through-all his land, that no corn should at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures, in our wealth and abundance, will not cease daily to provoke his terrible Majesty.

But let us return to the order again of our story. After the Scots had thus plagued miserably, as ye have heard, the realm of England, they invaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued war the space of four years. But, in fine, the Irishmen, by aid sent to them from England, quit themselves so well, that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruce, and many of the nobles of Scotland, with many other, and drove the residue out of the country.

The king, about the twelfth year of his reign, assembled a new host and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Berwick. But in the mean time the Scots by another way invaded the merchants of Yorkshire, robbing and harrying the country, and they slew much people. Wherefore the archbishop of York, and other abbots, priors, clerks, with husbandmen, assembled a great company, and gave them battle at a place called Mitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited, and many of them slain; but the archbishop, and the abbot of Selby, and divers others there escaped. But because there were so many spiritual men there slain, it was called therefore the white battle. By reason whereof, the king, hearing of this, and partly because winter did approach, was constrained to break up his siege, and so returned, not without great danger.

At this time the two Spensers (Sir Hugh Spenser, the father, and Hugh Spenser, the son) were of great power in England, and by the favour of the king practised such cruelty, and bare themselves so haughtily and proud, that no lord of this land might gainsay them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation, both with the nobles and the commons, no less than Peter Gaveston was before.

Soon upon this, came two legates from Rome, sent by Pope John the Twenty-second, under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland; who, for their charges and expenses, required of every spiritual person four pence in every mark. But all their labour nothing availed; for the legates, as they were in the north parts (about Darlington) with their whole family and train, were robbed and despoiled of their horses, treasure, apparel, and what else they had, and with an evil-favoured handling retired back again to Durham, where they stayed a while waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the pope's legacy nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned again to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they

exacted of the clergy to be given and paid unto them eight pence in every mark. But the clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their own covetousness (as they said) that made them venture further than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four pence in a mark, as they promised before; further they would not grant. Whereof the king being advertised, and taking part with his clergy, directed his letters to the said legates in form as followeth:

"The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting. We have taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our realm, perceiving by the same that you practise many and sundry inconveniences very strange, never heretofore accustomed nor heard of in this our realm, as well against the clergy and ecclesiastical persons, as against the laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many our liege people, which if it should be winked at, (as God forbid,) may in process of time be occasion of greater perils to ensue; whereat we are (not without cause) moved, and not a little grieved; we forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, nor presume in any case to attempt, any thing within this our realm, either against our clergy or laity, that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our royal person, or of our crown and dignity regal. Witness the king at Windsor the sixth day of February, in the eleventh year of his reign."

Likewise in the same year the said king writeth to the same effect to the archbishop of Canterbury, as followeth:

"The king to the reverend father in God, W., by the same grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, greeting. We are credibly informed by many our subjects, that certain strange impositions, never heard of before within any our dominions, upon lands and tenements, goods and chattels, concerning the testaments and cases of matrimony, are brought into our realm to be executed upon our subjects by you or some others; which, if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison and impeachment of our crown and dignity regal, and the intolerable damage of the subjects of our realm, to the due preservation of the which you are bound by solemn oath of allegiance. We therefore command and straitly charge you that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such letters, either in your own person or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the same to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our crown or dignity regal. And if you, or any other in your name, have done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that ye call back and revoke the same forthwith without delay. Witness the king at Shene the seventeenth of February, the eleventh year of his reign."

The like letters in effect were directed to the archbishop of York, and to every other bishop through England. By force of which letters the greedy legates, being restrained of their ravening purpose, taking what they could get, and settling a peace, such as it was, between the king and the earl of Lancaster, were fain to pack.

Besides the restraint above mentioned for strange impositions, there followed moreover the same year. the king's prohibition for the gathering of Peter pence, directed to the foresaid legate, the tenor whereof followeth.

*A prohibition of Peter pence.*

"The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of of Aurelia, greeting. We are given to understand that you do demand and purpose to levy the Peter penny within our realm, otherwise than the said Peter penny hath been heretofore accustomed to be levied in the time of any our progenitors, exercising herein grievous censures

ecclesiastical, to the great annoyance and damnifying of the subjects of our realm; for present remedy whereof our loving subjects have made their humble supplication unto us. And forasmuch as the said Peter penny hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and levied upon lands and tenements within our realm after a due manner and form, we, not willing that any such unaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made upon the lands and tenements of any our subjects within our dominions, prohibit you, upon grievous pain, straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather, or levy the said Peter penny in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our progenitors, or since the beginning of our reign, until further order be taken in our high court of parliament by the advice of the nobles and peers of our realm, such as may well be taken without prejudice of our crown and damage of subjects. Witness the king at Westminster the first day of March."

To the same effect letters were directed to the archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy.

Touching the first original of which Peter pence, though mention be made before in the life of King Offa, and others; yet to make a brief recapitulation of the same, according to the rolls as they come to our hands, thus it followeth. It is thus found recorded in ancient Chronicles touching the Peter pence of St. Peter, A.D. 187. Offa, king of Mercia, travelled up to Rome in the time of Pope Adrian the First, to obtain the canonizing of St. Alban. And having performed his vow, visiting the college of English students which then flourished in Rome, he did give to the maintenance of the scholars of England, students in Rome, one penny out of every tenement within this realm that had land belonging to the same, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of the Pope Adrian, that no person within his dominion public, repenting him for not performing enjoined penance, should therefore be banished.

Concerning which Peter pence, it is touched in the laws of King Edward the saint, chap. x., when, where, of whom, under what pain this Peter pence must be gathered, being but the king's mere alms, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the pope, the same year, for other matters, as craving the pope's help in compounding the variance betwixt the two archbishops, of Canterbury and York, for bearing the cross from the one province to the other, thus it followeth; that the king grievously complaineth, that such hurly-burly and uproar arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place, through the great multitude of armed men, assistants on both parts, in the very bearing of the cross, to the great disturbance of the people.

Now after this long digression to turn to our English matters again. Mention was made before of the variance between the king, and the earl of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure; which the king by his own default did break; sending to the Scots a privy messenger (which was taken in the way) to have the foresaid earl of Lancaster by their means made away.

In the mean time the lords and nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the Spencers, whereby they wrought daily both great dishonour to the king, and hinderance to the commonwealth, in such wise conspired against them, that, gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remove the Spencers from his person. For the which there was a parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great company. At the which parliament both the

Spensers were banished the land for term of their lives; and they took shipping at Dover, and so voided the land. But it was not long after but the king (contrary to the ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers again, and set them in high authority; and they ruled all things after their sensual appetites, nothing regarding justice nor the commonwealth. Wherefore the barons, intending again to reform this mischief, assembled their powers; but the king (making so hasty speed, and gathering his people so soon) was stronger than they, and pursued them so in divers places, that the barons, not fully joined together, (some flying, and some departing to the king, some slain by the way,) in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space the foresaid Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was taken and put to death with the rest of the nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greatest men and chiefest captains of this realm. Of whom only Thomas, earl of Lancaster, for the nobility of his blood, was beheaded; all the other lords and barons were hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifulness of the king toward his natural subjects, not only procured to him dishonour within the realm, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harm and hinderance in his foreign wars against the Scots; and finally wrought his utter confusion, and overthrow of his seat royal, as in the sequel of his end appeared, and worthily.

After the ruin of these noble personages, the king, as though he had gotten a great conquest, (who then indeed began first to be overcome and conquered himself, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and sinews of his chivalry,) began to triumph not little with the Spensers, and to count himself sure as though he were in heaven, to exercise more sharp severity upon his subjects, trusting and committing all to the counsel only of the fore-said Spensers; insomuch that both the queen and the residue of the other nobles could little be regarded. Who, as they grew ever in more contempt with the king, so they increased in more hatred against the Spensers; but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

The next year, the king being at York, after he had made Sir Hugh Spenser earl, and Sir John Baldock, a man of evil fame, to be chancellor of England, he then arrearred a mighty host against the Scots. But for lack of skilful guiding, expert captains, and for want specially of due provision of victuals necessary for such an army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of a hundred thousand, wandering through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conveyed all their goods and cattle into mountains and marshes, were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the army there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of meats, escaped not. The king, not having resistance of his enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring Sir James Douglas and the Scots, having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many Englishmen, and had well near taken the king himself. After which distress the king, thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would fain have joined in truce with the Scots; but because they stood excommunicate by the pope, he, standing in fear thereof, desireth licence to entreat with them of peace, the said excommunication notwithstanding; which licence being obtained, a treaty was appointed by commissioners on both parts at Newcastle, at the feast of St. Nicolas next ensuing, and so truce was taken for twelve years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way, gentle reader, not unworthy of observation, that whereas in former times, and especially of the late King Edward the First, so long as the Scots were under the pope's blessing, and we in displeasure with his Holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in manner of

their whole state. But now, so soon as the pope took our part, and the Scots were under his curse and excommunication, then got they greater victories against us, than at any time either before or since, insomuch as being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our country.

The king, purposing to erect a house of Friars Augustines within the town of Boston in Lincolnshire first paid the pope's licence in that behalf.

Polydore Virgil, among other histories of our English nation which he intermeddled withal, prosecuting also the acts and life of this present king, and coming to write of the queen's going over into France, inferreth much variety and diversity of authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he, being an Italian and a foreigner, could not understand our English tongue; and partly again, being but one man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin history fair written in parchment, but without name, belonging to the library of William Cary, citizen of London. In which story the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all circumstances expressed, as here briefly is inserted.

The king of England had been divers and sundry times cited up to the court of France to do homage to the French king, for the dukedom of Aquitaine, and other lands which the king then held of France. Which homage because the king of England refused to tender, the French king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France; whereupon great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length, in this year now present, a parliament was called at London; where, after much altercation, at last it was determined, that certain should be sent over, to wit, the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and the earl of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward that Queen Isabella, sister to Charles, then the French king, should be sent over. Where is to be noted, first, that the queen's lands, possessions, and castles, a little before, upon the breach between the French king and the king of England, were seized into the king's hands, and the queen put unto her pension, &c. Thus the queen, being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir John Cromwell, baron, and four knights, took their passage into France; by whose mediation it was there concluded, that the king of England, if he would not himself come to do his homage, should give to his son Edward the dukedom of Aquitaine, and the earldom of Pontigny, and so he to come to make his homage to the king, and to possess the same. This being in France concluded, was sent over by message to the king of England, with the king's letters patent adjoined for the safe conduct of him or of his son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the council of England. But the two Spencers, fearing either to take the seas with the king, or else without the king to remain behind, for fear of the nobles, so appointed, that Prince Edward, the king's son, was sent, which happened after to their utter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, King Edward of England, soon after Michaelmas, sendeth for his wife and his son again out of France. But she, sending home most part of her family, refuseth herself to return: for what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the king, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the Spencers, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir Roger Mortimer, with divers other of the barons' part,

which had broken prison in England, were fled before into France, and now resorted unto the queen. The king, seeing this, giveth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the queen and his son to return; or else to be proclaimed traitors to the king and to the realm. Notwithstanding the queen, persisting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her. Whereupon the king immediately caused them both to be proclaimed traitors, and all them that took their parts.

Here then began great hatred between king and king, between the king and the queen, much preparation of war, great spoiling on the sea, much sending between the pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the king, by the counsel of the Spensers, sendeth privily to procure the death of the queen and of his son; which should be wrought by the execution of the earl of Richmond, the queen's familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrated. Albeit, the queen yet notwithstanding (whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France; or whether the French king, being threatened by the king of England and by the pope, durst not detain her) removed from thence, and was received, with Edward her son, joyously and honourably in the court or country of the earl of Heinnault. Where, by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said Edward, her son, being of the age of fourteen years, and Philip, the aforesaid earl's daughter. When this was noised in England, divers men of honour and name came over to the queen. And soon after the earl of Heinnault prepared a crew of five hundred men of arms to set over the young prince with his mother into England. Of this the fame sprang shortly through the realm. Wherefore the king, in all defensible ways, made provision to have the havens and ports of his land surely kept, to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrary side, the queen with no less preparation provideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who, when she saw her time, speeding herself to the sea coast with Prince Edward her son, Lord Edmund, earl of Kent, the king's brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the Lord Wygmore, and other exiles of England, accompanied also with the aforesaid Heinnaulters, of whom Sir John of Heinnault, the earl's brother, was captain, having with her of Englishmen and strangers the number of two thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven soldiers; she took shipping in those parts, and had the wind so favourable, that they landed in England at a port called Orwell, beside Harwich, in Suffolk, in the dominion of the earl marshal, the month of September. To whom, after her landing, resorted earl marshal the earl of Leicester, with other, barons, knights, and bishops also; namely, of Lincoln, Hereford, Durham, and Ely. The archbishop of Canterbury, though he came not himself, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the queen, well furnished with plenty both of men and victual, setteth forward toward London; so that the further she came, the more her number daily increased, and the king's power contrarily decreased; insomuch that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realm could he hire with any wages to fight on the king's behalf against the queen. Neither did the queen's army hurt any man or child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

At the arriving of the queen the king was in London which first would not believe it to be true. Afterward, seeing and perceiving how it was, he asketh help of the Londoners; who, after mature advisement, rendered this answer to the king again: that as touching the king, the queen, and their son, the lawful heir of the kingdom, they were ready with all duty and service to honour and obey. As for strangers and traitors to the realm, they would receive none such within their city gates. Furthermore, to go out of the city to fight, that they said they would not, unless it were

so, that, according to the liberties of their city, they might return home again before sun-set. The king, hearing this answer, (which liked him not well,) fortieth the Tower of London with men and victual, committing the custody thereof to John Ealtham his younger son, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser, his niece; and leaving Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, behind him to have the rule of the city of London, he himself hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the queen, for more safeguard to himself, fled with a small company westward toward Wales. But before his departing from London he caused a proclamation to be made, wherein all and singular persons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the queen, his son, and his brother, reserved. Also that no man, upon pain aforesaid, should help, rescue, or relieve the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would bring to the king the head and body of Sir Roger Mortimer, either dead or alive, should have out of the king's coffers a thousand pounds.

In contrariwise, the queen setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoil violently the value of any man's goods against the will of the owner, under pain of losing his finger, if it were three pence; of his hand, if it were six pence; of his head, if it were twelve pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the queen the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, chopped off from his body, should receive, for so doing, of the queen, two thousand pounds. This done, the queen sendeth her letters to the city of London for aid and succour to subdue the oppressor of the realm, to the which letters first no answer was made. Again she wrote the second letter, which was then tacked upon the cross in Cheap, which was then called the new cross. The copy and tenor of which letter was this:

"Isabella, by the grace of God, queen of England, lady of Ireland, and countess of Pountif, and we, Edward, the first son of the king of England, duke of Guienne, earl of Chester, of Pountif, and of Mounstrell, to the mayor and all the commonalty of London, send greeting. Forasmuch as we have before this time sent to you by Our letters, and how we come into this land in good array, and good manner, for the profit of holy church, and of our right dear lord and king, and all the realm, with all our might and strength to keep and maintain the realm, as all good people ought to do; and upon that we prayed you and desired you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the realm; and we have had none answer of you, nor knew not your will in that part: wherefore we send to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you so toward us, that ye have nor make us no cause to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the ways that you may. And weet ye well in certain, that we, and also those that come with us into this realm, intend nothing to be done, but what shall be pleasing to God, and the common profit to all the realm; not any thing else, but to destroy the Spensers, enemies to the realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the faith that ye owe to our lord the king, to the crown, and to us, and upon all that we may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the son, our enemies, come within your power, that ye cause them hastily to be taken and safely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye desire profit and honour of us, and of the realm. Understanding well, if it be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you; and also we shall do you profit and worship if that you send us hastily word again of your will. Given at Baldock, the sixth day of October."

These aforesaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom, as ye heard, was committed the rule of the city, sent to the mayor for the keys

of the gates, using so sharp words in the king's name, that variance began to kindle between him and the citizens; so far forth that the commons in their rage took the foresaid bishop and beheaded him and two of his household at the Standard in Cheap. Then the king went to Bristol, and ordained Sir Hugh Spenser, the father, there to keep the castle and the town; and the king, with Hugh Spenser, the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, chancellor, and the earl of Arundel, went into Wales. And the queen so pursued them, that first they took the town, yielded up to her; then they took Sir Hugh Spenser the father, whom, being drawn and torn, they at last hanged up at Bristol in chains of iron. As the king was thus flying, the queen caused to be proclaimed through her army that the king should come and appear, and so receive his kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his liege subjects. Who when he did not appear, Prince Edward his son was proclaimed high keeper of the realm.

In the mean time Henry, earl of Lancaster, and brother to the good Earl Thomas which before was beheaded, also Lord William Souch, and Master Uphowel, were sent by the queen into Wales to pursue the king; and there they took him, and sent him to the castle of Kenilworth; and took Hugh Spenser, the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, chancellor, Sir John, earl of Arundel, and brought them all to the town of Hereford. And anon after Hugh Spenser, the son, was drawn and hanged on a' gallows fifty foot high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into four quarters of the realm. Sir John of Arundel was beheaded, Sir Robert Baldock was put in Newgate at London, where shortly after he pined away and died among thetheives. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, from whence message was sent to the king, that if he would resign up his crown, his son should have it after him; if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. Whereupon the king, being constrained to yield up his crown to his son, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley, where he is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the king half condescending thereunto, (the parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward,) there was a bill exhibited and put up, containing certain articles against the said king, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the realm; which bill openly before the lords and commons, by the speaker of the parliament house, was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselves touching those articles, and also for the better and more circumspect government of the realm from that time forth; it was consulted and agreed upon by the lords temporal and spiritual, and commons there assembled, that the said Edward was a man not meet to be their king, nor from that time forth any more to bear the crown royal or title of a king; but that Edward his eldest son, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as he was rightful heir and inheritor thereunto, so should he be crowned king thereof in his father's stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed: That he should take wise, sage, and true counsellors unto him, that the realm might be better and more circumspectly governed than before in the time of Edward his father it was: That the old king his father should be honourably provided for and kept so long as he lived, according as unto his estate appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary to the coronation of a prince appertaining were in speedy wise prepared, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

In the mean time, as touching the king which was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next year following by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer he was

miserably slain, with a spit, as is said, being thrust up into his body, and was buried at Gloucester, after he had reigned nineteen years.

In the time and reign of this king, the college of Cambridge, called Michael House, was founded and builded by Sir Henry Stanton, knight, to the use and increase of learning; a thing in a commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and need whereof, many sundry times, as sooner felt in this realm of ours and other realms abroad, than is the discommodity thereof of most men commonly understood.

About the same time also was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinary Gloss of the Bible. Also Gulielmus Ocham, worthy divine, and of a right sincere judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

In the tractation of this king's history, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the hearts of the barons against the king, for revoking such acts and customs as had been before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaveston, and for the two Spensers. Also what severe punishment the king did execute upon them for the same, in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of them whom he could there find, so he never ceased all his life after to inquire out, and to be revenged of all such as had been in any part or consenting to that matter. For the which his extreme and implacable tyranny he was in such hatred of all the people, that, as he said, he could not find one of all the commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam, bishop of Hereford; who being impeached of treason with other more, was at length arrested in the parliament to appear and answer to that which should be to him objected. Many things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the king, with matters more, and heinous rebukes, &c.; whereunto the bishop a great while answered nothing.

At length the bishop, claiming the liberties and privileges of the church, answered to the king in this form: "The due reverence of your princely Majesty ever saved, I, a humble minister and member of the holy church of God, and bishop consecrate, albeit unworthy, cannot, neither ought to answer to these so high matters, without the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, my direct judge next under the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow bishops." After which words by him pronounced, the archbishop and other bishops with him were ready to make humble intercession for him to the king, and did. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication, the said bishop, together with the archbishop and the clergy, coming with their crosses, took him away challenging him for the church, without any more, answer making; charging moreover, under censures of the church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The king, moved with this boldness and stoutness of the clergy, commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in judgment, and the jury of twelve men to go upon the inquiry of this cause; who finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guilty, the king caused immediately all his goods and possessions to be confiscate unto himself; moreover, he made his plate and all his household provision to be thrown out of his house into the street; but yet he remained so still under the protection and defence of the archbishop, &c.

This archbishop was Walter Winchelsea; after whom succeeded Simon Mepham in the same see of Canterbury, A.D. 1327.

After Pope Clement the Fifth, by whose decease the Romish see stood vacant (as ye have heard) two years and three months, next was elected Pope John the Twenty-second, a Cistercian monk, who sat in that papacy eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible, given so much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them heretics which taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time was emperor Louis of Bavaria, a worthy man; who, with this pope and other that followed him, had no less contention than had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of King Henry the Third. Insomuch that this contention and variance continued the space of four and twenty years. The cause and first origin of this tragical conflict, rose upon the constitution of Clement the Fifth, predecessor to this pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that emperors by the German princes elected might be called kings of the Romans, but might not enjoy the title or right of the empire, to be nominated emperors, without their confirmation given by the pope. Wherefore this foresaid emperor, because he used the imperial dignity in Italy before he was authorized by the pope, the said pope therefore excommunicated the emperor. And notwithstanding the emperor oftentimes did proffer himself to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the pope, inflexible, would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said bishop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depose kings and emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the bishop of Rome's doings; among whom was Gulielmus Ocham, whose tractations were afterward condemned by the pope for writing against the temporal jurisdiction of their see. And another, named Marsilius Patavinus, which wrote the book entitled Defensor Pacis, which was given into the hands of the said emperor; wherein the controversy of the pope's unlawful jurisdiction in things temporal is largely disputed, and the usurped authority of that see set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the emperor's secretaries, unknown to the emperor, in certain of his letters had likened the papal see to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length, when the emperor, after much suit made to the pope at Avignon, could not obtain his coronation; coming to Rome he was there received with great honour, where he with his wife were both crowned by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals there; and moreover, another pope was there set up, called Nicolas the Fifth. After which things done, the pope not long after departed at Avignon in France; after whom succeeded then Benedictus the Twelfth, a monk of Benedictus order, and reigned seven years. Who, by the counsel of Philip the French king, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that John his predecessor had published against Louis the emperor; moreover, he deprived him of his imperial crown, and also of his dukedom of Bavaria. The emperor upon this cometh to Germany, and assembling the princes electors, dukes, bishops, nobles, and the learned, in a council at Frankfort, there declared before them, out of the ancient laws and customs of the empire, how it standeth only in the princes electors, and in none other, to elect the kings or the emperors of the Romans, for in both these names was no difference, so that the same electors, in choosing the king of the Romans, did also elect and choose the emperor. Which emperor so by them constituted had lawful right, without any information of the apostolical see, to exercise the administration of the empire. And if he were lawfully elect, he ought to be anointed of the Roman bishop; which if he do refuse, then might he be anointed and declared emperor and Augustus by any other catholic bishop thereunto appointed, as by the old manner and custom hath been; especially seeing these injunctions are but certain solemnities added and invented by the bishops,

only for a token of unity between the church and empire, to govern and defend the faith together. Wherefore in that the emperor sweareth to the bishop of Rome, in that is to be understood no homage or fealty made to the bishop, but only it is a sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith. The which oath or sacrament so given, giveth no majority to the pope in any temporal rule, but only bindeth the emperor to be prepared and ready to defend the faith and church of Christ when need shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the pope leaveth only to the electors authority to make the king of Romans, and taketh upon himself alone power to make the emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and devised of late by Pope Clement the Fifth, so is it contrary both to all ancient order, and also derogatory to the liberty and majesty of the sacred empire. Again, neither is that also less absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the pope, in time of the imperial seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the empire as lawful emperor for the time. Which prerogative and function, by ancient orders of our fore-elders, should properly and only appertain to the palatine of the Rhine; the constitution Clementine of the foresaid Pope Clement to the contrary notwithstanding. Then in the end, for his own excuse, he, in the presence of them all, reciteth the public confession of his faith, to answer and purge himself of those objections laid to him by the pope. This did the meek emperor Louis in that council. Yet, all this notwithstanding, the said emperor remained still excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this Pope Benedict and Philip the French king. Wherefore, to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity than for any good-will to the emperor. But not long after this pope died.

After whom followed Pope Clement the Sixth, a man most furious and cruel; who, renewing again the former excommunications of his former predecessors, caused his letters to be set upon church doors, wherein he threatened and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the said Louis the emperor, unless within three days he should satisfy to God and the church, and renounce the imperial possession of the crown. The emperor upon this cometh to Frankfort, and, there ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the pope, sendeth his orators to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope of his favour and good-will towards him. To the which messengers the pope answered again, that he would never pardon the emperor before he gave over and confessed his errors and heresies, and, resigning up his empire to his hands, would submit himself, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the bishop, promising that he should not receive again any part of the same but upon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

The heresy here mentioned, which was to this emperor objected by the pope, was this, because (as is above touched) he used and executed the imperial dignity after his election, before he was of the pope confirmed. Over and besides, the pope sendeth to the emperor by the said orators a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the emperor. Here, if the emperor Louis had as much mind to set upon the pope with dint of sword, as he lacked neither occasion nor power so to do, what blood might here have been spilled! But the good emperor, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill; and not only with his seal doth confirm it, but also sweareth to observe all the conditions thereof; which the pope hearing of doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollify the modest heart of this Pharaoh.

The princes and electors, seeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof some sounded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the empire, abhorring the

wickedness thereof, desired the emperor to stand to the defence of the imperial dominion as he had began; promising that their assistance and aid to the uttermost thereunto' should not lack. Upon that other orators were sent to Pope Clement from the princes, desiring him to abstain from such manner of articles conceived against the state and majesty of the empire. The pope surmising all this to spring from Louis the emperor, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity, on Maundy Thursday blustereth out most black curses against him, also reneweth all the former processes of his predecessor against him, as against both a heretic and a schismatic; commanding, moreover, the princes electors to proceed in choosing a new emperor. The archbishop of Mentz, seeing the innocency of the emperor, would not consent to the violating of his majesty, wherefore he was deprived by the pope of all his dignities. The other bishops electors, as the archbishop of Cologne, which took eight thousand marks, with the duke of Saxony, which took two thousand marks, being corrupted with money by John, king of Bohemia, elected Charles, the son of the said John, whom Pope Clement eftsoons in his consistory did approve. Who seeth not here what matter of war and bloodshed was ministered by the pope between these two emperors, if the patience of Louis had not been more prudent to quench the fire than the pope was to kindle it? Charles, then the new emperor elect, sped him to Aquitaine, according to the custom, there to be crowned. But by the citizens, there and the empress, the wife of Louis keeping thereabout, he was repelled. All this happened in the time and reign of Edward the Third, king of England; with whom the said Charles, with the French king, and king of Bohemia, set on by the pope, encountered in war; where the king of England had against them a noble victory, and slew a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperor to flight. In the mean time, among the princes and cities of Germany what sorrow and what complaints were against Pope Clement and those electors, it cannot be expressed. For as they were all together at Spires congregated in a general assembly, so there was none among them all that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the pope's process, promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to Louis their lawful emperor. But Louis, remembering his oath made before to the pope's bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his imperial dignity, and went to Burgravia; where shortly after, through the procured practice of Pope Clement, as Hieronymus Marius doth write, poison was given him to drink. After the which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his horse and went to hunt the bear, thereby through the chasing and heat of his body to expel the venom. And there the good and gentle emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the pope, fell down dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous doth make a martyr, what papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution joined thereunto causeth martyrdom, what martyr could be more persecuted than he who, having three popes like three ban-dogs upon him, at length was devoured by the same. The princes then, hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new election; who, refusing Charles aforesaid, elected another for emperor, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who, shortly after falling sick at Frankfort, was likewise poisoned through his physician's servant, whom the aforesaid Charles had hired with money to work that feat. Gunterus tasting of the poison, although he did partly cast it up again, yet so much remained within him as made him unable afterward to serve that place; wherefore, for concord's sake, being counselled thereto by the Germans, he gave over his empire to Charles; for else great bloodshed was like to ensue. This Charles, thus ambitiously aspiring to the imperial seat contrary to the minds of the states and peers of the empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully

come by it, so was he by his ambitious guiding the first and principal mean of the utter ruin of that monarchy; for that he, to have his son set up emperor after him, convented and granted to the princes electors of Germany all the public taxes and tributes of the empire. Which covenant, being once made between the emperor and them, they afterward held so fast, that they caused the emperor to swear never to revoke or call back again the same. By reason whereof the tribute of the countries of Germany, which then belonged only to the emperor for the sustentation of his wars, ever since to this day is dispersed diversely into the hands of the princes, and free cities within the said monarchy; so that both the empire being disfurnished and left desolate, and the emperors weakened thereby, they have neither been able sufficiently since to defend themselves, nor yet to resist the Turk, or other foreign enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the popes, &c.

This Pope Clement first reduced the year of jubilee to every fifty years, which before was kept but on the hundredth year. And so he being absent to Avignon, which he then purchased with his money to the see of Rome, caused it to be celebrated at Rome, A.D. 1350. In the which year were numbered, of peregrines going in and coming out every day at Rome, to the estimation of five thousand. The bull of Pope Clement, given out for this present year of jubilee, proceedeth in these words as followeth "What person or persons soever for devotion sake shall take their peregrination unto the holy city, the same day when he setteth forth out of his house, he may choose unto him what confessor or confessors either in the way or where else he listeth ; unto the which confessors we grant, by our authority, plenary power to absolve all cases papal, as fully as if it were in our proper person there present. Item, we grant that whosoever being truly confessed shall chance by the way to die, he shall be quit and absolved of all his sins. Moreover, we command the angels of paradise to take his soul out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of paradise," &c. And in another bull, "We will (saith he) that no pain of hell shall touch him; granting, moreover, to all and singular person and persons, signed with the holy cross, power and authority to deliver and release three or four souls, whom they list themselves, out of the pains of purgatory," &c.

This Clement, as mine author affirmeth, took upon him so prodigally in his popedom, that he gave to his cardinals of Rome bishoprics and benefices, which then were vacant in England, and began to give them new titles for the same livings he gave them in England. Wherewith the king, as good cause he had, was offended, and undid all the provisions of the pope within his realm ; commanding, under pain of imprisonment and life, no man to be so hardy as to induce and bring in any such provisions of the pope, any more within his land. And under the same punishment he charged the two cardinals to avoid the realm, A. D. 1343. In the same year all the tenths, as well of the Templars as of other spiritual men, were given and paid to the king through the whole realm. And thus much concerning good Louis, emperor and martyr, and Pope Clement the Sixth his enemy. Wherein, because we have a little exceeded the course of years wherewith we left, let us return somewhat back again, and take such things in order as belong to the church of England and Scotland, setting forth the reign of King Edward the Third, and the doings of the church which in his time have happened, as the grace of Christ our Lord will assist and enable us thereunto.

This aforesaid King Edward the Second in his time builded two houses in Oxford for good letters, to wit, Oriel College, and St. Mary Hall.

Here I omit also by the way the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the time of this king, a little before his death, A. D. 1326, between the townsmen and the abbey of Bury ; wherein the townsmen gathering themselves together in a great multitude, for what cause or old grudge between them the register doth not declare, invaded and sacked the monastery. And after they had imprisoned the monks they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their plate, money, copes, vestments, censers, crosses, chalices, basons, jewels, cups, maces, books, with other ornaments and implements of the house, to the value inestimable. In the which conflict certain also on both sides were slain. Such was the madness then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourse of servants and light persons of that country, to the number of twenty thousand, to whom they promised liberty and freedom ; by virtue of such writs which they had out of that house, first they got into their hands all their evidences, copies, and instruments, that they could find ; then they took off the lead; that done, setting fire to the abbey gates, they burnt up near the whole house. After that they proceeded further to the farms and granges belonging to the same abbey, whereof they wasted, spoiled, and burnt to the number of twenty-two manor places in one week, transporting away the corn, horses, cattle, or other movables belonging to the same, the price whereof is registered to come to nine hundred and twenty-two pounds, five shillings, and eleven pence, besides the valuation of other riches and treasure within the abbey, which cannot be estimated.

The abbot all this space was at London in the parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent down, that twenty-four of the chief of the town (submitting themselves) were committed to ward; carts full of the townsmen were carried to Norwich, of whom nineteen were there hanged, divers convicted were put to prison. The whole township was condemned in sevenscore thousand pounds to be paid for damages of the house. John Berton, alderman, W. Herling, with thirty-two priests, thirteen women, and one hundred and thirty-eight other of the said town were outlawed; of whom divers, after grudging at the abbot for breaking promise with them at London, did confederate themselves together, and privily in the night coming to the manor of Chenington, where the abbot did lie, burst open the gates, who then entering in first bound all his family ; and after they had robbed him of all his plate, jewels, and money, they took the abbot and shaved him, and secretly with them conveyed him away to London ; where they, removing him from street to street unknown, from thence had him over Thames into Kent: at length over the sea they ferried to Dist in Brabant, where they a sufficient time kept him in much penury, misery, and thralldom ; till at length, the matter being watched out, they were all excommunicated, first by the archbishop of Canterbury, then by the pope. And at last it being known where he was, by his friends he was delivered and rescued out of the thieves' hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house again. And thus was that abbey with the abbot of the same, for what demerits I know not, thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more largely I have seen in their Latin register. But thus much briefly; the rest I omit here, passing over to the reign of the next king.

Concerning the acts and story of King Edward the Second, his deposing, and cruel death, wrought by the false and counterfeit letter of Sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the king's name to the keepers, for the which he was charged, drawn, and quartered, I have written sufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profession of this ecclesiastical history will well admit. Notwithstanding, for certain respects and causes I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both kings, and

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such as climb to be about them, may take the better example by the same; the one to have the love of his subjects; the other to learn to flee ambition, and not to bear themselves to brag of their fortune and state, how high soever it be; considering with themselves nothing to be in this world so firm and sure, that may promise itself any certain continuance, and is not perpetual danger of mutation, unless it be fastened by God's protection.

## 70. King Edward III – Wars with the French and Scots

After the suppression of this king, as is above expressed, Edward his son was crowned king of England, being about the years of fifteen, and reigned the space of fifty years; who was a prince of much and great temperance, in feats of arms very expert, and no less fortunate and lucky in all his wars, than his father was unfortunate before him. For liberality also and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all princely virtues famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable acts of which prince, done both in wars and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France, A.D. 1332, won Calais, A.D. 1348, and translated the staple thither, took the French king prisoner, and how the French arms first by him were brought in, and conjoined with the English arms, also how the order of the garter first by the said king was invented and ordained, A.D. 1356; also, A.D. 1357, how the king in his parliament at Nottingham decreed, that all such, in Flanders or other where, that had skill in making cloth, should peaceably inhabit the land and be welcome. For three years before that, it was enacted, that no wool should be transported over the sea; which was to bridle the pride of the Flemings, who then loved better the sacks of wool than the nation of Englishmen. All these, with other noble acts of this worthy prince, although in other chronicles they be fully treated of; yet according to that order I have begun, (saying somewhat of each king's reign, although not pertinent to our ecclesiastical history,) I have here inserted the same, making haste to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of divers and sundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

The coronation and solemnity of King Edward the Third, and all the pomp thereof, was no sooner ended, but Robert of Bruce, king of Scotland, understanding the state and government of the realm to be, as it was indeed, in the queen, the young king, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer; and that the lords and barons, as he was informed, did scarcely well agree amongst themselves, although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling disease, yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make invasion; hoping for as good success and like victory now as but lately before he had at the castle of Eustrivelin. Whereupon, about the feast of Easter, he sent his ambassadors with heralds and letters of defiance, to the young King Edward the Third, the queen, and the council, declaring that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and invade the realm of England, &c. The king, queen, and council, hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedy preparation musters to be made throughout all the realm; appointing to every band captains convenient, and at the city of York, by a day assigned them, commanding every man to be, with all their necessary furniture ready and thoroughly provided. They directed their letters also with all speed to Sir John of Heinault, requiring him, with such soldiers and men at arms as he might conveniently provide in Flanders, Heinault, and Brabant, to meet the king and queen upon the Ascension day next ensuing at their city of York.

The king and queen made speedy preparation for this expedition; the noblemen provided themselves of all things necessary thereunto; the English captains and soldiers, their bands thoroughly furnished, were ready at their appointed time and place; Sir John of Heinault, Lord Bedmount, mustering his men as fast, was ready to take shipping; where at Wysant, in English bottoms, there lying for him ready, he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at Dover, travelling from thence by small

journeys daily, till he came within three days after the feast of Pentecost to the city of York; where the king and queen, with a great power of sixty thousand men, within and about the city of York, expected his coming; before whom, in courteous wise he presented himself, and mustered his troop, wherein he had to the number of five hundred good men at arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the king and queen; and he was by the harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his household retinue, in the abbey of white monks. To be brief, such grudge and variance fell between some of the king's soldiers and his, within the suburbs of the town, being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilst the king and queen, with divers other of the nobles, strangers and others, were at dinner, the said fray so greatly increased, that the whole army, so many as were in the town then lodged, stood to their defence; so that there were slain of the English archers, in short space, by the strangers, to the number of three hundred men. Whereupon grew, after the fray was with much difficulty both of the king and queen ended, such heartburning between the parties, as that the number of six thousand conspired together against them, thinking to have burned them in their lodgings; had they not been, by the great grace of God, and discreet handling, otherwise prevented and let. Whereupon the Heinauldiers were fain to take and keep the field; using as diligent watch and ward as though they had been among their hostile enemies. After this the king set forward his army towards Durham, and encamped himself near about the same, who also sent the Lord Vifford and the Lord Mounbrey to Carlisle with a sufficient company to keep that entrance, and also the lord marshal of England to keep the town of Newcastle, with a sufficient company to defend the same, and the country adjoining. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries the Scots must pass into England, standing both of them upon the river of Tyne, twenty-four miles distant.

But the Scots privily with their army passed the river betwixt the two towns into England, few understanding thereof, till that the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England, bewrayed them; who came burning and destroying the country all about as far as Stanhope park. This thing being declared to the king, he commandeth his host with all speed to march towards them, which so long travelled that they came in sight of each other. The king also commanded the passages of the river to be so straitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the Scots could retire and have escaped back again into Scotland without battle given them of the king. But the Scots, understanding the great power the king was of, kept always the advantage of the hills, retiring in the nights from one to another, that without great odds and advantage on the one side, and hazard to the other, the king could not set upon them. Thus, in the day time the Scots keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of such other like, came near against that river where they first passed over, where they made a show to offer battle to the king upon the morrow. Whereupon the king being busied in putting his men and battles in a readiness to fight the next morning, being almost wearied out in pursuing the Scots from place to place; the Scots in the mean season got over the river, and escaped the danger of the king. Which thing, as it could not be done without great treason of some near about the king, so Sir Roger Mortimer was grievously suspected thereof, and after it was laid unto his charge. But to be short, by this means the Scots escaped the river, after whom it should have availed the king very little to have made pursuit, as the wily Scots knew full well. For the joy whereof the Lord William Douglas, one of the Scots' generals, with two hundred horses, gave alarm in the king's camp, and came so near that he cut certain of the lines of the king's tent in sunder with his sword, and retired to his company without great loss of any of his men. Then on the morrow the

king, perceiving the Scots to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found five hundred great oxen and kine ready killed; five hundred caldrons made of beasts' skins full of flesh, over the fire seething; a thousand spits full of flesh ready to be roasted, and more than ten thousand shoes of raw leather (the hair still upon the same) which the Scots had left behind them; and five poor English prisoners tied to trees and their legs broken. All which the king seeing, returned with his army (and left any further pursuing the Scots) to Durham; where he dismissed his army and came again to London, sending with Sir John of Heinault two hundred men at arms for their better safeguard against the English archers, with whom at York, as you have heard, they frayed, till they had taken shipping, and so returned home.

The king, then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the citizens, and ordained. that the mayor should sit in all places as chief justice within the liberties of the same. And that what alderman soever had been mayor before, should be a justice of peace within his own ward.

Then the king, the queen, and the council, sent over to the earl of Heinault certain ambassadors, touching the solemnization of the marriage between the king and the Lady Philippa his daughter; who in such sort sped their message, that she was soon after conveyed over to England very honourably, and at Dover arrived. And from thence she came to London, some chronicles affirm to York, where, upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, the year above specified, the marriage and coronation of the queen was with much triumph during the space of three weeks solemnized.

After which coronation and marriage the king summoned his parliament to be kept at Northampton; whereat, by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer and the old queen, a peace was purchased for the Scots, (who had for that purpose sent their ambassadors,) for four years to endure. Also the king (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their homage and fealty unto the realm of England, which by their charter ensealed they were bound to; as also their indenture, which was called the Ragman Roll, wherein was specified the fore-said homage and fealty to the king and crown of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and prelates to be made; having all their seals annexed to the same. Also there was then delivered unto them the black cross of Scotland, which King Edward before for a rich jewel and relic had conquered and brought from Scone abbey; with all such rights and titles as any the barons else had enjoyed in the said realm of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the realm and discontent of all the nobles and barons for the most part, more than the old queen, Sir Roger Mortimer, and the bishop of Ely; who in such sort ruled the roast, that all the rest of the nobles and barons cast with themselves how best they might redress and remedy the great inconveniences that unto the realm by means of them grew and happened. Whereupon the king and queen, and Sir Roger Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at Salisbury; where the said Sir Roger Mortimer was made earl of March, against all the barons' wills, to prevent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the earl Henry of Lancaster, with others, would not be at the same; wherefore it was laid unto their charges that they went about to conspire the king's death.

And further, for that the king was as well under the government of the earl of Kent his uncle, as the queen his mother, and the earl of March, and for that they could not do in all things as they listed for the said earl the king's uncle, who loved the king and the realm; envy began to rise between the earl Mortimer and him; and by Isabella

the queen's practice, he found the means to persuade the king that the earl of Kent, to enjoy the crown, as next heir unto the king, went about to poison him. Whereunto the king giving light credit caused his said uncle to be apprehended, and, without answer making to his accusation and accusers, to be beheaded at Winchester, the third of October, and third year of his reign. But the just judgment of God not permitting such odious crimes in him to be unpunished nor undetected, so in fine it fell forth, that Isabella the old queen, the king's mother, was found and understood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of the killing of King Edward his father, and of the conspiracy of him against the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, before put to death. Whereupon, divers other articles laid against him, and manifestly read in the court, he was arraigned and indicted, and by verdict found guilty, having his judgment as in cases of high treason, and suffered death accordingly, at London; where, upon London bridge, next unto Spenser's, his head obtained a place. The queen, his mother, also, by good advice of his council, was restrained of her liberty, and within a certain castle not permitted once to come abroad; unto whom the king her son once or twice a year would resort, and visit her.

This year Prince Edward was born at Woodstock; who in process of time and years grew to be a most valiant prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the flower of chivalry.

After this the king prepared another army into Scotland in the year prefixed. But first he summoned King David of Scotland, who had, in the last truce, four years to continue, as you heard, his father then living, married the Lady Jane, sister to the king, (termed Jane Makepeace,) to do his homage to the king; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithal the scoffing rhymes which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouths, he did so much, that with an army well furnished he entered Scotland by the river of Tweed; for the Scots had then the possession of the town of Berwick. The Scottish jigs and rhymes were these, "Long beards heartless, Painted hoods witless, Grey coats graceless, Make England thriftless." To be short, the king wasted the land, burnt, destroyed, and took towns and castles with small resistance or none; and the space of six months together did in that land what he listed, without any battle offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child, and not above the age of fifteen years, and wanted good captains that should have defended the realm; insomuch that they were all fain, saving those that kept in holds for their defence, to take the forest of Gedworth, and there kept themselves so long as the king remained in Scotland. Who at length, when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned towards Berwick, about the which he bent his siege, vowing not to remove the same till he had gotten the town.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certain time and many assaults made, were contented upon certain conditions to have delivered up the town. But that the king refused, unless that, all conditions set apart, they would with bag and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certain time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render up the town, and with bag and baggage depart; and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entered the town, and tarried there the space of twelve days; who, after he had appointed Sir Edward Baillew captain over the town, and leaving also behind him other knights, esquires, and soldiers, as well to keep the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and frontiers thereof, he returned with his people towards London, permitting every man to depart and go what way they liked.

Then Sir Robert d'Artois, a nobleman of France, and which descended of the blood royal, being in England with the king, ceased not oftentimes to advertise the king, and put him in memory of his good and right title to the inheritance of the crown of France. This Sir Robert, for a certain displeasure that Philip the French king took against him for a certain plea which by him was moved before the king, was fain, for the safeguard of his life, to flee the realm of France, and so come to the king's court. King Edward was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crown of France. But yet, notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without advised and circumspect counsel; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet he took it to deserve the fame either of wisdom or prowess to let so good a title die, or so fit opportunity to pass. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his council, used their deliberate advices touching the seriousness of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good that the king should send certain ambassadors over to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counsel herein; as also what friends and aid, by him and his means, in this so great an expedition to be begun in the empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescendeth, and appointeth for this embassy the bishop of Lincoln, with two other baronets, and two doctors; who in such speedy wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned again to the king with this answer: that not only the earl's counsel and advice should be herein pressed to the king of England their master, but also the whole country of Heinnault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, he said, the province of Heinnault was but a small matter to make account of; he would procure for the king greater aid and friendship in the empire, as the duke of Brabant his cousin-german, and a puissant prince, the duke of Guerles, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, &c., which are all good men of war, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. Which answer well liked the king, and made him joyous thereof. But this counsel of the king, as secret as it was, came to Philip the French king's ears; whereupon he staid the voyage of the cross which then he had in hand, sending forth countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the king of England.

The king hereupon himself taketh shipping, accompanied as to a king appertained; and when he had consulted with all the foresaid lords of the empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity, he made his repair to the emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained and honourably received, whom the emperor appointed to be his lieutenant-general, having thereby more authority both to will and command such, as for this his expedition he had engaged, and made convention with. Philip, hearing this, prepared his army, and rigged his navy, that so soon as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

The king of England, after the feast of St. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things ready to such an expedition, conducting his army, and gathering a greater strength in the empire, as before to him was promised, using the emperor's authority therein, as his lieutenant-general; howbeit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king, as soon as King Edward had landed his army at Machelen in Flanders, hearing of the defiance which the king and other noblemen of the empire had sent unto him, sent certain ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity, upon the coast of England; which, upon a Sunday, whilst the

townsmen were at the church, little looking for any such matter, entered the haven of Southampton, took the town and spoiled the same, deflowered maidens, enforced wives, burned, killed, took captives, and carried away rich spoils and great booties to their ships; and so again departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himself with the noblemen of the empire, and had the friendly favour of the emperor also thereunto; so the French king made the like league and alliance with David the king of Scots, whom the king had so hardly dealt withal in Scotland, (as partly before you heard,) and kept the most part of Scotland under his subjection; binding the said David, as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace nor conclude any truce with the king of England. Who again assured him of aid, and rescue, and help, and to recover his kingdom and dominion to his use; and forthwith sent certain garrisons and bands into Scotland to keep play with the Englishmen, and there to fortify divers places till further opportunity served. He also fortified with men, money, victual, and munition, the town of Cambray; which he suspected would be besieged, lying so near upon the empire, as indeed it came to pass. For King Edward, departing from Machelen, set forward his host toward Heinault, and by the way assembled such power as in the empire he looked for, marching forward still till that they came to Cambray, and besieged it with forty thousand men, while that with another company the Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders went to St. Quintin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambray, nor elsewhere, any thing notorious was achieved. But the summer being well spent, and little prevailing in the siege of Cambray, being of situation strong and well defended therewithal with men and munition, he broke up the siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards Mutterel. Which thing the French king having understanding of, prepared himself to give battle to the king of England, who with another great army came to Vironfosse, where days were appointed to meet in battle; but in the end nothing was done nor attempted between the princes; and the king of England, without any battle either given or taken, returned with his army from thence to Ghent. Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of the king out of France, it seemeth most specially to rise of the pope; which at the same time sent down his legates, for the order of a peace to be taken between the kings. At Ghent were gathered by the king's appointment all the nobles, as well of England as of the empire, in council together, what was best to be done; where plain answer was made to the king of England, that unless he would take upon him the claim and title of France, as his lawful inheritance, and as king thereof prosecute his wars, it might not be lawful for them any further to aid the king of England, or to fight with him against the French king; for that the pope had bound them in two millions of florins of gold, and under pain of excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawful king of France. Whereupon the king thought good therefore presently to make open challenge to the realm and crown of France; and further, to quarter and intermingle the arms of France with the arms of England in one escutcheon. Whereupon eftsoons King Edward made answer unto the pope again, directing unto him his letters, wherein he declareth at large his right and title unto the crown of France, purging thereby himself and his cause unto the bishop. The copy and tenor of which letter, because it is too long to express, it is to be found in the story of Thomas Walsingham, remaining in the library of J. Stephenson, citizen of London, whoso hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this letter to the pope he directed another to the peers and prelates of France.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope, as the time served, of further doing good, the king thought best for a season to return again

to England with his company, giving over the wars until the next spring; and so did, taking shipping, and so arrived at Dover. When he came to London, it was declared unto him of the great spoil the Frenchmen had made at Southampton; who answered again, that within one year he doubted not but the same should be well paid for and recompensed. And according to the same purpose of his he lingered no time, but calling a parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and evil will of his subjects there was for the maintenance of his wars granted to him a great subsidy, which was the fifth of every man's goods, and also the customs of his wools two years beforehand, and the ninth sheaf of every man's corn. At the spring the king again prepared his army, and rigged his navy, purposing to land in Flanders. But the archbishop of Canterbury, then lord chancellor, having understanding of the French power upon the sea lying for the king, gave him advertisement there, willing him to go more strongly, or else not to venture. But the king not crediting the archbishop, and being angry with him therefore, said that he would go forward; whereupon the bishop resigned the chancellorship, and removed himself from his council. Then the king, consulting hereupon further with the Lord Morley his admiral, and others, hearing also the same of them, furnished himself with stronger power, and committed him to his ship, and did so much, that a few days before Midsummer he was upon the sea with a great fleet. Before the town of Sluys, the French king, to stop his passage, had laid ready a great navy, well near to the number of twentyscore sail; and had made the Christopher of England (which before the Frenchmen took at Southampton) their admiral: betwixt which two navies was a long and terrible fight; but in the end, the victory, by God's grace, fell to the king of England, in which fight he himself was personally; so that of the number of thirty thousand Frenchmen few or none were left and escaped alive, and two hundred sail of ships taken, in one of the which were found four hundred dead bodies.

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen, of whom many for fear of the sword leaped into the sea, when no man durst bring tidings thereof to the French king, they which were next about the king did suborn his fool, to insinuate the understanding thereof by subtlety of covert words; which was thus. As the aforesaid fool, being in the king's presence, and was talking of many things; among other talk he suddenly burst out, being prompted by others, into a vehement railing against the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king, not knowing whereunto the words of the fool did appertain, asked the fool, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. "Why," saith the fool, "because the fearful and cowardly Englishmen had not the hearts to leap into the sea so lustily as our Normans and gentlemen of France had." Whereby the French king began to understand the victory of his part to be lost, and the Englishmen to be victors.

This victory achieved, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not believed, till letters thereof came from the king to Prince Edward his son, being then at Waltham, directed to the bishops and prelates of the realm.

After this aforesaid victory upon the sea, and news thereof, with due thanks to our Saviour, sent into England; the king, striking into Flanders, came to Ghent in Brabant, where he had left the queen, who joyfully received him, being a little before purified, or churched, as we term it, of her fourth son, whose name was John, and commonly called John of Gaunt, and was earl of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Villenorth the king assembled his council, wherewith the noblemen of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinnault conjoining together in most firm league, the one to help and

defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Tournay, and it to besiege. But the French king, understanding their counsel, fortified and victualled the same before their coming thither. Furthermore the said French king the same time, to stop the siege of King Edward, sent with King David of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make invasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the king to remove his siege. In the mean time King Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valois, making unto him certain requests, as in the same his letters here following is to be seen; who, for that he wrote not unto him as king of France, but by the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer him touching the same.

Mention was made a little before of David, king of Scots, whom the French king had supported and stirred up against the king and realm of England which David, with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen, did so much prevail, that they recovered again almost all Scotland, which before he had lost, and was constrained to live in the forest of Gedworth many years before. Then invaded they England, and came with their army, wasting and burning the country before them, till they came as far as Durham, and then returned again into Scotland, where they recovered all their holds again, saving the town of Berwick. Edinburgh they took by a stratagem or subtle device practised by Douglas and certain other, who apparelling themselves in poor men's habits, as victuallers with corn, and provender, and other things, demanded the porter early in the morning what need they had thereof; who, nothing mistrusting, opened the outward gate, where they should tarry till the captain rose; and perceiving the porter to have the keys of the inward gate, they threw down their sacks in the outward gate, that it might not be shut again, and slew the porter, taking from him the keys of the town. Then they blew their horn as a warning to the bands, which privily they had laid not far off; who in hasty wise coming, and finding the gates ready opened, entered upon the sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained again the city of Edinburgh.

The Scots thus being busy in England, the French king in the mean season gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remove the siege from Tournay; and among other sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides divers other noblemen of France; insomuch that the French king had a great army, and thought himself able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his host. But the French king, for all this his foresaid huge power and force, durst not yet approach the king so near, as either to give him battle, or else remove his siege, but kept himself with his army aloof, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England wasted, burned, spoiled, and destroyed the country, twenty miles in manner compass about Tournay, and took divers and sundry strong towns and holds, as Ortois, Urses, Greney, Archies, Odint, St. Amand, and the town of Lille, where he slew above three hundred men of arms, and about St. Omer he slew and killed of noblemen, the lord of Duskune, of Maurisleou, of Rely, of Chastillion, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamelar, Mountfaucou, and other barons, to the number of fourteen, and also slew and killed above one hundred and thirty knights, being all men of great possessions and prowess, and took other small cities and towns to the number of three hundred: yet for all this, Philip de Valois, the French king, durst neither rescue his towns, nor relieve his own men; but of his great army he lost, (which is to be marvelled at, being in the midst of his own country,) by famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men without any battle by him given. Whereupon, at the entreaty of the said Philip by his ambassadors

to the king sent, and by the mediation of the Lady Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter King Edward, as you heard, had married, a truce containing the number of fifteen articles for one year was concluded, the king of England being very unwilling and loth thereunto. Yet, notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the aforesaid lady, but specially for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England; which sent him not over such money as he needed for the continuance of his wars and payment of his soldiers' wages, (the articles being somewhat reasonable,) he agreeth to the, truce thereof.

This truce thus finished, King Edward broke up his camp, removing his siege from Tournay, and came again to Ghent; from whence (very early in the morning) he with a small company took shipping, and by long seas came to the Tower of London, very few or none having understanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with divers of his council and high officers, for that through their default he was constrained against his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condescend unto the aforesaid truce, he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the Tower, the Lord. John Stonehore, chief justice of England, and Sir John Poulteney, with divers others. And the next morning he sent for L. R., bishop of Chichester, and the Lord Wake, the lord treasurer, and divers other such that were in authority and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the said Tower, only the said bishop excepted; whom, for fear of the constitution of Pope Clement, which commanded that no bishop should be by the king imprisoned, he set at liberty and suffered him to go his way, and in his place substituted Sir Roger Boucher, knight, lord chancellor of England. The history treating of this matter reporteth thus: that the king had at this time under him evil substitutes and covetous officers, who, attending more to their own gain than to the public honour and commodity of the realm, left the king destitute and naked of money. With which crime also John Stratford, then archbishop of Canterbury, was vehemently noted and suspected, whether of his true deserving, or by the setting on of others, hereafter shall more appear. Insomuch that the king, ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falsehood used against his person, as by his letters written and directed to the dean and chapter of Paul's against the said archbishop, manifestly appeareth. By the objections and accusations of the king, premised and laid against the archbishop of Canterbury, what is to be thought of the doings of the said archbishop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle reader, as I said before, to be conjectured; forasmuch as our histories somewhat bearing with the said archbishop, seem either to be uncertain of the truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some part of that they knew. And especially of Polydore Virgil I marvel, who, having so good occasion to touch the matter, doth so slightly pass it over without any word of mention. In which matter, if probable conjecture, beside history, might here be heard, it, is not unlike but that some old practice of prelates hath herein been put in use, through some crafty conspiracy between the pope and the archbishop. And the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the pope was enemy unto the king in this his challenge to the crown of France, so the archbishop against his prince (as for the most part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the pope. Which thing also more probably may be supposed, because of the coming down of the two cardinals the same time, from the pope to the king of England, about the matter of further truce; whereof (Christ willing) more hereafter shall follow. Albeit the archbishop (and this notwithstanding) subtilly excused himself to the king of the aforesaid objections, and cunningly handled the matter in words by his letter directed to the king.

And thus stood the case between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, who, coming thus (as is said) in secret wise into England from the siege of Tournay, his army in the mean while by ships was conveyed to Brittany. Of whom a great number, through unseasonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there consumed; to whom also no less danger happened by the seas, coming out of Brittany into England by tempest, thunder and lightning, stirred up, as is thought, by the necromancers of the French king.

About which season, approaching to the year of our Lord 1341, were sent from the pope two other cardinals to treat with King Edward for three years' truce more to be concluded with the French king, beside the former truce taken before for one year, and all by the pope's means. For here is to be understood, that as it was not for the pope's purpose to have the king of England to reign over so many countries, so his privy supportation lacked not by all means possible, both by the archbishops and cardinals, and also by the emperor, to maintain the state of the French king, and to stablish him in his possessions.

In the said histories where these things be mentioned, it is also noted, that the same year such plenty there was here in the realm of victuals, that a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ox for a noble, and, as some say, a sheep for four pence.

The next year following, which was 1342, Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, who before had showed great courtesy to King Edward, in his first voyage over, insomuch that he made him his vicar or vicegerent general, and offered him also aid against the French king; now, either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the pope, writeth to him contrary letters, wherein he revoketh again the vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all means in the favour of the French king, against King Edward, as by his letters may better appear.

In this mean time died Pope Benedict the Twelfth, mentioned a little before; after whom succeeded in that room Pope Clement the Sixth. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his cardinals of Rome, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions, not of his own, but with the ecclesiastical dignities and preferments of the churches of England. For so recordeth the author, that he bestowed upon his cardinals the livings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the churches of England, and went about to set up new titles for his cardinals here within this realm. But the king being offended therewith, made void and frustrate all those aforesaid provisions of the pope; charging moreover and commanding that no person whatsoever should busy himself with any such provisions, under pain of imprisonment and losing his life. Which law was made the next year following, which was A.D. 1344.

It followeth then, that the said Pope Clement again began to make new provisions for two of his cardinals, of benefices and churches that should benext vacant, beside bishoprics and abbotships, to the extent of two thousand marks; whereupon the procurators of the said cardinals were sent down for the same. But the king and nobility of the realm not suffering that, under pain of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the realm, whereupon the nobles and commons shortly after wrote a fruitful epistle to the pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the English church; whereunto, as saith the author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answer.

After these things thus passed over, the king shortly after sent over his procurators, the earl of Lancaster and Derby, Hugh Spenser, Lord Ralph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and divers other, to the pope's court, to discuss and plead about the right of his title before the pope; unto whom the said Pope Clement the Sixth, not long after, sent down this message: how that Louis, duke of Bavaria, the emperor, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himself to him in all things, and therefore deserved at his hands the benefit of absolution; and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored unto him justly and graciously the empire, which he before unjustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered again, saying, that if he also did agree and compound with the French king, he was ready to fight with them both, &c.

Within the time of this year, pence, halfpence, and farthings, began to be coined in the Tower. And the next year following, which was A.D. 1344, the castle of Windsor, where the king was born, began to be repaired; and in the same house what was called the round table was situated, the diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained two hundred feet; to the expenses of which house weekly was allowed a hundred pounds for the maintaining of the king's chivalry, till at length, by the occasion of the French wars, it came down to nine pounds a week. By the example whereof, the French king being provoked, he began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthood. At which time the said French king moreover gave free liberty through his realm to fell down trees for making of ships and maintaining of his navy, whereby the realm of England was not a little damnified.

During the same year the clergy of England granted to the king tenths for three years; for the which the king in recompence again granted to them his charter containing these privileges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arraigned before his justices, if the said clerk do submit and claim his clergy, professing himself to be a member of holy church; who so doing shall not be bound to come to his answer before the justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have married two wives, or to have married a widow, the justices shall have no power to proceed against them, to inquire of the matter; so that the cause shall be reserved to the spiritual court, &c.

About this present time, at the setting up of the round table, the king made Prince Edward, his eldest son, the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce between the two kings, albeit it is likely to be thought that the French king gave many attempts to infringe the same; whereupon Henry, earl of Lancaster, with six hundred men at arms, and as many archers, was sent over to Gascony the year after, 1345, who there so valiantly is said to have behaved himself, that he subdued fifty-five townships unto the king; twenty-three noblemen he took prisoners, encountering with the Frenchmen at Allebroke. So courteously and liberally he dealt with his soldiers, that it was a joy to them and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was, in winning any town, to reserve little or nothing to himself, but to disperse the whole spoil to his soldiers. One example in the author whom I follow is touched; how the aforesaid earl, at the winning of the town of Briers, where he had, granted to every soldier, for his booty, the house with all the implements therein which he by victory should obtain; among other his soldiers, to one named Reh, fell a certain house with the implements thereof, wherein was contained the mint and money coined for that country, to the value of a great substance; which when the soldier had found, in breaking up a house where first the gross metal was, not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the earl, declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the earl answered, that the house was his, and

whatsoever he found therein. Afterward the soldier, finding a whole mint of pure silver ready coined, signified the same to the earl, forasmuch as he thought such treasure to be too great for his portion; to whom the said earl again answering, declared that he had once given him the whole house, and that he had once given he would not call back again, as children use to play; and therefore bade him enjoy that which was granted to him; and if the money were thrice as much, it should be his own. Which story, whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not to affirm. But certes, if in these our covetous, wretched days now present, any author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

As the earl of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascony, the Scots were as busy here in England, wasting and spoiling without mercy; which were thought, and not unlike, to be set on by the French king; and therefore he was judged both by that, and by divers other ways, to have broken the covenants of truce between him and the king of England.

Wherefore, the next year ensuing, A.D. 1346, King Edward first sending his letters to the court of Rome, and therein complaining to the pope of Philip de Valois, how he transgressed and broke the truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifest, about the month of July he made his voyage into Normandy in such secret wise, that no man well knew whither he intended. Where first he entered the town of Hogs, from thence proceeded unto Cardoyne. Where, about the twenty-seventh of July, by the river of Cardoyne he had a strong battle with the Normans and other Frenchmen, which to stop his passage defended the bridge; at the which battle were taken of the lords of France, the earl of Ewe, the earl of Tankerville; and of knights with other men of arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen six hundred; and the town and suburbs beaten down to the hard walls; and all that could be borne away was transported to the ships.

A little before, mention was made how the French king began first to infringe the truce taken, and how the earl of Lancaster, upon the same, was sent unto Gascony. Now for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French king from the league, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it shall better in the king's letter appear; who, hearing word that the Lord Philip de Valois (contrary to the form of truce taken at Vanes) had apprehended certain of his nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to be imprisoned and put to death; besides other slaughters and spoilings made in Brittany, Gascony, and other places more; he, therefore, seeing the truce to be broken of the French king's part, and being thereto of necessity compelled, in the year above prefixed, the fourteenth of the month of June, did publish and send abroad his letters of defiance.

And thus much for the king's letters. Now let us again return to his passage, from whence a little we have digressed. Concerning the which passage of the king, with the order of his acts achieved in the same, from the winning of Cadane or Cardoyne, unto the town of Poissy, it is sufficiently described by one of the king's chaplains and his confessor; who, being a Dominic friar, and accompanying the king through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth.

"Great cause we have to praise and laud the God of heaven, and most worthily to confess his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercy to us. For after the conflict had at Cadane, in the which many were slain, and, the city taken and sacked even to the bare walls, the city of Baia immediately yielded itself of its own accord, fearing lest their counsels had been betrayed. After this the lord our king directed his

progress toward Rouen; who being at the town of Leeson, there came certain cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace; which cardinals being courteously entertained of the king for the reverence of the pope's see, it was thus answered to them again; That the king being much desirous of peace, had assayed by all ways and means reasonable how to maintain the same; and therefore hath offered conditions and manifold ways of peace, to be had to the no small prejudice of his own cause; and yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any means it may be sought, &c. With this answer, the cardinals going to the French king, the king's adversary, to persuade with him in like manner, returned to King Edward again, offering to him in the French king's name, the dukedom of Aquitaine, in as full assurance as his father before him ever had it; besides further hope also of obtaining more, if entreaty of peace might be obtained. But forasmuch as that contented not enough the king's mind, neither did the cardinals find the French king so tractable and prepense to the study of peace as they looked for, the cardinals returned, leaving the matter as they found it. And so the king speeding forward by the way as his journey did lie, he subdued the country and the great towns without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and run away. Such fear God struck into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same voyage, as the king had gotten many towns and villages, so also he subdued castles and munitions, very strong, and that with little stress. His enemy being at the same time at Rouen had reared a great army, who, notwithstanding being well manned, yet ever kept on the other side of the river Seine, breaking down all the bridges that we should not come over to him. And although the country round about continually was spoiled, sacked, and with fire consumed, by the circuit of twenty miles round about; yet the French king, being distant scarce the space of one mile from us, either would not, or else durst not, (when he might easily have passed over the river,) make any resistance for the defence of his country and people. And so our king, journeying forward, came to Pusiake or Poissy, where the French king had likewise broken down the bridge, and keeping on the other side of the river would rest in no place."

After the siege and winning of Poissy, the third day of September, A.D. 1346, the king, through the midst of France, directed his passage unto Calais, as by the tenor of this letter you hear, and besieged the same; which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid till the third day of August the year next ensuing, upon the which day it was rendered up unto the said King Edward the Third, and subdued unto the crown of England; as after, the Lord willing, shall more appear.

In the mean time, during the siege of Calais, David the Scottish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army burst into the north parts of England, and first besieging the town of Liddell, within six days obtained the greatest part of the town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Selby, a valiant knight, which was the keeper of the hold, he caused him uncourteously to be put to the sword: and so from thence proceeded further into England; till at length, being met withal by William Surch, archbishop of York, and the Lord Percy, and the Lord Nevil, with other nobles of those parts, (calling and gathering their men together,) in the plain near to Durham, the seventeenth day of October, in the year above said, through the gracious hand of Christ, there they were subdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the earls of Murray and Strathern, with the flower of all the chivalry and principal warriors of Scotland, were slain. Also the aforesaid King David, with the earls of Mentife and Fife, and other lords, and William Douglas Masklime, a Fleming,

and William Douglas, and many more men at arms, were taken prisoners; and so the mischief which they intended to other fell upon their own heads.

Moreover, during yet the siege of Calais, the French king had sent certain offers to the men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the king of England, and adhere to him:

First, he would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, he would unburden them of their interdict.

Thirdly, he would send unto them such plenty of corn, that what was sold for twelve shillings with them, should be sold for four shillings, and that for six years.

Fourthly, he would store them with plenty of French wool to make cloth, for a small price; and that they might sell the said cloths both in Flanders and in France, and that the Frenchmen should use the same cloth, forasmuch as all other manner of cloth should be forbidden in France so long as any of that (made of French wool) might be found.

Fifthly, he would restore to them these three cities, Insulam, Rowocum, and Betony.

Sixthly, he would defend them from all their adversaries; and in pledge of the same would send them money beforehand.

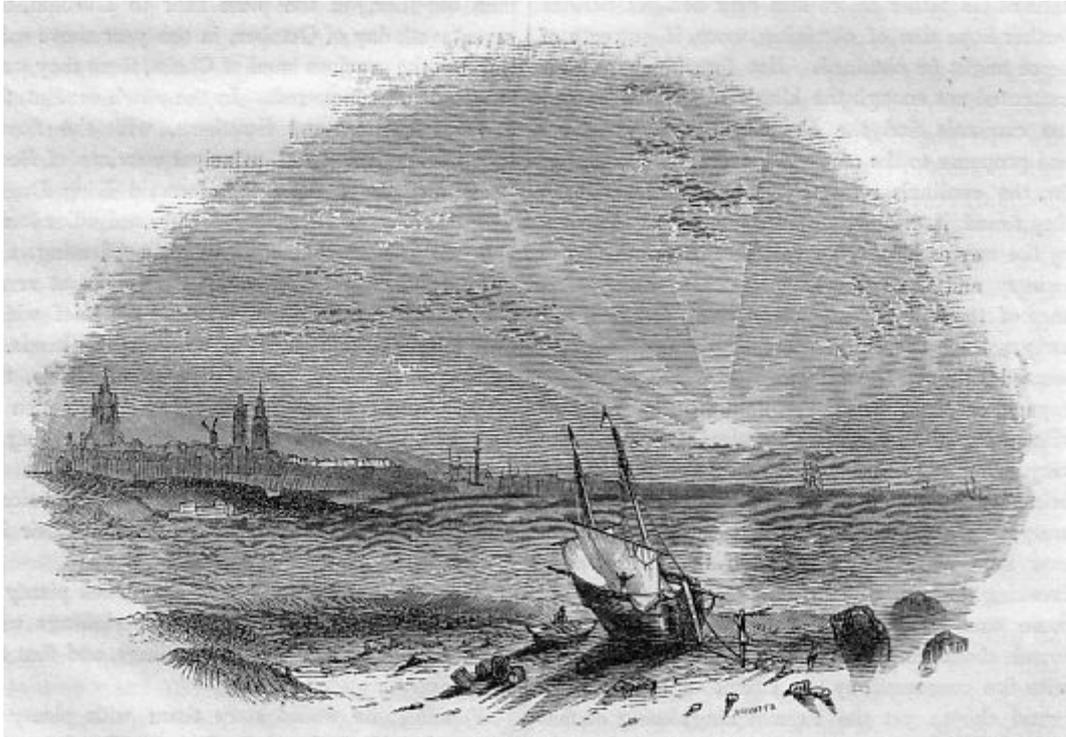
Seventhly, such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But these offers, seeming to proceed more of fair words to serve the present turn than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the Lord John, prince and heir to the French king, during the aforesaid siege of Calais above mentioned, coming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set upon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the town of Cassel: in the which conflict, during from morning to noon, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young dauphin driven back from whence he came. Of whose number divers were slain and taken prisoners; where on the other side, through the Lord's defence, not one is reported to be grievously wounded.

As this passed on, not long after, about the seventh day of June, A.D. 1347, King Edward continuing still his siege against Calais, Philip the French king came down with a mighty army, purposing to remove the siege; where, not far off from the English host, he encamped himself. Which done, two cardinals, Ambald and Stephan, procured for the same purpose, going between the two kings, gave to the king of England thus to understand: That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such honest proffers unto him as to reason and to his contentation should seem agreeable. But in conclusion, when it came to talk, the nobles could not agree upon the conditions; wherefore the French king, seeing no other remedy, caused it to be signified to King Edward, that between that present Tuesday and the next Friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should have battle given him. Thus the place being viewed of four captains of either host for the battle to be fought, it so fell, the French king on Wednesday, at night, before the battle should join, secretly by night setting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his army out of the sight of the Englishmen.

Upon the Friday following, they which were besieged in the town of Calais, seeing the king to be retired, upon whose help they trusted, being also in great penury

and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed, surrendered the town to the king's hands; who, like a merciful prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the rest with the whole commons he let go with bag and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, showing therein more princely favour to them, than they did of late in Queen Mary's days unto our men, in recovering the said town of Calais again.



**Calais**

After the winning thus of Calais, as hath been premised, King Edward, remaining in the said town a certain space, was in consultation concerning his voyage and proceeding further into France. But, by means of the aforesaid cardinals, truce for a certain time was taken, and instruments made (so provided) that certain noblemen, as well for the French king, as for the king of England, should come to the pope, there to debate upon the articles; unto the which King Edward, for peace' sake, was not greatly disagreeing: which was A.D. 1347.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1348, fell a sore plague, which they call the first general pestilence in the realm of England. This plague, as they say, first springing from the east, and so proceeding westward, did so mightily prevail here in this land, beginning first at Dorchester, and the countries thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, some days forty, some sixty and more dead corpses were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of November it came to London; where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of February, till about the beginning of May, in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, about two hundred dead corpses every day were buried, besides them which in other churchyards of the city were laid also. At length, by the grace of Christ, ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts; where also the next year after, A.D. 1349, it assuaged.

After this, in the next year ensuing, A.D. 1350, the town of Calais was, by treason of the keeper of the castle, almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. Within the compass of which year died Philip, the French king; after whom King John, his son, succeeded in the crown, who, the next year after, under false pretence of friendship, caused the constable of France, earl of Ewe, to be beheaded, who, being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licensed by King Edward to visit his country of France. In the same year the town of Guines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and asleep.

The year next following, the marshal of France with a great army was put to flight by Sir Roger Bentele, knight, and captain in Brittany, having but only six hundred soldiers with him. In this battle were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The Frenchmen and men of Brittany by this victory were exceedingly discouraged and their pride cut down.

In the year after was Henry first made duke of Lancaster, which before was earl of Derby and Lancaster; also divers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster, which after, by avarice and partial favour of the head men, were again undone.

Concord and agreement about the year 1354 began to come well forward, and instruments were drawn upon the same between the two kings; but that the matter being brought up to Pope Innocent the Sixth, partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the pope, which ever held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England all the dukedom of Aquitaine, with other lands there, should be restored without homage to the French king; and that King Edward again should surrender to him all his right and title which he had in France, whereupon rose the occasion of great war and tumult, which followed after between the two realms.

It followed after this, the year of our Lord 1355, that King Edward, hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that King John his son had granted the dukedom of Aquitaine to Charles, his eldest son, and dauphin of Vienna, sent over Prince Edward with the earls of Warwick, of Salisbury, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able soldiers into Aquitaine, where he, being willingly received of divers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly received, submitting themselves to his protection.

Not long after this, in the same year, word being brought to King Edward, that John the French king was ready to meet him at St. Omer, there to give him battle, he gathered his power, and set over to Calais with his two sons, Lionel, earl of Wilton, and John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, and with Henry, duke of Lancaster, &c., who being come to St. Omer, the French king, with a mighty army of his Francklings, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; wasting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them should find no victuals. By reason whereof, King Edward, following him by the space of nine or ten days unto Hadem, when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor victuals nor forage for his army, he returned unto Calais; where war again being offered in the name of the king, upon unstable conditions, and yet the same not performed, King Edward, seeing the shrinking of his enemy, from Calais crossed the seas into England, where he recovered again the town of Berwick, which the Scots before by subtle train had gotten. At which time was granted unto the king in

parliament fifty shillings for every sack or pack of wool that should be carried over, for the space of six years together; by the which grant the king might dispend every day by estimation above one hundred marks sterling. And forasmuch as every year one hundred thousand sacks of wool were thought to be exported out of the realm, the sum thereof for six years' space was estimated to amount to one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The same year, when King Edward had recovered Berwick and subdued Scotland, Prince Edward, being in Gascony, made towards the French king; who, notwithstanding by the way all bridges were cast down, and great resistance made, yet the victorious prince made way with his sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length joining with the French king at Poitiers, scarce with two thousand, gave the overthrow to the French king with seven thousand men of arms and more. In which conflict, the French king himself, and Philip his son, with Lord James of Bourbon, the archbishop of Sens, eleven earls, twenty-two lords were taken; of other warriors and men of arms two thousand. Some affirm in this conflict were slain two dukes, of lords and noblemen twenty-four, of men of arms two thousand and two, of other soldiers about eight thousand. The common report is, that more Frenchmen were there taken prisoners than were the number of them which took them. This noble victory, gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransom levied on him, and of David the Scottish king; of which the one was rated at three millions of scutes, the other at one hundred thousand marks, to be paid in ten years: how the staple was after translated to Calais, with such like. I refer them that would see more, to the chronicle of Thomas Walsingham of St. Albans, of John Froysard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

## 71. King Edward III — Matters Ecclesiastical

Thus having discoursed at large all such martial affairs and warlike exploits, incident in the reign of this king betwixt him and the realms of France and Scotland; now, to return again to our matters ecclesiastical, it followeth in order to recapitulate and notify the troubles and contentions growing between the same king and the pope, and other ecclesiastical persons in matters touching the church, in order of years remaining in the Tower, taken out of the records, as followeth. As where first, in the fourth year of his reign, the king wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: That whereas King Edward the First, his grandfather, did give to a clerk of his own, being his chaplain, the dignity of treasurer of York, the archbishopric of York being then vacant and in the king's hands, in the quiet possession whereof the said clerk continued until the pope misliking therewith would have displaced him, and promoted to the same dignity a cardinal of Rome, to the manifest prejudice of the crown of England; the king therefore straitly chargeth the archbishop of York not to suffer any matter to pass that may be prejudicial to the donation of his grandfather, but that his own clerk should enjoy the said dignity accordingly, upon pain of his Highness's displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these bishops following, namely, to the bishop of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Sarum, Monsieur Marmion, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Lincoln, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Lenton, to Master Rich of Bentworth, to Master Iherico de Concoreto, to the pope's nuncio, to Master Guido of Calma. And withal, he wrote his letters unto the pope, as touching the same matter, consisting in three parts: First, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of temporalties, of offices, prebends, benefices, and dignities ecclesiastical, holden of him *in capite*, as in the right of his crown of England. Secondly, in expostulating with the pope for intruding himself into the ancient right of the crown of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessors, which were popes before. Thirdly, entreating him that he would henceforth abstain and desist from molesting the realm with such novelties and strange usurpations; and so much the more, for that, in the public parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed upon by the universal assent of all the estates of the realm, that the king should stand to the defence of all such rights and jurisdictions as to his regal dignity and crown any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth year of the reign of this king, Pope Benedict the Twelfth sendeth down letters touching his new creation, with certain other matters and requests to the king; whereunto the king answering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding, moreover, that his purpose was to have sent unto him certain ambassadors for congratulation of the same; but being otherwise occupied by reason of wars, could not attend to his Holiness's requests: notwithstanding, he minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascension next, where, upon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, he would take order for the same, and so direct his ambassadors to his Holiness accordingly.

The next year after, which was the tenth year of his reign, the king writeth another letter to the pope; That forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one year's

tenth for the supportation of his wars, and for that the pope also had the same time to take up the payment of six years' tenths granted him by the clergy a little before, therefore the pope would vouchsafe, at his request, to forbear the exaction of that money for one year, till that his tenth for the necessities of his wars were despatched.

The same year he wrote also to the pope to this effect: That whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich did nominate a clerk to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his investiture, without the king's knowledge; therefore the pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the king's peculiar jurisdiction and prerogative.

After this, in the sixteenth year of this king, it happened that the pope sent over certain legates to hear and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices; which the king perceiving to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subjects, writeth unto the said legates, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing unadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawful ordinances and customs of the laws of his realm, and the freedom and liberty of his subjects.

Writing moreover the same year to other legates, being sent over by the pope to treat of peace between the king and the French king, with request that they would first make their repair to the French king, who had so oftentimes broken with him, and prove what conformity the French king would offer; which, if he found reasonable, they should soon accord with him; otherwise he exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalf.

The year following, which was the seventeenth of his reign, ensued another letter to the pope against his provisions and reservations of benefices.

The year following, another letter likewise was sent by the king to the pope, upon occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reservations and provisions of the bishoprics within the realm, and to leave the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedral churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this king's reign, there came to the presence of the king certain legates from Rome, complaining of certain statutes passed in his parliament tending to the prejudice of the Church of Rome, and the pope's primacy: viz. That if abbots, priors, or any other ecclesiastical patrons of benefices should not present to the said benefices within a certain time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof; or if they did not present, then to the archbishop; if the archbishop likewise did fail to present, then the gift to pertain not unto the lord pope, but unto the king and his heirs. Another complaint also was this, that if archbishops should be slack in giving such benefices as properly pertained to their own patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertain to the aforesaid king and his heirs. Another complaint was, that if the pope should make void any elections in the church of England for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discreet persons in the same, that then the king and his heirs was not bound to render the temporalities unto the parties placed by the pope's provision. Whereupon the pope being not a little aggrieved, the king writeth unto him, certifying that he was misinformed, denying that there was any such statute made in that parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would confer with his prelates and nobles, and thereof would return answer by his legates.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

In the twentieth year of his reign, another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect whereof, in few words to express it, was this: to certify him that, in respect of his great charges sustained in his wars, he hath by the counsel of his nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of years: in the twenty-sixth year of this king, one Nicholas Heath, clerk, a busy-headed body, and a troubler of the realm, had procured divers bishops, and others of the king's council, to be cited up to the court of Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them. Whereupon commandment was given by the king to all the ports of the realm, for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any bulls or other process from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignity of the crown, or molestation of the subjects; concerning which Nicholas Heath, the king also writeth to the pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to give no ear to his lewd complaints.

The same year the king writeth also to the pope's legate, resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting divers sums of money of the clergy, in the name of first-fruits of benefices.

The thirty-first year of this king's reign, the king, by his letters, complaineth to the pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicholas Stanway, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured divers citations to be sent into the realm, to the great disturbance of divers and sundry honest men; whereupon he prayeth and adviseth the pope to stay himself, and not to send over such hasty citations upon every light occasion.

To pass further to the thirty-eighth year of the same king, thus we find in the rolls: That the king the same year took order by two of his clergy, to wit, John à Stock, and John of Norton, to take into their hands all the temporalities of all deaneries, prebends, dignities, and benefices, being then vacant in England, and to answer the profits of the same to the king's use.

The same year an ordinance was made by the king and his council, and the same was proclaimed in all port towns within the realm – "That good and diligent search should be made that no person whatsoever, coming from the court of Rome, &c., do bring into the realm with him any bull, instrument, letters patent, or other process, that may be prejudicial to the king, or any of his subjects; nor that any person, passing out of this realm toward the court of Rome, do carry with him any instrument or process that may redound to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, &c., with the king's special licence, do notwithstanding promise and find surety to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt to pursue any matter to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, under pain to be put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made, in the twenty-seventh year," &c.

## 72. Anti-Papal Writers: 1300-1360

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domestic matters, perturbations, and troubles, passing between him and the pope, taken out of the public records of the realm, whereby I thought to give the reader to understand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the unsatiable avarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer than a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subjects with exactions unmeasurable; and not only exercising his tyranny in this realm, but raging also against other princes both far and near, amongst whom neither spared he the emperor himself. In the story and acts of which Emperor Louis, mentioned a little before, whom the pope did most arrogantly excommunicate upon Maundy Thursday, and the selfsame day placed another emperor in his room, relation was made of certain learned men which took the emperor's part against the pope. In number of whom was Marsilius of Padua, William Ockam, John of Ganduno, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Ulricus Hangenor, treasurer of the emperor, Dante, Aligerius, &c.; of whom Marsilius of Padua compiled and exhibited unto the Emperor Louis a worthy work entitled *Defensor Pacis*, written in the emperor's behalf against the pope. Wherein, both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope, he proveth all bishops and priests to be equal, and that the pope hath no superiority above other bishops, much less above the emperor; that the word of God ought to be only the chief judge in deciding and determining causes ecclesiastical; that not only spiritual persons, but laymen also, being godly and learned, ought to be admitted into general councils; that the clergy and the pope ought to be subject unto magistrates; that the church is the university of the faithful, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ, and that he never appointed any vicar or pope over his universal church; that bishops ought to be chosen every one by their own church and clergy; that the marriage of priests may lawfully be permitted; that St. Peter was never at Rome; that the clergy and synagogue of the pope is a den of thieves; that the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction; and that the corrupt manners of the Christians do spring and flow out of the wickedness of the spirituality, &c. He disputeth, moreover, in another work, of free justification by grace; and extenuateth merits, saying that they are no causes efficient of our salvation, but only *sine qua non*, that is to say, that works be no cause of our justification, but yet our justification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine, most sound and catholic, he was condemned by the pope, A.D. 1324. Concerning the which man and his doctrine I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may see that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the church with the note of novelty or newness, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the histories and order of times forepast.

In the same part of condemnation, at the same time, also was John of Ganduno, A.D. 1330. Which Johannes wrote much upon Aristotle and Averrois, and his books are yet remaining; and no doubt but he wrote also of divinity, but it is not unlike that these works have been abolished.

In the same number and catalogue cometh also William Ockam, who was in the year of our Lord 1326, as is before mentioned, and wrote likewise in defence of Louis the emperor against the pope; and also in defence of Michael, general of Grey Friars, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for a heretic. Divers treatises

were by the said Ockam set forth, whereof some are extant and in print, as his Questions and Distinctions; some are extinct and suppressed. Some again be published under no name of the author, being of his doing; as the dialogue between the soldier and the clerk: wherein it is to be conjectured what books and works this Ockam had collected against the pope. Of this Ockam, John Sleidan in his history inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose words be these: "William Ockam, in time of Louis the Fourth, emperor, did flourish about the year of our Lord 1326; who, among other things, wrote of the authority of the bishop of Rome; in the which book he handleth these eight questions very copiously: First, Whether both the administrations of the bishop's office, and of the emperor's, may be in one man? Secondly, Whether the emperor taketh his power and authority only of God, or else of the pope? Thirdly, Whether the pope and Church of Rome have power by Christ to set and place kings and emperors, and to commit to them their jurisdiction to be exercised? Fourthly, Whether the emperor being elected hath full authority, upon the said his election, to administer his empire? Fifthly, Whether other kings besides the emperor and king of Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receive of them any part of their power? Sixthly, Whether the said kings in any case be subject to their consecrators? Seventhly, Whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselves the diadem without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title? Eighthly, Whether the seven princes electors give as much to the election of the emperor, as succession rightfully giveth to other kings?" Upon these questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry arguments and sundry reasons on both sides; at length he decideth the matter on the part of the civil magistrate, and by occasion thereof entereth into the mention of the pope's Decrees Extravagant, declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminensis, a learned and a famous and right godly man; who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the year of our Lord 1350, disputed in the same doctrine of grace and free-will as we do now, and dissented therein from the papists and sophisters, counting them worse than Pelagians.

Of the like judgment, and in the same time, was also Andreas de Castro, and Burdianus upon the Ethics of Aristotle; which both maintained the grace of the gospel, as is now in the church received, above two hundred years since.

And what should I speak of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time, A.D. 1350, persuaded the French king not to receive in his land the new-found constitutions, Decretal and Extravagant, nor to suffer them within his realm; whose sage counsel then given, yet remaineth among the French king's records, as witnesseth Carolus Molineus.

Dante, an Italian writer, a Florentine, lived in the time of Louis, the emperor, about the year of our Lord 1300, and took part with Marsilius of Padua against three sorts of men, which, he said, were enemies to the truth: that is, first, the pope; secondly, the order of religious men, which count themselves the children of the church, when they are the children of the devil their father; thirdly, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certain of his writings be extant abroad, wherein he proveth the pope not to be above the emperor, nor to have any right or jurisdiction in the empire. He proveth the donation of Constantine to be a forged and a feigned thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right; for the which he was taken of many for a heretic. He complaineth, moreover, very much, of the preaching of God's word to be

omitted; and instead thereof, the vain fables of monks and friars to be preached and believed of the people, and so the flock of Christ to be fed not with the food of the gospel, but with wind. "The pope," saith he, "of a pastor is made a wolf, to waste the church of Christ, and procure with his clergy not the word of God to be preached, but his own decrees." In his Canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon; and to her ministers, to some he applieth two horns, to some four, as to the patriarchs, whom he noteth to be the tower of the said whore Babylonical.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the book of Jornandus, imprinted with the aforesaid Dante; that forasmuch as antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as go about to have the empire extinct, are in so doing forerunners and messengers of antichrist. "Therefore let the Romans," saith he, "and their bishops beware, lest their sins and wickedness so deserving, by the just judgment of God, the priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germany take heed," &c.

And because our adversaries, which object unto us the newness of our doctrine, shall see and perceive the course and form of this religion now received, not to have been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past; I will add to these above recited, Master Taulerus, a preacher of Argentine, in Germany, A.D. 1350; who, contrary to the pope's proceedings, taught openly against all men's merits, and against invocations of saints, and preached sincerely of our free justification by grace; referring all man's trust only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

With whom also may be adjoined Franciscus Petrarcha, a writer of the same age, who, in his works and his Italian metre, speaking of Rome, calleth it the whore of Babylon, the school and mother of error, the temple of heresy, the nest of treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others; and saith further, that she (meaning the pope's court) extolleth herself against her founders; that is, the emperors who first set her up, and did so enrich her; and seemeth plainly to affirm, that the pope was antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any man than to be made pope. This Franciscus was about the year of our Lord 1350.

And if time would serve us to seek out old histories, we should find plenty of faithful witnesses, of old and ancient time, to give witness with us against the pope, beside the other above rehearsed; as Johannes de Rupe Scissa, A.D. 1340; who, for rebuking the spiritually for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison.

Illyricus, a writer in our days, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Johannes should call the Church of Rome the whore of Babylon, and the pope to be the minister of antichrist, and the cardinals to be the false prophets. Being in prison, he wrote a book of prophecies, bearing the title, *Vade Mecum in Tribulationem*; in which book, which also I have seen, he prophesied and admonished affliction and tribulation to hang over the:spiritually. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his clergy, and will have priests that shall be poor, godly, and that shall faithfully feed the Lord's flock; moreover, that the goods of the church shall return again to the laymen. He prophesied also the same time, that the French king and his army should have an overthrow; which came likewise to pass during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Johannes de Rupe, writeth Froisart in his time, and also Wickliff; of whose prophecies much more may be said at more leisure, Christ willing, hereafter.

About the same year of our Lord, 1340, in the city of Herbipoli, was one named Master Conrad Hager; who, as appeareth by the old bulls and registers of Otho, bishop of the said city, is there recorded to have maintained and taught, the space of twenty-four years together, the mass to be no manner of sacrifice, neither that it profiteth any man either quick or dead; and that the money given of the dead for masses, be very robberies and sacrileges of priests, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poor; and he said, moreover, that if he had a stove full of gold and silver, he would not give one farthing for any mass. For the same his doctrine this good preacher was condemned and enclosed in prison; what afterward became of him we do not find.

There is among other old and ancient records of antiquity belonging to this present time, a certain monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certain moral, entitled Pœnitentiarius Asini, The Ass's Confessor, bearing the date and year of our Lord in this number, Completus, A.D. 1343. In this treatise are brought forth the wolf, the fox, and the ass, coming to shrift and doing penance. First, the wolf confesseth him to the fox, who easily doth absolve him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like manner the wolf, hearing the fox's shrift, showeth to him the like favour again. After this cometh the ass to confession, whose fault was this, that he, being hungry, took a straw out from the sheaf of one that went in peregrination unto Rome. The ass, both repenting of this fact, and because he thought it not so heinous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly ass had uttered his crime in auricular confession, immediately the discipline of the law was executed upon him with severity; neither was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended upon the same, slain, and devoured. Whosoever was the author of this fabulous tale, he had a mystical understanding in the same; for by the wolf no doubt was meant the pope; but the fox was resembled to the prelates, courtesans, priests, and the rest of the spiritually. Of the spiritually the lord pope is soon absolved; as, contrarily, the pope soon doth absolve them in like manner. By the ass is meant the poor laity, upon whose back the strait censure of the law is sharply executed, especially when the German emperors come under the pope's inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as in these stories may partly appear before. And thus they, aggregating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermost, fly upon the poor ass and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practices of these spiritual Romanists are lively described.

Not long after these above rehearsed, about the year of our Lord 1350, Gerhardus Ridder wrote also against the monks and friars a book entitled Lacryma Ecclesiæ, wherein he disputeth against the aforesaid religious orders, namely, against the Begging Friars; proving that kind of life to be far from Christian perfection, for that it is against charity to live upon others, when a man may live by his own labours: and affirmeth them to be hypocrites, filthy livers, and such as for man's favour, and for lucre's sake, do mix with true divinity, fables, apocryphas, and dreams of vanity. Also that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour widows' houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and burials, do trouble the church of Christ manifold ways. And therefore persuaded the prelates to bridle and keep short the inordinate licence and abuses of these monastical persons, &c.

Yet I have made no mention of Michael Sesenas, provincial of the Grey Friars, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus, *in quarta parte summæ*, and saith they were condemned in the Extravagant of Pope John, with one Johannes de Poliaco.

Their opinions, saith Antoninus, were these: That Peter the apostle was no more the head of the church than the other apostles; and that Christ left no vicar behind him, or head in his church; and that the pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the emperor. Item, that all priests, of what degree soever, are of equal authority, power, and jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ; but by the institution of the emperor, the pope to be superior, which, by the same emperor, also may be revoked again. Item, that neither the pope nor yet the church may punish any man, *punitioe coactiva*, that is, by extern coercion, unless they receive licence of the emperor. This aforesaid Michael, general of the Grey Friars, wrote against the tyranny, pride, and primacy of the pope, accusing him to be antichrist, and the Church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of saints. He said there were two churches, one of the wicked flourishing, wherein reigned the pope; the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the verity was almost utterly extinct: and for this cause he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned of the pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his assertions. This Michael was about the year of our Lord 1322, and he left behind him many favourers and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slain by the pope; some were condemned, as William Ockam; some were burned, as Johannes de Castilione, and Franciscus de Arcatara.

With him also was condemned, in the said Extravagant, Johannes de Poliaco, above touched, whose assertions were these: That the pope could not give licence to hear confessions to whom he would, but that every pastor in his own church ought to suffice. Item, that pastors and bishops had their authority immediately from Christ and his apostles, and not from the pope. Item, that the constitution of Pope Benedict the Second, wherein he granteth larger privileges to the friars above other pastors, was no declaration of the law, but a subversion: and for this he was by the said friars oppressed, about the year of our Lord 1322.

After Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury, before mentioned, who lived not long, succeeded John Stratford. After whom came John Offord, who lived but ten months; in whose room succeeded Thomas, and remained but one year, A.D. 1350; and after him Simon Islip was made archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Clement the Sixth, who sat seventeen years, and built Canterbury college in Oxford. Which Simon Islip succeeded the bishop of Ely, named Simon Langhan, who within two years was made cardinal. In whose stead, Pope Urban the Fifth ordained William Wittlesey, bishop of Worcester, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1366. In which year, William, bishop of Winchester, elected and founded the New college in Oxford.

Again, in the order of the popes, next unto Pope Clement the Sixth before mentioned, about the same time, A.D. 1353, succeeded Pope Innocent the Sixth; in the first year of which, pope, two friars Minors, or Franciscans, were burned at Avignon, *Pro opinionibus* (as mine author saith) *erroneis, prout D. papæ et ejus cardinalibus videbatur*, that is, "for certain opinions, as seemed to the pope and his cardinals erroneous." Of the which two friars I find, in the Chronicles De Actis Rom. Pontificum, and in the history of Premonstratensis, that the one was Johannes Rochtayladus; or rather, as I find in Catalog. Testium, cited out of the Chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hayabalus who being, as he recordeth, a friar Minorite, began first in the time of Pope Clement the Sixth, A.D. 1345, to preach and affirm openly, that he was, by God's revelation, charged and commanded to preach, that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and the pope with his cardinals to be very antichrist; and that Pope Benedict, and the others before him his predecessors, were damned; with other such-like words tending much against the pope's tyrannical

majesty. And that the aforesaid Hayabalus being brought before the pope's face, constantly did stand in the same, saying, that he was commanded by God's revelation so to say, and also that he would preach the same if he might. To whom it was then objected, that he had some heretical books, and so was committed to prison in Avignon. In the time of his accusation it happened that a certain priest, coming before the pope, cast the pope's bull down before his feet, saying, Lo here, take your bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have laboured now these three years withal, and yet notwithstanding, for all this your bull, I cannot be restored to my right. The pope hearing this, commanded the poor priest to be scourged, and after to be laid in prison with the aforesaid friar. What became of them afterward, the aforesaid writer, Henricus de Herfordia, maketh no mention; but I may probably conjecture this priest and this friar, Rochtayladus, or rather Hayabalus, were the two, whom mine author, Thomas Walsingham, writeth to be burned at this time in Avignon, about the first beginning of this Pope Innocent the Sixth. Of this Rochtayladus I thought good here to infer the testimony. and mention of John Froisart, written of him in his first volume, chap. 211, in these words:

There was, saith Froisart, a friar Minor, in the city of Avignon, which was full of great clergy, called friar John of Rochtaylada, the which friar Pope Innocent the Sixth held in prison in the castle of Baignour, for showing of many marvels after to come: principally he showed many things to fall unto the prelates of the church for the great superfluity and pride that was then used among them; and also he spake many things to fall of the realm of France, and of the great lords of Christendom, for the oppressions that they did to the poor common people. This friar, said he, would prove all his saying by the authority of the Apocalypse, and by other books of holy saints and prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghost: he showed many things hard to believe, and many things fell after as he said. He said them not as a prophet, but he showed them by authority of ancient Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who gave him understanding to declare the ancient prophets, and to show to all Christian people the years and times when such things should fall. He made divers books founded on great sciences and clergy, whereof one was made the year of our Lord 1346, wherein were written such marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the wars of France, he said that all that had been seen was not like that should be seen after; for he said that the wars in France should not be ended till the realm were utterly wasted and spoiled, in every part. The which saying was well seen after, for the noble realm of France was sore wasted and soiled, and specially in the term that the said friar had set; the which was in the years of our Lord 1356-1359. He said, in those years the princes and gentlemen of the realm should not for fear show themselves against the people of low estate, assembled of all countries without head or captain; and they should do as they list in the realm of France; the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great captains.

About the same time happened in France a certain contention between the French prelates and the friars of Paris, testified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis; the brief effect of which story is this. The prelates of France conventing and assembling together in the city of Paris, after a long deliberation among themselves, caused, by the beadles, to be called together all the students, masters, and bachelors of every faculty, with the chief heads also of all the religious houses and friars in the university of Paris: who being all there congregated together in the house of the

bishop of Paris, where there were present four archbishops and twenty bishops, first stood up the bishop of Biturecense, who, there making his sermon, took for his theme the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians; and concluded thereupon, first, that true charity would compel them to see and provide for their flocks. Secondly, that the vigour of charity would arm them to withstand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, that by duty of charity they were bound to give their lives for the souls of their flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the same charity every man ought to hold himself content with that which was his own, and not to intermeddle or busy himself further than to him appertained or belonged to his office. "For there," saith he, "all order ecclesiastical is dissolved, whereas men, not containing themselves in their own precincts, presume in other men's charges, where they have nothing to do. But this charity," saith he, "now-a-days waxeth cold, and all ecclesiastical order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which nowadays presume to thrust in themselves where they have nothing to do; so that now the church may seem a monster. For as in a natural body appeareth a monster, where one member doth the office of another; so in the spiritual body, which is the church, it may be thought likewise; as when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the friars Majors and Minors, do take upon them to usurp and occupy the office to us especially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth us all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Wherefore we have heretofore oftentimes caused the said friars, both by the king himself in his own person, and also by other nobles, to be spoken to and desired to surcease from doing and intermeddling in our office, and yet they would not, but have preached against our wills through all our diocesses, and have heard confessions, saying, that they have the pope's privilege to bear them out therein. For the which cause we come to you, and not we here present only, but also we have the hand-writing and the full consent of all other our fellow bishops throughout the kingdom of France, to complain to you of this so great insolency and presumption of the friars. For that as we are, you shall be. Neither do I think that there be any of us prelates here now, which have not some time been taken out of this university of yours. We have desired, moreover, and caused to be desired of the aforesaid friars, that they would send their privileges to the see apostolical, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the lord pope; which they refused also to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better understand and see what their privileges be, and how far they do extend, we have appointed the said privileges here openly to be read unto you."

Then stood up another in the public place, and there read the privileges of both the orders; and afterward read also the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third, written in the fifth of the decretals, and beginneth, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c.; which constitution was repugnant and contrary to the aforesaid privileges, as he there manifestly proved, declaring how both the privileges were derogatory to that constitution.

This done, then rose up the Bishop Ambianensis, a great lawyer, who discoursing from article to article, there proved by good law, that the said constitution stood in all its force and vigour, and ought not to be infringed by the friar's privileges in any part. And, therefore, by the virtue of that constitution, that the friars ought not so disorderly to intrude themselves in hearing confessions, in enjoining of penance, and in preaching in churches and diocesses, without special licence of the bishop of the diocess, and curate of the parish; unto whose words never a friar at that time replied again. And so the bishop proceeding to his conclusion, desired the university

to assist them in that case, wherein they were all determined, saith he, to stand firmly to the shedding of their blood, in resisting that disorder and injuries of the friars. This happened the sixth day of December, which they dedicated to St. Nicholas.

The next day, being Sunday, one of the order of the Minorites, or Franciscans, went to the church of the Majorites, or Preaching Friars, where he made a sermon, which was never seen before, the one order to come and resort to the other, beginning in the aforesaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through every article as well as he could; adding, moreover, and saying, that they went not so far in their privileges as they lawfully might. And he said moreover, that what time the said privileges were in obtaining in Rome, the Bishop Ambianensis was there present himself, resisting the same with all his power; yea, all the prelates also of France sent and wrote up to the court against the same, and yet did not prevail. For when the friars there presently declared and opened to the pope in what manner and how far they had used their privileges, the pope the same time said, *Placet*, that is, agreed unto the same. "And now," saith he, "the prelates require and demand of us to send up our privileges to the court, which were great folly in us. For in so doing, what should we else but give place and occasion to revoke again the authority which is given into our hands already? Furthermore, our warden and master is now lately dead, and the master here of the Dominic Friars is not now present. Wherefore we dare not determine in such a weighty cause, touching the privileges of our order, without the presence of them. And therefore we desire you of the university to hold us therein excused, and not to be so lightly stirred against us, for we are not the worst and vilest part of the university," &c.

The next day, being the eighth day of the same month, is also dedicate to the conception of our Lady; upon which day it was determined likewise, that one of the Dominic Friars should preach in the church of the Franciscan or Grey Friars; and so he did, tending to the same end, as the other friar in the other church had done before. Whereto it may seem the proverb well answered, whereof we read in the Gospel, *Facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in ipso die*.

It was not long after that the feast of St. Thomas the apostle followed, in whose vigil all the heads of the university again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the church of St. Bernard at the sermon time. Which being done, and the assembly meeting together, another sermon was made by a divine of the university, whose theme was, *Prope est dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*, &c.; wherein he, with many words and great authorities, argued against them that would not be obedient unto their prelates, &c. The sermon being ended, then rose up again the Bishop Ambianensis, who, prosecuting the rest of the theme, and coming to the word *in veritate*, divided it into three parts, according to the common gloss of the decretals:

*Est serum vitæ, doctrinæ, justitiæque,  
Primum semper Habe; duo propter scandalA linque.*

Showing and declaring by many authorities, both of canonical Scriptures and out of the law, and by evident demonstration of experience, that the friars first had no verity of life, because they were full of hypocrisy; neither had they verity of doctrine, because in their heart they bare gall, and in their tongue honey; neither verity of justice, because they usurped other men's offices. And thus concluding with the same, he caused again to be read the said privileges, with the constitution above specified. And so expounding place by place, he did argue and prove that the said constitution in

no part was evacuate or infringed by the privileges aforesaid. Which thing being declared, he added, moreover, that, "whereas the friars say," saith he, "that I should be present in the obtaining of the privileges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the pope, reclaiming and requiring the said privileges to be revoked; but the next day after, it so pleased the pope to send me out abroad upon weighty affairs, so that then the matter had no end. After that, we sent also other messengers with our letters, for the same cause, unto the court of Rome, whom the friars say not to have prevailed, but they lie therein; for the said messengers again brought us letters from the chief of the court of Rome, sealed with their seals; which letters we have divers times presented to our king, and will shortly show them unto you all; in the which letters the load pope hath promised the said privileges either to be utterly abrogate, or else to be mitigated with some more plain interpretation, of the which we trust shortly to have the public bull or writ from the pope."

At last the said bishop required and desired of all there, of what diocess or country soever they were, that they would copy out the aforesaid privileges, and send them abroad into their countries, that all men might see what they were, and how far they did extend. In fine, the matter coming into open disputation, it was concluded by Master Giles, one of the Augustine friars, (who was thought to be most reasonable of all the other friars,) in this wise, that after his sentence the prelates were in the truer part.

Concerning this wrangling contention between the university and friars of France, here before mentioned, whereof partly the original cause may be understood, by that which hath been said, to rise upon certain privileges granted by popes to the friars, to intermeddle in matters of parish churches; as to hear confessions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houses, and to receive impropriations, &c., because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did endure a long time not only in France, but also came over into England; the whole discourse thereof more amply, Christ willing, shall be declared in the beginning of the next book following, when we come to the story of Armachanus.

About what time and year this brawl was in the university of Paris, between the friars and prelates there, as hath been declared, the like contention happened also in the university of Oxford, in the year above prefixed, 1354, save only that the strife among the masters of Paris, as it rose upon friarly ceremonies, so it went no further than brawling words and matter of excommunication; but this tumult, rising of a drunken cause, proceeded further unto bloody stripes. The first original whereof began in a tavern, between a scholar and the good man of the house; who, falling together in altercation, grew to such heat of words, that the student (*contra jus hospitii*) poured the wine upon the head of the host, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occasion given, eftsoons parts began to be taken between the townsmen and the scholars; insomuch that grievous sedition and conflict followed upon the same, wherein many of the townsmen were wounded, and to the, number of twenty slain; divers also of the scholars were grievously hurt. The space of two days this hurly-burly continued. Upon the second day certain religious and devout persons ordained a solemn procession general, to pray for peace. Yet notwithstanding all that procession, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which procession, the skirmish still waxing hot, one of the students, being hardly pursued by the townsmen, for succour in his flight came running to the priest or friar, who carried about, as the manner was, the pix; thinking to find refuge at the presence of the transubstantiated

god of the altar there carried imboxed. Notwithstanding, the god being not there present, or else not seeing him, or else peradventure being asleep, the scholar found there small help; for the townsmen in heat of the chase, forgetting belike the virtue of the pope's transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the pix they brake his head, and wounded him grievously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morrow following, other townsmen in the villages about, joining with the townsmen of Oxford, confederated together in great force and power to set upon the students there, and so did, having a black flag borne before them, and so invaded the university men; whereupon the scholars being overmatched, and compelled to flee into their halls and hostels, were so pursued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their halls and chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded, and, as it is said, slain and thrown into privies; their books with knives and bills cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the students of that university, being conquered by the townsmen of Oxford, and of the country about, departed and left the university; so that for a time the schools there, and all school acts, did utterly cease from all exercise of study, except only Merton college-hall, with a few other remaining behind.

This being done the twelfth day of February, the queen at the same time being at Woodstock was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent, with great solemnity of jousting. About which time the bishop of Lincoln, their diocesan, hearing of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate mass or any divine service in the presence of any lay person within the said town of Oxford, interdicting withal the whole town; which interdiction endured the space of a whole year and more.

The king also sent thither his justices to examine and inquire of the matter, before whom divers laymen and of the clergy were indicted, and four of the chief burgesses of the said town were indicted, and by the king's commandment sent to the Tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length, through much labour of the nobles, the king so took up the matter, that sending his writings unto all sheriffs in England, he offered pardon to all and singular students of that university, wheresoever dispersed, for that transgression; whereby the university in short time was replenished again as before. Moreover, it was granted to the vice-chancellor or commissary, as they term him, of the town and university of Oxford, to have the assize of bread, ale, wine, and all other victual, the mayor of the said town being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should give to the university of Oxford two hundred pounds sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses; reserved, notwithstanding, to every one of the students his several action against any several person of the townsmen, &c.

About the year of our Lord 1354, the king, with the consent of his council, revoked home again out of Flanders the staple of wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundry places within the realm, namely, in Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristol, Lincoln, and in Hull; which staple, after A.D. 1362, was translated over into Calais.

Of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned a little before, I read in the said author above specified, that he, by his letters patent, directed to all parsons and vicars within his province, straitly charged them and their parishioners, under pain of excommunication, not to abstain from bodily labour upon certain saints' days, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to unthrifty idleness. Item,

that to priests should be given no more for their yearly stipend, but three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and steal, &c. A.D. 1362. The next year following, which was 1363, the aforesaid King Edward kept his parliament at London, in the month of October; wherein was prohibited, that gold nor silver should be worn in knives, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend ten pounds a year. Item, that none should wear either silks or costly furs, except such as might dispend one hundred pounds a year. Also that merchant venturers should not export over any merchandise out of the realm, or seek for wines in other countries; whereby other nations should be constrained rather to seek to us, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Islip, as is above recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittlesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the nuns of St. Bridget's order began first; about which time also was builded the Queen's college in Oxford, by Queen Philippa of England, wife to King Edward the Third.

Moreover, in the time of this Pope Innocent, friar John Lyle, bishop of Ely, moved with certain injuries, as he thought, done to him by the Lady Blanch, made his complaint to the pope; who sending down his curse to the bishop of Lincoln and other prelates, to be executed upon the adversaries of the bishop of Ely, commanded them, that if they did know any of the said adversaries dead and buried, that notwithstanding, they should cause the same to be taken up: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had been of the king's council; wherefore the king being displeased, and not unworthily, did trouble and molest again the said prelates. This coming to the pope's hearing, certain were directed down from the court of Rome, in the behalf of the aforesaid bishop of Ely, who meeting with the bishop of Rochester, the king's treasurer, delivered unto him, being armed, letters from the bishop of Rome, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently avoided away; but certain of the king's servants pursuing, did overtake them; of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the justices, and so they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appear what reverence the pope's letters, in this king's days, had in this realm of England. This Pope Innocent ordained the feast of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

Forasmuch as Satan, being chained up all this while for the space of a thousand years, beginneth about this time to be loosed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of St. John's Revelation; therefore, to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein sufficiently hath been described the excessive pride and pomp of antichrist, flourishing in his ruff and security, from the time of William the Conqueror hitherto; now, Christ willing and assisting us thereunto, we mind in these latter books hereafter following, in order of history to express the latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the church, raised up by Satan, in his minister antichrist, with the resistance again of Christ's church against him. And so to prosecute, by the merciful grace of Christ, the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the said antichrist; to the intent that if any be in such error to think that antichrist is yet to come, he may consider and ponder well the tragical rages, the miserable and most sorrowful persecutions, murders, and vexations of these latter three hundred years now following, and then I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only antichrist is already come, but also will know where he sitteth, and how he is now falling apace, the Lord Christ be thanked for ever, to his decay and confusion.

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

END OF VOLUME 2