



Chronicles 1 (of 6): The Historie of by Raphael Holinshed

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THE FIFT BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

* * * * *

Constantinus at the generall sute of the Britains vndertaketh to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned king, his three sonnes, he is traitorouslie slaine of a Pict, Constantius the eldest sonne of Constantine hauing bene a monke is created king, the ambitious & slie practises of duke Vortigerne to aspire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his person, his craftie deuises and deepe dissimulation vnder the pretense of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is chosen their king.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Having ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the state of the Iland vnder them is at full described; it remaineth now that we procéed to declare, in what state they were after the Romans had refused to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addresse our selues to saie somewhat touching the succession of the British kings, as their histories make mention.

[Sidenote: CONSTANTINUS. *Gal. Mon. Matt. Westm.*] Constantinus the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the sute and earnest request of the archbishop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was sent into the same Ile by his said brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the same at Totnesse in Deuonshire. Immediatlie after his [Sidenote: *Caxton* saith 12000. but *Gal.* and others say but 2000.] c[=o]ming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerse places of the Ile. Then went he foorth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquished: & slue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field [Sidenote: The British historie disagreeeth from the Scottish.] (as some bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agréeth not with the Scottish writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet lost their king named Dongard (as in their historie ye maie read.)

But to procéed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueied their capteine the said Constantine vnto Cicester, and there in fulfilling their promise and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yéere of our Lord 433, which was about the fift yéere of the emperour Valentinianus the second, and third yéere of Clodius king [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* saith 435.] of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to settle themselues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Constantine being thus established king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuasion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife thrée sonnes (as the British historie affirmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter surnamed named Pendragon. The eldest, bicause he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a moonke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Winchester.

[Sidenote: In a groue of bushes as *Gal.* saith. *Matth. West. Beda. Orosius. Blondus.*] Finallie this Constantine, after he had reigned ten yéeres, was traitorouslie slaine one day in his owne chamber (as some write) by a Pict, who was in such fauor with him, that he might at all times haue frée accesse to him at his pleasure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this Constantine: but of the other Constantine they write, which immediatlie after the vsurper Gratian was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other respect of towardnesse in him, afore time being but a meane souldier, without anie degré of honour. The same Constantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his sonne Constantius with the title and dignitie of Cesar, the which before was a moonke, and finallie as well the one as the other were slaine, the father at Arles by earle Constantius, that was sent against him by the emperour Honorius; and the sonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian historie ye may sée more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our Lord 415. [Sidenote: 415.]

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that some may suppose that this Constantine is the same that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumstance of the time and other things to be considered may giue them occasion to thinke, for that there is not so much credit to be yéelded to them that haue written the British histories, but that in some part men may with iust cause doubt of sundrie matters contened in the same: and therefore haue we in this booke béene the more diligent to shew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue registred in their bookes of histories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better satisfied in the truth. But now to returne to the sequele of the historie as we find the same written by the British chroniclers.

[Sidenote: This Vortigerne was duke of the Geuisses and Cornewall, as *Rad. Cestr.* reporteth. *Gal. Mon.*] After that Constantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongst the Britains, wrought so with the residue of the British nobilitie, that Constantius the eldest sonne of their king the fore-remembred Constantine, was taken out of the abbie of Winchester where he remained, and was streightwaies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

Ye haue heard how Constantius was made a moonke in his fathers life time, bicause he was thought to be too soft and childish in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cause speciallie did Vortigerne séeke t'aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himselfe, he might haue the chieffest swaie, and so rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himselfe to attein at length to the kingdome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

[Sidenote: CONSTANTIUS. *Matt. West.* saith 445.] This Constantius then the sonne of Constantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Constantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abusing his innocencie and simple discretion to order things as was requisite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleased him. Wherevpon first, where there had béene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Constantine, Vortigerne caused the same league to be renewed, & [Sidenote: *Hector Boet.*] waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings person, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire [Sidenote: Constantius murthered.] promises) he procured by subtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed doone, he caused the murtherers to be strangled, that they should not afterwards disclose by whose [Sidenote: The subtile dealing of Vortigerne.] procurement they did that déed. Then caused he all the residue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had béene vpon a zeale to sée the death of Constantius seuerelie punished, he framed such inditements and accusations against them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltlesse persons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the British people béeing woonderfullie pleased therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that déed. Thus Constantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as most writers affirme) the space of fiue yéeres.

After his death was knowne, those that had the bringing vp and [Sidenote: Aurelius Ambrosius. Vter Pendragon.] custodie of his two yoonger brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter Pendragon, mistrusting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whose dissimulation and mischieuous meaning by some great likelihoods they suspected, with all spéed got them to the sea, and fled into litle Britaine, there kéeping them till it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them. But Vortigerne could so well dissemble his craftie workings, and with such conueiance and cloked maner could shadow and colour the matter, that most men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: insomuch that he obtained the fauour of the people so greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie staie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to passe, that when the councill was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonnes of [Sidenote: Vortigerne chosen king of Britaine.] king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Vortigerne himselfe was chosen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one best deseruing the same in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect meanes and sinister procéedings he aspired to the regiment, hauing no tittle therevnto, otherwise than as blind fortune vouchsafed him the preferment: so when he was possessed, but not interested in the same, he vncased the crooked

conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the sequele you shall see) did pull shame and infamie vpon himselfe.

* * * * *

Vortigerne furnisheth the tower with a garrison, he bewraieth his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Constantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuses and sinnes did vniuersally concurre with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his estate, the Britains send for succour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengist and Horsus two brethren, where they are assigned to be seated, they vanquish the Scots, disagreement in writers touching the Saxons first comming into this Iland.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: VORTIGERNE. 446.] Vortigerne, by such diuelish meanes and vnconscionable practises (as you heare) stealing away the hearts of the people, was chosen and made king of Britaine, in the yéere of our Lord 446, in the 3 consulship of Aetius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yéere of the emperour Valentinianus, the same yéere that Meroneus began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Geuisses, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the west Saxons inhabited. Now when he [Sidenote; *Hector Boet.*] had with treason, fraud, and great deceit at length obtained that for the which he had long looked, he first of all furnished the tower of London with a strong garrison of men of warre.

Then studieng to aduance such onelie as he knew to be his speciall [Sidenote: 415.] friends and faouurers, he sought by all meanes how to oppresse other, of whose good will he had neuer so litle mistrust, and namelie those that were affectionate towards the linage of Constantine he hated deadlie, and deuised by secret meanes which way he might best destroy them. But these his practises being at the first perceiued, caused such as had the gouernance of the two yoong gentlemen with [Sidenote: *Fabian.*] all spéed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vnclie the king of that land. Diuers of the Britains also, that knew themselues to be in Vortigerne his displeasure, sailed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his estate.

[Sidenote: *Gyldas.* Plentie of wealth accompanied with store of sinnes.] It chanced also the same time, that there was great plentie of corne, & store of fruit, the like wherof had not béene seene in manie yéeres before, and therevpon insued riot, strife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for small or rather none offenses at all. These abuses & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporalitie, but also in the spiritualitie and chéefe rulers in the same: so that euerie man turned the point of his speare (euen as he had consented of purpose) against the true and innocent person. The commons also gaue themselues to voluptuous lust, drunkennesse, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore insued great pride, and of this abundance no lesse hautinesse of mind, wherevpon followed great wickednesse, lacke of good gouernement and sober temperancie, and in the necke of these as a iust punishment, death and mortalitie, so that in some countries scarce the quicke sufficed to burie the dead.

[Sidenote: Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.] And for an augmentation of more mischéefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen through the false suggestion of Vortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scottish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be bréefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Vortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter Pendragon, began to

consider of the state of things, and esteéming it most sure to worke by aduise, called together the principall lords and chéefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to procéed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

[Sidenote: *Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda.* The Saxons sent for. 10000 hath *Hector Boet.* *Gyldas* and *Beda* mention onelie but of 3 plates or gallies, but *Hector Boet.* hath 30.] At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowned for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, choosing forth a picked companie of lustie yoong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboard into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all spéed directed their course towards great Britaine.

[Sidenote: 449.] This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Vortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English séeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] namelie, Hector Boetius doo varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yéere of his reigne: whereto Beda séemeth to agréee, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Austerius, and third yeere of Meroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Vortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and foorthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Héerevpon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by [Sidenote: Scots vanquished by the Saxons.] victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers [Sidenote: *Henrie Hunt.*] according to their well deseruings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes.

[Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] ¶ Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to susteine and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should choose out by lots a number of yoong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go forth to séeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres.

* * * * *

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and subtile practises, a great number of forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmentation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name, of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne

being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britains.] Now Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisdom, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnessse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle heere, and obtaine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.*] Therefore first he endeouored with all speed possible to fense that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the [Side note: *Wil. Malm.* 18 Foists or plates saie the Scottish writers, and 5000 men in the same. The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Kéeles, and our old histories Cogiones.] land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreséeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: wherevpon now at this second time there arriued héere 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronix (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Vortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, wherevnto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue.

[Sidenote: The *Vitæ* or *Iutæ* are called Ibitri. *Alex. Now.*] There came ouer into this land at that time, and soone after, thrée maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Iutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient, prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings doo for the more part fetch their pedegrée, as lineallie descended from him, vnto whome also the English people (falselie [Sidenote: Wednesdaye, and Fridaie, whereof they came.] reputing him for a god) consecrated the fourth daie of the wéeke, as they did the sixt to his wife Frea: so that the same daies tooke name of them, the one being called Wodensdaie, and the other Freadaie, which woords after in continuance of time by corruption of spéech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodensdaie, to Wednesdaye, [Sidenote: *Beda.*] and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foresaid Woden was father to Vecta, the father of Wergistus that was father to the foresaid Hengistus and Horsus.

But now to rehearse further touching those thrée people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Iutes (as *Beda* recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Ile. Of the Saxons came the east, the south, & the west Saxons. Moreouer, of the Angles proceeded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That these Angles were a people [Sidenote: *Cor. Tacitus.*] of Germanie, it appeareth also by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who called them Anglij, which word is of thrée syllables (as *Polydor* saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Anglij were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongst the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselues, according to the which the state of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: "*Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum,*" The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to saie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the description of that countrie it maie appeare.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.* Rowen, or Ronowen Hengists daughter.] But now to the matter. Hengist perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuising by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronix, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as some write) which he beléueed well would easilie [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] be brought to passe, bicause he vnderstood that the king was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they féele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreame point of confusion in déed.

[Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] A great supper therefore was prepared by Hengist, at the which it pleased the king to be present, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be somewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the king, saing; Wassail. Which she did in such comelie and decent maner, as she that knew how to doo it well inough, so as the king maruelled greatlie thereat, and not vnderstanding what she ment by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by [Sidenote: *Wassail*, what it signifieth.] Hengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after hir, ioining thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Wherevpon the king (as he was informed) tooke the cup at the damsels hand, and dranke.

Finallie, this yoong ladie behaued hir selfe with such pleasant woords, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir so long, till he felt himselfe so farre in loue with hir person, that he burned in continuall desire to inioy the same: insomuch that [Sidenote: *Polydor. Fabian.*] shortlie after he forsooke his owne wife, by the which he had thrée sonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Pascentius, and required of Hengist to haue his daughter, the said Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengist at the first séemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie méet to be matched with his maiestie. But at [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] length as it had béene halfe against his will he consented, and so the mariage was concluded & solemnized, all Kent being assigned vnto Hengist in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Guorongus (though not with most equall Justice) which Guorongus was subiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

This mariage and liberalite of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subiects, and hastened the finall destruction of the land. For the Saxons now vnderstanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengist, came so fast ouer to inhabit héere, that it was woonder to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come together: so that bicause of their great number and approoued puissance in warres, they began to be a terrour [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengist being no lesse politike in counsell than valiant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serue his owne turne, persuaded him to call out [Sidenote: *Gal.* saith he was Hengists sonne, and Ebusa his vncles sonne. Occa and Ebusa leaders of Saxons.] of Germanie his brother Occa and his sonne named Ebusa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengist defended the land in the south part: so might they kéepe backe the Scots in the north.

Héerevpon by the kings consent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coasting about the land, they sailed to the Iles of Orknie, and sore vexed the people there, and likewise the Scots and Picts also, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they settled themselues at that present, [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. de Regib.*] and so continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéeres after their first comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as subiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

[Sidenote: *Fabian.* The great numbers of strangers suspected to the Britains.] When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceiued in what danger the land stood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Saxons into the same, they first consulted together, and after resorting to the king, mooued him that some order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, least they should with their power and great multitude vtterlie

opresse the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne so estéemed and highlie fauoured the Saxons, and namelie by reason of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, nor yet anie thing estéemed his [Sidenote: Vortigerne depriued.] owne naturall kinsmen and chiefe friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéeres, and in his steed crowned his sonne Vortimer.

[Sidenote: *Gyldas. Beda. H. Hunt.*] Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Saxons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Saxons should defend the countrie from the inuasion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration therof, the Britains should find them prouision of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficientlie furnished of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would surelie spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of [Sidenote: The miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land.] time, they performed their woords with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed foorth, wasting and destroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroyed in such cruell and outrageous manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelat with the people without anie reuerence of their estate or degré dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentable to behold.

Manie of the Britains séeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come foorth and yeeld themselues to eternall bondage, for to haue reléefe of meate and drinke to asswage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselues; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a poore wretched life, in great feare and vnquietnesse of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing foorth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserued from vtter destruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obtained victorie, according to their owne desires. And from thence foorth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vtill the yeare of the [Sidenote: So *Gyldas* was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.] siege of Badon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the same yeare in the which *Gyldas* was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Thus haue *Gyldas* & *Beda* (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same *Gyldas*) written of these first warres begun betwéene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go foorth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doo find recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

* * * * *

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat fought betwene Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and, Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains driue the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: VORTIMER. 464. *Fabian. Galf. Mon. Matt. West.* saith 454.] This Vortimer being eldest sonne to Vortigerne, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the fift, and about the sixt yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagreeing from that whereof W. Harison dooth speake in his chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurrerth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Meroneus, as by his chronologie dooth more at large appear.

But to procéed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of [Sidenote: The riuer of Derwent.] them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a [Sidenote: Epiford.] place called Epiford, or Aglisthrop, in the which incounter Catigrine or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obtened the field (as saith the British [Sidenote: The Ile of Tenet.] historie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them néere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.* Colemoore.] the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken néere to a moore called Colemoore, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid moore inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and swallowed vp in the same moore. Beside these foure [Sidenote: *Fabian.* Tetford in Norfolke. Colchester.] principall battels, Vortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, also néere to Colchester in Essex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to kéepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengist perceiued the great losse that the Saxons sustained by the martiall prowesse of Vortimer, she found means that within a while the said Vortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

¶ By the British historie it should séeme, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, kéeeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Vortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battels) vnto his sonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obtaining of their sute. But whilst this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal. Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike historiographers [Sidenote: *Will. Malmes.*] of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. *Henr. Hunt, Marianus,* and others: vnto whome in these matters concerning the dooings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie giue most credit.

William Malmes. writing of this Vortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogether from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the sonne of Vortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his councilliers the Britains preuented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to driue them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, seuen yeares after their first comming into this land, the [Sidenote: Hengist had the victorie in this battell saith *Ra. Mig.*, Horse and Catigene slaine.] league was broken, and by the space of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes together in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puissance against puissance in open field: in the first battell they departed with like fortune, whilst the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons lost their capteine Horse that was brother to Hengist, and the Britains lost Catigerne an other of Vortigers sonnes.

[Sidenote: 458.] In the ether battels, when the Englishmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a

peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by course of fatall death, the which much differing from the soft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had suffered him to haue liued. But these battels which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) should appeare by that which some writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the supposed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteinig to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the first comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengist. And hereto W. Harison giueth his [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] consent, referring the mutuall slaughter of Horsus and Catigerne to the 6 yeares of Martianus, & 455 of Christ. Howbeit Polydor Virgil saith, that Vortimer succéded his father, and that after his fathers deceasse the English Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer dailie like swarmes of bées, and hauing in possession not onelie Kent, but also the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, together with a great part of the west cuntry, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and first therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the sudden they turned their weapons points against the Britains, and most cruellie pursued them, as though they had receiued some great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelouslie abashed herewith, perceiuing that they should haue to doo with Hengist, a capteine of so high renowme, and also with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they must fight or else become slaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage stirred vp manhood in them, so that they assembled together, and boldlie began to resist their enimies on ech [Sidenote: The Britains discomfited by the Scots.] side: but being too weake, they were easilie discomfited and put to flight, so that all hope of defense by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in despaire to preuaile against their enimies, they fled as shéepe scattered abroad, some following one capteine and some another, getting them into desart places, woods and maresh grounds, and moreouer left such townes and fortresses as were of no notable strength, as a preie vnto their enimies.

Thus saith Polydor Virgil of the first breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as should appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengist at his first comming got seates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to [Sidenote: *Sigebertus.*] inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) restored the Christian religion after he had vanquished the Saxons, in such places where the same was decayed by the enimies inuasion, whose drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but also to erect their owne laws and liberties without regard of clemencie.

* * * * *

Vortigerne is restored to his regiment, in what place he abode during the time of his sonnes reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Glocester, Vortigerne is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three prouinces of this land, a description of Kent.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: 471. *Matth. West.* saith 461.] After all these bloudie broiles and tempestuous tumults ended, Vortigerne was restored and set againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his sonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as some write) in that meane time he builded a strong castle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the west side of Wales nere to the riuier of Guana, vpon a mounteine called Cloaricus, which some referre to be builded in his second returne into Wales, as shall be shewed hereafter. And it is so much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had sight of, affirmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and [Sidenote: Caerleon Arwiske.] behaued himselfe in such commendable sort towards his sonne, in aiding him with his counsell, and otherwise in the meane season whilst his sonne reigned, that the Britains by reason thereof began so to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him king againe.

Shortlie after that Vortigerne was restored to the rule of the [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* saith 4000. He might easilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once set foot within this Ile.] kingdom, Hengist aduertised therof returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being admonished, assembled his Britains, and with all speed made towards him. When Hengist had knowledge of the huge host of the Britains that was comming against him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which request was granted, so that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons should meet together vpon the plaine of Salisburie. Hengist hauing deuised a new kind of treason, when the day of their appointed méeting was come, caused euerie one of his allowed number secretlie to put into his hose a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man should bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when [Sidenote: Nempt your sexes, what if it were messes.] this watchword should be vttered by him, "Nempt your sexes," then should euerie of them plucke out his knife, and slea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the same should be Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not slaine.

At the day assigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, mistrusting nothing lesse than anie such maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before prescribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengist readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in most louing sort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish his deuised purpose, gaue the watchword, immediatlie wherevpon the Saxons drew out their kniues, [Sidenote: There died of the nobles of Britaine 460 as *Gal.* saith.] and suddenlie fell on the Britains, and slue them as shéepe being fallen within the danger of woolues. For the Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

[Sidenote: *Ran. Cestren. Fabian.*] Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Glocester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of [Sidenote: *Gal.* saith 70, *Matth. West. Ran. Cestren.*] Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constrained to deliuer vnto Hengist thrée prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the Estangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those thrée prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] ¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the deceasse of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banquet at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yéelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redéeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons thrée prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agréé) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute [Sidenote: 476.] lord & gouernor, in the yéere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yéere of Vortigers last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift therof, the same kingdome began in the yéere 455, and contained the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuier of [Sidenote: Kingdome of Kent.] Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuier of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

THE VI. CHAPTER.

Hengist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers *Reguli*, that is, little kings or rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid thrée prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the cuntry, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the [Sidenote: The decay of christian religion.] land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and woorsipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erroneous opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

[Sidenote: *Beda.*] Certaine yéeres before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obtaine saluation by his owne frée will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

This erroneous doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, [Sidenote: *Beda.*] nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Whervpon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present néed, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein [Sidenote: A synod called in Gallia.] taking counsell to consider who were most méet to be sent, it was [Sidenote: Germanus and Lupus.] decéed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their procéedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the woord of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were soone brought into the right path againe.

[Sidenote: *Beda.* Palladius. Constantine king of Scots.] About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation tooke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbear to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with [Sidenote: *H. Hunt. Beda.*] the Picts, so that

their powers being ioined together, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains, who of necessitie were constrained to assemble an armie, & mistrusting their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who hasting forward with all speed came into the armie, bringing with them no small hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being assembled. This was doone in Kent.

Now such was the diligence of the bishops, that the people (being instructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earnestlie came by troops to receiue the grace of God offred in baptisme, so that on Easter day which then insued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went forth against the [Sidenote: The armie of the Britains newlie christened.] enimies, who hearing thereof, made hast towards the Britains; in hope to ouercome them at pleasure. But their approach being knowne, bishop Germane tooke vpon him the leading of the British host, and ouer against the passage thorough the which the enimies were appointed to come, he chose fourth a faire vallie inclosed with high mounteins, and within the same he placed his new washed armie. And when he saw the enimies now at hand, he commanded that euerie man with one generall voice should answer him, crieng aloud the same crie that he should begin. So that euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Britains, supposing that they should haue taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had béen giuen, suddenlie bishop [Sidenote: Alleluia.] Germane and the priests with a lowd and shrill voice called *Alleluia*, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same crie, with such a lowd shout, that the Saxons were therewith so amazed and astonied (the echo from the rocks and hils adjoining, redoubling in such wise the crie) that they thought not onelie the rocks and cliffs had fallen vpon them, but that euen the skie it selfe had broken in pièces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads: héerewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons, they tooke them to their féet, and glad was he that might get to be formost in running awaie. Manie of them for hast were drowned in a riuier which they had to passe. Polydor taketh that riuier to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquished their enimies, gathered the spoile at good leasure, & gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without blood, for the which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had settled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearsed.)

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.* 448.] By one author it should appéere that this battell was woone against the Scots and Picts, about the yéere of our Lord 448, a little before the comming of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengist, in which yéere Germane first came hither to wéed out the heresie of Pelagius, as by the same author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, some chronographers alledge out of Prosper & other, and note the first comming of Germane to haue béene in the 429 yéere of Christ, and vnder the consulship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should séeme to agréee with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Rauenna, about the yéere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yeere of the comming of the Saxons: notwithstanding, when or wheresoeuer he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, vpon his first iournie made hither into this land, who no sooner obtained the victorie before mentioned, but woord was brought againe vnto him, that eftsoones the heresie of the Pelagians was spread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the priests or cleargie made request to him that it might stand with his pleasure to come ouer againe, and defend the cause of true religion which he had before confirmed.

[Sidenote: Germane returneth againe into Britaine.] Héerevpon bishop Germane granted so to doo, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was disciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time bishop of Triers) tooke the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people stedfast in the same beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceiued the fault to rest in a few: wherevpon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifest miracle by restoring a yong man that was lame (as they saie) vnto the right vse of his lims, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to persuade amendment of errors, and by the generall consent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being banished the land, were deliuered vnto bishop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conueie them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

By this meanes it came to passe, that the true faith continued in Britaine sound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus set in good order, those holie men returned into their countries, the forenamed bishop Germane went to Rauenna to sue for peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida in most reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this transitorie life, to the [Sidenote: Anno 450, as *Vincentius* noteth, *lib. 20. ca. 15.*] eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Auxerre, where he had béene bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie [Sidenote: The emperor Valentinian slaine.] after was the emperor Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before caused to be put to death.

¶ By this it maie appéere, that bishop Germane came into this realme [Sidenote: 454.] both the first and second time, whilest as well Hengist, as also Vortigerne were liuing: for the said Valentinian was murdered about the yeere of our Lord 454, where the said kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appéere both before and after in this present booke.

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What part of the realme the Saxons possessed, Vortigerne buildeth a castell in Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they assalt the vsurper Vortigerne, and with wildfire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same, Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a shepherd made a king.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

Now will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the British historie, that after the Saxons had constrained him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Winchester, [Sidenote: *Galfrid.*] with other cities & townes, he not onelie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Vter Pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a [Sidenote: *Caxton. Fabian. Polychron.*] strong castell vpon a mountaine called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, néere to the riuer of Guana, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compasse of the same hill called Generon or [Sidenote: Mount Erix he calleth it in one place of his booke.] Gueineren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesieng, the British histories tell a long processe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is also set forth, as there ye maie see: but for that the same séemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

[Sidenote: Aurelius and Vter brethren returne into Britaine.] Whilest Vortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Vter prepared a nauie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and fréends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all spéed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Vter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched foorth towards Wales against Vortigerne, who [Sidenote: Vortigerne burnt to death. Wild fire not yet inuented as some think.] hauing knowledge of their approach, had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire together with the king, and all other that were within it.

Thus did Vortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne, in hope [Sidenote: *Polychron.* A feined tale of S. Germane. A caluish

narration.] that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Vortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and slue a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Vortigerne to be deposed from his kinglie estate, and tooke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his "Polychronicon," alledging Gyldas for his author, saith that this chanced to a king that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Vortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the linage of the same heardman.

[Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] Moreouer it hath beene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Vortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroyed with the fall of the house and the fire together, was neuer after séene.

¶ But these are fables, and therefore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stuffe our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streme of woords void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie, (defined to be *Rei verè gestæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is too heauie: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

* * * * *

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to Constantius created king of Britaine, he incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their generall is beheaded, Occa his sonne submitteth himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons out of the land, repaireth places decayed, and restoreth religion, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerens yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Vter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Osca and Occa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: AURELIUS AMBROSIUS.] Aurelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murdered by the treason of Vortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yéere of our Lord 481, [Sidenote: *Matt. West.* saith 466.] which was about the third yéere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vsurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Vortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Yorke, and passing the riuer of Humber, [Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] incourent with the Saxons at a place called Maesbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fléeing to [Sidenote: Hengist taken and beheaded.] haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Glocester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborrow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yéere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maesbell in the yéere 487, as the same authors doo alledge. Occa [Sidenote: Occa.] the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Yorke, and being there besieged, at length was constrained to yéeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering

neere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes and also churches, as by them had beene destroyed or defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place [Sidenote: Stoneheng.] where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thousand men (as Galfrid [Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Vter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gillomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Shortlie after, Pascentius that was Vortigerns yoongest sonne, and had escaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of strange nations, and tooke the citie of Meneuia in Wales, afterwards called saint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and sword. At which time the same Aurelius Ambrosius lay sicke at Winchester, and being not able to go foorth himselfe, desired his brother Vter Pendragon to assemble an armie of Britains, and to go against Pascentius and his adherents. Vter, according to his brothers request, gathering his people, went foorth, and incountring with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, slue Pascentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid against the Britains.

[Sidenote: *Hector Boet.*] In the meane while, a Saxon or some other stranger, whose name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Pascentius, fained himselfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himselfe a moonke, and to haue great knowledge in physicke, was admitted to [Sidenote: *Fabian.*] minister as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in stead of that which should haue brought him health, he gaue him poison, whreof he died shortlie after at Winchester aforesaid, when he had reigned after most accord of writers nintéene yéeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the British and common English histories of the doings of Aurelius Ambrosius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and descended of the bloud of the ancient Britains, But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by descent, as before is mentioned.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.*] Polydor Virgil writeth in this sort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius. Then (saith he) the Saxons hauing already gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practised their outragious cruelties speciallie against the princes of the Britains, to the end that the said princes being ouercome and destroyed, they might with more ease obtaine possession of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie sought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miserable Britains in that great necessitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambrosius was at hand, who had no sooner caused the trumpet to sound to armor, but euerie man for himselfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beseeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might stand with his pleasure to go foorth with them against the enimies in all speed.

Thus an armie being assembled, Aurelius Ambrosius went against them, and valiantlie assailed them, so that within the space of a few daies they fought thrée battels with great fiercenesse on both sides, in triall of their high displeasures and vttermost forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horsus the brother of Hengist being slaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithstanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new supplie of men, they brake foorth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambrosius was no sooner aduertised thereof, but that without delai he set forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies should come, and hearing by the way that Hengist was incamped about seuen & twentie miles distant from that citie, néere to the banke of a riuier at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaster now standeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched towards that place, and the next day set on the enimie and vanquished him, Hengist at the first [Sidenote: Hengist is slaine.] méeting of the battell being slaine, with a great number of the Germans. The

fame of this victorie (saith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of those parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did sore diminish the power of the Saxons, insomuch that they began now to thinke it should be more for their profit to sit in rest with that dishonour, than to make anie new warres to their great disadvantage and likelihood of present losse.

Hengist left behind him two sonnes, Osca and Occa, which as men most sorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, assembled such power as they could together, and remooued therewith towards the west part of the Ile, supposing it to be better for them to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a sufficient number of their people to resist the Britains on that side. Now therefore when they came into the west parts of the land, they wasted the countrie, burnt villages, and abstained from no maner of crueltie that might be shewed. These things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambrosius, he straightwaies hasted thither to resist those enimies, and so giuing them battell, eftsoones discomfited them: [Sidenote: Aurelius dieth of a wound.] but he himselfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The English Saxons hauing thus susteined so manie losses within a few moneths together, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains stirred nothing against them, by reason they were brought into some trouble by the death of such a noble capteine as they had [Sidenote: Vortimer departeth this life.] now lost. In the meane time Vortimer died, whome Vter surnamed Pendragon succéded.

Thus hath Polydor written of the forsaid Aurelius Ambrosius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in déed in sundrie points in this behalfe from diuerse ancient writers of the English histories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horsus the brother of Hengist was slaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie saith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons losing [Sidenote: Katigerne.] their capteine Horsus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) But there is such contrarietie in writers touching the dooings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in those daies, as well in account of yéeres, as in report of things doone, that setting affection aside, hard it is to iudge to which part a man should giue credit.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambrosius began his [Sidenote: 458.] reigne ouer the Britains about the yéere of our Lord 481, and Horsus was slaine about the yéere 458, during the reigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, so that it cannot stand with the truth of the British histories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horsus was slaine by Aurelius Ambrosius, if according to the same histories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there supposed. But diuerse such maner of contrarieties shall ye find, in perusing of those writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and combersome a matter, and therefore we are forced to passe the same ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iust accord for the satisfieng of all mens minds, speciallie the curious, which may with diligent search satisfie themselues happilie much better, than anie other shall be able to doo in vttering his opinion neuer so much at large, and agréable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diuerse authors doo write, leauing it so [Sidenote: *Sigebertus.*] to euerie mans iudgement to construe thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of those that haue registred the dooings of these times, that Aurelius hauing vanquished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* saith 488.] by the inuasion of the Saxons was greatlie decayed in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the younger.

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The beginning of the kingdome of the Southsaxons commonlie called Sussex, the Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene the English and British chronographers about the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Ella entred this land as *Matt. West.* saith ann. 477.] In the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cissa, came out of Germanie with thrée ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneueshore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so tooke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was [Sidenote: The kingdom of the Southsaxons dooth begin.] named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yeere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, [Sidenote: 482.] should be about the second yéere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yéere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yéere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yéeres sooner.

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yéere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1248 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his woords are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriual, and reigned 32 yéeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should therto ad mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue superfluous store. To procéed therefor as I find.

About the ninth yéere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still enlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselues together vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Mecredesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Vortimer was dead, who departed this life (as some write) [Sidenote: *Polychron.*] in the first yéere of the emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in [Sidenote: 457.] the yéere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Occa or [Sidenote: *Henrie Hunt. Wil. Malm.* Creiford. Britains ouerthrowne.] Osca gathered their people together that were before sparkled, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britains at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelue yéere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yéeres.

[Sidenote: *Polychron.*] It is remembred that those Germans which latelie were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the sixt yéere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yéere after [Sidenote: Wipets field *Matt. West.* This battell was fought anno 473. as the same *Mat. West.* noteth.] the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, néere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one [Sidenote: Wipet. *H. Hunt.*] capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after

that daie tooke name.

This victorie was nothing pleasant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they sustained, as well by the death of the said Wipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilst outward wars ceased among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling together by the eares among themselues, one striuing against another. Finallie, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yéere after [Sidenote: Fortie Yéeres saith *H. Hunt*] his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse [Sidenote: By this it is eident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once set foot within it. *Matt. West.*] no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlesse. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiu rather to defend than to enlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yéeres, in the which he reigned.

[Sidenote: *H. Hunt.* The citie of Andredescester] About thrée yéeres after the deceasse of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Sussex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredescester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling together in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laieng ambushes to destroie such as went abroad, and ceassing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare them selues to giue the assault, but the Britains were readie to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assault, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finallie by that meanes preuailed, tooke the citie, and destroyed man, woman and child. Neither so contented, they did also vtterlie raze the said citie, so as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

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The east Angles kingdome beginneth, the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue ships of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains to flight, the west Saxons kingdom begineth, Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon of his name, he taketh Occa and Osca the two sonnes of Hengist prisoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Osca escape out of prison, they freshlie assault the Britains, they are both slaine in a foughten field, the Saxons send and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poisoned.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: The kingdome of the east Angles began not till Aurelius Conanus reigned. 561.] Moreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Auralius Ambrosius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the east Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This same kingdome contained Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the east and north parts the sea, on the northwest Cambridgeshire, and on the west saint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordshire, and on the southside lieth Essex. At the first it was called Vffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the first named Vffines, but at length they were called east Angles.

[Sidenote: CERDIC.] Fvrthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] [Sidenote: 495.] yeare after that Hengist was dead, one Cerdicus and his sonne Kenricus came out of Gerrmanie with fiue ships, and landed at a place called Cerdicshore, which as some thinke is called Yermouth in [Sidenote: *Fabian. Polychron.*] Northfolke. He was at the first receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull Warriour, he easilie beate [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] backe and repelled the inconstant multitude of his enimies, and caused them to flée: by which good successe he procured both vndoubted assurance to himselfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking

good neuer after to prouoke him more by resistance, submitted themselues to his pleasure: but yet did not he then giue himselfe to slouthfull rest, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech side, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obtained the rule of the west parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, so that the kingdome of the west Saxons began vnder the said Cerdicus in the 519 of Christ, as after shall be shewed.

[Sidenote: 529.] ¶ Thus ye maie see, that Aurelius Ambrosius did succéed Vortigerne, and reigned in the time supposed by the British histories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains sore vexed by the Saxons that entred the same, so that the Britains were dailie hampered, and brought vnder subiection to the valiant Saxons, or else driuen to remooue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to procéed with the succession of the British kings, as in their histories we find them registred, which I deliuer such as I find, but not such as I doo wish, being written with no such colour of credit as we maie safelie put foorth the same for an vndoubted truth.

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.* noteth. 500.] After that Aurelius Ambrosius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome some call Aurelius Vterius Ambrosianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Anastasius, and in the sixtéenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cause why he was surnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blasing star, as is reported. But others supposed he was so called of his wisdom and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the sonne of Hengist, and his brother Osca had besieged the citie of Yorke, hasted thither, and giuing them battell, discomfited their power, and tooke the said Occa and Osca prisoners.

[Sidenote: *Hector Boet.*] From this varieth Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of these dooings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit moonke, which poisoned Aurelius Ambrosius, was suborned and sent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Pascentius: and further, that about the selfesame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a sore sicknesse, wherewith of late he had béene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambrosius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go against the Saxons (which as then by reason of Aurelius Ambrosius his death were verie busie, and more earnest in pursuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and sent foorth with all conuenient spéed vnder the leading of one Nathaliot, a man neither of anie great ancient house, nor yet of skill in warlike affaires.

The noble men were nothing pleased herewith, as misliking altogether the lacke of discretion in their new king, & doubted sore, least in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of base degré, than such as were descended of noble parentage. Yet because they would not put the state of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agréed to go foorth with him in that iournie. Occa had aduertisement giuen him by certeine letters sent to him from some close friends amongst the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better spéed, he hasted foorth to incounter the Britains, and so the whole armie comming within sight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and shortlie after buckling together, the Britains were soone discomfited, by reason that one of their chieftest capteins called Gothlois disdainig to be at the appointment of Nathaliot, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they séeing began by & by to flée. There died no great number of the Britains, except those that were killed in the fight: for Occa mistrusting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aside, would not suffer the Saxons to follow the chase, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and rested not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himselfe to haue the vpper hand, sent an herald vnto king Vter with a certeine message, threatning destruction to him and to his people, if he refused to doo that which he should appoint.

Vter perceiuing what disloialtie rested in the harts of his owne subjects, agréed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wise councellers, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power

to make an end of all controuersies and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewise contented therewith, wherevpon were named on either part foure persons, of such wisdom, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetest for the ordering of such a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome of those eight persons authorised thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Saxons from thencefoorth should quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore against the Almaine seas, the same to be called euer after Engistlaund, and all the residue should remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Vter according to that we find in the British histories, and to procéed after our owne historians; we find, that when he had vanquished the Saxons and taken their two chiefeteins prisoners, in processe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull [Sidenote: Gorolus duke of Cornewall.] ladie called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he slue at length néere to his owne castell called Diuulic in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the said ladie, whome he afterwards married, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Occa and Osca escaping also out of prison assembled eftsoones a power of Saxons, and made warre against the Britains, whereof Vter hauing aduertisement prepared to resist them, and finallie went himselfe in person [Sidenote: *Harding.*] against them, and at saint Albans (as some write) gaue them battell, and slue them both in the field.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it should séeme that Germane the bishop of Auxerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Vter, by whose presence the Britains had victorie against the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both rested from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were astonied with that present miracle, & the Britains not following their good successe, shortlie after fell at discord amongst themselues, which finallie brought them to vtter decaie, as after shall appeare. But the Saxons desirous to spoile the Britains of the whole possession of that part of the Ile [Sidenote: Badon hill.] which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of small strength to be defended, they got them to an high mountaine called Badon hill, which Polydor supposeth to be Blackamore that lieth néere to the water of Theise, which diuideth the bishoprike of Durham from Yorkeshire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen méet to receiue such ships as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons looked for aid, hauing already sent thither for the same.

The Britains being thereof aduertised, made hast towards the place, and besieged it on euerie side. They also laie the sea coasts full of souldiers, to kéepe such of the enimies from landing as should come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themselues for a certeine space aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end constrained through want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with such slaughter, that the earth on euerie side flowed with blood: but the Saxons sustained the greater losse, their capteins Occa and Osca being both slaine, so that the Britains might séeme quite deliuered of all danger of those enimies: but the fatall destinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaughter made of the Saxons [Sidenote: *Gyldas.*] at Badon hill, whereof Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the same yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the first [Sidenote: 492.] comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

[Sidenote: The decease of Vter Pendragon.] About the same time Vter departed out of this life (saith Polydor) so that this account agréeth nothing with the common account of those authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we must presuppose, that Vter reigned before the time appointed to him by the said authors, either else that the siege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it should séeme in déed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter shall be also shewed. Finallie (according to the agréement of the English writers) Vter Pendragon died by poison, when he had gouerned this land by the full [Sidenote: Stoneheng. *Chorea Gigantum.*] terme of 16 yeares, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwise called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his sonne Arthur to succéed him. ¶ Here ye must note that the Scottish chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obtained

victorie against the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the same warres, and so likewise did the Picts, but the same chronicles doo not onelie varie from the British writers in account of yeares, but also in the order of things doone, as in the same chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the discourse of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. For whereas the British histories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praise vnto the same Vter for his victories atchiued against the Saxons and their king Occa, whome he slue in battell, and obtained a great victorie, the Scottish writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the presence of bishop Germane he obtained victorie in one battell against them: but shortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were discomfited, although Occa in following the chase ouer rashlie chanced to be slaine: after whose deceasse the Saxons ordeined his sonne named also Occa to succéed in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enimies, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Occas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, situate betwéene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scottish chronicles may further appeare.

Also this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got against the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane bishop of Auxerre was present: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scottish chronicles) to haue chanced the second time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his first being heere. Againe the same Boetius writeth, that the same victorie chanced in the daies of Vter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the said Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is said, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the same Hector Boetius saith 503, so that bishop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reigne.

In déed some writers haue noted, that the third battell which Vortimer fought against the Saxons, was the same wherein S. Germane was present, and procured the victorie with the crie of *Alleluia*, as before ye haue heard. Which seemeth to be more agréable to truth, and to stand also with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being héere of the said Germane, than the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the reigne of Vter. The like is to be found in the residue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time speciallie of the reignes of the British kings that gouerned Britaine about that season. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but seuen yeares, and then succéded Vter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithstanding the premisses, here is to be remembred, that whatsoever the British writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Vter had against the Saxons, and how that Osca the sonne of Hengist should be slaine in battell by him and his power: in those [Sidenote: Osca. 34 saith *Henrie Hunt.* in corrupted copies.] old writers which haue registred the acts of the English Saxon kings we find no such matter, but rather that after the deceasse of Hengist, his sonne Osca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not séeking to enlarge it (as before is touched.) After whose death his sonne Oth, and Irmenrike sonne to the same Oth succéded, more resembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are assigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned iointlie together, or seuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

* * * * *

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Portesmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouerthrowen and slaine, the kingdome of the west Saxons beginneth, the compasse or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was enlarged.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord 501 as *Matth. West.* noteth.] Now will we briefelie discourse vpon the incidents which first happened during the reigne of Vter Pendragon. We find that

one Porth a Saxon with his two sons Megla and Beda came on land at Portesmouth in Sussex, about the beginning of the said Vters reigne, and slue a noble yoong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner sort with [Sidenote: *Harison* supposeth the riuier to be called Ports, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie fresh riuier into the sea.] him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Portesmouth tooke the name, as some haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengist, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongst the Britains, assembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Westsaxons, who vnderstanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Osca king of Kent, also of Elle king of Sussex, and of Porth and his sonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furnished with a conuenient armie, diuided the same into two battels, reseruing the one to himselfe, and the other he appointed to his sonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more strength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he set first vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might distresse that part of the enimies armie, he should easilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue such a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the same, and so ouerthrew the Saxons on that side, making great slaughter of them as they were scattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike [Sidenote: The Britaines ouerthrowne. *Matth. West. Henr. Hunt.*] saw, he made forward with all spéed to succour his father, and rushing in amongst the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in pièces, and slue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the residue [Sidenote: *Stuff and Wightgar. Matth. West.* noteth the yeare of their arrivall to be 514.] escaped by fléeing as well as they might. In the sixt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with thrée ships, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came against them in order of battell, and so by the comming of those his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much stronger. Abut the same time Elle king of the Southsaxons departed this life, after whome succéded his sonne Cissa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.* Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.] About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anastasius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his sonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the capteins of the Britains stood to it manfullie: but in the end they were discomfited, and great slaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had béene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and so manie were saued.

[Sidenote: The kingdom of Westsaxons.] From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Westsaxons, & so began the same kingdome at that time, which was (as *W. Harison* noteth) in the yéere of Christ 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Iustus Anicius emperour of the east, the first and third of the renowned prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The said kingdome also contained the countries of Wiltshire, Summersetshire, Barkeshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornewall, hauing on the east Hamshire, on the north the riuier of Thames, and on the south and west the Ocean sea. Howbeit, at the first the kings of the Westsaxons had not so large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and so in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foresaid countries, and the whole at the last.

[Sidenote: Certicesford.] In the ninth yéere of the reigne of Certicus, he eftsoones fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforesaid, where great slaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times past called Nazaleoy of the late remembered Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this season at sundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got possession of the countries of Mercia and Eastangle: but as yet those of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got possession of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters insued, with a common waste of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouslie minded, & heaping to themselues such powers as they were able to make, by sword and bloudshed chose rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reason to suppress the rage of their vnruilie affections. For such is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be interested to it by succession, or possessed of it by vsurpation, or placed in it by lawfull constitution, (vnlesse they be guided by some

supernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one séeketh to aduance himselfe to a singularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie easilie be obserued in this our historicall discourse.

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The beginning of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, what it contened, of Arthur king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the Saxons against whome he maintained continuall warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornwall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: ERCHENWIN. The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.] In those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the chéeftie whereof was London. It contained in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the sixt in lineall descent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yéere of the erection of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yéere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about four yéeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

[Sidenote: ARTHUR.] After the deceasse of Vter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yéeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in [Sidenote: 516.] [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* hath noted 518.] the yéere of our Lord 516, or as *Matt. Westmin.* saith 517, in the 28 yéere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yéere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some woorthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in déed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

But truth it is (as diuers authors agré) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is contened, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts séemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had married the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Alda their yonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was

concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scottish historie is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which [Sidenote: Yorke besieged.] place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother [Sidenote: Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. *Matt. Westm.* saith but 700.] called Bladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obtained succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftéene hundred sailes one with an other.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him [Sidenote: Howell king of Britaine commeth ouer in aid of Arthur.] in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fiteene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled together, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then [Sidenote: Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.] besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obtained the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constrained to yéeld themselues, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Héerevpon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched foorth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, wherevpon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. [Sidenote: Bath besieged.] Arthur informed heereof, with all spéed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

[Sidenote: The Saxons (sic) ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.] There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himselfe fled out of the field towards his ships, but being pursued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thousand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in flight slaine with all [Sidenote: Cheldrike slaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.] his people. Arthur himselfe returned from this battell foughten at [Sidenote: K. Howell besieged by the Scots.] Bath with all speed towards the marshes of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertisement, how the Scots had besieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay sicke. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprise and slaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much spéed as was possible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he rescued Howell, and afterwards pursued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

[Sidenote: Guillomer.] About the same time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Irishmen (neere the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots against the Britains: wherevpon Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillomer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland. This doone, he continued in pursute of the Scots, till he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit them selues wholie to him, and so receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and shortlie after tooke to wife [Sidenote: Guenhera.] one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was néere kinswoman to

Cador earle of Cornwall.

[Sidenote: *W. Harison. 525.*] In the yéere following, which some note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and discomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he constreined him to yéeld, and to acknowledge by dooing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in those British [Sidenote: Gothland.] histories, that he subdued Gothland and Iseland, with all the Iles in and about those seas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capteine Lucius, and wasted the most part of all France, and slue in singular combats certeine giants that were of passing force and hugenesse of stature. And if he had not béene reuoked and called home to resist his coosen Mordred, that was sonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had passed to Rome, intending to make himselfe emperor, and afterward to vanquish the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for so much as there is not anie approoued author who dooth speake of anie such dooings, the Britains are thought to haue registered méere fables in sted of true matters, vpon a vaine desire to aduance more than reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue doone their Rouland, and diuerse others.

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Arthur is resisted by Mordred the usurper from arriuing in his owne land, they ioine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he in slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bignesse coniecturable by his bones, a crosse found in his toome with an inscription therevpon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

King Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had [Sidenote: Rather Cerdicke as *Leland* thinketh.] caused himselfe to be made king, & hauing alied himselfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, supposeth to haue béene wounded & slaine before) was readie to resist his landing, so that before he could come on land, he lost manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and so tooke land at Sandwich, where he first arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but not without great losse of his people: speciallie he sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than néerensse of bloud and coosenage, chose rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maister, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniust cause, and so there in the battell was slaine, together also with Angusseli, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward, and [Sidenote: Gawaine buried at Douer.] finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur caused the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmesburie supposeth, he was buried in Wales, as after shall be shewed. The dead bodie of Angussell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all spéed he reinforced his armie with new supplies of souldiers called out of diuerse parties, and with his whole puissance hasted forward, not resting till he came néere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with such an armie as he could assemble together out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Héere (as it appéereth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, "The assertion of Arthur") it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth sheweth, that after Arthur had discomfited Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so that Mordred escaped and fled to Winchester, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the second time, did also put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought eftsoones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as some authors haue) néere vnto Glastenburie.

[Sidenote: *Richard Turner.*] This battell was fought to such prooffe, that finallie Mordred was slaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the same shortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yéeres. His corps was buried at Glastenburie

aforsaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the second, about the yeere of our Lord 1191, which was in the last yéere of the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred yéeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot déepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons should haue found him. But those that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about seuen foot déepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad stone with a leaden crosse fastened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, containing this inscription:

"Hic iacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in insula Aualoniæ."

This inscription was grauen on that side of the crosse which was next to the stone: so that till the crosse was taken from the stone, it was vnséene. His bodie was found, not inclosed within a toome of marble or other stone curioslie wrought, but within a great trée made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of such maruellous bignesse, that the shinbone of his leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a moonke of that abbeie hath written, which did liue in those daies, and saw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also liued in those daies, and spake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the same abbat, he learned, that the shinbone of the said Arthur being set vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat shewed to the same Gyraldus) came about the knée of the same man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the skull of his head was of a woonderfull largenesse, so that the space of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a span broad. There appéered in his head the signes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it should séeme he died, which being greater than the residue, appéered verie plaine. Also in opening the toome of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the tresses of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the buruished gold, which being touched, immediatlíe fell to dust. The abbat, which then was [Sidenote: *Henricus Blecensis seu Soliacensis. Io. Leland.*] gouernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwise de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had serched for the graue of Arthur) translated the bones as well of him as of quéene Gueneuer, being so found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double toome of marble, laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the toome, and the bodie [Sidenote: *Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.*] of the quéene at his féet towards the west part. ¶ The writer of the historie of Cambria now called Wales saith, that the bones of the said Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbeie of Glastenbury, fiftéene féet within the ground, & that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the king heard at Penbroke singing the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

John Leland in his booke intituled Assertio Arthuri, hath for the woorthie memorie of so noble a prince, honored him with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.

Saxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento *Who vanquisht Saxon troops so oft, with battels bloudie broiles,*
 Turmas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opimis, *And purchast to himselfe a name with warlike wealthie spoiles,*
 Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit ense, *Who hath with shiuering shining sword, the Picts so oft dismaid,*
 Imposuítque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens: *And eke vnweldie seruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:* Qui
 tumidos Gallos, Germanos quíque feroces *Who Frenchmen puft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in*
fight Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto: Discomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:
 Denique Mordredum è medio qui sustulit illud *Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,*
 Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, sæuúmque tyrannum, *That monster grislie, lothsome, huge, that*
diresome tyrant fell, Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto, *Heere liuelesse Arthur lies intoomd,*
within this statelie hearse, Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus: *Of chiuallrie the bright renowme, and*
vertues nursling fearse: Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem, *Whose glorie great now ouer all the*
world dooth compasse flie, Aetherijque petit sublimia tecta Tonantis. *And of the airie thunder skales the loftie*
building hie. Vos igitur gentis proles generosa Britannæ, *Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and*
race, Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro, *Arise vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowmed grace,* Et

tumulo sacro roseas inferte corollas, *And cast vpon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaie*, Officij testes redolentia munera vestri. *That fragrant smell may witness well, your duties you displaie.*

¶ These verses I haue the more willinglie inserted, for that I had the same deliuered to me turned into English by maister Nicholas Roscarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the sense, and also properlie answering the Latine, verse for verse.

* * * * *

Vpon what occasion the graue of king Arthur was sought for, the follie of such discovered as beleueed that he should returne and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it be a fiction or a veritie that there was such an Arthur or no; discordance among writers about the place of Gawains buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and dishonest life, great disagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the historie, of his life and death.

THE XIIIJ. CHAPTER.

The occasion that moued king Henrie the second to cause his nephue the foresaid abbat to search for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderstood by a Welsh minstrell or Bardh (as they call him) that could sing manie histories in the Welsh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the forsaid churchyard at Glastenburie, betwixt the said two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found sixtéene foot déepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth, that the trée in the which Arthurs bodie was found so inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was an alder trée, bicause that in the same place a great number of that kind of trées doo grow, and also for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moisture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue [Sidenote: As for example in a caue néere a water called pond perilous at Salisburie, where he and his knights should sléepe armed, till an other knight should be borne that should come and awake them. *Will. Malmes. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.*] heard) such as hitherto beleueed that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into some pleasant place, where he should remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themselues deceiued in crediting so vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwise be doubted, whether anie such Arthur was at all, as the British histories mention, bicause neither Gyldas nor Beda in their woorks speake anie thing of him) it may appéere, the circumstances considered, that suerly such one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerse points so famous as some writers paint him out. William Malmesburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongst the learned, hath these woords in his first booke intituled "De regibus Anglorum," saieng: "But he being dead [meaning Vortimer] the force of the Britains waxed féeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then suerlie had they gon to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Vortigerne) had not kept vnder and staid the loftie barbarous people, that is to say the Saxons, by the notable aid and assistance of the valiant Arthur."

This is the same Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantasticalle doo descant and report woonders: but woorthie was he doubtlesse, of whom feined fables should not haue so dreamed, but rather that true histories might haue set foorth his woorthie praises, as he that did for a long season susteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, encouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the siege of Badon hill, he set vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible slaughter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the English Saxons, although they were tossed with sundrie haps of fortune, yet still they renewed their bands with new supplies of their councitriemen that came out of Germanie, and so with bolder courage assailed their enimies, and by little and little causing them to giue place, spread themselues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which sometime the Saxons and sometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons

that were slaine, the greater number of them still came ouer to the succour of their councitmen, being called in and sent for out of euerie quarter about them.

[Sidenote: Gawaine where he is buried.] Héere is also to be noted, that where the British historie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being slaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, so that his bones remained there to be shewed a long time after: yet by [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.*] that which the foresaid William Malmesburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled "*De regibus Anglorum*," the contrarie maie séeme true: his woords are these. "Then (saith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Rosse, the sepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his sister, not going out of kind from so woorthie an vncl. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high prowesse most highlie renowmed, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengist, of whome in the first booke we haue made mention, first requiting his banishment with great detriment and losse to those his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iust desert of his vncl's woorthie praise, for that he staid (for a great manie yéeres) the destruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appéereth: yet the others toome (as I haue said) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the sea side, and contained in length fouretéene foot, where he was (as some say) wounded by his enimies, and cast vp by shipwracke. But other write, that he was slaine at a publike feast or banket by his owne councitmen." Thus saith William Malmesburie.

¶ But heere you must consider, that the said Malmesburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the second, certeine yéers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as néedles to be controuerssed, & letting all dissonant opinions of writers passe, as a matter of no such moment that we should néed to sticke therein as in a glewspot; we will procéed in the residue of such collections as we find necessarilie pertinent to the continuation of this historie; and now we will say somewhat of quéene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foresaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that she tooke hir name of hir excellent beautie, bicause Guinne or Guenne in the Welsh toong signifieth faire, so that she was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, euen (as you would say) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the house of one Cadour earle of Cornwall before Arthur married hir: and as it appeareth by writers, she was euill reported of, as noted of incontincencie & breach of faith to hir husband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie escape the venemous blast of euill toongs, and the sharpe assaults of the followers of Venus. The British historie affirmeth, that she did not onelie abuse hir selfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that also in Arthurs absence she consented to take him to husband. It is likewise found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur besieged on a time the marishes néere to Glastenburie, for displeasure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had rauished Gueneuer, and led hir into those marishes, and there did kéepe hir. Hir corps notwithstanding (as before is recited) was interred together with Arthurs, so that it is thought she liued not long after his deceasse.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth) of which the latter (saith he) was buried with him, and hir bones found with his in one sepulchre, but yet so diuided, that two parts of the toome towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the féet contained the womans bones, apart by themselues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwise of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & also that Gueneuer being taking prisoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie she died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scottish chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had thrée sundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Gueneuer, as sir Iohn Price dooth auouch that he had. Now bicause of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and also for that some difference there is amongst them, about the time in which he should reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole historie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a constant beléefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that such a prince there was; and among all other a late [Sidenote: *Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.*] writer, who falling into necessarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a spéech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the British bloud,

discharging a short but yet a sharpe inuectiue against William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuseth of lieng toongs, enuious detraction, malicious slander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they speake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning those thrisenoble princes. Which defensitiue he would not haue deposed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

The British histories and also the Scotish chronicles doo agrée, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iustinian, about the fiftéenth yéere of whose reigne he died, which was in the yéere of our Lord [Sidenote: 542.] 542, as diuerse doo affirme. Howbeit some write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began [Sidenote: *Aurea historia. I. Leland.*] his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled "Aurea historia" affirmeth, that in the tenth yéere of Cerdicus king of Westsaxons, Arthur the warriour rose against the Britains. Also Diouionensis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he arose in an other moneth more fierce and strong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkesomnes, after the twelfth yéere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage doone and fealtie receiued, [Sidenote: Westsaxon.] the shires of Southampton and Somerset, the which countries Cerdicius named Westsaxon. This Cerdicius or Cerdicius came into Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to say, about the yéere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and gouerned them as king by the space of 15 yéeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the course of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we must allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and so procéed.

* * * * *

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the chalengers are pursued and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Conan that slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuer reprehensions of Gyldas uttered against Conan, discovering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

THE XV CHAPTER.

In this meane while that the realme was disquieted with sore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right [Sidenote: The heresie of the Pelagians reuiued, *Hist. Mag.*] faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, [Sidenote: Dubritius & Dauid lerned bishops.] which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour Dauid, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

[Sidenote: CONSTANTINE.] After the death of Arthur, his coosine Constantine the sonne [Sidenote: 542.] of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yéere of the emperour Iustinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the first yéere well néere complet of the reigne of [Sidenote: *Galfrid. Matth. West.*] Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he shuld die, ordeined this Constantine to succéed him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their [Sidenote: Ciuill warre.] father descended. Herevpon followed ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betwéene them and in the end the two brethren were constrained to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue

the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had doone the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortlie after, his owne [Sidenote: Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.] kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who ioining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yéeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside [Sidenote: *Gyldas.*] his ancestour Vter Pendragon. Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled "De excidio Britanniaë," where inueieng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: "Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes péeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselues; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but mainteining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indéed théeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome séeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers, théeues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enimies of God; if he would so permit: kéeping manie in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie guilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortlie after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

"Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelp of the lionesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he should hurt his subjects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of téeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailles of two children of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongst the sacred altars: the armies of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (the which few in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set vp the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered blood.

"These things he did not after anie good déeds doone by him deseruing praise: for manie yeares before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being loosed from the snares of his former euills, he increaseth the new with the old." ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reprocueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

[Sidenote: CONANUS.] After that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresad Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king [Sidenote: 546.] of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Iustinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, frée and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that tooke his vncler, who of right should haue béene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vncler: But God would not suffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* writeth that he reigned 30. yeares.] such vniust dealing, for he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succéded him in the kingdome, as authors doo record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saieing in this wise: "And thou lions whelp, as saith the

prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doost thou? Art thou not swallowed vp in the filthie mire of murdering thy kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching seas ouerwhelming thee with hir vnmercifull rage? Dooest thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie serpent, and thirsting after ciuill wars and spoiles (oftentimes vniustlie gotten) shut vp against thy soule the gates of celestiall peace and refreshment? Thou being left alone as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praie thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being set apart, and chosen fourth of all thy linage for thy godlie deserts, be reserued to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methusalem? No no." And after these reprehensions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and so proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of Southwales, as after shall be rehearsed.

* * * * *

The beginning of the kingdome of Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mertia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Saxon commended, the originall of the kingdome of Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquisheth the Saxons; Gyldas sharplie reprooueth Vortiporus for manie greuous offenses, and exhorteth him to amendment.

THE XVJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: IDA. 547.] In the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there callèd Ida, & descended of Woden. For where the said Woden had thrée sonnes, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldecius; of [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.* The kingdom of Brenitia began.] the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Mertia: and of the third sonne came the kings of Westsaxon, and also of him was this Ida descended, being the ninth in lineall succession from the said Beldecius and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome; where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he tooke vpon him of his owne accord to vsurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the same was giuen to him by consent of other, the certieintie appeareth not. But sure it is, that he being a woorthie prince, did not degenerate from his noble ancestors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifieng his kinglie seueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the British toong called Werd.

[Sidenote: ELLA 561. The beginning of the kingdom of Deria.] About the same time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the said riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the south. These two kingdomes were sometime gouerned by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in processe of time was much enlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Notingham, Darbie, Lancaster, the bishoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the east and the west [Sidenote: The riuer of Mersie.] seas, euen vnto the riuer of Mersie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Iffus, being descended from Woden, as the 12 in succession from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the same Malmesburie dooth testifie) reigned 14 yeares.

Now Ella who was successor to Ida (as he saith) reigned thirtie [Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] yeares, and verie valiantlie enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the castell of Bamburge, first fensing it with pales, and after with a wall of [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, begotten in lawfull [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] bed, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Osmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Osbale, Segor, and Segother. These came altogether into this land, and arriued at

Flemesburke with fortie ships, as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceasse of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ada the sonne of the foresaid Ida succéded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein seuen yeares: and Ella the sonne of Histria, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Matth. Westm. and others doo affirme.

[Sidenote: VORTIPORUS. *Matt. West.* noteth 578.] Vortiporus the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succéded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 576, in the 11, yeare of the emperour Flaius Anicius Iustinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Childeric king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothish king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and subiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foresaid Ella began to rule in the south part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of some authors, who also take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortiporus [Sidenote: *Matt. West.* noteth 3 yeares.] had ruled the Britans the space of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no issue behind him to succéed him in the kingdom.

Against this Vortiporus Gyldas also whetting his toong, beginneth with him thus: "And why standest thou as one starke amazed? Thou (I say) Vortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickednesse diuerslie spotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the lowest part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus proouing a naughtie sonne of a good king, as Manasses was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent streames of sinnes which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing néere) can not yet satisfie the? What meanest thou that with fornication of all euills, as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir honest death dooest oppresse thy soule with a certeine burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnshamefast daughter? Consume not (I pray thée) the residue of thy daies to the offense of God, &c." These and the like woords vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumstance of this that Gyldas writeth of Vortiporus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of Westminster, the author of the floures of histories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Vortiporus, but also Constantinus, yea & Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in seuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole British nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the state of Ireland hath béene in times past before the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if my coniecture herein doo not deceiue me.

* * * * *

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the noble qualities wherewith he was beautified by his filthie sinnes are blemished, Gyldas reprobeth Cuneglasus for making warre against God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenses, the vile iniquities wherewith the British rulers were inclined, the valiantnesse of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his victories against diuers people his enimies, succession in the gouernment of the Westsaxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Westsaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

THE XVIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: MALGO. 580. *Matth. West.* hath noted 581.] After the deceasse of Vortiporus, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as some write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yéere of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yéere of the emperour Iustinian, and in the 37 yéere of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue béene [Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] the comeliest gentleman in beautie and shape of personage that was to be found in those daies amongst all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and subdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithstanding the noble qualities with the which his person was adorned, yet he spotted them all with the filthie sinne of Sodomie, so that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being pursued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od moneths, he departed this life.

[Sidenote: *Matt. Westm.* counteth not past fiue yeres to his reigne through other affirme that he reigned 35 yéeres.] It séemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he speaketh of him) inueieth against one Cuneglasus, whome he reprooueth, for that he warred both against God and man: against God with grieuous sinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and kéeping to concubine a sister of hers, that had professed chastitie: & against man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vsed to the destruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not against the enimies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglasus he commeth to the foresaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in sinne, strong and valiant in arms, but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And so procéeding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomits, & sore blameth him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degré, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrarilie far woorse than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Maglocune in his yoong yéeres slue in battell his vnclé being king, with the most valiant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where the said Maglocune tooke vpon him the profession of a moonke, he after renounced the same, and became a woorsse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and kéeping his brothers sonnes wife, while hir husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill dissention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that GOD stirred vp the Saxons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable offenses dailie c[=o]mitted against his diuine maiestie, so that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had the better, and also tooke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath beene and also hereafter shall be shewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yeere of the [Sidenote: 559. *Hen Hunt.*] Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels against the Britains. In the 18 yeere of his reigne which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he fought against them, being come at that time vnto Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chased. Againe in the two and twentieth yéere of his reigne, and 555 yéere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Branburie.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, thrée in the battell, and thrée in the rere ward, with their horssemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie assailed them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the

triall of handblowes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (saith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) sith the Saxons were men of huge stature, great force & valiant courage. The same yéere that Kenrike deceased, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Corran king of Scots.

[Sidenote: 560. *Hen Hunt.*] Also about the yéere of Christ 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succéded him 52 yéeres. Then after that the foresaid thrée princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succéded them in their estates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succéded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert, in processe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but sorie successe against some of his enimies: for hauing to doo with the foresaid Cheuling [Sidenote: *Hen Hunt.* Aliàs Wiphanduae.] king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbasdowne, where he lost two of his dukes or cheefe capteins, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yéere of the emperour Iustinus.

[Sidenote: 570. CUTHA. Aileburie.] About the yéere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & tooke from them 4 townes, [Sidenote: 581.] Liganbrough, Eglesbrough or Ailesburie, Besington, and Euesham. Also about the yéere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obtaining the vpper hand, tooke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present thrée kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farimnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most gréeuoslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gylidas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

[Sidenote: His brother as *Matt. West.* saith.] Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] or (as some bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chasing the Britains, tooke from them manie countries, [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] and wan great riches by the spoile. But *Matth. West.* saith, that the victorie aboad with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scottish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue béene the 49 successiuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with grieffe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horieheaded, and had reigned 34 yéeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a sore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglaston, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe incounter tried.

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The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, the bounds of the same, the heptarchie or seuen regiments of the Saxons, how they grew to that perfection, and by whom they were reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of

the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subiects.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

About the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia [Sidenote: CRIDA. *H. Hunt.* This kingdome began in the yéere 585, as *Matt. Westm.* saith. *Ran. Cest.*] began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it contained Lincolnshire, Notinghamshire, Derbeshire, Chesshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertefordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in processe of time remoouing the Britains out of their seats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seuen kingdomes, which were gouerned by seuen seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appéere. *Matth. Westmin.* reckoneth eight kingdomes as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Sussex, the kingdom of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsex, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdomes, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: wherevnto *W. Harison* addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

[Sidenote: CARETICUS.] After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 586, which [Sidenote: 586.] was in the third yéere of the emperour Mauricius, and thirtéenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in partakings, so as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceased not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had [Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.* See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. *Ranulf. Cest.*] constreined them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued heere in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constreined to kéepe him within the citie of Chichester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assalts and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroyed it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the féet of sparrows which his people had caught, certeine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrows being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselues within their neasts which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and discomfited.

But whilst the battell continued, Careticus stale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid

Gurmundus destroyed this land throughout in pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of spéech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capteins, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie, about the parts of [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people tooke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile, (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

[Sidenote: It should séeme that this historie of Gurmundus is but some fained tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegian or Germane.] Of this Gurmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroyed much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroye the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselues continuall habitations in the same. There be, that omitting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

[Sidenote: 586.] [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] In the yéere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succéded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Héerevpon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with bright swords brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforsaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be woone, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with déepe marshes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, enlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceauline in Westsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were destroyed; and the archbishops of Caerleon Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew together with their cleargie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the reliks of saints, doubting the same should be destroyed by the enimies, and themselues put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Manie also fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fléete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decaie of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yéere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceased not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by thrée kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the Westsaxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the

Britains, but also his owne subjects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodensdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constrained to depart into exile, and shortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored.

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse ods in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of toongs, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Gréeke [Gréek: *básileus*], which being resoluéd is in effect [Gréek: *básis láo*], that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he resulteth, he maketh shipwracke of that goodlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is prooued by historicall obseruation through the course of this historie.

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Ceolric reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, the Saxons and Britains incounter, Ethelbert king of Kent subdueth the Englishsaxons, he is married to the French kings daughter vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the gospell, Augustine the moonke and others were sent into this Ile to preach the christian faith, the occasion that moued Gregorie the great to send him, buieng and selling of boies, the Englishmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert causeth Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient seat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behaiour there, the king and his people receiue the christian faith, and are baptised.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: CELRIC.] Now after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was sonne vnto Cutwine, the sonne of the foresaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Westsaxons fíue yeares & fíue moneths. In like manner the same yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome succéded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, and reigned but fíue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About thrée yeeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britains being ranged in good order, the Saxons set vpon them boldlie indéed, but disorderedly, so that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had shewed themselues in battell, before that time, so much the more slow and vntowardly did they shew themselues now in running awaie to saue themselues, so that an huge number of them were slaine. Also about [Sidenote: 594.] the same time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his sonne Wibbas or Wipha succeeded. And after the deceasse of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride surnamed the wild, succéded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpose.

Ethelbert king of Kent, not discouraged with the euill chance which [Sidenote: *Beda. Will. Malmes.*] happened in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, prooued so perfect a maister therein, that in processe of time he subdued by force of armes all those English Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendship in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he should permit hir to continue and vse the rites and lawes of christian faith and religion, and to haue a bishop whose name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land for hir better instruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vsing to serue God in praiers and otherwise, according to the custome of the christian religion, began vndoubtedly to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganisme, so as the bright beames of the celestially cléerenes of vnderstanding remooued the thicke mists of his vnbeléefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the gospell, which after by heauenly prouidence was preached to him, by occasion, and in maner as followeth.

[Sidenote: *Beda. Matth. West.* saith 596. 47 saith the same author.] In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the English Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almost complet, the bishop of Rome, Gregorie the first of that name, and surnamed Magnus, sent Augustinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the christian faith vnto the English Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the gospell. And here we hold it necessarie to shew how it is recorded by diuer writers, that the first occasion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to send Augustine into this land, rose by this meanes.

[Sidenote: *Beda. Will. Malmes.*] It chanced (whilst the same Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the see of Rome) certeine yoong boies were brought thither to bee sold out of Northumberland, according to the accustomed vse of that countrie, in somuch that as we haue in our time séene (saith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to sell awaie their néere kinsfolke for a small price. When those children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reason of their excellent beauties and comelie shape of lims and bodie, turned [Sidenote: *Vita Gregorii. magni.*] the eies in maner of all the citzens to the beholding of them, it fortunéd that Gregorie also came amongst other to behold them, and when he considered and well viewed their faire skins, their swéet visages, and beautifull bushes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came? Vnto whome answere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aspect. Then he asked whether the men of that countrie were christians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenish errors? Wherevnto it was answered, that they were not christened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a déepe sigh, said: Ah, alas that the author of darkenesse dooth as yet possesse men of so brightsome countenances, and that with the grace of such faire shining visages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

"Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto answere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to say Englishmen. Right woorthilie (saith he) for they haue angels faces, and such as ought to be made fellow-heires with angels in heauen. Then asked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (said he) they are to be deliuered "De ira dei," that is to say, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Christ our Lord. What name (said he) hath the king of that prouince? Wherevnto answere was made that he was called Alla, wherevpon alluding to that name, he said, Alleluia ought to be soong in those parts to the praise and honor of God the creator."

[Sidenote: Pelagius the second. *Will. Malmes.*] Herevpon comming to Benedict the first of that name (as then bishop of Rome) he required him that some learned men might be sent into England to preach the gospell vnto the Englishmen, offering himselfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant [Sidenote: Pelagius.] his request, yet the Romans had him in such estimation, that they would not consent that he should depart so farre from the citie, so that by them he was at that time staid of that his godlie purpose. Howbeit when he came to be bishop, he thought to performe it though not by himselfe, yet by other: and so Augustine and his fellowes were sent by him about it (as before is said.) By the way, as they were [Sidenote: M. Fox.] passing in their iourne, such a sudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as some write) they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent backe to Gregorie, to sue that they might be released of that voiage so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie perswasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all what so euer his néede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords woorke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

"Gregorie the seruant of Gods servants, to the seruants of our Lord.

"For as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe

from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourtenth of his empire."

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good woords and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and spéeding foorth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie rooffe with them, sore doubting to be bewitched by them, being persuaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almighty God, bearing in stéed of a [Sidenote: The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.] banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauour painted in a table, and thereto singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruacion of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the woord of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their woords and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had béen brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beléefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beléue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harbrough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beléefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approached the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, "Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia." *That is to say,* We beseech thee Ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee Ô Lord.--After they were receiued into [Sidenote: *Beda. Matth. West.*] Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the [Sidenote: The christian faith receiued of the Englishmen.] confirming of that which they now preached. Herevpon, manie of the English people beléued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the swéetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church néere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the quéene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to saie masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in

uerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being persuaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their [Sidenote: *Lib. 7, cap. 26.*] heathenish beléeffe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauour 597, and the first indiction.

[Sidenote: *Polychron.*] ¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to procéed.

* * * * *

Religion is not to be inforced but perswaded and preached, Augustine is made archbishop of England, Gregorie informeth Augustine of certeine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new English church, as the reuenewes of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of mariage, of ecclesiasticall discipline and ordeining of bishops: trifling questions objected by Augustine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are sent ouer to assist. Augustine in his ministerie, he receiueth his pall, reformation must be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuersion to christianitie.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.*] King Ethelbert reioised at the conuersion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptised, but onelie shewed by his behaiour, that he fauored those that beléeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had instructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Christ ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Augustine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them [Sidenote: Augustine ordeined archbishop of the English nation.] necessarie reuenewes in possession for their maintenance. After that the faith of Christ was thus receiued of the English men, Augustine went into France, and there of the archbishop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbishop of the English nation, according to the order prescribed by Gregorie before the departure of the said Augustine from Rome.

[Sidenote: Laurence a priest.] After his returne into Britaine, he sent Laurence a priest, and Péeter a moonke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the bishop, how the Englishmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbishop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the woorke prospered vnder his hand as it had doone. He also required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new church of England. Wherevpon Gregorie, sending backe the messengers, wrote an answere vnto all his demands. And first touching the conuersion of archbishops with the clergie, and in what sort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the [Sidenote: The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.] ancient custome of the apostolike see was to giue commandement vnto bishops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the first should be appointed to the bishop and his familie for the maintenance of hospitalitie: the second should be assigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

[Sidenote: Liturgie.] And whereas in the church of Rome one custome in saieng masse [Sidenote: Church seruice.] or the liturgie was obserued, and another custome in France; concerning such church seruice, Gregorie aduised Austine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might most please the almightie God, he should diligentlie choose it out, and instruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he should gather foorth of the said churches: for the things are not loued for the [Sidenote: Such as did steale.] places sake, but the places for the things sake. Also for punishing of such as had stolen things out of churches, so néere as might be, the

offender should be chastised in charitie, so as he might know his fault, and (if it were possible) restore the thing taken away.

[Sidenote: Mariages.] And touching degrés in mariage, Englishmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degré without reprehension, and if any vnlawfull mariages were found amongst the Englishmen, as if the sonne had married the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wise to absteine, and vnderstand it to be a gréuous sinne: yet should they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, least those things might séeme to be punished in them wherein they had offended (before their conuersion to the christian [Sidenote: Discipline of the church.] faith) by ignorance; for at this season the church (saith he) correcteth some things of a feruent earnestnesse, suffreth some things of a gentle mildnes, and dissembleth some things of a prudent consideration, and so beareth and winketh at the same, that oftentimes the euill which she abhorreth by such bearing and dissembling, is restrained and reformed.

[Sidenote: Ordeining of bishops.] Moreouer touching the ordeining of bishops, he would they should be so placed, that the distance of place might not be a let, but that when a bishop should be consecrated, there might be thrée or foure present. Also touching the bishops of France, he willed Augustine in no wise to intermeddle with them, otherwise than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to presume anie thing by authoritie, sith the archbishop of Arles had receiued the pall in times past, whose authoritie he might not diminish, least he should séeme to put his sickle into another mans haruest. But as for the bishops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholesome persuasions [Sidenote: Women with child.] strengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptised, and she that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, should be purified, but yet might she enter the church before, if she would. [Sidenote: Matters in question about trifles.]

The residue of Augustines demands consisted in these points, to wit:

- 1 Within what space a child should be christened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?
- 2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after she was brought to bed?
- 3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?
- 4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was washed with water?
- 5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a priest, whether he might say masse?

To these questions Gregorie maketh answere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for bréefenesse we passe ouer. He sent also at that time with the messengers aforesaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Augustine in the haruest of [Sidenote: Assistance to Augustine. The pall.] the Lord. The names of the chiefest were these, Melitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He sent also the pall, which is the ornament of an archbishop, with vessels and apparell which should be vsed in churches by the archbishop and other ministers. He sent also with the pall other letters to Augustine, to let him vnderstand what number of bishops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Also after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned persons were departed from Rome, he sent a letter vnto the same Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter concerning the [Sidenote: Bearing with them that had newlie receiued the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.] churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard

and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps.

[Sidenote: Miracles.] At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Iulie, in the yéere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeere of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most [Sidenote: 602.] courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God.

* * * * *

What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncerteine, a prouinciall councill called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

Thus farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie procéed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and déeds of the said Augustine; of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his [Sidenote: *Beda.*] sée appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had béene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent [Sidenote: One Peter was the first Abbat.] a long time after. This abbie was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a [Sidenote: *Beda.*] citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.* Westminster church builded.] haue written that it was built by Lucias king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie enlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was

ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, tooke woonderfull increase within a short time.

[Sidenote: *Ran. Cest. Beda. Sigebertus. ann.19 Mauricij imperatoris. A synod. Ausines oke. Galfrid. lib.8. cap.4.*] In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sées, and an archbishops sée, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelates, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of [Sidenote: *Beda lib.2. ca.2.*] Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to mooue them to agréee with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to prooue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

The Britains that were present, mooued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Wherevpon [Sidenote: Another synod.] they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of [Sidenote: The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.] learned men, speciallie of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; "If he be the man of God, follow him." Then said they; "How [Sidenote: The answer of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.] shall we prooue whether he be so or not?" Then said he: "The Lord saith, Take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am méeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beléueed that he also beareth the yoke of Christ, and offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his woord to be regarded." "And how shall we see and perceiue that (said they?)" "Find meanes (said he) that he maie first come to the place of the synod with those of his side, and if he arise to receiue you at your comming, then know that he is the seruant of God, and obey him; but if he despise you, and arise not towards you, whereas you be more in number, let him be despised of you."

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, straightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reprooue all his saiengs. He told them that they vsed [Sidenote: Threé things required by Augustine of the Britains to be observed.] manie things contrarie to the custom of the vniuersall church, and yet if in threé things they would obeie him, that is to say, in kéeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministring baptisme according to the custome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the woord of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane iurisdiction. But they flatlie denied to doo anie of those things, and gaue a plaine answer that they would not receiue him for their archbishop: for laien their heads together, thus they thought, If he refuse now to arise vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we should become subiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is said) [Sidenote: Augustine threatneth.] Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they should receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Englishmen the waie of life, they should suffer punishment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to passe, as in place conuenient [Sidenote: 604. Bishops ordeined at London and Rochester.] shall be expressed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordeined two bishops, that is to say, Melitus at London, that he might preach the woord of God to the Eastsaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames,

and Iustus in the citie of Rochester within the limits of Kent.

[Sidenote: SABERT.] At that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eastsaxons, but he was subiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephue he was also by his sister Rricula that was married vnto king Sledda that succéded after Erchenwine the first king of the Eastsaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that received the faith. After that Augustine had ordeined Melitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same citie, where the same Melitus and his successors might keepe their sée. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Iustus and his successors might haue their sée in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts vpon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifullie, to the vse of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops.

[Sidenote: *Ran. Cestren.*] Finallie, Augustine after he had gouerned as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yéeres current, departed this life the fiue and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the citie néere to the church of the apostles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) because the same church as yet was not finished nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laarence to be his successor in the sée of Canturburie, of whome ye shall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the liuing God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other dooings chancing in the meane time amongst the people of this Ile.

* * * * *

Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the Westsaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edelfride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king of the Scots ioine in battell, Edan is discomfited, Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chester, the deuout moonks of Bangor praie for safetie from the sword of the enimie, twelue hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Chester, the Britains assembling their power vnder three capteins incounter with Edelfride, slaie manie of his souldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Redwald king of the Eastangles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons dieth.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.* saith 34.] After the deceasse of Chelricus king of the Westsaxons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph succéded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as should appéere [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* saith 607.] by some writers) about the yeere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idlenesse, but séeking either to defend or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the sonne of Kenrike, which was the sonne of Certike. After Wibba or Wipha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but also enlarge it, by subduing the Britains on ech side) one Ceorlus [Sidenote: Ceorlus king of Mercia.] succéded in that kingdome, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 594, as [Sidenote: 594.] *Matth. West.* recordeth.

[Sidenote: *Beda. Edelferd.*] Ye haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the English nation. None of them destroyed their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Héerevpon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith mooued to see Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but ioining in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degsastane, or Degsastone, or Deglaston, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left aliue, he escaped by flight. This was a sore foughten battell, with much bloudshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus

the brother of Edelferd was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he gouerned: and it was fought in the [Sidenote: 603.] yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelferd, and in the sixt yéere of Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, and [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] in the first yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yéere [Sidenote: *Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.*] of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scottish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Sée in Scotland.*] againe to giue battell against the English nation, as Beda himselve writeth. But the Scottish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon to tame their loftie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains [Sidenote: Chester as yet in possession of the Britains. *I. Leland. Wil. Malm.*] Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came foorth to giue batell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

[Sidenote: *Beda.*] It chanced that he had espied before the battell ioined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good spéed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that [Sidenote: The number of moonks in the monasterie of Bangor.] famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of moonks, that where they were diuided into seuen seuerall parts, with their seuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts contened at the least thrée hundred persons, the which liued altogether by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those moonks hauing kept a solemne fast for thrée daies together, were come to the armie with other to make praier, [Sidenote: Brocmale.] hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Broemael, earle (or consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies sword.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; "Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie though they beare no armour, yet doo they fight against vs, being busied in praier [Sidenote: The Britains discomfited & slaine.] for our destruction." Wherevpon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those moonks and priests which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the first approach of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murdered through the enimies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] ¶ Héere is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yéere of Ceowlfe king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yéeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the sée of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yéeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and moonks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowlfe began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yéere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at [Sidenote: *W. Harison.*] Degsastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselve recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciselie setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yéere after his arriuell, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late councill mentioned 603, and killed 1200 moonks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Verelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdain and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian [Sidenote: *Acts and monuments, pag. 160*] faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the

Britains. But heereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certainlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled [Sidenote: Blederike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, Cadwane k. of Northwales.] their power vnder threé capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constreined him to flée out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of [Sidenote: *Galfr. Mon.*] the Britains the forsaid Blederike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Gal. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntington), make no mention of this last battell and victorie obtained by the Britains in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, [Sidenote: Edwine the sonne of king Alla banished.] vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yoong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Vffa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did [Sidenote: 592.] succéed next after the said Vffa, the first king of Eastangles [Sidenote: Edelferd.] (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to doo, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Redwald encouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled foorthwith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him yer he could haue time to [Sidenote: 542.] assemble his people together. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreunged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get together, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, slue [Sidenote: Ethelferd slaine.] Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yéeres. This battell was fought néere to the water of Idle.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yéeres of age, and Oswin about foure yéeres, the which (their father being [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.* saith 34.] thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all spéed that might be made. Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had maintained great warre against manie [Sidenote: The Southsaxons susteine the greater losse.] of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of Sussex, in which the armies on both sides sustained great damage, but the greater losse fell to the Southsaxons.

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Cinegiscus and his sonne Richelinus reigne iointlie ouer the Westsaxons, they fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Laurence archbishop of Cantrburie in setting religion at large, and seeking a vniformitie in catholike orders, he and his fellow-bishops write to the cleargie of Britaine and Scotland for a reformation, Melitus bishop of London goeth to Rome, the cause why, and what he brought at his returns from pope Boniface.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: CINEGISCUS.] After the foresaid Ceowlfe reigned Cinegiscus, or Kingils, which was the sonne of Ceola, which was the sonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the sonne of Kenricke, which was the sonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yéere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowship with him [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* saith that Onichelinus was the brother of Cinegiscus] in gouernance of the kingdome his sonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and so they reigned iointlie together in great loue and concord (a thing seldome séene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains [Sidenote: Beandune or Beanton.] at Beandune, where at the first approch of the battels together, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. 2 cap. 4.*] In this meane time, Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, who succéded next after Augustine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is said) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predecessor the foresaid Augustine: who studied not onelie for the increase of this new church, which was gathered of the English people, but also he was busie to imploie his pastorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewise of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in semblable wise as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the ecclesiasticall rules, as well in obseruing the feast of Easter contrarie to the vse of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto those Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them most instantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agréable with the church of Christ, spred and dispersed through the world. These letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie together in the name of the bishops Melitius and Iustus, (as followeth.)

"To our deare brethren the bishops and abbats through all Scotland, Laurence, Melitus and Iustus bishops, the seruants of the seruants of God wish health.

"Whereas the apostolike see (according to hir maner) had sent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in these west parts, as otherwise throug the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderstood the state of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beléued, bicause (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the custome of the vniuersall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by bishop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuersation from the Britains: for bishop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the house where we did eat."

The said Laurence also with his fellow-bishops, did write to the Britains other letters woorthie of his degré, dooing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited litle, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the same time Melitus the bishop of London went to Rome, to common with pope Boniface, for necessarie causes touching the church of England, and was present at a synod holden by the same pope at that season, for ordinances to be made touching the state of religious men, and sate in the same synod, that with subscribing he might also by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie décréd. This synod was holden the third kalends of March, in the last yéere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Sauour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the said pope to be obserued in the English church, with letters also directed to archbishop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

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Cadwan is made king of the Britains in the citie of Chester, he leuieth a power against Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, couenants of peace passe betwixt them vpon condition, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he and his wife were buried, of his lawes; Eadbald succeedeth Ethelbert in the Kentish kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madnesse; Hebert king of the Eastsaxons dieth, his three sonnes refuse to be baptised, they fall to idolatrie and hate the professours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behaiour to bishop Melitus, he and his fellow Iustus passe ouer into France,

the three sonnes of Hebert are slaine of the Westsaxons in battell, the Estsaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbishop Laurence to forsake the land, he is warned in a vision to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering christianitie, sendeth for Melitus and Iustus, the one is restored to his see, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iustus is made archbishop of Canturburie, the christian faith increaseth.

THE XXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: CADWAN king of Britaine] After that the Britains had c[=o]tinued about the space almost of 24 yéeres without anie one speciall gouernour, being led by sundrie rulers, euer sithens that Careticus was constrained to flée ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie against the Saxons, but also [Sidenote: 613] one of them against another, at length in the yéere of our Lord 613, they assembled in the citie of Chester, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the souereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and so the said Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the said yéere 613. But some authors say, that this was in the yéere 609, in which yéere Careticus the British king departed this life. And then after his deceasse the Britains or Welshmen (whether we shall call them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yéere 609, which was in the 7 yéere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yéere of Kilwoolfe king of the Westsaxons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortlie after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came foorth with his armie to méet Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agrément, so that [Sidenote: *Gal. Mon.*] Ethelfred should kéepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuier of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the southside of the same riuier. This couenant with other touching their agrément was confirmed with oths solemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without vexing one an other.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehersed, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further rehersall, passing forward to other dooings which fell in the meane season, whilst this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king [Sidenote: *Iohn Hard.*] ouer them the tearme of 22 or (as some say) but 13 yéeres, and finallie was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath béene, and also after shall be shewed.

In the 8 yéere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yéere after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yéeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Beda li. 2. cap. 5.*] thrée yéers lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yeere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of Februarie, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife quéene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his councill ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which décrées of iudgements should passe: those décrées he caused to be written in the English toong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expressed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

[Sidenote: EADBALD.] After the deceasse of Etthelbert, his sonne Eadbald succéded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not béene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his

mother in law, that had béene wife to his father. By which two euill [Sidenote: The princes example occasion of euill.] examples, manie tooke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilest his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not woorthie punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vncleane spirit.

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him thrée sonnes as true successours in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes [Sidenote: *Ran. Cest. Beda li. 2. cap. 5.* Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.] likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but speciallie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they séemed to haue giuen ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subjects to do the like.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had béene accustomed to doo to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: "If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of saluation." But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: "We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no néed thereof: but yet neuerthelesse we will be refreshed with that bread."

After this, when they had beene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Wherevpon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellow-bishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be doone in this so weightie a matter. Who finallie resolued vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with frée minds they might serue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongst people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to doo good amongst them. Wherefore Melitus and Iustus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortlie after, those brethren the kings of Essex, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered woorthilie for their wicked dooings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were [Sidenote: The sonne of king Sebert slaine.] ouerthrowen and slaine altogether with all their armie, by the two kings Kinigils and Quichelme. But neuerthelesse, albeit the authors of the mischiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish woorsipping of false gods, being eftsoones fallen thereto in that season by the encouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Melitus and Iustus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie scourged (as hath béene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reprooued him) for that he would so vncharitable forsake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to kéepe the wolfe from the fold.

The archbishop imboldned by this vision, and also repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and shewed to him his stripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of idols, and was baptised, and as much as in him laie, from thenceforth succoured the congregation of the christians, and aduanced the church to his power. He sent also into France, and called home the bishops Melitus and Iustus, so that Iustus was restored to his sée of Rochester.

But the Eastsaxons would not receiue Melitus to his sée at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a bishop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constreine them to receiue their lawfull bishop. But suerlie the said king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himselfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongst other déeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church [Sidenote: *Beda lib. 2.*] to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monasterie of saint Peter, afterwards called saint Agnes. This church was consecrated by Melitus, who after the death of Laurence succéded in gouernance of the archbishops sée of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.*] life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Iustus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the sée of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occasion (as after shall appéere.)

* * * * *

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the sister of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants, the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus against him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter, he assalteth the Westsaxons, and discomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to persist in true christianitie; the vision of Edwin when he was a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuersion to christian religion.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

Ye haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was slaine in battell neere to the water of Idel by Redwald king of the Eastangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the said Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yéeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore hauing obtained that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as sonne [Sidenote: *EDWIN. Beda. lib. 2. ca. 5.*] to Alla or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin prooued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with English men, but also with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Chesshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and alongst by the west sea-coast in Galloway, and so foorth euen vnto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the historie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was such, as not onelie the English men, Britains and Scots, but also the Iles of Orknie, and [Sidenote: *W. Malm. taketh Meuania to be Anglesey.*] those of Man, and others the west Iles of ancient time called Meuaniaë, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, so as they durst not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

It chanced that shortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the same Redwald deceased, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eastangles, which (whilest Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approoued valiancie and noble courage, offered themselues to [Sidenote: *Carpwaldus.*] be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin suffering Carpwald or Erpwald the sonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to doo him seruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentishmen to liue in quiet, because he began to haue a liking to the sister of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwise called Tate or Tace.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.*] He made request therefore by sending ambassadours to hir brother, to haue the said ladie in marriage, and at length obtained hir, with condition that she being a christian woman, might not onelie vse the christian religion, but also that all those, whether men or women, priests or ministers, which

came with hir, might haue licence to doo the same, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of person. Herevpon she being sent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir [Sidenote: *Matth. West. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.*] (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by [Sidenote: 625.] the archbishop Iustus the 21 of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earnestlie in his office, both to preserue hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, least they should chance to fall: and also sought to win some of the Pagans (if it were possible) vnto the same faith, though at the first he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then sojourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the riuer of Dorwent, being sent from Quichelme king of the Westsaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, because he had of late sore damnified the countries of the Westsaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & [Sidenote: Other say an axe, as *Matth. West.*] caried vnder his coate a shost double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpose, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, should not die of the wound, yet he should not escape the danger of the [Sidenote: Emmerus.] poison. This Eumerus on Easter mondaie came to the king, and making foorth to him as it had béene to haue declared some message from his maister, when he had espied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to strike the king. But one of the kings seruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, stept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer set the stripe forward with such force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded also the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he slue another of the kings seruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

[Sidenote: Eaufléd borne.] The same night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eaufléd, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the presence of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a Christian, if he might reuenge his injuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings houshold, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a Christian: howbeit he had left his dooing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the Christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilst he thus hoong in doubt vnto whether part he should [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 2, cap. 10.*] incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce worshipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote also to quéene [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 2, cap. 11.*] Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to doo what might be doone for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most mooued [Sidenote: A vision.] the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

[Sidenote: *Beda. cap. 12.*] After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to moue Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obtained a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season

came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so [Sidenote: The honorable consideration of Edwin.] aduerture to escape. Edwin being woonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, choosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, séeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to doo therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou fearest to be towards thée at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thée out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doo thée hurt, nor deliuer thée to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said; What wouldest thou giue then, if he should promise in good sooth that (all thine enimies being destroyed) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with woorthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thée this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answeere being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saing: When this therefore shall chance to thée, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now dooest promise, sée thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganisme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had procéded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeléefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue béene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sooner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding somewhat to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioising in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; behold his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the quéene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so he did in déed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfrid, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

* * * * *

King Edwin is put in mind of his vision by Pauline who sawe the same in spirit, he is licenced to preach the gospell, bishop Coifi destroiethe the idols, Edwin and his people receiue the Christian faith, his two sonnes Osfride and Eadfride become conuerted, Redwald king of the Eastangles is baptised, he serueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix bishop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbishop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eastangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnshiremen are conuerted manie are baptised in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iustice how effectuell and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of traouellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbishop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to suruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Easter and avoiding the Pelagian heresie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth against Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good estate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his sonne Osfride are slaine, Penda putteth his other sonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

THE XXVI. CHAPTER.

Notwithstanding the former vision, king Edwin deferred time yer he would receiue the Christian faith, in somuch that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he sat musing what he were best to doo, and laid his hand vpon his head, asking him if he knew that signe. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his féet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wise thus said vnto him: "Behold, by the assistance of Gods fauour thou hast escaped the hands of thine enimies, whome thou stoodst in feare of: behold through his bountious liberalitie, thou hast obtained the kingdome which thou diddest desire, remember then that thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddest promise, in receiuing his faith, and kéeping his commandements, which deliuering thée from worldlie aduersities, hath thus aduanced thée to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hée setteth and preacheth to thée and others, he will deliuer thée from euerlasting torments, and make thée partaker with him in his celestiall kingdome." It is to be thought that the vision which the king had in times past receiued, was in spirit reuealed vnto Pauline, wherevpon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, answered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but first he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agré to doo the like, then would they be baptised altogither at one time. Pauline satisfied herewith, [Sidenote: Edwin consulteth with his nobles.] Edwin did as he had promised, calling together the wisest men of his realme, and of them asked the question what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome [Sidenote: The answer of an heathen bishop.] his chiefe bishop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this answer; that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth. "For saith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worshipped our gods than I haue doone, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue doone: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more available than our old, let vs with spéed imbrace the same."

Finallie, when other of the kings councill & men of high authoritie gaue their consents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeered more certeintie of saluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to [Sidenote: Pauline licenced to preach the gospell.] Pauline openlie to preach the gospell, and renouncing his worshipping of false gods, professed the Christian faith. And when he demanded of his bishop Coifi who should first deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compassed about? He answered, that himselfe would doo it. "For what is more méet (saith he) than that I, which thorough foolishnesse haue worshipped them, should now for example sake destroie the same, thorough wisdomes giuen me from the true and liuing God?" And streightwaies throwing awaie the superstition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a stoned horsse, vpon the which he being mounted, rode fourth to destroie the idols.

This was a strange sight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the bishop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beast, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a swoord gird to him, tooke a speare in his hand, and riding on the kings horsse, went to the place where the idols stood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had béene starke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the same, and in contempt threw his speare against it, & reioising greatlie in the knowledge of the worshipping of the true God, commanded his companie to destroie & burne downe the same temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were sometime worshipped was not farre from Yorke, towards the east part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foresaid bishop by the inspiration of God defaced and destroyed those altars, which he himselfe had hallowed.

[Sidenote: King Edwin with his people receive the christian faith. *Beda. lib. 2. cap. 14. 627.*] King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptised, in the yéere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yéere of his reigne, and about the 178 yéere after the first comming of the Englishmen into this land. He was baptised at Yorke on Easter daie (which fell that yéere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the church of S. Peter the apostle, which he had caused to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the sudden for that purpose, and afterwards began the foundation of the same church in stone-woorke of a larger compasse, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had first caused to be built: but before he could finish the woorke, he was slaine (as after shall be shewed) leauing it to be performed of his successor Oswald.

Pauline continued from thencefoorth during the kings life, which was six yéeres after, in preaching the gospell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Christ, among whom were Osfride and Eadfride the two sonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his banishment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Also afterwards he begot children on his second wife Ethelburga, that is to say, a sonne called Edilhimus, [Sidenote: Ediltrudis.] and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another sonne called Bustfrea, of the which the two first died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be brieffe: by the kings assistance & fauour shewed vnto Pauline in the woorke of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptised of Pauline in manie places, but speciallie in the riuer of Gleuie within the prouince of Bernicia, and also in Swale in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus of the church in those countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in so short a time.

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting [Sidenote: This chanced in the yéere 632, as *Matt. West.* saith.] forth of Gods truth, that he persuaded Carpwald the sonne of Redwald king of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Christ with all his whole prouince. [Sidenote: Redwald king of Eastangles baptised.] His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last dooings were woorse than his first, so [Sidenote: Redwald would serue God and the diuell.] that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would séeme both to serue the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme [Sidenote: Sibert or Sigibert.] of thrée yeeres was wrapped eftsoones in error, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christian prince, and verie well learned, obtained the rule of that kingdome, who whilest he liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life, wherein he had bene dipped himselfe.

Vnto this godlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Iustus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the woord of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Iesus Christ, and placed the sée of his bishoprike at Dunwich, [Sidenote: A bishop ordained at Dunwhich. *Beda lib 1. cap. 16.*] ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yéeres. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the woord of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he persuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to [Sidenote: This chanced in the yéere 628, as *Matth. West* saith.] turne vnto Christ, together with all his familie. In that citie he also builded a church of stone worcke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worcke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, néere to a towne, which in the old English toong was called *Tio vulfingacester*. This Pauline had with him a deacon named Iames, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatlie therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of woorthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obseruing of iustice, deserued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from sea to sea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, [Sidenote: *Math. West. Beda lib 2. cap. 16*] insomuch that where there were any swéet and cleare water-springs, he caused postes to be set vp, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that waifaring men might haue the same readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to touch the same but for that vse. He vsed wheresoeuer he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the sée of Yorke. He sent also letters of [Sidenote: *Beda lib 2. cap. 17.*] exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and procéed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, bicause Iustus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that sée, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie [Sidenote: A decree concerning the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke] his pall, with letters, wherein was contened a decree by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that suruiued should haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceased, that they should not néed to wearie themselues with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of Iune, [Sidenote: 633.] in the yéere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scotish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of [Sidenote: The feast of Easter] Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world [Sidenote: The heresie of the Pelagians] obserued. And also bicause the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his sheepe the waies to a christian life, but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their procéeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguished, vnlesse by present meanes the force thereof be vanquished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer strangled.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flourished (as before is partlie touched) in happie state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeeres, [Sidenote: Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.] Cadwalline, or Cadwallo, king of Britaine, who succeeded

Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroyed. Penda king of Mercia [Sidenote: Penda king of Mercia.] enuieng the prosperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to mooue this rebellion against Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie together. Edwin heereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, [Sidenote: King Edwin slaine. *Matth. West.*] where was fought a verie sore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his sonnes named Osfride, and his armie beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Orkenie. Moreouer there was an other of Edwins sonnes named Eadfride constreined of necessitie to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succéded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield aforesaid, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yéeres and vpwards.

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The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbishop Pauline with queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable personages accompanie him thither, Romanus bishop of Rochester drowned, Pauline vndertaketh the charge of that see; Osrilie is king of Deira, and Eaufride king of Bernicia, both kings become apostatas, and fall fr[=o] christianitie to paganisme, then are both slaine within lesse than a yeeres space; Oswald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefs practise in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oswalds superstitious deuotion and intercession to God against his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is slaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whome he will without exception.

THE XXVIJ. CHAPTER.

Cadwallo and Penda haung obtained the victorie aforesaid, vsed it most cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, shewed himselfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue doone. So that Penda being a worshipper of false gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no respect to the Christian religion [Sidenote: The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.] which latelie was begun amongst the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not sparing man, woman nor child: and so continued in their furious outrage a long time in passing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the Christian congregations in those parties. And still the christian Britains were lesse mercifull than Penda his heathenish souldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Englishmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, because they differed in rites from their accustomed traditions.

[Sidenote: The archbishop Pauline flieth into Kent.] When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miserable case by the enimies inuasion, the archbishop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was receiued of the archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Bassus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, and Vulfrea the sonne of Edwin, & also Iffi the sonne of Osfride Edwins sonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oswold did send into France where they died. The church of Rochester at that time was destitute of a bishop, by the death of Romanus, who being sent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian seas. Wherevpon at the request of archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline tooke vpon him the charge of that see, and held it till he died.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. ca. 1. OSRIKE KING OF DEIRA.*] After it was knowne that Edwin was slaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Osrike the sonne of his vnclé Elfrike tooke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the preaching and vertuous instruction of Pauline. But [Sidenote: Eaufrid king of Bernicia.] the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eaufride the son of Edelferd or Edelfride, tooke vpon him to gouerne. This Eaufride during the time of

Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the Christian faith was baptised. But both these princes, after they had obtained possession of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, so that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long suffer this their vnthankfulnessse without iust punishment: for first in the next summer, when Osrike had rashlie besieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake foorth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make resistance, slue him [Sidenote: The two kings of Northumberland slaine.] with all his armie. Now after this, whilst Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant wasted and destroyed them, in sleaing the people in tragicall maner, he also slue Eaufride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiscrétlie vnto him to sue for peace: and thus within lesse than twelue moneths space both these runagate kings were dispatched.

[Sidenote: OSWALD began his reigne in the yeare 635. *Beda. lib.3. cap.3.*] Then Oswald the sonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foresaid Eaufride was created king of the Northumbers, the sixt in number from Ida. This Oswald after that his father was slaine, liued as a banished person a long time within Scotland, where he was baptised, and professed the Christian religion, and passed the flower of his youth in good exercises, both of mind & bodie. Amongst other things he practised the vnderstanding of warlike knowledge, minding so to vse it as it might stand him in stead to defend himselfe from iniurie of the enimies that should prouoke him, and not otherwise. Herevp[=o] Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reason that he had atchiued such great victories against the Englishmen, and hauing slaine their two kings (as before is expressed) he ceased not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputed the English people for slouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boasting that he was borne to their destruction. Thus being set vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without considering at all the skilfull knowledge which Oswald had sufficientlie learned in feates of war) tooke vpon him to assaile the foresaid Oswald, that had brought an armie against him, and was encamped in a plaine field néere vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times past against the inuasion of Scots and Picts.

Cadwallo streight prouoked Oswald to trie the matter by battell, but Oswald forbare the first day, and caused a crosse to be erected in the same place where he was incamped, in full hope that it should be an ensigne or trophie of his victorie, causing all souldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of such necessitie it might please him to succour them that worship him. It is said, that the crosse being made, and the hole digged wherein it should be set, he tooke the crosse in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, so held it till his souldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then caused all the souldiers to knéele downe vpon their knées, and to make intercession to the true and liuing God for his assistance against the proud enimie, with whom they should fight in a iust quarell for the preseruacion of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, so that a sore and cruell fight insued betwixt them. At length Oswald perceiued that the Britains began somewhat to faint, and therfore caused his people to renew their force, and more lustilie to preasse forward, so that first he put that most cruell enimie to flight, and after pursuing the chase ouertooke him, and slue him [Sidenote: *Beda. Wil. Malm.*] with the most part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisborne, but the place where he caused the crosse to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cadwallo the most cruell enimie of the English name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cause they say the Britains did afterwards set vp his image, that the same might be a terror to the enimies when they should behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the British historie of Gal. Mon. it should appeare that Cadwallo was not slaine at all, but reigned victoriouslie for the space of 48 yéeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it shall appéere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in such points may sooner be perceiued than reformed, to the satisfieng of mens fansies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as séemeth him good, noting now and then the diuersitie of such writers, as occasion serueth.

[Sidenote: PENDA. 636.] Penda the sonne of Wilba succéded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Ciarlus, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yéeres of age before he came to

be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his person in place of danger, assured and readie of remembrance in time of greatest perill. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind vanquished with greatnesse of businesse. But these his vertues were matched with notable vices, as first with such bitternesse of maners as had not béene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courtesie, great vnstedfastnesse in performing of woord and promise, and of vnmeasurable hatred toward the christian religion.

Now vpon confidence in these his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occasion passe that was offered to make war, as wel against his friends & confederats, as also against his owne sworne enimies. Part of his dooings ye haue heard, and more shall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eastsaxons & Eastangles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye shall find further mention also, and so likewise of the kings of the Southsaxons: but bicause their kingdom continued not past fiue successions, litle remembrance of them is made by writers.

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Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the British writers haue recorded them, wherevpon discord arose betweene Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres space were linked in friendship, Cadwallo vanquisht, his flight, of Pelitus the Spanish wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power besieging Excester, he arreareth battell against the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he seeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda slaieth Oswald, whose brother and successor Osunus by gifts and submission obtaineth peace, whom Penda spitefullie attempting to kill is killed himselfe, Cadwallo dieth, a brasen image on horssebacke set vp in his memoriall, saint Martins at Ludgate builded.

THE XXVIII. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: CADWALLO, OR CADWALLINE.] Cadwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him so named) began his [Sidenote: 635.] reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 635, in the yéere of the reigne of the emperour Heraclius 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres against the Northumbers, and other of the English nation: but forsomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the British writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearse the same in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find writen, leauing the credit still with the author, sith the truth thereof may be the more suspected, bicause other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmesburie, and others séeme greatlie to disagree from him herein. But thus it is written.

[Sidenote: Edwin was not sonne to Ethelfred, but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places plainlie appeareth.] This Cadwallo and Edwin the sonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride saith, were brought vp in France, being sent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yoong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the space of two yéeres great friendship betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed solemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by persuasion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his request, wherewith Edwin tooke such displeasure, that he sent woord vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, sith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo answered, that if he so did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he presumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof discord arising betwixt these two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them against the other, [Sidenote: Cadwallo vanquished by Edwin. Cadwallo flieth the land.] and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo lost the field, with many thousands of his men, and being chased fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally passed the seas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his coosin king Salomon he was courteously receiued, and at length obtained of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to

assist him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie spoiled, wasted and haried by king Edwin.

At the same time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had sent into Britaine as little before to slea a certeine wizard or southsaier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by disclosing the purpose of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterprises, had fortified the citie of Excester, mening to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherevpon Penda king of Mercia besieged that citie with a mightie army, purposing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertised hereof, immediatlíe after his arriuall hasted to Excester, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, set vpon his enimies, tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other shift to escape, submitted himselfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promising to become his liegeman, to fight against the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus subdued, Cadwallo called his nobles together which had bene dispersed abroad a long season, & with all spéed went against Edwin king of Northumberland, and slue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his son Osfride, and Eodbold king of the Iles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it should appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amisse in the account of the reignes of the British kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was slaine in the yéere of our Lord 634. [Sidenote: 634.] And where Fabian (as before is said) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the most part of all other writers signifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding assigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his séemeth best to agréé with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other dooings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorie against the Northumbers, he cruellie pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroie the whole race of them out of the coasts of all Britaine: and sending Penda against king Oswald that succéded Edwin, though at the first Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called [Sidenote: Oswald slaine.] Bourne, where Penda slue the said Oswald. Wherevpon his brother Osunus succéding in gouernment of the Northumbers, sought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and siluer, and vpon his humble submission, [Sidenote: Oswie. *Matth. West.* 654.] obtined peace, till at length vpon spite, Penda king of Mercia obtined licence of Cadwallo to make warres against the said Osunus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himselfe was slaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Vlfridus the sonne of Penda should succeed in Mercia.

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And [Sidenote: 678.] [Sidenote: *Matt. West.* saith 676.] finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dressed with swéet confections, was put into a brasen image by maruelous art melted and cast, which image being set on a brazen horsse of excellent beautie, the Britains set vp aloft vpon the west gate of London called Ludgate, in signe of his conquests, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the same gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerse thinke that much of this historie is but fables, bicause of the manifest varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue said.)

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The true storie of the forenamed king Oswald, his desire to restore christian religion, Cormans preaching taking small effect among the Northumbers, persuadeth him to depart into his owne countrie, he slandereth them before the Scottish clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cause of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obseruation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oswalds earnest zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and ministerie, 15000 baptised within 7 daies; Oswald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & English at his commandement, his commendable deed of christian charitie,

the Westsaxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptised, he maketh Birinus bishop of Dorcester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the Westsaxons, both sides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the first English king that destroyed idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why English men became moonks, and English women nunnes in monasteries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oswald, he is assaulted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

THE XXIX. CHAPTER.

Now will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the historie touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, [Sidenote: Oswald meaneth to be thankfull to God for his benefits. *Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boet.*] that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to himwards, in vanquishing his enimies, as one minding to be thankfull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he sent vnto Donwald the Scottish king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue some learned Scottishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promising to interteine him with such prouision as apperteined.

[Sidenote: Corman.] At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Corman, a clerke singularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behaiour: but for that he wanted such facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle persuading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie setting foorth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as the verie learned might scarselie perceiue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to small effect, so that after a yéeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongst his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, stubborne and stiffe-harted generation, whose minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of persuasion to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labour to spend more time amongst them, being so vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be doone vnto them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chanced [Sidenote: Aidan.] one to be there present at the same time called Aidan, a man of so perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwise than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatsoever was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he fréelie bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to doo the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northumberland gaue no such attentiu eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they should haue doone, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie mysticall articles amongst them, farre about the capacitie of the vnderstanding of simple men, was the cause why they so lightlie regarded his diuine instructions, [Sidenote: S. Paules counsell.] whereas if he had (according to the counsell of Saint Paule) at the first ministred vnto their tender vnderstandings, onelie milke, without harder nourishments, he might happilie haue woone a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and so haue framed them by little and little to haue digested stronger food. And therefore he thought it necessarie in discharge of their duties towards God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by procéding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof insue.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therevpon not onelie allowed his words, but also willed him to take the iournie vpon him, sith they knew none so able with [Sidenote: Aidan commeth into England to preach the gospell.] effect to accomplish their wished desires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hand which he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set

forward towards Northumberland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishoprike.

[Sidenote: *Beda li. 3 ca. 3. Hector Boet.*] This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-woorthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, alreadie were agréed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within short while in woonderfull estimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with such swéet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuch that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, bicause the audience was more than could haue roome in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon toong. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to [Sidenote: *Beda. Oswald an interpretor to the preacher.*] him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the harts of his subiects, vsed as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon toong, such whole sermons as Aidan vttered in his mother toong. For Oswald hauing béene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scottish, as he was in the Saxon toong. The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set foorth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dailie offred themselues to be baptised, insomuch that within the [Sidenote: *Hector Boet.*] space of seuen daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betooke themselues to a solitarie kind of life.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting foorth the gospell in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion dailie increased amongst [Sidenote: *Oswalds zeale to aduance religion.*] them, that no where could be found greater. Heerevpon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well [Sidenote: *Beda lib. 5. ca. 6.*] in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oswald [Sidenote: *Oswald had in estimation with his neighbours.*] attained to such power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure toongs (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe maruellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and strangers.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Ester day, & hauing bishop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king héerewith tooke a siluer dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate streightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish broken into small péeces, and diuided amongst them: for which act he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had béene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. 3. ca. 7. Birinus conuerteth the Westsaxons to the christian faith.*] About the same time, the Westsaxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set foorth the gospell vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent [Sidenote: *Kinigils king of Westsaxon becommeth a christian. Polydor.*] trauell in the Lords haruest, Kingils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised

about the fiue & twentieth yéere of his reigne. K. Oswald that should haue had his daughter in mariage, was present the same time, who first yer he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontstone, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or christian) [Sidenote: Dorcester ordeined a bishops sée.] appointed and assigned the citie of Dorcester, situat by the Thames, distant from Oxford about seuen miles, to be the sée of his bishoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the woord of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yéere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Westsaxons, and sonne to Kinigils was also christened, and died the same yéere, and so Cinigilsus or Kinigils reigned alone.

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succéded next after [Sidenote: This chanced in the yéere 620, as *Matth. West.* saith.] Ciarlus, being a man giuen to séeke trouble in one place or other, leauied warre against the kings of Westsaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirenchester, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermost, as though they had forsworne to giue place one to another, insomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they shuld buckle together againe, the one part should vtterlie destroie the other, they fell to agrément in moderating ech others demands.

[Sidenote: 640. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 7. Matth. West.*] After this, in the yéere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which tooke order for the vtter destroieng of all idols [Sidenote: Lent first ordeined to be kept in England.] throughout his whole kingdome. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of fortie daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing woorthie and competent punishment against the [Sidenote: Segburga. Aimoinus.] transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, a daughter named Eartongatha, a professed nunne within the monasterie of Briège or Cala in France: for in those daies, bicause there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that tooke vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselues moonks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Briège, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in processe of time were made abbesses of the said monasterie of Briège.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most woorthie prince, not ceasing to releue the necessitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himselfe excéding praise and commendation of all good men, and still his fame increased for his vertuous dooings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the christian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the prosperous procéedings of Oswald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-dooings, began to imagine how [Sidenote: Penda inuadeth the Northumbers. *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9.*] to destroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maserfield, and there in [Sidenote: King Oswald slaine. *Matt. Westm.* saith 644.] sharpe and cruell fight Oswald was slaine on the fift day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after some, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predecessors Osrike and Eaufride reigned, whome they number not amongst kings, because of their wicked apostasie and renouncing of the faith which before they had professed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oswald, being cruellie slaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holinesse, the foresaid Oswald was canonized a saint, and had in great worship [Sidenote: *Will. Malmes.*] of the people, being the first of the English nation that approoued his vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life.

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Oswie succeedeth Oswald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is sore vexed by Penda, Oswie and Oswin are partners in gouernement, they fall at strife, Oswin is betraied into the hands of Oswie and slaine, a commendation of his personage and goodlie qualities, bishop Aidan dieth; Cenwalch king of the Westsaxons, Penda maketh warre against him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a christian and recouereth his kingdome, Bishop Agilbert commeth into Westsaxon, and afterwards departing (upon occasion) is made bishop of Paris, Wini buieth the bishoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eastangles, the vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by him, he resigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinsman Egric are slaine in a skirmish against Penda king of Mercia.

THE XXX. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: OSWIE King of Northumberland. *Beda li. 3. ca. 14.*] After that king Oswald was slaine, his brother Oswie (being about 30 yeares of age) tooke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the same with great trouble for the space of 28 yeares, being sore vexed by the foresaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the first yeare of his [Sidenote: 644.] reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the bishop of Rochester which had beene also archbishop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Englishman of the parties of Kent was ordeined bishop of Rochester by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. King Oswie had one Oswin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the first beginning of his reigne, which [Sidenote: Bernicia.] was sonne to Osrike, so that Oswie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oswin in Deira, continuuing in perfect friendship for a season, till at length, through the counsell of wicked persons, that coueted nothing so much as to sowe discord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and so began to make warres one against an other, so that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oswin perceiuing that he had not an armie of sufficient force to incounter with Oswie, brake vp his campe at Wilfaresdowne, ten mile by west the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himselfe onelie with one seruant named Condhere vnto the house of earle Hunwald, whome he tooke to haue béene his trustie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the said Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oswie, who by his captaine Edelwine slue the said Oswin and his seruant the forsaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, [Sidenote: 651.] in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauour 651.

This Oswin was a goodlie gentleman of person, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of spéech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, so that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as bishop Aidan gessed that he should not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not woorthie of so good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humblenesse and obedience he perceiued to rest in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better instruction in good part, that he said, he neuer saw before that time an humble king. The same Aidan liued not past 12 daies after the death of the said Oswin, whome he so much loued, departing this world the last daie of August, in the seuteenth yeare after he was ordeined bishop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindesferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made bishop in his place, a Scottishman also, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predecessor the foresaid Aidan came, being first a man of religion professed in the monasterie there (as some writers doo report.)

[Sidenote: CENWALCH. *Henr. Hunt. 643.*] In the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigilsus king of the Westsaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life Anno 643, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the same kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as some write) in [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] manner as his father had doone before him. In the third, or (as others saie) in the fift yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made sharpe warre against him, because he had put awaie his wife the sister of the said Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, so that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, with whome he remained the space of a yeare, or (as other say) thrée yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the christian religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a christian, and receiued his

wife againe into his companie, according to the prescript of Gods law, and (to be bréefe) in all things shewed himselfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, so that shortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

[Sidenote: Agilbertus a bishop.] Now when he was established in the same, there came a bishop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the scriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Westsaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whose desire he tooke vpon him to exercise the roome of a bishop there: but afterwards, when the said king admitted another bishop named Wini, which had béene ordeined in France, and knew the toong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counsell therein, returned into France, and there was made bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulphere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

[Sidenote: SIGIBERT.] Ye haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and woorthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constrained to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteneing [Sidenote: *Beda lib. 3. cap. 4*] at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and herevpon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the toongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie [Sidenote: The vniuersitié of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.] at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those hir learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun [Sidenote: *Bate saith 636.*] by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as appertained to the dutie of a good king, wherevpon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to [Sidenote: Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.] liue from thencefoorth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a moonke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, whervpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in steed of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more [Sidenote: Sigibert and Egricus slaine. 652.] part of them slaine, together with Sigibert and his coosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauour (as some haue noted) 652.

[Sidenote: *Baleus. Beda lib. 3 cap. 19. Fuersus.*] In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a moonke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the

Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Beretgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceased also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653. [Sidenote: 653.]

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Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding him is slaine also by Oswie king of Northumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles receiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

THE XXXJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Anna. *Will Malmes.*] After Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and is likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his [Sidenote: Edelhere K. of Eastangle.] brother Edelhere succéded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, together with the foresaid Penda, and woorthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by [Sidenote: Deus dedit.] the space of one whole yéere and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the Westsaxons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

[Sidenote: *Beda hist. eccle. lib. 3. cap. 21. 653.*] About this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, [Sidenote: Peda or Peada king of Middleangles.] receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yoong gentleman, and woorthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Héere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yoong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestially ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was persuaded therevnto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda name Cimburch.

[Sidenote: Ad murum.] Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen. These priests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the woord, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communtie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues [Sidenote: The saieng of king Penda.] christians, and yet shewed not the woorks of faith, saieng, that "Those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beléued." This alteration of things began, about two yéeres before the death of king Penda.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. 3. cap. 22.*] About the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, receiued eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus.

Melitus. Ye haue heard that Serred, Siward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succéded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Siward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, whervpon king Oswie ceased not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Iesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue [Sidenote: King Sigibert receiued the faith.] credit to his woords, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, bicause it was built néere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

[Sidenote: This was about the yéere 649, as *Matth. West.* hath noted.] King Sigibert hauing now receiued the Christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent [Sidenote: Cedda.] vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his sée at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding [Sidenote: Ced or Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.] by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Héerevpon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the woorke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, speciallie [Sidenote: Tilberie.] in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuier of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuier of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase daillie procéding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murdered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause that should mooue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bicause they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was too fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murdered, bicause he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie married, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to absteine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his féet, beséeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horssebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something [Sidenote: The authoritie of a bishop.] displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; "Bicause (saith he) thou wouldst not absteine from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house:"

and so it came to passe.

* * * * *

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; Ediswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the maner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse; the old order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obtaineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie; prince Peado his kinsman murdered of his wife.

THE XXXIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: SUIDHELME. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 22. Matt. West*] After Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Sexbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlessham. Ediswald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the [Sidenote: *Beda lib.3. cap.23.*] Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Whervpon it chanced that king Ediswald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, mooued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to choose foorth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praie, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and desert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestinghem.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for [Sidenote: The maner of the old fast.] that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his roome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the [Sidenote: *Lindisferne holie Iland.*] moonks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sicknesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.*] About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue [Sidenote: *War betwéene king Oswie & king Penda.*] destroyed the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let us make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtin victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginie: and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he

put himselfe in hazard of battell.

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or coronels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Iesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with quéene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncl, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The [Sidenote: The victorie of the Northumbers.] battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought néere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

After that Oswie had obtained this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, [Sidenote: Elfled.] containing euerie of them ten houtholds a péce. Elfled also king [Sidenote: Herteshey saith *Matt. West.* Hilda.] Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was abbese, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houtholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yéeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was hir mother Eufled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king [Sidenote: Loides.] Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirteenth yéere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries néere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Iesus Christ.

[Sidenote: The first bishop of Mercia.] The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) For quéene Eufled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

[Sidenote: The victorious procéeding of king Oswie.] King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (bicause he was his [Sidenote: Southmercia.] kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 houtholds, [Sidenote: Northmercia. 659.] and separated from the Northmercies by the riuier Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies contained in those daies 7000 houtholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murdered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter. [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*]

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The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adewold king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why; succession of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moonke supplieth the roome at the popes

appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

THE XXXIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.*] After three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadburt rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a yong gentleman the sonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in secret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and so liuing in frédome with their owne naturall king the foresaid Vulphere, they also continued with glad hearts in seruice of the celestiall king our God and Sauior.

[Sidenote: VULFHHERE. *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.*] This Vulphere gouerned the Mercies seuentéene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the said Vulphere) had foure bishops successiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Iaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter shall more at large appeare.

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt. Matt. West.*] About the beginning of king Vulpheres reigne, that is to say, in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Chenwald king of the Westsaxons, the same Chenwald fought with the Britains at Pennum, where the Britains being assembled in great number, prouidlie incountred with the Englishmen, and at the first put them to the woorst, but when the Englishmen would in no wise giue ouer, but did sticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, so that the posteritie of [Sidenote: The Britains put to flight by Chenwald.] Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within thrée yeares after, that is, in the ninetéenth yeare of the reigne of the said Chenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell against the foresaid [Sidenote: Chenwald vanquished by Vulphere.] Vulphere king of Mercia, as he had before against the Britains, for the said Vulphere vanquishing him in the field, passed through this [Sidenote: Adelwold of Sussex.] countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Sussex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontstone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he should cause the people there to receiue the faith and religion of Christ. Now after that Edelhere king of Eastangles was slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald succéded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the space of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald succéded Aldulfe the son of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.*] After Finan bishop of the Northumbers that held his see at [Sidenote: Colman ordeined bishop.] Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined bishop, a Scot borne, and an earnest obseruer of the customes vsed amongst them of his nation, so that when the controuersie began to [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 25.*] be reuiued for the holding of the feast of Easter, he would by no meanes yéeld to them that would haue perswaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great disputation kept about this matter, and other things, as shauing or cutting of heares, and such like in the monasterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oswie and his sonne Alcfrid were present, where Colman for his part alledged the custome of Iohn the euangelist, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie side brought in prooffe of their opinion, the custome of Peter and Paule. At length, when bishop Colman perceiued that his [Sidenote: Controuersie about shauing of crownes. *Cap. 6.*] doctrine was not so much regarded, as he thought of reason it ought to haue béene, he returned into Scotland with those, which taking part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes [Sidenote: 664.] shauen, about which point no small reasoning had béene kept. This disputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oswie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scottishmen began first to beare the office of bishops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned [Sidenote: Tuda ordeined bishop.] into his countrie, one Tuda that had béene brought vp amongst the Southerne Scots, and ordeined bishop by them, succéded in his roome, hauing his crowne shauen, and obseruing the feast of Easter according to the custome of the prouince and rite of the Romane

church. [Sidenote: *Cap. 27.*] ¶ The same yeare, there chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, the third [Sidenote: An eclipse. Punishment of God for yelding to superstition.] of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie insued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewise in Ireland. Amongst other, the foresaid bishop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, succéded [Sidenote: Wilfrid bishop.] in gouvernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwise called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was sent by king Alcfrid into France, to be ordeined there.

About the same time king Oswie, the father of king Alcfrid, mooued [Sidenote: *Cap. 28.*] with the good example of his sonne, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime bishop of the Eastsaxons into Kent, to be ordeined bishop of Yorke, but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined [Sidenote: Ceadda ordeined archbishop of Yorke.] in his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Westsaxons, where he was ordeined by bishop Wini, who tooke two other bishops of the British nation vnto him to be his associats, which vsed to obserue the feast of Easter contrarie to the custome of the Romane church. But there was no other shift, sith none other bishop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Westsaxons in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he constreined to take such as he might get and prouide.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chastlie, shewed himselfe humble and continent, applied his studie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horssebacke through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the disciple of Aidan, and coueted by his example, and also by the example of Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like dooings & maners as he had knowen them to doo. Wilfrid also being consecrated bishop, and returned into England, induored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to passe, that the Scots which inhabited amongst the Englishmen, were constreined either to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne countrie.

[Sidenote: *EGBERT king of Kent.*] In this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of twentie yeares, his sonne Egbert succéded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his dooings, which in that short time were not much notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into this land of the archbishop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipse and sore mortalitie that insued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life, so that the [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9.*] see of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in so much that king Egbert, who succéded his father Ercombert, together with king [Sidenote: Wighart.] Oswie, did send one Wighart a priest of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the scriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich vessels of gold and siluer, to be presented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foresaid Wighart archbishop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome, and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

[Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 4 cap. 1. Adrian.*] The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the sée of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a moonke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a roome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a moonke also, wherevnto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, eftsoones Adrian should haue béene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other moonke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Gréeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for that he had béene wise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and looke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Gréeke, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne

shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the [Sidenote: Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie. 668.] apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the sixt kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: wherevpon with all conuenient spéed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staid for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as séemed to him néedfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in [Sidenote: *Ran. Cest. Matth. West.*] causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the right [Sidenote: *Beda.*] and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the sée of Yorke, and Wilfrid was therevnto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degré of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, [Sidenote: Singing in churches brought in vse.] now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named [Sidenote: Putta bishop of Rochester.] Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well séene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Grogories disciples.

[Sidenote: The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.] To be bréefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine toongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they tooke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the [Sidenote: Englishmen happy and why.] same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof [Sidenote: *Beda.*] diuers being giuen to studie, prooued excellent both in knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said [Sidenote: Benedict or Benet surnamed Biscop.] archbishop from Rome, an English man named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a moonke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuier of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of [Sidenote: 670.] Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 moonks found in those two houses, and gouerned [Sidenote: Glasiers first brought into England. *Ran. Cest.*] vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

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Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redress that apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi unable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed moonke, his death.

THE XXXIIII. CHAPTER.

About the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succéded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.*] were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue beene defended from that mortalitie. But his associat Sebbie with great deuotion continued stedfast in the faith which he had receiued.

King Vulfhere being informed of Seghers apostasie, and how the people [Sidenote: Bishop Iaruman or Iaroman.] in his part of the prouince of Eastsaxons were departed from the faith, sent thither bishop Iaruman or Iaroman, that was successour vnto Trumhere, which vsed such diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the said king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, so as the idolish synagogs were destroyed, and the idols also with their altars quite beaten downe, the Christian churches againe set open, and the name of Christ eftsoones called vpon amongst the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of resurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the seruice of idols, spotted with the filth of errors and false beleefe. And thus when bishop Iaroman had accomplished the thing for the which he was sent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the said Iaroman was departed this life, king Vulfhere sent vnto the archbishop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new bishop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new bishop at that time, required Oswie king of Northumberland, that Bishop Cead might come into Mercia to exercise the office of bishop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monasterie of Lestingham, for Wilfrid held the bishoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongst the Picts also, so farre as king Oswies dominion stretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Vulfhere, and well entertained, in so much that the said king gaue vnto him lands and possessions conteining 50 families or housholds to build a monasterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindsey called Etbearne. But the sée of his bishoprike was assigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordshire, where he made him a house néere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vsed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, so often as they had leasure from labour and businesse of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the space of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he should die, after a miraculous maner, which because in the iudgement of the most it may séeme méere fabulous, we will omit and passe ouer. His bodie was first buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of saint Peter the apostle were builded, his bones were translated into the same.

[Sidenote: 671. *Matth. West.*] In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the second yeare after that Theodorus the archbishop came into this land, Oswie king of Northumberland was attacked with a grieuous sicknesse, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after [Sidenote: EGFRID. *Beda. lib. 4. cap 5. Matth. West.* 673.] he had reigned 28 yeares complet. After Oswie, his sonne Egfrid succéded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whose reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie kept a synod at Herford, the first session whereof began the 24

of September, all the bishops of this land being present either in person or by their deputies, as [Sidenote: A synod holden at Herford.] Bisi bishop of Estangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta bishop of Rochester, Eleutherius bishop of Westsaxon, and Wilfrid bishop of Mercia. In the presence of these prelates, the [Sidenote: Articles proponed by Theodore.] archbishop shewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the same might be receiued.

1 The first chapter was, that the feast of Easter should be kept on the sundaie following the fourtéenth day of the first moneth.

2 The second, that no bishop should intermedle in an others diocesse, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no bishop should disquiet in anie thing anie monasterie consecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the same.

4 The fourth, that bishops being moonks should not go from monasterie to monasterie, except by sufferance and permission of their abbats, & should continue in the same obedience wherein they stood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie should depart from his bishop to run into anie other diocesse, nor comming from anie other place should be admitted, except he brought letters of testimonie with him. But if anie such chanced to be receiued, if he refused to returne, being sent for home, both he and his receiuer should be excommunicated.

6 The sixt, that bishops and other of the cleargie being strangers shold hold them content with the benefit of hospitalitie, & should not take in hand anie priestlie office, without licence of the bishop, in whose diocesse he chanced so to be remaining.

7 The seuenth, that twice in the yeare a synod should be kept, but because of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of August a synod should be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Cloofeshough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one bishop should by ambition séeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one should know the time and order of his consecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the christians increased, so should there be more bishops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none should contract matrimonie with anie person, but with such as it should be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none should match with their kinsfolke, no man should forsake his wife, except (as the gospell teacheth) for cause of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married, if he would be accounted a true Christian, he might not be cooped with an other, but so remaine, or else be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the subscribing of all their hands, so as all those that did go against the same, should be disgraded of their priesthood, and separated from the companie of them all.

[Sidenote: Bisi bishop of the Eastangles.] The forsaid Bisi that was bishop of the Eastangles, and present at this synod, was sucessor unto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that sée 17 yéeres, and then departing this life, Bisi was made bishop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbishop Theodore. This Bisi at length was so visited with sicknesse, that he was not able to exercise the ministracion, so that two bishops were then & there elected and consecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

[Sidenote: 872. (sic, should read 672.)] In this meane while, that is, about the yéere of our Lord 872(sic), or in the beginning of 873(sic), as Harison noteth, Kenwalch king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yéeres. [Sidenote: *Matth. West. de reg. lib. 1.*] This Kenwalch was such a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the woorst kind of rulers, but in the middest and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the best. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the christian religion well appéered in the building of the church at Winchester, where the bishops sée of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsaxons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of woorthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer she had reigned one whole yéere, she could not shew anie full prooffe of hir noble courage. I remember that *Matth. West.* maketh other report heereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmesburie in this matter.

[Sidenote: Escuinus. *Will Malmes.*] To procéed, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will néeds haue it so) Escuinus or Elcuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgislo, the brother of K. Kinigils, succéeding in gouernment of the Westsaxons, reigned about the space of two yéeres: and after his deceasse, one Centiuinus or Centwine tooke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yeeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] Elcuinus fought against Vulphere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Vulphere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. & ca. supr. dict.*] In the same yéere that the synod was holden at Herford, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, [Sidenote: *Io. Lothaire.*] which held the same eleuen yéeres, & seuen moneths. Some haue written [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Beda. de reg. lib. 1.*] that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombent, that was father vnto King Egbert, for [Sidenote: *Thunnir. A vile murther.*] doubt least they being towardlie yoong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuile put to death, and secretlie buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his coosens, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstood they died giltlesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

[Sidenote: Bishop Winfrid deposed.] Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedience in some point [Sidenote: Sexvulfe ordeined bishop of the Mercies. 685, as *Matth. Westm.* saith, Bishop Erkenwald.] was depriued by archbishop Theodore, and one Sexvulfe that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie Meidhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsaxons, and appointed to hold his sée in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of moonks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at [Sidenote: *Ethelburga.*] Berking, within the prouince of the Eastsaxons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie estéemed for hir [Sidenote: *Iohn Capgrau.*] deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

[Sidenote: Waldhere. Sebbie king of Eastsaxons. *Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16.*] After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, being now vexed with a gréeuous sicknesse, professed himselfe a moonke: which thing he would haue doone long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the citie of London, [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsaxons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid

Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the [Sidenote: 675.] Eastsaxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yéere of our Lord 675, Vulfhære king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yéeres, but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yéeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswie and Peada held the aforesaid kingdome.

* * * * *

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof, Putta of a bishop becommeth a poore curat and teacheth musicke, Wilfred deposed from his bishoprike by king Egfrid vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell in Sussex by the licence of king Edilwalke, no raine in Sussex for the space of three yeeres, the woord and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets, the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbesse of Whitbie.

THE XXXV. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDILRED.] After Vulfhære, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succéded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yéere of our Lord [Sidenote: 677. *Hen. Hunt.*] 677, destroieng the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appéere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroyed the cite of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Sexvulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obteneing of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learne musicke, wheresoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

Heerevpon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constrained by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one [Sidenote: 678.] Gebmound in his stéed. In the yéere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of [Sidenote: A blasing star. *Matth. West. Beda. lib. 4 ca. 12.* Bishop Wifrid banished.] August, a blasing starre appéered, with a long bright beame like to a pillar. It was séene euerie morning for the space of thrée moneths together. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his sée, and then were two bishops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of [Sidenote: Hagustald. Hexham. Eadhidus. Lindesferne. Holie Iland.] the Northumbers, the one named Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindesferne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Vulfhære the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said thrée bishops were consecrated at Yorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within thrée yéeres after ordained two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to say, Tumbert at Hagustald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those Picts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also because Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindsey, and [Sidenote: The church of Rippon.] ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Rippon.

After that bishop Wilfrid was expelled out of his diocesse and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southsaxons, the which conteneing seuen thousand houtholds or families, as yet was not [Sidenote: Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the gospel to them of Sussex.] conuerted to the christian faith. Wherefore the said Wilfrid began there to preach the gospell

with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the same time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people ancientlie called Meanuari, which he had woon from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefest lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certain priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

[Sidenote: Lacke of raine.] ¶ It chanced that for the space of thrée yéeres (as it is said) before the comming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reson of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole cuntry, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselues hedlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie vittels. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptisme, there came downe swéet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifully tooke root, and yéelded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

[Sidenote: Catching of fish with nets.] Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that cuntry the maner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in anie kind of fishing, except it were in catching éeles. Hereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, for that through him they receiued so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the vnderstanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealesew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, conteining 87 households or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and [Sidenote: Bondmen made trulie free.] bondwomen, whome he made frée both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also infranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yeere after the appéering of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, néere to the riuer of Trent, where Alswine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, so that king Egfrid was constreined to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effusion of blood was like to follow therevpon, trauelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a péce of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid [Sidenote: 679.] battell was fought in the yéere of our Lord 679, and in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 680, which [Sidenote: 680.] was also in the tenth yéere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the sixt yéere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldvulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lothar king of Kent.

[Sidenote: A synod at Hatfield.] The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus held another synod at [Sidenote: Articles subscribed.] Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certeine articles touching the beléefe of the trinitie of persons, in vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the fiue generall counsels, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yéere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one Iohn the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agrément of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

[Sidenote: *Bale*. The abbesse Hilda. *Beda*.] The same yéere that famous woman Hilda abbesse of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) fiue yéeres after, hauing first beene detained long with gréeuous sicknesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of

Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed herself a nun, applying her whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to prayer, & other godly exercises. She builded the abbey of Whitby, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was [Sidenote: *Bale. Ran. Cest. Matth. West. Beda.*] no rich person amongst them, nor any that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeeres of age. As some haue written she argued stoutly on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitby, in the [Sidenote: *Henrie Hunt.*] yeere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yeere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seuenth yere of Centwine or Centiunus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the [Sidenote: *The Britains discomfited.*] Britains, and ouercame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

¶ Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shamefull repulse at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and tooke pleasure in the extremitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuers gouernours, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in [Sidenote: *Gorop. in Gota danica lib. 7. pag. 759.*] no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptly named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, siue regio in qua Dani liberè viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they listed. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

* * * * *

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the people are brought into great miserie, and he forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valorous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke of Sussex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might conquer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid, the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is slaine by Brudeus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow (hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12 yeeres with hir husband Egfride, she was called saint Auderie of Elie.

THE XXXVJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *CADWALLADER.*] But now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor wherof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succeeded him in gouernement [Sidenote: *676 saith Matth. West.*] of the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yeere of the emperour Constantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yeere of [Sidenote: *Galfrid.*] the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blood of the Westsaxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and his brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yeeres (as Geoffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yeeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme [Sidenote: *Cadwallader constrained to forsake the land.*] famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constrained with the chéefest part of his people to forsake their natie countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to seeke reliefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

¶ Long processe is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which bicause it séemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortlie after he fell sicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of our Lord [Sidenote: 689.] 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time mooued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yéere of 689 or therabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approued authors.

[Sidenote: CEADWALLA. *Wil. Malm. Beda.*] This Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons succeeded after Centwine or Centiuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yéeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yéeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Elcuinus or Escuinus, so that he should not reigne past seuen yeeres alone.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Ranulf. Cest.*] But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Ceadda the sonne of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he prooued in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occasion passe wherein he might exercise his force, to shew prooffe of his high valiancie, so that in the end with his woorthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enuie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was [Sidenote: Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.] banished in a conspiracie made against him. Wherevpon he tooke occasion as it were in reuenge of such vnthankfulnesse to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitieng his present estate, or mooued with pleasure taken in his valiant dooings, followed him at his going into exile.

The first brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons tasted, who in defense of himselfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and prosperous spéed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yéeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterprises.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. 4. cap. 15.*] And first, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Sussex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attained to the gouernement [Sidenote: Berthun a duke of Sussex slaine.] of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Sussex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-néere destroyed all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. [Sidenote: Caedwalla his vow. The Ile of Wight conquered.] Hee bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much therof as contained 300 housholds or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 housholds. Wilfrid receiuing thankfullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildila, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptisme vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the [Sidenote: The Ile of Wight receiue the faith.] Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons.

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Mollo, as after shall appéere, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this worthie prince Ceadwalla, turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloudshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not christened. And shortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good tast) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortlie after surprised with sicknesse, he died, and was buried there within [Sidenote: 689.] the church of saint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

[Sidenote: *Beda lib. 4. cap. 26.* Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.] In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, sore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer beene friends vnto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselues to their power, beséeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with good cause were thus accursed, should woorthilie be punished for their offenses by God, & so [Sidenote: King Egfride slain by Brudeus king of the Picts.] (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeere following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland against Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into straits within hils and craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the same yéere vnto the bishops sée of Lindesferne) that aduised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Picts, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counselled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduised him for the best. From that time foorth, the hope and power of the [Sidenote: These Britains were those vndoutedlie y't dwelt in the northwest parts of this Ile, and is not ment onlie by them of Wales.] English people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and mainteined a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

Egfride died without issue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, which liued with hir husband the forsaid Egfride twelue yéeres in perfect virginitie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husband, if he might haue persuaded hir to the contrarie, but [Sidenote: Ethelreda.] finallie he was contented that she should kéepe hir first vow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgine when he married hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Eunbert a noble [Sidenote: Giruij.] man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Norffolke, Huntingtonshire, & Cambridgeshire, howbeit he liued with hir but a small while. After she had obtained licence to depart from the court, she got hir first into Coldingham abbeie, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elie, and there restored the monasterie, and was made abbesse of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was she which commonlie is called saint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

* * * * *

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, Iohn archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lothar king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudshed, Ceadwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enimies, Inas king of Westsaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vsurpers

of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

THE XXXVII. CHAPTER.

After that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his [Sidenote: ALFRIDE. 685.] brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willingly, or by violent means constrained) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applieng himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisdom and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had doone: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one péece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the [Sidenote: 698.] yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Picts, whose confines he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare [Sidenote: 705. *Beda.*] of our Lord 705.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the bishop of Hexham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Wilfrid was restored, when he had remained a [Sidenote: Iohn archbishop of Yorke.] long time in exile. The said Iohn was remoued to the church of Yorke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Bosa. At [Sidenote: He resigneth his sée.] length the foresaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his sée, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about [Sidenote: 721.] the yeare of our Lord 721, king Osrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of priests at Beuerley aforesaid, in which church he lieth buried.

[Sidenote: 686 saith *Matt. West.*] [Sidenote: Lothar king of Kent dieth of a wound.] The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lothar king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was sonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteined warre against his vncler the said Lothar, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell striken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seuen moneths. It was thought that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent giuen to the [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelbrit, as appeared, [Sidenote: *Capgrau* saith, their sister.] in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a iest at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompense to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

[Sidenote: EDRICKE.] The foresaid Edricke (after Lothar was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, insomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons being thereof aduertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serue his purpose, as one still coueting to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on ech side, till finallie the Kentishmen assembled themselues together, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: [Sidenote: Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.] but his enimies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Mollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wreake his wrath, and to reuenge the grieffe which he tooke for the death of his brother, he

wasted and destroyed a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarrell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankerd nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tollerating & forgiuing, that if with tooth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namelie,

-----per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat, Sed verbis alijsque modis fuge lædere quenquam, Quod tibi nolles, alijs fecisse caueto, Quòdque tibi velles, alijs præstare studeto; Hæc est naturæ lex optima, quam nisi ad vnquem Seruabis, non ipse Deo (mihi crede) placebis, Póstque obitum infoelix non aurea sydera adibis.

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue béene content with a competent reuenge, and not in such outragious maner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to posterities to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the processe.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and sought to attein thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares together, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricks death, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent [Sidenote: Withred is made king of Kent.] trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redéemed peace aboad (sic), was with great hope conceiued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 11 of Nouember, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the Westsaxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

[Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Beda. lib. 5.* Suebhard and Nidred kings by vsurpation and not by succession, as *Henr. Hunt.* writeth.] A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled "*Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum*" haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first daie of Iulie one Brightwald was chosen to succéed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nidred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agréement of other writers, that till Withred obtained the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and [Sidenote: Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation.] diuers there were that sought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the see of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent hither from Rome.

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which tooke that name of their duke or leader Wallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoeuer that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Mulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so manie times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.

[Transcriber's note: The following words appear to be typos, but were left as they appeared in this book.

whreof => whereof (chapter 8, para. 5) buruished => burnished (chapter 13, para. 3) shost => short (chapter 25, para. 4) Grogories => Gregories (chapter 33, para. 10) abaoad => abroad (chapter 37, para. 6)]

by little little => little by little (chapter 3, para. 1)

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