HOLINSHED'S
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND
IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.
ENGLAND.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE
AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME;
CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.
1807.
59652
THE
FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES
OF
CHRONICLES,
COMPRISING
1 The description and historic of England,
2 The description and historic of Ireland,
3 The description and historic of Scotland:
FIRST COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED
BY
RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,
WILLIAM HARRISON, AND OTHERS:
Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie)
TO THE YEARE 1586,
By JOHN HOOKER aliás VOWELL Gent.
AND OTHERS.
WITH CONVENIENT TABLES AT THE END OF THESE VOLUMES.

HISTORIE PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINE.
ADVERTISEMENT.

The chronicles of Holinshed having become exceedingly scarce, and, from their Rarity and Value, having always brought a high Price whenever they have appeared for Sale, the Publishers have thought they should perform an acceptable Service to the Public by reprinting them in a uniform, handsome, and modern Form.

It cannot now be necessary to state the Importance and interesting Nature of this Work. The high Price for which it has always sold, is a sufficient Testimony of the Esteem in which it has been held. Holinshed's Description of Britain is allowed to contain the most curious and authentic Account of the Manners and Customs of our Island in the Reign of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in which it was written. His History of the Transactions of the British Isles, during these Periods, possesses all the Force and Value of contemporary Evidence, collected by a most skilful Observer; and the peculiar Style and Orthography in which the Work is written, furnish a very interesting Document to illustrate the History of the English Language.

The original Edition of the Chronicles of Holinshed, it is well known, was published by their Author in a mutilated State. A Number of Pages, which had obviously been printed with the rest of the Work, were found to be omitted, except in a few Copies obtained by some favoured Persons. In the present Edition, these Castrations are faithfully restored; and in order that the Purchaser may depend upon finding an exact as well as a perfect Copy, it has been a Law with the Publishers, not to alter a single Letter, but to print the Work with the utmost Fidelity from the best preceding Edition, with the Author's own Orthography, and with his marginal Notes. The only Liberty taken, has been to use the Types of the present Day, instead of the old English Letter of the Time of Elizabeth.

The Publishers submit to the Public this Edition of a curious and valuable Chronicle of our History, with a confident Hope, that it will gratify both the Historical Student and the General Reader. If it meet with the Reception which they anticipate, they will be encouraged to select some others of the rarest and most important of our ancient Chronicles, and reprint them, in like Manner, for the Convenience and Gratification of the Public.

VOL. I.
TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE, AND HIS SINGULAR GOOD LORD AND MAISTER,

S. WILLIAM BROOKE KNIGHT,

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND BARON OF COBHAM, ALL INCREASE OF THE FEARE AND KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, FIRME OBEDIENCE TOWARD HIS PRINCE, INFAILLIBLE LOVE TO THE COMMON WEALTH, AND COMMENDABLE RENOWME HERE IN THIS WORLD, AND IN THE WORLD TO COME LIFE EVERLASTING.

HAVING had just occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my frends, to set downe some briefe discourse of parcell of those things, which I had obscurued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologic, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill and judgment, so suddenlie & with so hastie speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, because the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatise: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earnest studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this travell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilst I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that should satisifie their request; and stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such helpes as they could purchase: and thus with hope of
good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogether vnto memorie, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other busineses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meanse season I had some repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as Leland had somtime collected of the state of Britaine, books utterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vperfect through want of sundrie volumes: secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now and then amongst themselves, especiallie in the names and courses of riveres and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diners, either at the table or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned eche other, choosing in the end the former, and rejecting the later, as one desirous to set forth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinary comine by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare wittes of. Howbeit, I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confessse that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition
THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it sufficient, truillie and plainelic to set fother such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing herof manie know, and peraduenture the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoever it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographic, and of greater judgement in choise of matter to handle the selfe same argument, if in my life time I doo not peruse it againe. It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne tranell and eysight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer travelled 40. miles foorthright and at one journey in all my life: neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I use their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offence at my rash and retchlesse behauiour used in the composition of this volume, and much more that being seambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affecction that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will tranell to set fother such profitable things as lie hidden, and thereunto doo weigh
on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies benefited me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and thereupon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I have my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be scene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curios, and such as can rather euill fauouredlie espie than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans dooings than publish any thing of their owne, (keeping themselves close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my servise in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preserve your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning) and the rest of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble servant

and houshold Chaplein.

W. II.
THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS
FROM WHOME THIS
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND
IS COLLECTED.

A.  
Aelius Spartanus.  
Aelius Lampridius.  
Asserius Meneuensis.  
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.  
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.  
Auentinus.  
Adam Merimouth with additions.  
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.  
Albertus Crantz.  
Arnoldus Ferronius.  
Annus Viterbiensis.  
Amianus Marcellinus.  
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.  
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.  
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.  
Annales France per Nicol Giles.  
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.  
Antonius Sabellicus.  
Antonius Nebricensis.  
Aurea Historia.

B.  
Biblia Sacra.  Beda venerabilis.  
Blondus Forliuensis.  
Berdinmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.  
Caesars Commentaries.  
Cornelius Tacitus.  
Chronica Chronicorum.  
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.  
Chronicon Io. Tiliij.  
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.  
Chronicles of S. Albon.  
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.  
Chronica de Teukesburie.  
Claudianus.  
Chronicon Genebrard.  
Chroniques de Normandie.  
Chronques de Britaine.  
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.  
Continuation de Historic and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.  
Couper.  Cuspinianus.  
Chronica Sancti Albani.  
Caxtons Chronicles.  
Carion with additions.  
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.
# The Authors Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diodorus Siculus.</td>
<td>Georgius Lillie.</td>
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<td>Dion Cassius.</td>
<td>Eutropius.</td>
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<td>Dominicus Marius Niger.</td>
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<td>Edmerus.</td>
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<td>Eusebius.</td>
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<td>Encomium Emme, an old Pamphlet written to hir, containing much good matter for the understanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obtained by reason thereof that title.</td>
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<td>Enguerant de Monstrelet.</td>
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<td>Eulogium.</td>
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<td>Edmund Campian.</td>
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<td>Fabian.</td>
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<td>Franciscus Tarapha.</td>
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<td>Franciscus Petrarcha.</td>
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<td>Flavius Vopiscus Siracusanus.</td>
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<td>Gildas Sapiens.</td>
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<td>Galfridus Monemutensis, aliás Geoffrey of Monmouth.</td>
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<td>Giraldus Cambrensis.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.</td>
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<td>Galfridus Vinsauf.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Noouburgensis.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Thorne.</td>
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<td>Gualterus Hemmingford, aliás Gisburnensis.</td>
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<td>Geruasius Doroberensis.</td>
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<td>Geruasius Tilberiensis.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Geneticensis de ducibus Normanniae.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Rishanger.</td>
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<td>Guilielmus Lambert.</td>
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<td>H.</td>
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<td>Henricus Leicestrensis.</td>
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<td>Hector Boece.</td>
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<td>Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.</td>
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<td>Henricus Mutius.</td>
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<td>Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.</td>
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<td>Hardings Chronicle.</td>
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<td>Halies Chronicle.</td>
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<td>Henricus Bradshaw.</td>
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<td>Henricus Marleburgensis.</td>
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<td>Herodianus.</td>
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<td>Humfrey Luyd.</td>
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<td>I.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Bale.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Leland.</td>
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<td>Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.</td>
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<td>Julius Capitolinus.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Pike with additions.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Functius.</td>
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<td>John Price knight.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Bodinus.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Sleidan.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Eueresden a Monke of Berry.</td>
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<td>Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Capgrae.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Fourden.</td>
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<td>Iohannes Caius.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nebio.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Fox.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I have bene not onelie aided, but also by divers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Iosephus.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
THE AUTHORS NAMES.

L.
Liber constitutionum London.
Lucan. Lælius Giraldus.

M.
Matthæus Westmonaster. aliæ Flores historiarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliæ Mons. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.
Nicephorus. Nennius.
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.
Orosius Dorobernensis.
Osbernus Dorobernensis.
Otho Phrisingensis.

P.
Pausanias. Paulus Diaconus.
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. Pomponius Lætus.
Philip de Cumeins, aliæ M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. Paulus Iouius.
Platina. Philippus Melancthon.
Pueerus. Pomponius Mela.

R.
Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliæ Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheshall. Radulfus Niger.

Register of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. Robert Greene.
Rodericus Archiæpiscopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerse.

S.
Strabo. Suetonius.
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Sidon Appollinaris. Simon Dunelmensis.
Sextus Aureliius Victor.

T.
Trebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. Thomas Walsingham.
Titus Liiius de Foroliusijs de vita Henrici. 5. Titus Liiius Patauiensis.
Thomas Lanquet. Thomas Couper.
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. Theuet.
Thomas de la More. Tripartita Historia.

V.
Vulcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.
Whethamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harrison.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue scene and perused, the names of the authors being vterlie vnknowne.
REGVM ANGLIÆ

SERIES & CATALOGUS.


CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON

THOMÆ NEWTONI CESTRESHYRIJ.

Gramine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis, Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris, Quæ viget ac floret generosa Britannia, quæque, Obruta puluere squalluit ante siti: Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem, Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar- Et quod blassa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua, Illud habet rectum pumice tersa nouo. Loydus in hac pridem gnauus prolixat arena, Lelandus, Prisius, Stous, Holinshedius, Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus, Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harrissonus, Hardingus, Gildas, Stanierstus, Beda, Neuillus, Doctaque Flemingi lima polluit opus: Nce te cane senex, magne & Parkere, silebo, Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex. Omnimus his meriò est laus debita & optima merces, Quòd patrize accendant lumina clara suæ. Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longeua senectus, Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.
AN
HISTORICALL DESCRIPTION
OF
THE ISLAND OF BRITAIN;
WITH A BRIEFE REHERSALL OF
THE NATURE AND QUALITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
AND
SUCH COMMODITIES AS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE SAME.

COMPREHENDED IN THREE BOOKES, AND WRITTEN BY W. H.

A TABLE OF SUCH CHAPITERS AS ARE CONTAINED IN THE FIRST BOOKE OF
THIS DESCRIPTION.

1 Of the division of the whole earth.
2 Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantity of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What sundrie nations have dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages spoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene divided.
8 The names of such kings and princes as have reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion used in Albion.
10 Of such Ilands as are to be seene upon the coasts of Britaine.
11 Of rivers, and first of the Thames, and such rivers as fall into it.
12 Of such streames as fall into the sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The description of the Sauerne, and such waters as discharge themselues into the same.
14 Of such waters as fall into the sea in compass of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.
16 Of such fids of waters as joine with the sea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring men doo note for their benefit upon the coasts of England.
18 Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of
WE read that the earth hath bee[n] divided into three parts, even sithens the generall
floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his
three sons, Japhet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of
them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neverthelesse retaininge the soue-
regnatie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vngetterne how those severall
parts were bounded, and from whome they tooke such names as in our times are attributed
to each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions
of late discovered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the
second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike
thither in their times, supposed to be dissolved and sunke into the sea: as by their writings
appeareth.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect
division of the whole earth, which are parcels ondelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the
Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is divided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in
the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine moore) and the Ocean sea; and
the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythraeum.
But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition;
because a no lesse part than the greatest of the three joined with those Ilands and maine
which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are
found out and discovered by the diligence of our travellers. Hereby it appeareth, that either
the earth was not exactlie divided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true division
thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors have hi-
therto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darknesse, and were vsterlie ignorant of the
truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their travels and knowledge in their
writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane
writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their
successors; nor being able (as appeareth by their treatises) to deliver and set downe the
veritie. For Salust in his booke De bello lugurthino cannot tell whether Africa be parcell
of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his booke De lingua Lat. is not a
litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is divided into Asia and
Europa: so that Africa is excluded and druen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa,
(as one not yet resolved wherevnto he lane,) that it is;

\[\text{Aut ingens Asia latus, aut pars tercia rerum.}\]

Wherein
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITANE.

Wherin Lucane lib. 9. sheweth himselfe to be far off another judgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saiesng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, si venos coltûnque sequaris.
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quâm Scythicus Tanâis primis à gradibus absunt.

Whereby (I saie) we may well understand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolved of the division of the earth. For my part, as I finde not to remoue the credite of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet doth to continue and maintaine any corrupation that may be redress'd) so I thinke good to giue fourth a new division more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into five seuerall parcels, retaineing the common division in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onely all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellane streights, and those Hyperborean lands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discouered by-Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie Meta incognita: but likewise so manie lands as are within 180. degrees Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this division are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatness, and far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not such in quantitie as they both united and laid togethre. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir lands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streights; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a continuo no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoever it shall please the curious to mislike of this division. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof doe not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betwene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South poole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without sundrie lands also adjoining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath bene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached little or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, even in maner to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa dooth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not observed by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselves by the ingratitude of the Portugals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should seeme to open a gap by doing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those lands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them still unto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compass of 90. degrees eastward from the line of longitude, & not above 180. as I doe the ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yeelding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

Et penitus totius diuisione orbis Britannos,

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you see) from the rest of the whole earth:
earth: I have thought good, for facilite sake of division, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascrib'd to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (without prejudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to proced'd from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and ready to judge the hardest of erudic attempt. But forsomuch as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I doe write of, and deliver such things as I intreacht of in distinct and vpright order; though method now and then doo fail, I will go forward with my iudge, referring the examination of my doloings to the indifferent and learned care, without regard what the other doo conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Islands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascrib'd vnto Europa: whereto some good authors heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue hot amisse referred them.

OF THE POSITION, CIRCUIT, FORME, AND QUANTITIE OF THE ILE OF BRITAIN.

CAP. II.

BRITANNIA or Britain, as we now terme it in our English tongue, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie over against that part of France which containeth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britain, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led over by some of the Romane Emperours, or lieng thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did sete themselves there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they adventured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, even to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the east side also the Germaine Ocean, by which we passe daily through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserable afflicted betweene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betweene the morter and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwage, carrying from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the severall countries doo yeeld: through which means, and besides common amitie conserved, traffike is maintaine, and the necessitie of each partie abundantlie re-lec'ted.

It containeth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrees, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie observ'd the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas some in setting dowlie of these two lines, have seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembering the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to have their severall courses: for my part I haue thought good to proced somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best nard's each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possibly bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of Latitdue, I product Caerlile and Newcastle vpon Time, (whose longest day consisteth of sixtenee hours, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwick, Sheffield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certaine standing and situation of our Iland.

Touching
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

Touching the length and breadth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Horse or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 600. Wherby Polydore and other doe gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Caesar dooth set downe, except there be some difference betweene the Romane and British miles, as there is indeed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

Martianus writing of the breadth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compass. Tobius also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he complaineth short of their account by 120. miles. In like manner Dion in Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narrowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to containe 7000. furlongs, the second; to wit, to Carione ad Promontorium 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be above 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which nevertheless must be measured by a right line, for otherwise we see not how the said division can hold.

The forme and fashion of this lce is threecornered, as some have deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in manner of a promonterie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morveryd, which is not above 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actual trauell dooth confirme.

The old writers giue vnto the three principal corners, crags, points, and promontories of this lland, three severall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Helles, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antuesteum, Ocinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leave this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in manner ignorant, I meene for the most part; because I have no sound author that dooth leade mee to their knowledge.

Furthermore, the shortest and most usuall cut that we haue out of our lland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) unto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300. miles from Rome, in old time called Petresa and Scalas, though some like better, of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not above thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our coutrie out of France and divers other realmes, so it hath not bene vnowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two haunes for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then divers of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more to the west, or betweene Hilde and Lid; to wit, Romneic marsh, (which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to avoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrow seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth neere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, divers other writers, which being converted into English miles, doe yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the nearest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, dooth certeinlie appeare to be much lesse than the common maps of our coutrie haue hitherto set downe.
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITANIE.

OF THE ANCIENT NAMES OR DENOMINATIONS OF THIS ISLAND.

CAP. III.

IN the diligent perusal of their treatises, who have written of the state of this our Island, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcel of the Celtike kingdom, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonsne of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothes. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeavoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the some of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Mariotien (because his dominions lie among the islands of the Mediterrian sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds nere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Jupiter dwelled on the high hils nereer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countre, and plentifulnesse of soile there, made a voyages outer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after ye he inundat the same by force of armes, brought it to his subjection in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and findlie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vnter forgetfulness. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeares and nine pricess, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeare.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same ab Obijs, or as he wrested it, ab Albijs gallis. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gothadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Britheania, or Britania, tanquam libera Dania, as another also dooth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Brema signifieth soyle or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse doo often straie, because they wont not whither they goe: euon so doo these men, whilst they secke to extenuate the certeinite of our histories, and bring vs altogether to uncerteinites & their coinuctes. They in like manner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, vnde Walli nisi a Gallis, or from some Spanish colonie, doo greatlie bewraie their overights; but most of all they erre that endeavoure to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Dioclesian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our histories, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogether imperient. Wherefore you shall understand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of navigation (as navigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as traueeled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to sail in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to maile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of maile (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arrived in this Iland, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or atike regions, doo not maile their ships with iron, which they ytterly want, but with woodne pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with bast ropes, osiers, rinds of trces, or twigs of
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITANE.

of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, and one is very deceitful & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neverthelesse are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime used in our Britaine, and covered with leather even in the time of Plinie, lib. 7, cap. 56. as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I just occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurusotes, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with his first battell on the water that I ever read of, and upon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was overcame by his power, & his nauie either drown'd or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

But to proceed, when the said Albion had govern'd here in this countrie by the space of seaven years, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celts to go ouer into Italie, and upon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not unworthy to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus King of the Celts, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Osiris his grandfather had placed over the Janigeses) did exercise great tyrannie, not onlie over his owne kingdom, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intolerable maner. Moreover he was not a little encouraged in these his doynings by Neptune his father, who thristed greatly to leave his xxxiii. sonses settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceived this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoever, it would not be long yet they did by some meanes or other, not onlie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselves and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforesaid Osiris, onlie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Laabin, Libun, or Libins, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdoms, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other overcame the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spaine, and understanding that Lestrigo and his sonses did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdom of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also married his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I have spoken more at large.

In the meanes time Albion understanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigne as supreme lord and governour) they joined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arrived there, it was not long yet they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betwixt them, in which Hercules and his men were like to have losst the day, for that they were in manner weared with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Hereupon Hercules perceiving the courages of his souldiers somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present overthowe at hand, it came suddeniely into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than heartenckd vnto and put in execution, whereby they so prevaile in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enemies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliverr'd from an usurper (that daile incroched vpon him, building sundrie cityes and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdom on that side) and Lestrigo greatly weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this invention of Hercules I inke sort it

commeth,
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

commeth, that Jupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Osiris) is feigned to throw downe stones from heaven vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should have descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slainet, yet the name that he gaue unto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arruing here in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his soueraigntie over the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be Britanniarum insula maxima, that is, The greatest of those Iles that bear the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vterlie denied that this Iland tooke his name of Brute, doo affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vbius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, Ob immensa auluentiam totius delittre atque vbertatis, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Britania.) All which opinions as I absoluelie denye not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historic carrieth me withall vnto the former judgements. And for the same cause I reject them also, which derive the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Tector (or Prutus or Prytus the some of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Crete daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to raish and make his one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfrid, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I have made a more large rehearsal.

It is altogether impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument scene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Harland or Harcland in the West countrie (called Promontorium Herculis in old time) diers of our British antiquaries doo gather great likelihod that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some have beene elsewhere, among the Celis framed, & those like an old cripale with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the hairie of his head all to be matted like that of the Irsinmyn, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chains) is but smallie available, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well seme so to have beene, because that before the generall flood of Noah, we doo not read of Ilands, more than of hills and vallyes. Wherfore as Wilden Argus also noteth in his philosophic and tractation of meteors, it is very likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the flood, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would never have asked how such creatures as lived in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke. De c inn. lib. 16. cap. 7. howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the specefic and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited shortly after the division of the earth. For I read that when each captiue and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they never ceased to travell and search out the vterror parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had scene and vwed their limis, euon vnto the verie pole. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination
denomination of our land, which was knowne vnto most of the Greeks for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saye the truth, even vnto Alexanders daisies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his De mundo, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brute, as I have said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred years before.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeavoured, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valantia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this devise tooke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue forth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angel-landt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I have to say, touching the seuerall names of this land, vterlie misliking in the meane season their devises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, because his ancestours descended from the Angles one of the sixe nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of divers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended under the name of Saxons, because of Hengist the Saxon and his company that first arrived here before anie of the other) and therto having now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole land, called the same after the name of the coutrie from whence he derived his original, neither Hengist, nor anie Queene named Angla, neither whatsoever deriuation ab Angulo, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

WHAT SUNDRIE NATIONS HAVE DWELLED IN ALBION.

GAP. IV.

AS few or no nations can justlie boast themselves to have continued sithence their coutrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forceine inhabitants; no more can this our land, whose manifold commodities have oft allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subjection. Manie sorts of people therofore haue come in hither and settled themselues here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the lineage and posterity of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in processe of time, and after they had indifferently replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was done in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable senitude and most extreme thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than sixe hundred and two yeares, came Brute the sonne of Sylvius with a great traine of the posterity of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before unto the seed of Japhet, brought them also whole vnder his rule and govenance, and dispossessing the people & inferior owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the coutrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriall here had led out of Grecia with him.

From henceforth I doo not find any sound report of other nation whatsoever, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and after the state of the land, vntill the Romane emperours subdued it to their dominion, saving of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgique) who first comming ouer to rob and piller vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselves for altogether neere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they named.
named after those of the maine, from whence they came into vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also elsewhere, as in his second booke a little after the beginning: for speaking of Deucticus king of the Sweysians living in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subjection the lle of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were daile pestered, almost in every steed. For as they planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests: so their armies did commonly consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then living in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, because they did all beare the title of Romans, to retaine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious living, all riot and excesse of behaviour into our countrey, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions; for there was no province vnder them from whence they had not seruitors.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, should arrive here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come into vs out of Sarmatic, or from further northward to the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scottish histories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet to saie freelie what I thinke I judge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to have continued here so long as they themselves pretend, if my conceiucture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots adventured to settle themselves also in Britaine; so the Scots did often adventure hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Meats or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselves in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they used commonly to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cesar's time. For both Diodorus lib. 6. and Strabo lib. 4. doo seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were givin to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort dooth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cesar, as appeareth in his panegyrical oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controverse dooth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I maruell much wheile they travell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotts for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speakheth Aduersus Iouinianum, lib. 2. who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the lle of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland even in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scotti by the Romans, because their land & original inhabitation thereof were unknowne, and they themselves an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whasoever Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrary of their latter entrance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshankes and Pictones) that they were settled in this lle long before the time of Seuorius, yea of Cesar, and comming of the Scots. Which is soffe proofe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controverse
Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britanos,

And to paint the images and portraiture of beasts, fish and foules over the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Bascauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Semothes and Albion, haue some like likec limitation; and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Caesar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemings, (who had the Rosse in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrey.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arrivial is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine In tenebris. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperor, drave the Scots out of Britaine, and compell’d them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie divided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they cruasing the peace, yielded to subscribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronouncing enimies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their provinces here in England.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they daille practised vpon our coasts (after they had once begun to adventure themselves also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they never durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serve him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs whole to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnnder Hengist in three bottomes or keeles, and in short time espiei the idle and negligent behaviour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Here-pon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wives and children into this region, so that within a while these new comings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the leastwise the greatest part of our countrey; the Britons in the meane season being druen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogether out of the Iland to seeke new habitation.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succeeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lese plagued the one than the other, their frendes than their adversaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselves also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their success, that they prospered not long in their deuise: for so great was their lordinesse, crueltie, and in-

satile
satisfied desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chast matrons, and young virgins (whose husbands and parents were dailie enforce to become their drudges and slaves, whilst they sat at home and fed like drone bees of the sweet of theirruvell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs liberty as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue momed vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull lives, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I mean the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthwhile doubted, whether they were more hard and cruel to our countrines than the Danes, or more haue and intolerable to our Iland than the Saxens or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, because the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: nevertheless, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-rije, because that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Ost-rije, which is called the East region, as Newstria is the West: for Rijc in the old Schitian toong dooth signify a region or kingdom, as in Franc-rije, or Franc-reich, Westsaxon-reich, Ost saxon-reich, Sv-rije, Angel-rije, &c, is else to be scene. But howsoever this falleth out, these Normans or Danish French, were dedle adversaries to the English Saxons, first by mean of a quarrell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arrived in this land to visit him, & their freends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that ouer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentleman and Ladies with hir into England.

Afterhir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose prefferent so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outrageous demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogether in the favour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English preest then living in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Nevertheless, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and boisting, Robert the Archbishop being the cheefe instrument of their practise, that he beleued them, and thereupon vexed sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwijn of Kent was the cheefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fwe of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and soone after returning with his said sonnes, they invaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to joine with him in battell, it vterlie refused so to doo: affirming plainelie, that it should be mere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the revenge of Frenchmens quarrel: which answer entred so deplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate. By this means therefore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his injurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saved a killing. Certes he was the first that ouer tendered complaint out of England into Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward renouked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie,
Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselves, expecting a better time. And this is the true historic of the original cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Dover, because of their insolent demeanour there showed, their haris never ceased to boil with a desire of revenge that brake out into a flame, so soon as their Robert possessed the principality, which being once obtained, and to set his mischiefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certein Kentish lands, and controversie kindled, whether he or the Earle should have most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogether false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplain to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of John Stow my vere frend, wherein he saith thus, "Alfredus incutit agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur." He addeth moreover, that giving out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recover his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would have yielded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whom Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the fame onelie of this report brought vnto his cares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Queene restored to his favour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing him but one onlie maid to wait upon him) and the land reduced to his former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, rememberd still their quarrell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obtained, they were so cruelie bent to our utter subversion and overthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproach to be accounted a slave than an Englishman, or a drudge in amie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peer; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brawerie, who should give the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfy their greedy humors. Yet such was our lot in those days by the divine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer us, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vetterlie taken from us, and our arms made so weak and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the cimnie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, because we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so favourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the British and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villagges, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behaviour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrees of English and British were made slaves and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie bene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the natural homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driven into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vetterlie to have bene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surmounted the samt, in his time, after greuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latele made Earle of Oxenford, sonne to Goodwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to joine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not have bene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must needs have sustained the vettermost
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virtuous confusion, and thereby the memory of the Britons vitricie have perished among vs.

Thus we see how England hath six times beene subject to the reproach of conquest. And whereas the Scots scene to challenge manie famous victories also ouer us, beside greuous impositions, tributs, & dishonorable compositions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in this as in the most part of their historic, which is to seek great honor by lying, & great renowne by prating and cracking. Indeed they have done great mischeefe in this land, & with extreme cruellie; but as for any conquest the first is yet to heare of. Divers other conquests also have beene pretended by sundrie princes since the conquest, onely to the end that all pristinate lawes and tenures of possession might cease, and they make a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it tooke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who nevertheless was at the last though hardlie drawn from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Justice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but yet without effect. And the last of all by Q. Marie, as some of the papists gave out, and also would have had his to have obtained, but God also tainting their malices, and his challenge. But beside the six afore mentioned, Huntington the old historiographer speaketh of a seventh, likelie (as he saith) to come one date out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the historic of S. Albons, and aforesaid author which lieth on the left side of the librarie belonging how to Paulus: for I regard no prophesys as one that doubteth from what spirit they do proceed, or who should be the author of them.

WHETHER IT BE LIKELIE THAT ANY GIANTS WERE, AND WHETHER THEY INHABITED IN THIS ILE OR NOT.

CAP. V.

BESIDES these aforesaid nations, which hane crept (as you have heard) into our Iland, we read of sundrie giants that should inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogether incredible, sith the posterities of divers princes were called by the name: so vnto some mens eares it seemeth so strange a rehearsall, that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of our whole historic, & reject it as a fable, unworthy to be read. They also condemn the like in all other histories, especiallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Stacater, Hartben, Angrine, Arurenode, &c: of whom Saxo, Johannes Magnus and Olaus doo make mention, & whose bones doo yet remaine to be seene as rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horsse, or an ox, & cast it on their shoulders (wherein their verie women have beene likewise knowne to come neere vnto them) and of the race of those men, some were scence of no lesse strength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liut, and wrote the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet living, and may live long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherefore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants. For this cause therefore I haue now taken vpon me to make this briefe discourse insuing, as imdevouring therby to procure, that the opinion of giants is not altogether grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the ears of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there have beene such men in deed, as for their hugenesse of person, haue resembled rather high towers than mortall men, although
their posterities are now consumed, and their monstrous races vitterlie worne out of knowledge.

I do not mean herein to dispute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was given unto them, rather for their tymnic and oppression of the people, than for their greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would have it (for he denieth that ever men were greater than at this present) or because their parents were not knowne, for such in old time were called Terrae filij; or whether the word Gigas dooth onlie signifie Indigenas, or homeings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantities in stature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet absolutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable reasons may be brought for ech of them, but especiallie the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth upon the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength and manhood, and yet doo not give the same name vnto them, because their quarels were lust, and commonlie taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Anteus, whose wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature & stomach. Such also was the courage of Anteus, that being often overcomen, and as it were vitterlie vanquished by the said Hercules, yet if he did easie returne againe into his kingdom, he forthwith recovered his force, returned and held Hercules tewe, till he gat at the last betwene him and home, so cutting off the farther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing finallie his adversarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus:

Incaluere animis dura certae palestra,

Neptuni quondam filius atque louis:

Non certamen crant operoso ex aere lebetes,

Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:

Occidit Anteus loque natum viuere fas est,

Estq; magistra Pales Gracia, non Lybia.

The like doo our histories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuilke in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poetically licence doo not take place in his report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer to speake any more of them. And whereas also I might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first set downe by manie circumstances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of such huge and incredible stature as the authours doo remember, and finallie whether any of them haue beene in this our Iland or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deal in any such maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue beene such mightie men of stature, and some of them also in Britaine, which I will set downe onlie by sundrie examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other been altogether without them. First of all therfore, & to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them such notable examples set downe, as I haue oberserved in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient profe of my position. Neuerthelessse, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Divine, and finallie of the insidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his caulislations.

Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the flood, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde wrieth, that neere vnto Libanus there was a cite called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugenesse of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father
to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was derived from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zammumins, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israel confessed themselues to be but grasshoppers. Which is one noble testimony that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be overcome by the Israelits, & whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) containing 9. cubits in length, and 4. in breith, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as these were whereof the Arke was made, as our Diumines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, hom. 2. in Gen. out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to have no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes dooth varié & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to proseue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficiently answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12. Ambros. &c. and Johannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliath a Philistinian, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maille was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that mettall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand breith. All which doe import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indevououring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his utmost power, dooth neuerthelesse earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliath: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. Par. 40. was nothing inferior to the first: the third hight also Goliath, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weavers loome, neuerthelesse he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Icabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Jonathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Whereby it is evident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the flood, nor vnterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expozitors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath revealed, onlie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to have some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simple as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian Lib. 2. de resurrect. saith; S. Augustin noteoth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, whereof he tooke good aduision, and pronounced in the end that it would
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would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof also dooth John Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, sayeng that in the cause of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he gesseth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discovered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being converted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and four ounces, after twelve ounces to the pound, that is 92. ounces euerie tooth.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to contenine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians judged his bodie to be about 200. cubits. Those teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrary) to be scene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatness, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to late the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatness they were so afraid, that they ranne aweie, and made an outcry in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone into a foughten field, and 500. of them enteringe into the caue, they forthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sae as if he had been alive, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betwene his hand and the ground, whose hollowesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his armes that it should not fall in piecées: nevertheless, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be scene of such as will hardlie beleue these reports.

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somewhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betwene Bruxelles and Machlin. As though there were anie precise resemblence betwene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer bene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another body was found vpon the shore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staieth his judgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it contenied twenty foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shore (where the beating of the sea had washed aweie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp it contenied 30. foot in measure, as our histories doo report. The like was scene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of Little John (per Antiphasin) being also 14. foot in length, as divers doo affirme which haue beholden the same, and whereof Hector Boetius dooth saie, that he did put his whole arm into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembered.

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliolus the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Geruasius Tilberiensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Isoreum, in the suburbs of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twice foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture bene beheaded for some notable trespass committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time.
shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man married Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alexius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being above eleven yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside him he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Justine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuertheless almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of her time.

A carcase was taken vp at Luie church neere Salisburie but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourteenth foot long, in Dictionario Eliotae.

In Gillesland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Moore, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatness. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapter of our hands.

Richard Gratton in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinbone contained six foot, and thereto his scull so great that it was able to receive fine pecks of wheat. Wherefore by conjecturall symmetric of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligently measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place unto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like orerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheless, this symmetric is not taken by other than the well proportioned face, for Recta, orbiculata (or fornicata) prona, resupinata, and lacunata (or repandata) doe so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, tro the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the use of the word face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called Vertex, because the laire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truely taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easlie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ankle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third joint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which observations I willingly remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in cereeine & exact manner. As for the rest of the bones, joints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, sith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finallie the carcase of William Conqueror was scene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Canne, twelve inches longer, by the judgment of such as saw it, then anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note together, because they proceed from christian writers, from whom nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

In our times also, and whilst Francis the first reigned over France, there was a man scene in Aquitaine, whom the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose heigth was such, that a man of common heigth might easlie go under his twist without stooping, a stature incre'd. Moreover Casanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Brit an giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose scull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & whereunto the report of Joan Marius made in his booke De Galliarum illustrationibus,
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...tionibus, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the scull to the sole of the feet, dooth yeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries De Biturigibus, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1566. & so dooth Baptista Fulgoeus, lib. 1. cap. 6. saing farther, that his grave was scene not farre from Valencia, and discouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Casanion in line sort speketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, it eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not reserued by the verie providence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these relizes understand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somewhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be scene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also is to be scene in Aldermanerie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetric hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is fixt in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somersat did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones have I scene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I took no great heed, because I minded not as then to have had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is delivered out of the christian authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I have read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowne and praise, they doo procure vnto themselves in the end nothing else but meere contempt and infame. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doo scene almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie oxe his bundle.

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the streights of Maroco, to wit, at Tungi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antinous, afo remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleue it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his soldiery to cast downe the hill made sometime over the tombe, and finding the bodye in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifeste to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accomplat of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausianus reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Ajax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adjudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius sometime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruells then the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingraven in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

Philostrate in Heroicus saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Lucius in the seuenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight
fight with him, whose stature was not much inferior to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whom Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was sixe common cubits of stature, which make but five of the kings standard, because this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Caracas, of which the first two liuing under Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later under Claudius of full nine, and all remembered by Plinie; of Eleazar a Jew, of whom Josephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigh five cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus makes mention lib. 12. cap. 18. Hist. eccles. of fuce cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, because Casanion of Mutterell hath alreadie sufficiently discoursed upon these examples in his De gigantibus, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his Gigantomachia, supposed himselfe to have killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Jupiter Alterum carcase Herculenius, as the said Casanion dooth merlie charge and vpbrad him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discovered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Etion. Neuerthelesse I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare Per sua capita, that it was either the carcasse of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleece the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantastical imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inchcs, and two reserved In conditio Sallustianorum halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that any man was driven to sweare.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certene Iand in the daies of an emporer, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from half a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Grecke were found withall,

Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula
Vite peractis annis mille quinque:

which amounteth to 81. yeres foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emporer, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, containing 20. foot in length, and haung a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in Perigesi, telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to diche in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graves were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certene carcases were found, whose ribs contained 16. eis, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were judged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rouing symmetricalians affirme.

Arrianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asianes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of five cubits, and such was the heigh of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaces a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigh was within 4. fingers bredth of five cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. lib. 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembret I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I deo read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius the emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which eoch tooth (taken one with another) contained 12. inches ouer at the least.
least. Now forsomuch as in such be full mouthed, e'ch chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vpnto 32. in the whole, needs must the widenessse of this mans chaps be weltheree of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fuce at the least. A large mouth in mine opinion, and not to cat peason with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receive the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcasse was thus found, euery man maruelled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperor also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vpnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gauie it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcasse of light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appiered rather an huge colossie than the true carcasse of a man, and when it had stood in Rome vntill the people were weare & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peaces, and the tooth sent againe to the carcasse frō whence it came, willing them moreover to couer it diligently, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thencefoorth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. lib. 8. telleth in like maner of Hipplodanu & his fellows, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osysri by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammom hir first husband, whist she remained vpon the Theoumasian hill, "In ipso loco," saith he, "spectantur ossa maior a multo quam vt humana existimari possunt, &c." Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in stead of all his ribs on e'ch side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Octas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in breadh, which are taken for so many cubits, because there is small difference between tres mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to bære an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue scene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let an axe for the none,
Therewith to cleave the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steelle,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That liken axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be scene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. I haue scene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heighth than either of these and living of late yeares, but these here rememberd shall suffiice to proue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil),

(Qualia nunc hominum product corpora tellus)

A mouth of six-teen inches wide

A counterfeitt
made of a mon-sterous carcasse
by one tooth taken out of the head.

This man was
more favorable
to this monsterto
than our papists
were to the bodi-es of the dead
who bare them
in peaces to
make money of them.

Grandissime ef-
Fossis mirabilis
ossa sepulchris.

Vis nona for-
tior est eadem
dispersa.
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Cap. 9, 26.

were not able to stir and remove out of the place; but I pass it over, and divers of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordained and created by God: first for a testimonie unto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenies of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicite, sith they which possessed the same, were not onlie tyrants, doltish, & cull men, but also oftentimes overcome even by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were such inded as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieing of the prophet Baruch; "Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statuura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam discipline dedit, propere perierunt, et quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propert suam insipientiam, &c." that is, "There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the wate of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroyed, because they had no wisedome, and perished through their owne foolishnesse." That the bodies of men also doo dailie decrease in stature, beside Plutie lib. 7. Esdias likewise confesseth lib. 4. cap. 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plutie, who doo affirm so much, whereas Gorapius still continuing his woomed peritamia also in this behalfe, maketh his proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in these dates be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seeane, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also have beholde, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much woonder at the like as we doo at these, because they were seldome scene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THIS ISLAND.

CAP. VI.

WHAT language came first with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certeine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinity one with another, so that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as either nation with small helpe of interpreters might understand other, and readilie discernie what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British toong resembled the same, which was spoken in Greece before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men doo spake without authoritie and therefore I reject them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did spake Greeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepcted they might not understand them, or why did he not understand the Galles, he being so skiltfull in the language without an interpreter? Yet I denie not but that the Celishe and British speaches might have great affinity one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both doo appeare by certenie words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsee, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias spakeeth, for both. Atheneus also writeth of Bathamnus a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is in grece Britishe, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie judge. And wherhe he saith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their first dwelling about lsther, and afterward divided themselves in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inhabited within the dominion of Tyrrell Brenni, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Scordisci in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be divided? Hereby then,
and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitie one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likeness of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus in vita Agricole, in like sortplainly affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which invaded Italie and Greece were meere Britons, of whose likenesse of speech with the Græke toong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denye it. Appianus talking of the Brenni calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their own language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of cuerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three wais whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the refilkes of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speche of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture associat in this voyaige, or mixed byinuasion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers doe remembre. This also is evident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth In vita Marij) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therefore I beleue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane even to the uttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were daillie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Daui for Daci, Geante for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearssall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remem bered by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

The Britsh toong called Camberae dooth yet remaine in that part of the land, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driven after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pristinate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, many poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betweene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men have bene most slacke and negligent. Giraldis in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Græke or Latine. Which being rightly understanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betwene the Celts & the British toongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to have some sauour of the Græke. But how sooner that matter standeth, after the British speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could never be ex tinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

Petigrées and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne toong, so much that manie of them can readilie derive the same, either from Brute or some of his band, even vnto Æneas and other of the Treians, and so forth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be gien vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confess that their ancient Bards were very diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did very solemnlie preserve the catalogues of their descents, thereby to shew themselves of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest Ponticæ longo
Sanguine conscri? aut quid anorum ducere turmas? &c.

Next
Next vnto the British speach, the Latine toong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French, was after by the Normans. Of this toong I will not say much, because there are fewe which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruered the names of the ancient rivers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old British denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vn Certaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borrowed from the Romans, that all our daies, evidences, charts, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine toong, though now verie barbarous, and thereunto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonae, as they doo the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God war, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be aduouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and flourues of eloquence, than hath our English toong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, because the most of our words (as they doo inded) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, derived from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er olde inserted, as Scriuenere, wrightere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other re-likes of that speach, neuer to be abolished.

After the Saxon toong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a longe time. Our children also were by an especiall decree taught first to speake the same, and thereunto inforced to leere their constructions in the French, whencesoever they were set to the Grammar schoole. In like sort fewe bishops, abbats, or other clerge men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vs the English toong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contemt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie tooke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euene the verie carteres began to wax weariye of there mother toong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no manuell, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie because he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to exile the English and British speach out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recover and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, tooles and words of art recitie still their French denominations even to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vnill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornament of the same, to their great praise and immortal commendation; although not a few other doo greatlie sticke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall terms of
of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencye of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and judgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a manie language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebreue, Greke & Latine, and speake it naturalie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other means, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that suatoreth of English trule. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, dooth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest dooth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger doo hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is worse there-in than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture haltceth not a little also in his owne, as I haue scene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue justifie maruell'd.

The Cornish and Devonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Corniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deéed more affinitie with the Armorican toong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of Brittish, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them doo mete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to understand one an other, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpreteres. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh toong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland dooth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadie.

The Scottish englishe hath beeene much broader and lesse pleasant in vterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselves did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come neere, if not altogether to match our toong in finenesse of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocripha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and containing sixe books, except my memorie doo falle me.

Thus wee see how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue three severall toonges, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and even so manie are in Scotland, if you accipt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I mean one of the sole of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels over their saffron shirres after the Irish manner) doe inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their original to haue in times past beeene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapter precedent, and wherewith Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani dooth yeeld his assent, saing that Ireland was in times past called Scotia; "Scota eadem (saith he) & Hibernia, proxima Britanniae insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ facundior; Scotia autem a Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c." Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled Origine, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, wheroef in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Bri-
taine as doo abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogether in use, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those islands so long under their subjection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Irelend, because that the very soile of them is enemie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had never any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much have I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fine languages now usuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

INTO HOW MANIE KINGDOMS THIS ILAND HATH BEENE DIVIDED.

CAP. VII.

It is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntil ciuill discord, grounded vp6 ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be governed by diverse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. However, as it is vncteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntil the time of Caesar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who governed it by Legats after the maner of a province. It should seeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that usurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselves) each great cite had hir freedome and severall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which owgt homage and all subiection vnto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of those regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, tooke his name of some one of these cities; although Ciuitas after Caesar doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time Tot ciuitates quot regna, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was so called of Trinobantum the chiefe cite of that portion, whose territories contenied all Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herftordshire, even as the jurisdiction of the bishop of London is now extended, for the oversight of such things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the govnors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and thereunto either of them daile made warre vpon other, for the enlarging of their limits. But for so much as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned over their severall portions, I will passe over these ancient times, and come nuerer vnto our owne, I mean the 600. yeere of Christ, whereof we have more certaine notice, & at which season there is evident proove, that there were twelve or thirteene kings reigning in this Iland.

We find therefore for the first, how that Wales had hir three severall kingdomes, which being accompted togither contained (as Giraldus saith) 49. cantres or cantons (whereof three were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in those daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breth, and was cut from Lhuges by the rivers Sauerne and Dee, of which two streams this dooth fall into the Irish sea at Westchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somersetshire and Southwales, as their seuerall courses shall witness more at large.

In the beginning it was diuided into two kingdome onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedd (otherwise called Deheubarth) and Denetia, for which we now use most commonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a short proccesse of time a third sprung vp in the verie middest betweene them both, which from thence-forthe was called Powysy, as shallbe shewed hereafter. For Roderic the great, who flourished 850. of Christ, and was king
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king of all Wales (which then contained onlie six regions) leaving threee sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the countrie into threee portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwync or Morwinnor had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadell Demetia or Southwales, and Anafrt Povisy, as Giraldus and other doo remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, Cadell suruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselves within the compass of Demetia, which (as I said) contained 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Povisy did six, and Gwynhedh fourtie, except my memorie doo faile me.

The first of these three, being called (as I said) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius saith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales also into threee regions, of which he calleth the first Dumbera, the second Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie over against the Ile of Anglesei, the chiefe cite whereof stood in the Ile of Anglesei and was called Aberfraw. It conteined 4. regions, of which the said Iand is the first, and whereof in the chapter insuing I will intreate more at large. The second is called Arfon, and sittuate betwene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conway. The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conway, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradeluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuers Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also even vnto the Dee it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kynghode of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion.

The kynghode of Povisy, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side Gwynhedh, on the east (from Chester to Hereford, or rather to Deane forest) England, on the south and west the riuers Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notable seuered from Southwales, the chiefe cite thereof being at the first Salopsburg, in old time Pengwerner, and Ynwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a cite or towne raised out of the ruines of Vricouin, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekencester and Wrokecester, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with meere English, and where in old time the kings of Povisy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen draine them from thence to Matrawell in the same province, where they from thenceforth abode. Vpon the limits of this kynghode, and not far from Holt castell, vpon eche side of the riuers, as the channell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of Bangor, whilst the abated glorye of the Britons yet remained vnextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to maintaine themselves, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Nailor or Mailrosse, the other reteined still his old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

As touching Mailrosse, I read moreouer in the gests of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William sonne to a certeine ladie sister to Paine Peuerell, the first lord of Whittington, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of Ellesmore from the Welshmen, in which enterprise he was so desparatie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild boar, he got an appetite and recovered his health. This William had issue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refused mariage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowess. Hereupon his father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoever Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie Mellent his daughter, & have with hir his castell of Whittington with sufficient lusielie to mainitaine their estates for euer. This report being spred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a shield of siluer and pceocke for his crest, wheresoever he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings sonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir he had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this
Mellent was the daughter sometime of one of the lord Rosses, called Kudall, who bare such good will to Fitz-Henric clarke of his fathers kitchen, that she made him carie his awaie on horsebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & over taken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilst he killed and drave his fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till his father conceiving a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his favour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the wale) of Mailrosse, whereof this may suffice, sith mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to shew how those regions lie, which sometime were knowne to be governed in that countrie. The third kingdom is Demetia, or Southwales, sometime knowne for the region of the Sylures, whereunto I also am persuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region even vnto the Sauerne: but howsoever that matter falleth out, Demetia, hath the Sauerne on her south, the Irish sea on her west parts, on the east the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powisy, whereof I spake of late.

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through forren and chull invasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constraine to renooue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantemawr, and situate neverthelesse vpon the same ruder Tewy, whereon Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hills, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and depee marises. In this region also lieth Pembroke alia Penmoroc shire, whose fawcons haue bëene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Milford hauen, whereof the Welsh wisards doe yet drame strange toies, which they beleue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much gien to fortelling of things to come, but more to beleue such blind prophesies as haue bëene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie.

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, (besides that of the Orchades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Pighthland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denye. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scottish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, eche of them being seuered from other, either by huge hills or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betweene them. It seemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Tweede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but proced in order with the rehersall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so nöere as I can, for otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their severall portions.

The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it seifie no farther than the said countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Doroberia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) so it indued well nöere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earldome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lambert in his historie of Kent dooth gather, by verie probable conceiurtes, that this part of the Iland was first inhabited by Sanrothes, and afterward by Albion. But howsoever that case standeth, sure it is that it hath been the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Cesar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eighteeth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confesseth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelve daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) so that he did not tarrie at that time above.
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above eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought over into vs, whereby we became partakers of salvation, and from the darkenesse of mistie errour, true conversion into the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall benefit and everlasting comforts.

The second kingdome conteineth oneile Sussex, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ely the Saxon first held: who also erected his chiefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroyed Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 332. years, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it contained little above 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or West-saxons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Sussex pretended and made clame to all that which laye west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Corinwal, as I have often read.

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Tribonantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whose chiefe seat was in London (or rather Colchester) and conteineth whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herfordshire. It indured also much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was divided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riere Stoure, as Houdden and others doo report, & so it continueth separateth from Suffolk even vnto our times, although the said riere be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath bee in times past, by reason that our countriemen make small accoempt of rieres, thinking carriage made by horsse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceived, I will else-where make manifest declaration.

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, because it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Sussex in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdige, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Glocestershire, some part of Devonshire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornwall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors doo set downe. At the first it conteineth oneile Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, and Barkeshire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoever the kings of Sussex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornwall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chiefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the moonke came into England, the said Kinigils gave him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall sea, by meenes whereof he himselfe removed his palace to Winchester.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumber-land, because it laie by north of the riere Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie garrowed by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida converted it into a kingdome. It contained all that region which (as it should seeme) was in time past either whole appertaining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Brigants did possesse the greater part. The chiefe citie of the same in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraus, Leyland, and others doo set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scottish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfrid of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gan hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meenes of the vter destruction of the Picts, hath not bee since in possession vnto the crowne of England, nor in possession of the meere English, as before time it had beeene. Such was the crueltie of these Picts also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certaine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euery English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saue themselves by flight.

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 500. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yeelded vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tyme vnto his brother Ely (according to
their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but receiving the rest still unto his owne use, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. However after 91. years, it was reunited againe, and so continued untiill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

The seuenth kingdome, called of the East-Angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Olfa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offings. This included all Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Litle, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of libertie, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the soveraigne thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it very sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons united it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantecester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruins) was the chefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolute the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeeld to their assertions, I mean it of Ieland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chiefeles in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resoluted that he doth judge aright.

The 8. & last was that of Mercia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Merc or the Saxon word, because it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abuted vpon the same) or else for that the laws of Mercia the Queene were first vned in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a meere conjecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creeda, in the 583. of Christ, & indured wele noch 300. yeares before it was united to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cenulph an idiot in the same; but as he was soone rejectted for his folly, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mercian dominions included Lincoln, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worceste, Bathford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Glocester, Hereford (alias Hurchford) Warwicke and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreover, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mercia, whereof this late beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did give to Wcada the some of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthy to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelve princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswin and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigeberth, Ethelberth, Edmund, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Keneme and Wistan in Mercia; and Saint Edward the confessor, over all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the judgement of the learned. Thus much have I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the division of this Iland also into provinces, as the Romanes seuered it whyle they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I have discharged whatsoever is promised in the title of this chapter.

The Romans therefore hauing obtained the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into five provinces, as Vilibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and contained the east part of England (as some doo gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valuentia or Valentiniana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpoole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which lay southwards, betweene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flavia Caesarisenisa, and contained all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane by south of the Thames, and whereto (in like sort)
sort) Cornwall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cresriensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the greedic Romanes, because of the great plente of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingenderd and to be had in the same, for furniture of houshold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who lied in the daies of Valentine, and wrote Notitiam prouinciarum now extant to be read.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samothes unto the birth of our sauiour Christ, or rather the comings of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their severall kindomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth contained in our Histories.

OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN, FROM SAMOTHE TO BRUTE.


Corceli his daughter. Cunedach and Morgan. Ruallone. Gurgastius. Sisillius. Iago. Kinnmachine. Gerboadus. Porres and Porrex. These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land strane for the superiortie and regimen of the same, by the space of 50. yeares (after the race of Brute was decayed) until Dunwallon king of Cornwell subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subjection, notwithstanding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as vawals & inferiours to him, he being their cheefe and onclie soveraigne.


THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

WALE.

1. The Romans not regarding the government of this land, the Britons ordaine a king in the 447, after the incarnation of Christ. Voriger, Vortimer, Aurelius Ambrosius, Cadwalla. Cadwallader.

KENT.

2. Hengist in the 9, of the reconce of Britaine proclameth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 450. of the birth of our Lord & savior Jesus Christ. Hengist. Osca his brother.


As the kingdome of Wales was voided unto that of the West saxons by Inas. Who is so the kingdome of Kent, at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who puteth out Aldred and maketh Adelstone his owne base sonne. Herroth of the same. So that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Herodiche or Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

SOUTHSEX.


WESTSEX.


ESTSEX.


In the year 3 after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the West saxons united the kingdome of Estsex unto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our savior Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogether, as I have done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

BERNICIA.

6. Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our savior Christ.

OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION VSED IN ALBION.

CAP. IX.

It is not to be doubted, but at the first, and so long as the posterity of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and published with his lawes in the second of his arruall, was exercised among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curiositie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlinesse) it might a little decarie, yet when it was at the woorst, it farre exceeded the best of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chem.
minites, as may be gathered by view of the superstitious rites, which Cham and his successors did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the sonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he also came to the kingdom, beside this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot easilie say, but that it should be naturall philosophic, and astrologie (whereby his discipules gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie use of the word Magus (or Magusacus) among the Persians dooth yeild no vncerteine testimonie.

In like maner, it should seeme that Sarron sonne vnto the said Magus, diligentlie followed the steps of his father, and thereto beside his owne practise of teaching, opened schooles of learning in sundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby such as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithstanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes still among the Grecians, as Aristotle in his De magia doeth confess; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth therevnto, that they first brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Græckes.

Druiyus the son of Sarron (as a scholer of his fathers owne teaching) seemed to be exquisit in all things, that pertained vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may safelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the skill of philosophie and the quadrivials, but also in the true Theologie, whereby the right service of God was kept and preserved in puritie. He wrote moreover sundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reserued verie religiouslie, and had in great estimation of such as sought vnto them.

How and in what order this prince left the state of religion, I meane touching publike orders in administration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I doo not read: howbeit this is most certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began somewhat to decarie. For such is mans nature, that it will not suffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or subtraction of this or that, to or from the same) so to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for such as doe come after them, than to find out the puritie of the original, and restore the same againe vnto the former perfection.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the soule of man is immortal, that God is omnipotent, mercurfull as a father in shewing fauer vnto the godlie, and just as an upright judge in punishing the wicked; that the secrets of mans hart are not unknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise have an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to observe the courses of the heavens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometrical demonstration, and thereto the compass of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;)

Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitantique receptæ.

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserved by his merits, whilst he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conuicied into an egle, of Ajax into a lion, of Atlas into a certaine wrestler, of Thersites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dyng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

Ipse ego námq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbusum & volucris, mutus quōq; in aqua piscis.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this error) if the soule appertained at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthi his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaine, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horse, ass, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it should peradventure sustaine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth. till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or revolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heavens, which never stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vseto cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased freinds, whereby they might understand of the estate of such as travelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscuits too write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new pare of shoos on his feet into the grave) and to the end that after their next death they should deal with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their severall sacrifices: they honoure likewise the oke, whereon the mistle growtheth, and dailie denised infinit other toies (for error is never assured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druius did leave them anie precription.

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laerius, Theophrastus, Aristotle, and partlie also by Caesar, Mela, Val. Max. lib. 2, and other authors of later time, who for the most part doo confesse, that the cheefe schoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, "Vt dedisse Persis videri possit," lib. 30. cap. 1, and whither the Druiydes also themselves, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure understanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some use of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plees and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnowne vnto vs, nor we to them, even from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betwene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more secureitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Gallia causidicos doceit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauour not so soone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authority in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Orchades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repairie, when sooner anie controvrsie among them in matters of religion did happen to be mooned. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it a pearseth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew

finalie
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...allie into custome, and after that a proverbe, even in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these west parts of Europe, yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, because they honoured hir preest (the Druiyses) as the Athenians did their Areopagites.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiysh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the preests of this profession, that there was little or nothing donee without their skillfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, pertaining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and private, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were newer without great numbers of young men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Touching their persons also they were exempt from all temporall services, impositions, tribute, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, & to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelve years, still learning the secrets of these un-written mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserve their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, wherevnto books are vnter enimines, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiys religion, would not let readlie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses together, and not to faile in one title, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting done of laws, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is ease to be seene, that they retaine this kind of writing from Druiys (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iand hath not beene void of letters and learned men, even sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparel, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifying nevertheless, that it was distinguished by sundrie deviseis from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoeuer were the Druiys weede, might walke where he would without any harme or annoyance. This honour was giuen also vnto the preests in Rome, insomuch that when Volusius was exiled by the Triumvirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the weede of a preest upon his backe, and begged his almes therein, even in the high waies as he travelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his adversaries: but to proceed with other things.

After the death of Druiys, Bardus his sonne, and first king of the Celts, succeeded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first devised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse indued with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musick, of which two many suppose him to be the verie author and beginner, although vnustie, sith both poetric and song were in vse before the flood, as also the harpe and pipe, which Iubal invented, and could never be performed without great skill in musick. But to proceed, as the cheefe estimation of the Druiyses remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the fame of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musicke, poetric, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first contenied onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion. There was little difference also betwene them and the Druiyses, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, droonken meetings, and abominable sacrifices of the idoles: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my tyme this fond vsage, and thereto the verie name,of the Bardes, are not yet extinguished among the Britons of Wales,
The Description of Britaine.

Where they call their poets and musicians Barthes, as they do also in Ireland: which Sulpijus also writing to Lucane remembrith, where he saith that the word Bardus is meerè Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans judging all nations beside themselves to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto misliking vterlie the rough musicke of the Bardis, entered so farre into the contemptuous moccage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their foole and idjots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable manner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their courageous singers and capteins that delited in musicke, Allbardos, Dagobardos, Rodtrbardos, & one lame musician Lambard above all other, of whose skilfull ditties Germanie is not unfurnished, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in steed of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shells such sonnes and ditties as either perete vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of ancestrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betwene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our sort, Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other like saiengs well toward the latter end;

Vos quòq; qui fortè animas, bellòq; peremptas
Lauabis in longum vates dimitissis seum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druiydæ, positis receptis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & cæli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis.
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe aërio. Longe canitis si cognita, vitae
Mors medius est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Felicies errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud virget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces.
Mortis: & ignaum est rediturae parceræ vitae.

Lucan. li. 1.

Thus we see as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good sooth I cannot say, yet this is most certeine, that after a time, when Albion arrived here, the religion cast imbraced fell into great decafe. For whereas Japhet & Samothes with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vterlie renouncing to follow their steps, gane their minds wholie to seduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with most filthie trades and practises; but also ali mankind, generally where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conversation. For from Cham and his successours proceeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawful lust, without respect of set, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abominable root, or streames derived from a most filthie and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesses, such was the folli of his Egyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilst he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemmed and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemesenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seven
seuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Osyris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Jupiter.

Cerites it was a custome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vse almost in euerie place in processe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might never weary out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was properlie said to have a seat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestiall or immateriall orbs, the other in sheeps skins, and verie brickle paper) but yet so esteeme, that euerie prince would off hazard and attempt the vttermost adventures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obtaine that benefit, for then should there not haue bene stars now in heauen to have serued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. "Semones dici voluenter (saith Fulgentius in vocibus antiquis) quos coelo nec dignos ascriberunt, ob meriti paupertatem; sicut Priapius Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terminos eos deputare vellent per gratiae venerationem," as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers, good gouvernours and lawgivers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a iollie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which folies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Jupiter, &c: as shall appare hereafter. And here sith I have alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew forth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the erroors of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the root of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Cerites it was vsed for a few yeeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeere after the flod) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected shold be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonses also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephews or sonses sonses, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which means it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Jupiter and Hercules of his owne, and not from anio other.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the flod, to the end the earth might hee thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Jupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indevouer to derive the pettiege of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficiendlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heaven & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, the Sunne, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as *Terra, (the Earth) Vesta, Aretia, the Moone, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Jupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therefore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning overal, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed
with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This have I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posterity of Cham did bring over into Britaine. For until their coming, it is not likely that anie grosse idolatry or superstition did enter in among vs, as defying of mortal men, honoring of the stars, and erection of huge images, beside sorcery, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemnittes are worthilie called the autors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deues vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Graccia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Piamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his preest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had achtied in Britaine.

After Brute, idolatry and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druish and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countrymen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie invented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whom Samothes and his posterity did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Jupiter, Mars, Mercuriu, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whom they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and porches vnto Botulph & Giles) because fortitude and wisdome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idoles whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreover of sheepe and oxen, they offered mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offenders, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them together in huge images made of wicker, reed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire together, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captives, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophanl histories doe generally leave it evident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Sanguine placatis ventos & virgine casa, &c.

As Silius dooth of the first, where he telleth of the usuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieing after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idoles, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehearsal of forrouine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of salutation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouersd 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose preestes were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subject to their jurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Of the quantities of their idoles I speake not, sith it is enough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to have the just heighth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Jupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70 (whose to few men could fadam); Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at 

Aruemian.
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Arbernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might have the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Hitherto ye have heard of the time, wherein idolatrye reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Land. Now let us see the successe of the gospel, after the death and passion of Jesus Christ our sauiour. And even here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assuransse (conceiving yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paul the Apostle should preach the word of salvation here, after his deliverie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paul than Peter, or the rest, I will passe over this conceiucture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deal with other authorities, whereof we have more certentie. First of all therfore let us see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Cerise for the presence of Paul I read thus much :

Quid sacer ille simul Paulus tua gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arcatos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quas qui Britannus habet terras atque victima Thule, &c.

That one Josephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aulon, now called Glesenburg or Glastenbury, an epitaph affixed therewith is prove sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will ad in few, what I have read elsewhere of his arrival here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares) seuered themselves in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospel might haue due fartherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Josephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesbury 103. before Paganus and Dinaw did set forth the gospel amongst them. Of the coming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner :

 Operatum etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galilaeorum, qui propter flagranse in magistrum suum ardem, summamque euangelicce rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hic referre, accept inim is cælitius adueniente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenum & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium depraedicans percurret, candidateque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulsique Britannicam perfert." And this is the effect in a little roome, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here allledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were converted to the faith, before this sixtie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they lived, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my judgemen, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or else-where. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie seen in the Grece and Latine tongues, but also with her husband highlie commended by S. Paul, as one having had conversacion and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothy, as I read. Of this lady more ouer Martial speakeseth, in reioicing that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by
hirs meanes, who used to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir freinds for tokens, saing after this maner, as himselfe dooth set it downe:

Dictur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these words:

Claudia coeruleis cim sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formae? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Attidies esse suam.
Dij bene, quod sancto peperit secunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quideque puella nurus.
Sic placat superis, vt coninge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir thre children were Prudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leave this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (under the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder over the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but Episcopus Eboricensis, for which such as perceive not the easie corruption of the word, may some write Eboracensis as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith that otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformd in that behalfe. Divers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealoulis before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enemies of the word became the apparant meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to have it set foorth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had given out a decree, that the Druids religion should eriere where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now pershred) tookke advise of his councell what was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, because he knew it impossible for man to live long without any religion at all: at laste finding his Nobilitie & subiects vther enemies to the Romane docti (for that they made so many gods as they listed, & some to have the regiment even of their dirt & dung) and thereby being pricked forwards by such christians as were convensate about him, to choose the service of the true God that lieth for euery, rather than the slauish scritude of any pagan idol: he fullie resolved with himselfe in the end, to receive and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subjection to his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37. "Quid faciemos viri frates?" I mean that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commision, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent advise and travaile, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which contained his kingdom, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus understand these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewd vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren together, they agreed to ordaine, even those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you have heard,
hard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally after they had throughly catechized them, making general prayer vnto God and earnest supplication for, the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefully over the flocke committed to their custode.

The first of these was called Euanus Aulonius, a man borne in the Ile of Avalon, and brought up there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conversion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, because he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp also in one schoole with Euanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthlie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houldish with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie resorted vnto them, and voluntarily renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

In the meane time, Eleutherus understanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concern the conversion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare ensuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinaus) Aaron, and diverse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith who heconsequent to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselves, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselves, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordained that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthily called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadious of Yorke, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guthelius, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Euanus succeeded, who converted many of the Druiydes, and builded the first librarie neere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerlebon vpon the river Vake, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgautia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time bee ne three Archiflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerva, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steads by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might have indifferent access vnto those places, and therewithall understand for certeinie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conversion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idol-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrownne, or converted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers doe remember. In the report whereof give me leaque gentle reader, of London my native citie to speake a little: for although it may and dooth seeme imperfect to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will soone make an end. There is a controversie made among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornhill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. & od yeares before it was removed to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should kne to one side without anie conference of the asscureations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the west, the word Cornhill (a denomination given of late to speake of to one street) may easilie be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney procedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, because of the wildnesse and bushiness of the soile; so I doe not read of anie streete in London called
called Cornehill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherefore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church upon the ruins of that Temple 264 yeeres, as Malnesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arraual of Augustine. Read also his appendix in lib. 4. Pontif. where he notes the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest acquitt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Thus became Britaine the first province that generallie received the faith, and where the gospel was freeie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greendidesse, yet was not the successse thereof either so univercall, that all men beleued at the first; the sectarie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the proceeding of the king so seuer, as that he inforced any man by publi-like authority to forsake and relinquish his pagannisme; but onelie this freedome was enjoyed, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes professe the Gospel, in whose testimonie, if neede had bëene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant above the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeeld her selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrles of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Island in the 177. after Christ, and Paganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospel received, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vseed in the church. For he well considered, that as it availed lide to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward becherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, daile remoued from the same: so after baptisme and entrance into religion, it profitteth little to beare the name of christians, except we doe walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by severe discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the weeds of vice, and vicious living, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good seed sowne in our minds, and either infuse vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper securitie than before, or else to become meere Atheists, which is a great deale woorse.

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politeke orders as were then vseed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficall to one, may now and then be prejudiciall to another: and seeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time successeth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to lade any more vpon the necks of the new converts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had already sett downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulsips of Commodus and Vespasius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the Scriptures for the government of his church alreadie, and not for that onelie, but also for the regiment of his whole kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yeeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I have faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doe deliver it here to the end. I will not deuare the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glory of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

"You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and therefore the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may citiooncs reprooue, but those of God can never be found fault withall. You haue received of late through
Gods mercie in the realeme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the counsell of your realeme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdom, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realeme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compass of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou hast louned truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, even thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse above thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy judgement vnto the king, & thy justice vnto the kings sone. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realeme, which are vnder your gournance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdom. * The gospel saith; As the hen gathereth her chickens vnder her wings, so dooth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdom of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnite, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to cherish and maintaine, to rule also and governe them, defending each of them from such as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. * Wo vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose prince rise vp earlie to banket and feed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnsteadfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue foorth halfe their daies. * By feeding I understand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & saine, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realeme. You shalbe a king whilst you rule well, but if you doo otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall utterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almighty God grant you so to rule the kingdom of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for cuer, whose vicar (or vicerenger) you are within your aforesaid kingdom. Who with the Sonne and the Holy-ghost, &c.*

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie pretie observations are to be collected, if time and place would serve to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordained to saluation, increased daile more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius, and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefes, because of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdom, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once understand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall see (if they list to looke) how far they have bin deceived.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatus (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the soulidors.) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides four other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Diodesian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whom the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betweene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a fraie or by some other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remayne in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie scowr, had now good leisure to meditate vpon heaven, who before in his prosperitie had peraduerture neuer regard of
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fell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganism, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of prayer wherein to serve the living God, which after sundrie alterations came in course of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euon to our time after Lucian or Lucius: the first founder thereof, and the original builder of anie such house in those parts.

In this also he and divers other of his frendes continued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were translated as occasion served, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promitions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euon by this short narration it is now easy to see, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Hereunto Hermannus Schedellius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and euer vnto the citie Augusta converted the Curientes vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden upon the third day of December, as may readily be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be scene at Gloucester. That Schedellius ereth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the original builder, as I said, doo yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude Lucionum, &c. But for more of this you may resort vnto Bouchet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitaine, in which he maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedellius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinacastell, euer vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appeareth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Necesiam in his most excellent treatise De sapientia divina, setteth downe this Distichon:

'Prima Brittannorum sedul lux Lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit mania Brute tua.'

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Avinus inferreth, except he meant it of some other Lucius, as of one whom he nameth Cyrrinensis. But then will not the historic agree with the conversion of the Rhetians and Vindelicians, whereof Schedellius and other doo make mention. But as each river the fader it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuellts, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in course of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who having travelled through France, Italia, Egypt, Syria, & the easterne regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monks, vnto whose profession he had not long before whole addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinessse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous seed of his hereticall prouities over all this land, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Jesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietenesse of mind, but alwaies an vnsattysfied opinion of themselves, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles he behoueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Jesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as doo beleeue.
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Thus we see how new devises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with divers other haue bene perceived also from time to time, silenced the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe then ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearsall of anie new incomemencies.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrilines and Benedictine monks, albeit that the heremetical profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, untill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surammoned Nursinus did first erect in Monte Cassino, about the 524. of Christ, & was fullie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monks in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our counrizenman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decayed in England, our histories are very plentifull, which Biscop went off into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs unto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda dooth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane devises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 278. might dispand 200.li. by the yere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the total summe of their revenues to amount unto 32000. pounds, their mueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men contained in the same, to be 10000. which would make a pretie armie, whereunto if you addde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall sooone see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were maintaine here in Britaine. What number of saints also haue bene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgrae sette under, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Excester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twice as long.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that ouer was bred in this realme (notable knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deep sound judgement, and such a one, as vpon whom for his great gifts in teaching and strictenes of life, no small piece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisedome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to verifie and sound judgement? Wherefore euin of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without appereance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clarke to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blamed abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thenceforth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vskillfull and ignorant.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered together in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodlie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impinge, but also prevent grace, which was in deed the original occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselves, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continuallie for their owne livings, at vacant times from prayer (as did Serapions monks, which were 10000. ouer whomse he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise...
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likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their lives also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onlie they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no manuell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part into the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as maintaine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Pal- ladius seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praised, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vtttermost of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous schoolemaisters of error out of this life: hoping that by such meanes, his people would have euin care to the godlie that remained. But in processe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our counriemen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idol vnhonored, nor not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beastlie image (Cum pene intenso, and as if he had beene circumsised) whome they called Ithy pallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atauiic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knive out of their hands, and not counted anie shame vnto the most ancient and sober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord took no place, and the sheepe of his pasture would receiue no wholesome fodder, it pleased his majestie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in somuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monkes, whereby it was to be scene, how they fell from the truth into heresie, and from one heresie sill into another, till at the last they were drowned altogether in the pits of error digged vp by Antichrist, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of liuing water to such as imbraced the same.

This Augustine, after his arrivall, converted the Saxons in deed from paganisme, but as the proverbe saith, bringing them out of Gods blessing into the warme sunne, he also indued them with no lesse hurtfull superstition, than they did know before: for beside the onelie name of Christ, and externall contempt of their pristinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) made an exchange from grosse to subtill treachrie, from open to secret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for their soules health, and the establishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession, the holie scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow. But what cared he? sic he got the great fish for which he did cast his hooke, and so great was the fish that he caught in deed, that within the space of 1000. yeeres, and lesse, it devoured the fourth part & more of the best soile of the land, which was holie bestowed upon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched since his time, as may hereafter apper in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c. In the meane season what successe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were spoiled by enimies, their houses burned by casualtie, and brethren consumed with pestilence, I referre me to Gotcellius, Hou- den, Geruace, and the rest of their owne historiographers. And so sore did the pestilence rage among them in the time of Cenothrus (in whose dyes the preests, clerks and monkes sang their service together in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie five alie, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God concieved and executed against that malignant generation. It came also to passe at the last that men used to praise for helpe at the said Augustines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer saint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelstane was one, whome
whome Elnothus the abbat stayed so long in the place, when he came thither to praise, that his soldiours waiting for his comming, and supposing the monkes to have murdered him, began to give an assault and set fire upon the house.

Whilst these things were thus in hand, in the south part of Albion, the Mentes, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scottish sea, received also the faith, by preaching of such christian elders as adventured thither daillie, who traveueld not without great successse and increase of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this prosperus attempt passed all mens expectation, for that these nations were in those daies reputed wild, sauage, and more unfaithfull and cratie than well-minded people (as the wild Irish are in my time) and such were they (to sake the truth) in deed, as neither the sugred courtesie, nor sharpe swords of the Romans could mollifie or restraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cause also in the end, the Romane emperours did vterlie cast them off as an vnprouitable, bruitish, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall herafter to be described, separatied that rude companie from the more mild and cuitil portion.

This conversion of the north parts fell out in the sixte yere before the warres that Seuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after the death of our sauour Jesus Christ. From thenceforth also the christian religion continuued still among them, by the diligent care of their pastors and bishops (after the use of the churches of the south part of this Iland) till the Romane sheepeheard sought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our countrienmen, whereby in the end he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done alreadie in England: and in stead of the same did furnish it vp with those of his pontificall see, although there was great contention, and no lesse bloodshed made amongst them, before it could be brought to passe, as by the histories of both nations yet extant may be seene.

In the time of Caelestine bishop of Rome, who sate in the 423. of Christ, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog De adoratione in spiritu) and sometime discipile to Ichn 24. bishop of Jerusalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to suppress the Pelagian heresie, which not a little molestd the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguishing of the aforesaid opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotland, supposing no lesse, but after he had travaulled somewhat in confutation of the Pelagians in those parts, he should castill persuade that crooked nation to adimit and receive the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine hauue done beforehand in the south. But as Faustidius Priscus archbishop of London, and his Suffragans resisted him here; so did the Scottish prelates withstand him there also in this behalfe: howbeit, because of the authoritie of his commission, gruitie of personage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleasant persuasion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his harpe, and Hercules such as heard him by his toong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their successors also from time to time, and even now are contenied (and the rather also for that he came from Rome) to take him for their chiefe apostle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith received, which was in the 431. yere of Christ, as the truth of their historic dooth verie well confirme.

Thus we see what religion hath from time to time beene received in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Christ came first into our countrie. Howbeit as in processe of time it was overshadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantastical imaginations of man, so it daillie waxed worse & worse, till that it pleased God to restore the preaching of his gospel in our daies, whereby the man of saine is now openlie reuealed, and the purifie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall overthrow of the Romish sathan, and his popish adherents that honour him daie and night to the vtermost of their power, yeeding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghost. But such is their peruerse ignorance (notwithstanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Thes. 2. calling him (as I said) the man of saine, and saiesing that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himselfe in his chalenge of power,
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as if he were God, vnder pretence of zele vnto true religion) that they will not give care vnto the truth, but rather shut their cares and their eies from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be drawne out of his smares and bondage.

OF THE MANIFOLD CONVERSIONS AND ALTERATIONS OF THE ESTATE OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF BRITAIN, SITHENS THE TIME OF SAMOTES.

THERE is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decrease, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose dooth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offences. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his first booke De ostentis intreating of the same argument, tellett of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was never touched with any such plague before or after the overthrow of the Persians; also of the heard that suddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. "Nam (saith he) descriptas esse divinitus etates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitus, praelic prius quam existeret noxionem in deditis eventuram rerum, quaeque indices minus ac minus numini cordi essent. Emittuntur igitur cometes divinitus, & reuocantur dum supra nos conspecti quandiu placeat Deo inferuntur, &c." Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine divine force that resteth hidden in sundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible manner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuertheless, he appointed not these three to have the rules of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destynie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the divine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destynie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destynie it is impie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all events vnto manifest causes precedent, dooth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as inutrie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and thervnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoever Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the justice of the high God, the cheefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, dooth constitute such a resolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle dooth deliuer, are nothing else but the meannes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserve the name of causes, in that they preced those effectes which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can justie call them. Bedinus in his historickal method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conversions of common-wealths, dooth seene at the first to doe the force of number, but after a while he manuellereth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitheerto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as apperteyne to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he sheweth himselfe vpon the sudden to alter his judgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fataill; to wit, sixe vnto women, and seventy and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue "Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem," meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sickness, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of vol. 1. II

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one by the other, or division of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his critical or Judiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithematie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, have to looke vnto the original and great cause of all, and therefore we have not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Nevertheless, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we use them rather as Indices than Causas mutatione. And therefore have I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our cliuell estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfy my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protestinge in the meane season that I utterlie denye them to be any causes, or of themselves to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to vphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristodes politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther resolved, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; First because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinnent vnto all, it shal not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1636. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. resolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of toongs was the original cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shal not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 183. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes gien vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arrivall in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he depossessed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannic of Albion, are 335. yeares compleit, so that he arrived here in the 335. or 48. septenaries, which also concurrith with the 590. after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seuen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betwene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you shall have 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Forrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine, are 650. yeares, or 70. monenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and divers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 40. yeares, or seuan septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subjection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe, that in the 98. yeares, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, whereupon insued cruell bloodshed betwene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Caesar into this land (whereat our seruitude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Caesar we haue 54. or sixe monenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applye it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie delivird from the Romane
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Romane yoke, are 440. yeares, at which time the Britains chose them a king, and betooke themselves to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauncel of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reign (which was the 63. septenaries after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arrived here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our utter decease and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our huings. Hereby we see therefore how the prepara lue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequel is too too plane. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserable afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 46. septenaries, which being expired, they established themselfes in the kingdome by Cnutus. But their time lasting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you see how these numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguished in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, therto duers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be prevented or proerged, as in direction and progression astronomical is oftimes perceived. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Johns daies, whereupon issued the resignation of his crowns and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposition of Richard. 2. and vsurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspiracie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarrell betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood roiall were slain and made awaye first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whose murther seemed to make fre passage to the said broyle) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the union of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seuen multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab Arama-hia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptism of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conversion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganisme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 275. yeare after Lucius had beene baptised, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceived. In the 147. or 21. septenaire, Augustine came, who brought in poperie, which increased and continued till Wickifl with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospel, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175. yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, whereunto I would ad the time of restoring the gospel by Queene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing contained in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the diuine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.
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OF SUCH ISLANDS AS ARE TO BE SEEN UPON THE COASTS OF BRITAIN.

CAP. 10.

There are nearer unto, or not verie farre from the coasts of Britaine many faire Islands, whereof Ireland with her neighbors (not here handled) seeme to be the cheefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than other, divers in like sort environed continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose one to intreat, although not a few of them be Islands but at the flood) and other smallie be clipped partlie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Islands (for so I call them that are environed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, because they are onlie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcasses in their provision of household) without either man or woman otherwise inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Islands have townes and parish-churches, within their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and beside all this, are so inriched with commodities, that they have pleasant haunas, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, whereby the inhabitants doe reap no small advantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, because mine informations are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certeine which lie neere together, as it were by heapes and clusters, I hope none will readlie denye. Of these also those called the Neside, Insula Scylorum, Sileustrae, Sullan., now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieing beyond Cornwall are one, and containeth in number one hundred fourtie and seaven (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelles and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subject vnto Ireland are another, which are said to be 43. situate vpon the west side of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are some that repute Anglesei, Mona Cesaris, and other lying betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted judgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orchades, and these lie vpon the northwest point of Scotland, being 31. alias 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which John Frobusier I doubt not touched vpon some in his voyage to Meta Incognita; but for so much as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I doe not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

There have beeue divers that have written of purpose, De insulis Britanniae, as Caesar doth confess. The like also may be scene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set fourth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certaine desert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chains of an heauie sleepe, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by mee wherof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c.: as you may see in Plutarch De cessione oraculorum, &c. But sith those books are now perished, and the most of the said Ilands remaine vterlie uknown, even to our owne relues (for who is able in our time to saie where is Glota, Hicieron, Eta, Iduna, Armia, Escarea, Baria, Islandium, Indeis, Xantisma, Indeis, Siuta, Ga. Andres or Edres, Simbres, Xanthos, Rincia, Menapia, &c? whose names onlie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I see their places not so much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I doe either know by Ieland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and brefflie passe ouer such as are obscure and uknown,
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

...unknown, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer sailed it) by the south part of the land into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set ashore, that have often in this voyage wanted water, but oftener beone set a ground, especiallie on the Scotish side.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid river, I must needs passe by the How, which is not an hand, and therefore not within the compass of my description at this time, but almost an hand, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I doe english a Byland, vseing the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horsebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, because not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner enviroun it, and is the cheefe occasion wherfore it is called an land. This How lieth between Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow.

Next vnto this waue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an ile supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then com we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Cornos, containing seauen miles in length, and three in bredth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole sole being throughlie fed with shepe, verie well woodded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyne, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is fifteene, and by south thereof are two small lands, wherof the one is called Elmsie, and the more easterlie Hertie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Harbie, and all in the Lath of Seraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey retineith one especiall Baillie of hir owne.

From hence we passe by the Recculeres (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little land in the Stoure mouth. Herevpon also the Thanet abuteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toplapis, other Athanatos, because serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not environed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withal as an land in this place, albeit I will not let to borrow of my determination, and describe it as I go, because it is so fullfruit. Beda noteth it in times past to have conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hikelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuere called Wantyme, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be passed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saith, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in bredth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue seaven miles from Nordmuth to Sandwich, and foure in bredth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This land hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitful, and beside that it wanteth fewe other commodities, the finest chalkes is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the moonke first arriue, when he came to convert the Saxones, and afterward in processe of time, sundry religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the superstitious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came over with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchingston, S. Johns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mowton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles and all Saints, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of sainct Augustine and hundred of Kingslow, as may castie be scene to him that will peruse it.
Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Repræcester, stood also in this island, but now thorough alteration of the channel of the Doure, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these days Richborough, and as it should seeme builded vpon an indifferent soil or high ground. The large brickes also yet to be seen there, in the ruinous walleis, declare either the Romane or the old British workmanship. But as time decayeth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptumius is now become desoure, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich produced, which standeth a full mile from the place where Repræcester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Morlred fought one notable battall here, wherein Guallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his sonne-sirene with 70000. Picts, Scotis, Irish, Norwegians, &c: and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this town, and yet none of his colow hath hitherto bene found there, as is dailye that of the Romane, whereof manie pieces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall have often bene shewed vnto me. It should appeare in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent thenceabout was called Littus Rutupium, which some doe not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his sixt booke soone after the beginning:

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinæq; litora feruent,
Vnita Calidionios fallit turbata Britannos.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doe worke,
And Calidion of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast nere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidionium of that wood or forest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my journey toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selcsey, which sometime (as it should seeme) hath bene a noble Island, but now in manner a Byland or Peninsula, wherein the chiefe see of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of three hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most cesterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one town is situate of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Rngleyd, whereof also our Leland, saith thus: “Port Ilie is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about three miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by morish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth.” Then breaketh there out another creke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gullith vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground dissevered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this ile, which land is in length six miles, and three miles in breadth, verie good for grasse and corn, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ilie, which is now so worene and washed aweie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholly covered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. ” Finally being past all these, and in compassing this gulf, we come by another, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & southeast of Kue hauen, whereof I finde nothing worthwhile to be noted, saving that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographical tables of all those Ilands which environ our Albion.

The Wight is called in Latine Vectis, but in the British sparch Gulth, that is to saie, Ede or ease to be seen, or (as D. Calus saith) separate, because that by a breach of the sea,
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It was once divided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italia, Anglesi from Wales, Foulenesse from Essex, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest of) by five miles & a halfe, but where it commeth nearest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betweene Hirst castell and a place call'd Whetwell chin, as the inhabitants doe report. It containeth in length twenty miles, and in breadth ten, it hath also the north pole elevated by 50. degrees and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. of minutes from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrary to the description of Ptolomie, and such as follow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an egg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castles to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. have their Parsoners, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the livings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

| 1 Newport, a chap. | 15 Mottesson. |
| 2 Cairbrasie. v. | 16 Yarmouth. p. |
| 3 Northwood. | 17 Thorley. v. |
| 4 Arriun. v. | 18 Shall-h. e. v. |
| 5 Goddeshill. v. | 19 Whippingham. p. |
| 6 Whitwell. | 20 Wooton. p. |
| 7 S. Laurence. p. | 21 Chale. p. |
| 9 Brading. v. | 23 Shorwell. p. |
| 11 S. Helene. v. | 25 Brosie. |

It belongeth for temporall jurisdiction to the countie of Hants, but in spiritual cases it yeeldeth obedience to the see of Winchester, whereof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole land, it is very fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe is very full of rocks and craggie cliffs, yet there wanteth no plenty of cattell, corne, pasture, meadow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh rivers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may live in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wone from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voyage into the west country. In process of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the sovereigntie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eighth king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and rescued the sovereigntie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for evermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gave 100 to Willfrid sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospel also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like manner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, whereunto he yeelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Willfrid was first converted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened unto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfrid the parriquay was the first Saxon prince that adventured to sile into the Wight for his safeguard, whither he was driven by Kenwaile of the Westaxons, whom made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also King Iohn, in the rebellious sie of his Barons, practised by the elejgie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Romans, as some doe write that have handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwne de Betoune, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Gros, Earle of Aunmarle; but he dying with-
out issue by this ladie, she was maried the second time to Earle Maundeuille, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wise father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Herby it came to passe also, that the Fortes were Earls of Aumerle, Wight, and Devonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so premised through rude & faire words, that he got the possession of the Wight whole into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, until Henrie the sixt, about the twentie of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwick his kinsman and of Iardsey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and thereunto gave him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwick with the titles of Comes comitum Anglie, lord Spenser of Aburghetunie, and of the castell of Bristow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king John) albeit he did not long enjoy these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seven yeares after his father.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come unto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyse, in which was sometime a parish-church, and but a chapel at this present, as I hear. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

We have (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Byland al opon the coast named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Gowy, a prettie fertile piece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score households in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, bowbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compass of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patron of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the piece. The people there are no lesse excellent singers of stones than were the Baddares, who would never give their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents used to hang their meat vsed high upon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie have it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vsed for the defence of their Iland, and yet otherwise are verie courteous And wheras in time past they lived onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bothe is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cow dooing dried in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleak and open. It is not long since this was vnitied to the maine, and likelee yer long to be cut off again.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Gowy, betwene Colford and Lime, of which for the smalnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giving ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Iardsey, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appartements appertained in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Queene, as parcell of Hamshire and jurisdicition of Winchester, & belonging to her crowne, by means of a composition made betwene K. John of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Of these two, Iardsey is the greatest, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compass, as most men doe conjecture. There are likewise in the same twelve parish-churches, with a collidge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Garsey full 21. miles, or thereabouts, and made notable, by means of a bloudie fact doone there in Queene Marys daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or priest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the exceeding cruellie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifestlie against God for the maintenance of their popish and antichristian kingdom. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a goodly manchilde from hir, with such force
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force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heat and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to an other to looke vpon, whose dies being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left untouched, & whereunto it mi-

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nisted (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue bene in times past, five religious houses, and nine castels, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-

church left standing in the same. There are also certaine other small Ilandes, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insuletas, beside verie manie rocks, whereof one called

S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon lardsey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a castel not passing an arrow shot from Gardsey. The Serke also is be-
twene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or

Strictland, wherein was a religious house, & therewithall great store of conies.

There is also the Breheoc, the Gytho, and the Herne, which latter is foure miles in com-
passe, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was converted into a house of

Franciscanes. There are two other likewise neere vnto that of S. Hilaries, of whose names I

haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called

of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with

infinite store of conies, betwene whom & the rats, as I conjecure, the same which we call

Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this

Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath bene more store of building in this Ile than is

of this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but

hereof I find no perfect warrantise that I may saufely trust vnto, yet in other places I read

of the like thing to have happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased

so fast that they draye away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was

ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderis were driven out of Thracia by the increase of mice

& frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now

pertaining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for

lacke of grasse. And because the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was

constrained to send an armie of men to destroie that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55:

A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in

Africa by locustes and also by grashoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast

telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge ca-
terpillar. Plinie writeth of a province vpon the borders of Aethiopia made void of people by

ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie

through multitudes of bees, as waspnes had almost druen the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But

this of all other (whereof Aelianus intreateth) is most wonderingfull, that when the Cretenses

were chased out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinite numbers of bees, the said bees

converred their houses into huiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall
to wall, wherein they reserved their hone. Which things being dulie considered, I doo not

denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, al-

though I say that I doo not warrant the effect, because I find it not set downe directlie in

plaine words.

Beside this there is moreover the Ile of Alderney a verry prettie plot, about seven miles in

compasse, wherein a priest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of

an huge giant, whose fore teeth were so bign as a mans fist, as Leland dooth report. Certes

this to me is no manuell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in

the beginning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine whereunto they go in pil-
grimmage as vnto S. Christopheres tooth, but it was one of his eie teet, if Ludovicus Viues say
true, who went thither to offer vnto the same. S. August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9. writeth

in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vitica, and thereby gathereth that all

men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre ex-

ceeding

Horrible mur-

tllion.

Gardsey.

S. Hilaries.

Cornet. Serke.

Breheoc.

Gytho.

Herne.

Burhoo, aliis

the Ile of rats.

Turkie conies.

Causes of the
destraction of

soverie cities

and townes.

Alderney.

Comment. Brit.
ceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfs in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and over-threw him. Virgil also noteth no lesse in his owne devise, but Juvenal bréefely comprehends all this in his 1.5. Satyra, where he saith:

Saxa inclinatis per humum quassita lacetis
Incipiant torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, qui se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percutiit pendere coxam
Æneas: sed quem valentes emittere ductre
illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Num genus hoc viuo iam decrecebant Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet, & edit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants doo reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Lardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoyle by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein untoucht.

Beyond this, and neerer unto the coast of England (for these doo lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lyeng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illestone roche nere vnto Peritorie, Horesan Ille a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke roche Ille southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Pleigmundham: but how (to sake truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, nevertheless sith Leland noteth them togethers, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well nere three miles in compass. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there; notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our country. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compass of ground. Moreover in the mouth of the creweke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Loow, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betwenee Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie) is such another named the Grewe, wherein is great store of gulle & sea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far distant, and wherein is a poore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendimant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description ready to my hand in Leland.

The compass of the root of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pastureable and breedeeth conies, the residue high and rocky soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from
from halfe ch to halfe fround, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chappell of S. Michael, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are scene at the lowe water marke, divers roots and stubs of trees, beside hewn stone, sometimes of doores & windowes, which are perceived in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelic beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chappell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowshole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowshole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enys, that is, Portus insulae, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes necere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, spearhe heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinercance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betwene Mowshole and Pensardz.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie necere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Piere catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we wente to lardsey) and carrieth vs yet more westelie among the flats of Sylleys. Such force dooth the southeast wind often sheweth vpon poore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest dooth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfulfull of our rodes and harborewes. Howbeit such was our success in this voyage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and soone after builded a collidge of preest at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprisid this voyaige for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitullie plunged, we found the Syllye Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twenty English miles, as some men doo account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundred fortie seenen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse then other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatness and commodities excelled all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the midlest of them, which is not without peril to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundred fourtie seenen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthy to haue anie time spent about their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie together (as I said) in maner of a rounde.

The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Marias Ile, is about five miles ouer, or nine miles in compassse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poore towne belonging thereunto of three score housholds, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies, wild swans, putiens, gules, cranes, & other kinds of foule in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Marias sound vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hauing in like sort one towne or parish within the same of five or six housholds, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Marias Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left alivie. There are also two other small Ilands, betwene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them joind together are not comparable to the said
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Minwsand, Sniuliiier.
Smithy sound.
Sanrglan.
Rousulian.
Rousulian.
Cregwin.

Moncarhat.
Inis Welseck.
Sueethill.
Rat Iland.
Awall, Brier.

Rusco.
Inis widdo.

Round Iland.
S. Lides.

Notho. Auing.

Tyan.
S. Martines.

Knoiworth.
Sniuliiier.
Menwetha.
Vollis. 1.
Surwithe.
Vollis. 2.
Arthurs Ile.
Guinnliier.
Nenech.
 Gothroth.

Wild swine in Syllie.

said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentiful. There is moreover the Minwsand, from whence we passe by the Smithly sound (leaving three little lands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rousulian, Rousulian, and the Cregwin, which scauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onlie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, saving of a short kind of grasse, or here & there some flkes wherein their conies doe feed.

'Leaving therefore these desert pessages, we incline a little toward the northwest, where we stumble or run vpon Moncarhat, Inis Welseck, & Sueethill. We came in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie horses, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be devoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreover the Anwall and the Brier, lands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onlie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth forth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

By north of the Brier, lich the Rusco, which hath a Labell or Byland stretching out toward the southwest, called Inis widdin. This Rusco is verie neere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreover an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the year. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherien is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two latter there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a just halfe lesse than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Mariones Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next vnto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten ouer, smaller, which reach out of the northeast into the southwest, as Knoiworth, Sniuliiier, Menwetha, Vollis. 1. Surwithe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guinnliier, Nenech and Gothroth, whose estates are divers: howbeit as no one of these is to be accounted great in comparison of the other, so they all yeld a short grasse meet for sheepe and conies, as doo also the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches standing in the same) there are (as I heare) sundry lakes, and those meere without great plentie of wild foule, so that the Iles of Syllie, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatsoever, within the compass of our Ile, or meere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornwal, so in diverse of them great store of fish is likewise to be found. There is in like manner such plentie of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall have more there for a penny, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheefe commodity is made by Keigh, which they doe, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canvas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they doo stand in need of. A like trade have some of them also, with Buckhorse or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flattie auouch it, I passe over that fish as not in season at this time. Thus have we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Syllie, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Saurerne, and then goe backe agayne vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our voyage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forthwe must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come agayne vnto the Scottish sea, and to our owne dominions.

From the point of Cornwal therefore, or promonterie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, because Helenus the son of Priamus who arrived here with Brute lieth buried there, except the sea have washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Saurerne, we
we have noe Ilands at all that I doo know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I have spoken of it, you shall understand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not above a mile, this is to be rememberd farther thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Brooke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountjoy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a pere in the eastside thereof, but the pere is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Byland is now covered with sands, which the sea casteth vp, and this calamity hath indured little about five yeares, as the inhabitants doo affirmte.

There are also two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Timagell, all which many of the common sort doo repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes being in deed parcels of ground and low soiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Stepholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or fute miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they doo seeme to be the broadest.

It should scene by some that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet others are of opinion, that they are not altogether so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoever they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuer. Neither doo I read of any other Iles which lie by easte of these, saue onelie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little ritt or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compass, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire miles, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnit to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish-church with a spire steeple, and a pretie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and jurisdiction of one David in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruins that are found therein to haue bence of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little about sixteen miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Calde, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Devonshire. Moreover in this Iland is great plentie of sheepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarcle fourtie households in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may keepe off thousands of their enimies, because it is not possible for anie adversaries to assaile them, but
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but one lie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voyage also we met with two other Islands, one of them called Shepess Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lying at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen upon the eastside. By north also of Shepess Ile, and betwene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey he greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, because they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile joineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteeth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensive to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situate ouer against S. Davids in Wales (wherenvto we must needs come, after we be past another little one, which some men doo call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also noteeth the same, and I cannot learn more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall jurisdiction a member of Penbrookeshire, as it is vnto S. Davids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England lib. 8. saith that it contained three ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Davids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Davids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Caimarden dooth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for sheepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their upper teeth by nature (whose substance is converted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shoot ouer, and environed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

After this, proceding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countre leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leaving the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which doo lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be sheepe and contes. The quantitie thereof also is not much above six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mererose, situate in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tudfall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horses, whereof (as I take it) that name is gien vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Barley an Iland lieng ouer against Peiruincle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Sylvestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did liie to saue themselves, when 2100. of their fellows were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarrell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reeified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Emelli, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northeast, till we came to Caer Icriemhod, a notable rocke situate ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some townne or village. Certes we could not well discern whether of both it was, because the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was mistie, and our

mariners
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mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euin at our owne desire.

This land (which Tacitius mistaketh no doubt for Mona Caesaris, and so dooth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is sittau about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus loosius gesseth that it was in time past joined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and oneeie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or practise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be maintained. But as these things doe either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to my matter) Anglesei is found to be full so great as the Wight, and nothing inferior, but rather surmounting it, as that also which Caesar calleth Mona in fruitfulnesse of soile by maine an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their provision of corne. In like maner the Welshmen themselves called it the mother of their countrie, for giving their minds whole to pasturage, as the most easie and lesse chargeable trade, they vterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned oneelie to the fertilitie of this land for their corne, from whence they never failed to receive continuall abundance. Gyraldus saith that the Ile of Anglesei was no lesse sufficient to minister graine for the sustentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaineus called Erceri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeeld plentie of pasture for all the cattell whatsoever within the aforesaid compass, if they were brought together and left upon the same. It contained moreover so manie townes wellnere, as there be daies in a yeare, which some converting into Cantreds hauę accompted but for three, as Gyraldus saith. Howbeit as there haue beene I say 363. townes in Anglesei, so now a great part of that reckoning is vterlie shroonke, and so far gone to decay, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be scene & discerned: and yet it seemeth to be mecltie well inhabited. Leland noting the smalnesse of our hundreds in comparison to that they were in time past, addeth (so far as I remember) that there are six of them in Anglesei, as Menay, Maltraith, Linon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhood saith also how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinved or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the south west side of the Ile, the kings of Guinved held euemore their palaces, whereby it came to passe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welshmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better instruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Anglesei many townes and villages, whose names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my selfe with the rehearsed of so many as we viewed in sailling about the coasts, and otherwise heard report of by such as I have talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riseth at northeast aboue Gefni or Guenni, 20 miles at the least into the land) we passed first by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port-Hayton, Beaumarais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burrie (whereby runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (standing in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter stand as it were in a nuke betweene the Guenni water, and the Fraw, wherepon Aberfraw is situate. Within the Iland we heard onelie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Grisial standing vpon the same water, of Tefri, of Lanerchinedwh, Lachenfarw and Bodorin, but of all these the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded sometime by king Edward the first, and therewithall a strong castell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are also as Leland saith 31, parish-churches beside 69 chappells, that is, a hundredeth in all. But hereof I can saie little, for lacke of just instruction. In time past, the people of this Ile used not to seuerall their grounds, but now they dig stonie hillocks, and with the stones thereof they make rude walles, much like to those of Deuonshire, saith they want hedge bote, fire bote, and house bote, or (to saie at one word) timber, bushes and trees. As for wine, it is so plentiful
tiful and good cheape there most commonlie as in London, through the great recourse of
merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforesaid Iland. The flesh likewise of
such cattell as is bred there, wherof we have store yereale brought vnto Cole faire in Essex is
most delicate, by reason of their excellent pasture, and so much was it esteemed by the Romans
in time past, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before those of Liguria,
but the emperours themselves being necer hand also caused their provision to be made for
nete out of Anglesci, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the most excellent beefe. It taketh
now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Englishmen, because they
wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Chester, and Hugh of
Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recovered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they
spoiled the citie of Glocestet, ransacket Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie
and pillage, in which voyage also they were holpen greatlie by the Irishmen, who after three
years joined with them againe, and slue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with
great crueltie. The Welshmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewise is a prominen
toric or Byland, called Hولie head (which hath in time past bene named Cair kaby, of
Kaby a monke that dwellet there) from whence the readiest passage is commonlie had out
of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not speake at this time, least
I should bereave another of that trauell. Yet Plinie saith, lib. 4. cap. 16. that it lieth not
farre off from and ouer against the Silures, which then dwellet vpon the west coast of our
Iland, and even so farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons
named it Enylnach, or hولie Ile, of the number of carcasses of hولie men, which they
affirme to have beeene buryed there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women
had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the least wise returne from thence without
some notable reproch or shame vnto their bodies. By south also of Hiiarie point, somewhat
inclining toward the east, lieth Inis Lygod, a small thing (God wot) and therefore not
worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing else inforne the
memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certime tale of such Iles as lie about
our Iland. I might also speake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north west of Anglesci
by sixe miles; but because the true name hereof, as of manie rivers and streames are to me
vknowerne, I am the more willing to passe them ouer in silence, least I should be noted to
be farther corrupter of such words as I have no skill to deliver and exhibit in their kind.
And now to conclude with the description of the whole Iland, this I will ad moreouer
vnto hir commodities, that as there are the best milstones of white, red, blew, and grëne
greëts, (especiallie in Tindaithin) so there is great gaines to be gotten by fishing round
about this Ile, if the people there could vse the trade: but they want both cunning and
diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it appertaineth to the
countie of Cairnaruon, so in spirituall cases it belonged to the bishoprike of Bangor. This
is finalie to be noted of Anglesci, that sundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead
men's bones convertted into ashes, set with the mouthes downward contrarie to the vse of
other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this suffice.

Having thus described Anglesci, it resteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit
about the same, we met with other little Isles, of which one lieth northwest thereof
almost ouer against Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that passeth by Butricke.
The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to say, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight
Ynis Moi, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpasses. It hath to name likewise Ystesid, and
Addros. Being past this, we came to the second lieng by north east, ouer against the
Hilarie point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Mine, and of these two this latter
is the smallest: neither of them both of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Sercial or
Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a
towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof
I maruell. It is parcell of Flinshire, and of the jurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie
of soile, and-breed of cattell, nothing inferior vnto Anglesci hir mother: although that
for
for quantity of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last land vpon the coast of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine, and although it lie not proporciously within the compass of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie overflowne. It is partlie made an isle by the Conway, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed forthe to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compass or more, a sandie seile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, because they be so oft spoile by pirates, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good penitworths, as theses commonlie doo of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onelie at one place. Howbeit they are constrained to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Brée, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. hours sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This land at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betwixt foure fadams deepe, as shipsboyes have oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go over thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a niple in compass, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious fowles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offeringes a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and maintained.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Casaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monoaida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen doo commonlie call Môn, as they doo this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boethius note a difference betwixt them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, lib. 2. cap. 75. It lieth also under 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minutes, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minutes, abuting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesi on the south, and Vlsher in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two rivers in the same, whose heads doo joine so neere, that they doo seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other following Orosius, Meuana or Mauania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottish histories, the Meuane are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, lib. 1. de regibus (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it seemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, have not beene a little deceived. iornandes lib. de Getis speaketh of a second Meuana; "Habet & aliam Meuanim (saith he) neconon & Orchadas." But which should be prima, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propertius speaketh of a Meuana, which he called Nebulosa, but he meaneth it evidente of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, lib. 4. eleg. De vtre Rom. Wherfore there needeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is evident out of Orosius, lib. 1. capite 2. that Scots dwelld sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finally confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breadth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberlond in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1200. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through joininge house to house & land to land (a vol. 1. commen.
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common plague and canker, which will eat up all, if provision be not made in time to withstand this mischief; that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabitants want rooms, and were not how and where to bestow themselves, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment growth not by reason that men were greater in body, than they have beene in time past, but oncelf for that their insatiable desire of enlarging their private possessions increaseth still upon them, and will doe more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, cheellie by Anlafus in his flight from the Bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was overcome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this land under their dominion, almost from their first arrivall in this land, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and visited it to his kinglymome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots got the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaiens wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the government of their viceroyes, whom the kings of Norwaien inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recovered it from them, with all the rest of those isles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the dates of Magnus king of Norwaien. And sithens that time the Scottish princes have not ceased to give lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vntied vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scroope the kings Vicecomberdeine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the carles of Darbie, who have bencé commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse followeing shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this land, but in the end, when by a comprisem, the triall of the matter was referred to the lives or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he receiv'd the land. But howsoever this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcery (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this injunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo mane, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertillitie of this land are much commendned, and for the latter supposed verie nere to be equall with that of Anglesse, in all commodities.

There are also these townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dunenglas, Holme towne, S. Brides, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Longel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common want of wood, induced with sundrie pretie waters, as first of all the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill botome, and branching out by southwest of kirk S. An, it scemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof, from the residue of that land. From those hills also (but of the south halfe) commeth the Holme and Holme, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They have also the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the wesstide, and the Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramesei hauen, as I doo read in Chronicles.

There are moreouer sundrie great hills therein, as that whereupon S. Mathes standeth, in the northeast part of the Ile, a parcelle whereof commeth flat south, betwene kirk Lowell, and kirk Marie, yieling out of their botomes the water Bala, whereof I spake before. Beside
Beside these and well toward the south part of the Isle, I find the Warchils, which are extended almost from the west coast quaterwhart unto the Burne streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramset auen, by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by southwest Port Hone, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort there are divers Illes annexed to the same, as the Calfe of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallie S. Michels Ille in the gulf called Ranothis waie on the east. Moreover the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tails of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in manner monstrous. They have furthermore great store of barnacles breeding upon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, mastes, pieces of rotten timber as they sale, and such putrified pitchted stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt upon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ille, nor yet of Ireland can readlie sace whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious there used to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some have beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

For my part, I have bene verie desirous to understand the vtermost of the breeding of barnacles, & questioned with divers persons about the same. I have red also whatsoever is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I have bene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I verie despaired to obtaine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace 1584, and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Grénewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lying in the Thanes newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Illes (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceived an infinit sort of shells to hang so thickke as could be one by another. Drawing neere also, I tooke of ten or twelve of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, seeing that the head was not yet formed, because the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certine the feathers of the tale hoong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shells or shieldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had his couritare also of like shellie substance, and altogether resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena doo giue forth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is engendred after one maner in these shells, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnsnown. For by the feathers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which falling from the sides of the ships in long voyages, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose.

There hath sometime beene, and yet is a bishop of this Ille, who at the first was called Bishop of Man. Episcopus Sodorensis, when the jurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he bear the name of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is supposéd, the cheefe profit of his see (seeing that they allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The first bishop of this Ille was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surnamed Monachus Sauditensis, who by reason of his extreme and tyrannical cruellie toward the Ilanders, had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into exile. After him succeeded another monke in king Stephens daies called John, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in succession, the see it selfe being now also subject to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall jurisdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whom Virianus the cardinal came as legate 1177. and wherein Houeden ereth not. In the yeare also 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his subjects. Then Olauus, after him Hosbach the sonne of Osmond Hacon, 1290. who being slaine, Olauus and Gotfredus parted this kingdom of Sodora, in such wise, that
that this had all the rest of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but after the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald some to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and seven daies, and then was killed the first of June, whereby Olauus alias Harald sonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him succeeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and last of all Harald, who held it so long as the Norwaius were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Athane, thridlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue set done the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come by their names nor successions, I suresse to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffice.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man, with hir commoditie, we returned castwards backe againe unto the point of Rameshead, where we found to the number of six Iles of one sort and other, whereof the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the Wauay. It ruineth out in length, as we gessed, about five miles and more from the southeast into the northwest, between which and the maine land lie two little ones, whose names are Oldbore and Fowneay. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra. By cast thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compass, and yet of all these six, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most fruitfull. From hence we went by Rauenglass point, where lieth an Iland of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likelie to be published. He noteth also two other Iles, betweene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our shore in this part of my voyage.

Having so exactlie as to me is possible, set done the names and positions of such Iles, as are to be found vpon the coast of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, now it resteth that we proced orderlie with those that are scene to lie vpon the coast of Scotland, that is to say, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the German seas, which I will performe in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therin as I would. Some therefore doo comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, sauing that they are either occidentals, the west Iles, alias the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betweene Ireland and the Orchades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Aennodes; albeit the writers variie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seven Hemodes; some of five Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authentie. Howbeit the late Scottish writers doo product a summe of more than 300 of these Ilands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwaius, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I have before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, soland foule, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coast thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentiful of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good haue: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defence to such seafaring men as seekke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fadwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good store of short and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile
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In length, and half a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet very fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and both fruitfull enough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is very commodious to ships, whereof it is called Auon, that is to say, Portuosa, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great use of it. Then haue we the Raciland, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gerge six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dore full of dere, and not otherwise vnfruitfull: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of dere in old time. Scarba four miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereunto the sea betwene that and the Ile of dere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easlie navigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyrastell, Longaile, both the Fiolas, the three Yarieus, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belman, Wikerna, Calile, Luine, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagsey, Isdail, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much unlike the lilly, sauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vdarga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and 116th Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile alias Idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Trect, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Musadell, & Berner, sometime called the holy sanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochasgyr, and Drinacha, now overgrown with bushes, elders, and vterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore bene found therein. There is in like sort the Wije, the Raune, and the Caruer.

In this tract also, there are yet three to intreate of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not bene least accounted of. It is not much above 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentifuls of corne, cattell, dere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obtained, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the same. In this Iland also there is a lake of sweet water called the Laie, and also a boie wherein are sundrie Ilands; and thereunto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the souereigne of all the Iles sometime dwelt. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultation there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principal inhabitants did ministe justice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Ilands. There is also the Stoneheape, an other Iland so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreover the Columne, Mulmor, Osrin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imersga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naosig, Rinard, Cane, Tharscher, Akanor, Grett Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Stackbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perilous sea, and not navigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vsabrast, Tanask, Nef, Wauer Ile, Oruuns, Hog Ile, and Colouanso.

Mula is a right nobel Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in breadth, rough of soile, yet made fruitfull enough: beside woods, dere, & good harbrough for ships, replenished with divers and sundrie townes and castels. Ouer against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great store of salmons, and other riuellts now agatnother vnfruitfull, beside two lakers, in each of which is an Iland: and likewise in euerie of these Ilands a castell. The sea beaing vpon this Ile, maketh fourte notable bates wherein great plente and verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the northwest side Columbria, or the Ile of doues;
doones; on the southeast, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and corne. Moreover, this is worthy the noting in this ile above all the rest, that it hath a pleasant spring, arising two miles in distance from the shore, wherein are certaine little eggs found, much like unto indifferent pearles, both for colour and brightness, and thereto full of thicke humour, which eggs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelve hours converted into great shells, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceived.

Iona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little above two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all such commodities, as that climat wherein it standeth dooth yeeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whom I have spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were sometymes also two monasteries therein, one of monoks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chappells builded by the Scottish kings, and such princes as governed in the Iles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Ile of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the jurisdiction of those Iles was still maintaine and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this land the old burials appertaining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Iles; but three above other are accompted the most notable, which have little houses builded vpon them. That in the middest hath a stone, whereon is written, Tumuli regum Scotiae, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, because foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graves of the kings of Norwai, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceived of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in processe of time, when Malcolm Canmor had erected his abbeie at Donfermelie, he gane occasion to make of his successors to be interred there.

About this land there lie six other Iles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogether barren, sometimes given by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of saint Columbus, of which the Sea, albeit that it yeeld competent pasturage for sheepe, yet is it more commodious, by such eggs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding doo lie within the same. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more sober heads doo call it. Also Rudan, & next vnto that, the Rering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whose bankes doo swarne with conies: it hath also a parish churche, but most of the inhabitants doo liue and dwell in Mula. There is also the Eorze or the Arse, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arse is the Owe, an Iland five miles in length, and sufficientie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good haunt for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colfans, an Iland fruitfull enough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off also the Gomater, Stafa, the two Kerneburghs, and the Mosse Ile, in the old British speech called Monad, that is to saie Mosse. The soile of it is verie blake, because of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as have rotted thereon: whereupon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and fiugendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the said earth, which is fullie so good as our English turfe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafowle abundantie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good haue for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie woodly Ile, the feoure greene Ile, the two glasse or ski. Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of woolkes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the cast into the west, is sixtene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mountains and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafowles late great plentie of egs their, whereof such as will, may gather what number they.
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them listeth. Upon the high cliifs and rocks also the Soland geese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of Hornes; and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogether vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome breedeseth there, and thereunto it is not without a convenient hauen. Not farre off also is the Cann, and the Eggis, little Iles, but the later full of Soland geese. Likewise the Sobratill, more apt to hunt in than meta for aniother commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

After this we came to the Skie, the greatest Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and ffortie miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelve miles broad: it is moreouer, verie higlie, which hilles are thereunto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corn and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small heardes of mares, whereby they raise great advantage and commoditie. It hath fife rives verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogether void of that provision. It is unmironed also with manie baies, wherein great plente of herrings is taken in time of the yeere. It hath also a noble poole of fresh water; fowe castells and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Iohns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine small Ilands about this also, as Rausa a batable sole for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a thcueish Iland, in whose woods th'euies do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Rarsa, full of beechen woods and stags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie th'euies. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oransa, Buie the lesse, and Buie the more, and fowe other little trilling Iles, of whose names I haue no notice.

After these we come vnto the Ise, a pretie fertile Iland, to the Oue, to the Askoome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Magle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vaters, which later hath a noble hauen for great ships, beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are under the dominion of the bishop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland seaven miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corse, but the chief commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to he had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfecchte formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shellish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Between the Barre and the Visse lie also these Ilands, Orbas, Oue, Hakcrer, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Hale, Helse, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friskaie. The Visse is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sundrie fresh waters, but one especiallie of three miles in length: neverthelesse, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three score foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leave sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish bred therein almost like vnto a salmon, sauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogether without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for th'euies and pirates.

Eight miles beyond this Ileth the Helscher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: ther haue we the Hasker, verie plentifullie benefited by seales, which are there taken in time of the yeere. Three score miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all good science and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth fourthe sheepe farre greater than are else-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deere, horned like bugles, and haue their talies hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth
over his bailiff into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a préest
to eate masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of ye yeere precedent:
or if none will go over with him (because the voyage is dangerous) then both each father
take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commode in dried scales
and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not above a mile erie waie; and except three
mountaines that lie vpon one part of the shore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no
part thereof.

Being past the Visse, we came after to Walais, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner,
Ensai, Killicer, the two Sagas, the Hermodinaire, Scaire, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hovë,
Farlaie, great So, little So, Ise, Sein the more, Sein the lesse, Taraut, Sagan, Tuom,
Scarpe, Hariee, and the seauen holie Hands, which are desert and bred nothing but a
kind of wild sheepe, which are often hunted, but seldom or never eaten. For in steed of
flesh they have nothing but tallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so variauorie, that few men
care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild
sheepe which will not be tamed; and because of the horrible gromming thereof, is taken for
the bastard tiger. Their haire is betwene the wooll of a sheepe, and the haire of a goat,
resembling both, shacked, and yet absolutlie like vnto neither of both: it may be also
the same beast which Capitoilinus called Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the
emperor; albeit that some take the same for the Cameloportalis: but hereof I make no
warrantise.

There is also not faire off the Garrell, the Lame, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars,
the Kirt, the two Butes, the Viraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies
(which is so called upon some probable conjecture) for manie little sculls and bones are
dailie there found sheepe in the ground, perfectlie resembling the bodies of children; & not
amie of greater quantities, whereby their conjecture (in their opinion) is the more like(e) to
be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Vicell,
Haueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iifurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whose
est side is a certaine vault or cave, arched ouer, a flight shoot in length, whereunto meane
ships do use to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them; or the
raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Also we passed by
the old castell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, egges, corne,
and pasture. There is also the Ile East or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable
harbour for theues, as is also the Grinort; likewise the preests Ile, which is verie full of
sea foule and good pasture. The Afull, the two Herbrets, to wit, the greater and the
lesse; and the Iles of Horsses, and Mertaika: and these 8 Ile ouer against the baie which
is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and
the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one land of three score miles in
length, and sixtene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds,
and limits of the two owners that doe possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie,
and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rosse, & called Thule by
Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwijn, lake Vnsalsago:
but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbana, Radnach, &c. In like sort,
there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, an other to S. Clement,
beside a monasterie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but
they reape more profit under the ground than aboue, by diggingle. There is neither woolfe,
fox, nor serpent scene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate
one part from the other. Likewise there be plentie of stags, but farre lesse in quantitie than
ours: and in the north part of the Iland also is a rier which greatlie aboundeth with
salmons. That part also called Lewisa, which is the north halfe of the Ile is well inhabited
amongst the sea coasts, and hath rivers no lesse plentiful full for salmon than the other halfe.
There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men doe raise great gaine
and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of sheepe, which they doe not sheere, but plucke
cuerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, through the corruption of such woods as in time past have rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yeere they convert it into turtile to burne, as néece shall serue; and in the yeere after, hauing well dooned it in the mine of time with slawke of the sea, they sowe barlie in the selie places where the turtile grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and feed. Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, that the verie tithe hath bëene knowne, in some one yeere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatness and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great cause two yards deëpe of water when the sea is gone, and not above foure when it is at the highest; over which great numbers doo sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them also the more idle.

Being past this about sixtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which some take for the last of the Hebrides, distant (as I said) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundred and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungisbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile dooth limit their number of households, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne provision, they send the ouerplus yeerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheef payments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentiful among them, sowed vp in sheepe's skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dried, that resteth ouer and aboue, which they themselves do spend. And if it happen that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate dooth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which means they liue alwaies in plenty. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things donee else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise replenished with scale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suilscaire, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie clifffes and rocks therein, which are covered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do breed and laie their eggs. Thither in like sort manie doo saile from Lewissa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flye, which they also kill and drie in eight dayes space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voyaige. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a goose; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir eggs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to shift for themselves, & then they get them awaie together to the sea, and come no more vntill that time of the yeere which next insuethe. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the use of hir mossie soile: wherefn it is woonderfull to see, that those fethers have no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are seene to cover their bodies as it were wool or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked.

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from those Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language doo declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Calidon seas, over against the point of Dungisbie (being in number eight and twenty, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie three, as Orosius, but Plinius saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof heeretofore I have made report, since we crossed over the mouth of the Soluëce stremme, to come into this countrey: Certes the people of these Islands reteigne much of their old sparing diets, and thereunto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of longe life, great strength, whitish colour,
as men that feed most upon fish; sith the cold is so extreme in those parts, that the
ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuel at
all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it seemeth that (in times past) some
of these lands also have bene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either
tree or shrub, in sted whereof they have plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among
them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yeeld to bring
forth trees & bushes. For what store of such hath bene in times past, the roots yet found
and digg'd out of the ground doe yeeld sufficient trial. Otes they have verie plentifullie,
but greater store of barklie, whereof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such indeed,
as will verie readilie cause a stranger to oversheeth himselfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs
in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & there themselves so
unmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not caslie be seene (saih Hector)
that there is anie drunckard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall foole,
meet to weare a cockescomb.

This unmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that
whensoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof
abundantlie. He addeth moreover, how they have an old bole (which they call S. Magnus
bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of fare greater quantitie than common boles are,
and so great, that it may seeme to be reserved since the Lapithane banquet, onelie to
quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole
full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they assure
themselves of good lecke, and plente after it. Neuertheless this excesse is not often
found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugal; but in their priests,
and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange
their vittles with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their lands
being so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they doe get by those men: for
in truth, they thinke themselves to have little need of other furniture than their owne soiles
doo yeeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these lands,
that ignorance of excesse is vnto the most part of them in ste'd of physicke; and labour
and travell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombed withall.

In like sort they want venomous beasts, cheefelie such as doo delight in hotter soile, and
all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their eyes also are so full of increase, that some doo vsuallie
bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which
are such as bring forth but one at once, rather barren than to be kept for anie game. As
for wild and tame foules, they have such plentie of them, that the people there account
them rather a barthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they have also neat and
gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheese; wherein, next vnto fish,
the cheefe part of their sustenence dooth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades,
who hath his see in Pomona the cheefe of all the lands, wherein also are two strong castels,
and such hath bene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of
them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finally,
there is little use of physicke in these quarters, lesse store of eëles, and least of frogs. As
for the horses that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than
asses, and yet to labour and travell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come
necer, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their journeys. The seas aboute these
Islands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the
heauens and stars; but by the contrarie meetings and workings of the west ocean, which
rageth so vehementlie in the streights, that no vessell is able to passe in salthe amongst
them. Some of these Islands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is
to be reapd by anie of them, is scarcelie sufficient to sustaine one or two men; and some
of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but moose or bare shingle.
Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left
unto
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vt to their sheepe and cattell. Of all these Islands also Pomona is the greatest, and therefore called the continent, which containeth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelve parish churches, and one town which the Danes (sometime lords of that Island) called Cracouia: but now it lieth Kirkwa. There are also two pretie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautifull church, and much building betwene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two towns, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops town. All the whole Island is full of clifes and promontories, whereby no small number of bays and some havens are produced.

There is also tin and lead to be found in six of these Iles, so good and plentifullie as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth four & twenty miles from Cathnesse, being separated from the same by the Pictish sea: wherein also lie certein Ilands, as Strom, four miles from Cathnesse, which albeit that it be but four miles from Cathnesse, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Orchades, called south Rauals, which is sixteene miles from Dunghilsbie, alias Dunachisbie, & that in two hours space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is five miles long, and hath a faire port called saint Margarets hauen. Then passe we by two desert Iles, which lieth towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, because they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the north side lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betwene the same & Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie three Iles, Sun, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Vall, which some accempt for two, and other but for one; because that in March and September, the flats that lie betwene them, doe sceme to joine them together, after the tide is gone. This nevertheless is certeine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hilles are to be scene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, so are they two miles from Pomona, & from saint Donats in Scotland full twenty miles, and on the north side of it lieth the Braine, in a narrow streight, as Buchanan dooth remember. And these are the Iles which lie betwene Pomona and Cathnesse. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Ilands, or rocks appereing neere vtto it: but on the east side thereof Cobesa dooth in manner overshadow it. Stapinsa also an Ile of six miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouia, toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Rouse of six miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglsa, wherin (as they saie) their patron &. S. Magnus lieth interred. From hence southward lie the Vera, Gersa, and not far off the Vester (which is fourscore miles from Hethland) Papa & Stonza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as is the Vester. In the midst also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire eie & within sight so well of Hethland, as the Orchades (by reason of three insuperable rocks which are apperant in the same) a very poore Iland, and yet yeralie robbed of such commodities as it hath by such Flemish and English fishemen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the provision of their countries.

Next vtto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, sixtie miles in length, and sixteene in breadth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are onelie inhabited, the innermost parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, because of the barrenesse and vunfruitfulness of the soile: yet of late some haue endeavoured to imposele it, but with no success correspondent to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their cheefe commodite and yeralie gaine by fish, as aforesayde. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twenty miles in length, eight in breadth, and so wild that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwene this Iland also and the Maine, are other smaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanferre. And from hence nine miles northward Vsta, twenty miles long, & six in breadth, plaine, pleasant, but innironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betwene this also and the Zeale, are the Vie, the Vre, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skeues, Chalseie, Nordwade, Brase, and Mowse, on
on the west side lie the west Skeies, Rottia, Papa the lesse, Wunned, Papa the more, Valla, Londra, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the lesse, & in manie holmes dispersed heere and there, whereof I have no notice. Some call these the Shetland, and some the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his division Zelandine, and toward the end of his first booke seemeth to auouch, that they live in manner as doo the inhabittants of the Orchades: although not in so cuill wise, nor in such large measure and abundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreover, that their apparel is after the Germaine cut, comelic, but not so chargeable and castie, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beasts, as martens, shepe, oxen, and gotes skins, and thervnto a kind of cloth which they weate, and sell to the merchants of Norwia, together with their butter, fish, either salted or dried, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vnctervne skewes, which they fetch out of Norwia.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that will they verie often bestow upon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yeeres died of meere age, without anie other disease. Dronkenesse is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good cheere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vs of flesh or foule there, although that some of their Ilands have plentie of both. Nor anie mention of corn growing in these parts, and therefore in steed of bread they drie a kind of fish, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their owens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuell also is of such bones as the fish yeeldeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they live as themselves suppose in much felicite, thinking it a great pece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked avarice, and cruelr dealings of the more rich and cuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there cometh a priest vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which jurisdiction they doo belong) who baptiseth all such children, as haue bëene borne among them, since he last arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they pro vide and paie with great scrupulosite in fish, for of other commodities haue they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troublesome voyage, except he watch his time. In these Iles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is produced by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elsewhere. This neuertheless is certeine, that these Ilands, with the Orchades, were never perfectlie uniteed to the crown of Scotland, till the mariage was made betwene king Iames and the ladie Marie daughter to Christiern king of Denmarke 1468; which Christiern at the birth of their some Iames (afterward king of Scotland and called Iames the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoever either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or herafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid peères, as appereath by the charter.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scare, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situate vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climaits, whose secret situations though partlie scene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueded or discovered by anie, because of the great abundance of huge Ilands of ice that mouueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulles and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowledge doth not concern our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scottish sea, wherein we passe by seven or eight such as they bee, of which the first called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, doo seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faux
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Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serveth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No mercuull therefore that I have beene so oft on ground among them. But most iofull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my native cite (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteneiment is much more franke and copious, and better harbourough wherein to rest my weare bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was sometime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineith eight miles; a place much honored among our monastick writers, because diuere monks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a long season, which afterward was translated to Chester in the strete, & finalie to Dureseme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotish monkke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & nesrenees to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gau the Ile with the see it selfe to such Scotish monks as they liked, because that by their preaching they first received the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer ouer with lead.

Next unto this is the Ile of Farne, and herem is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of eggs laid there by diuere kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardly run for a wager out of the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabittants; and in these also is great store of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured fethers, saying that they have a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, because it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacoal, which the people dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous hermite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence unto we came vnto the coast of Northfollke I saw no more Ilands.

Being therafore past S. Edmunds point, we found a little Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Claie, before we came at Waburme hope: the third also in Yarmouth riuer ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof also I must needs saie somewhat, because it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse either hath beene or may be one: for the brodest place of the strict land that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in breeth, verie well repleniished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castell, Olon, Flixton, Lestoff, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lound, Ashebie, Hoxton, Belon, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Going forward from hence, by the Estonnesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcels cut from the maine in Orford haue, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, & two pieaces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was some time a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed block-houses, two parish churches, of which one is called cast Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both under the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his jurisdiction. Foulnesse is an Ile void of wood, and
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and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plente: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; it is vnder the jurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Tabor bachelor of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his jurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of master John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and another (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulnesse. But to proced. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I have no mind to inrrent, more than of Crowland, Mersland, Elie, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze, Andredessei in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Auen (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some call marshes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, some to a vase, scruce, or wide scleeue, because they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same doe so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner; if a man doe imagine him-selfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betwixte these, moreover and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarce comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narrow seas was woont to talke) caught hold of our sails, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not taine to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE THAMES, AND SUCH RIVERS AS FALL INTO THE SAME.

CAP. XI.

HAVING (as you haue scéne) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat vpon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to restreine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to have written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castels, mountaines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceived in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leave to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had alreadie purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) els, flowings, and falles, I had thought to have made a perfect description vnder the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath bene largelie promised, & slacklie performed, and other sudden and inuiuous deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, with-
out occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such observations as I haue either obtained by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vterlie cut off, and in stead of the same a mangled rehearsal of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beseech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogether in vaine, sith my errors maie prooue a spurre vnto the better skilled, either to correct or inlarge where occasion serueth, or at the leastwise to take in hand a more absolute piece of worke, as better direction shall encourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of erie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath atchieued half his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, sith "Facile est inuentis adbere;" and to continue and finish, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and late the foundation or platforme of amie noble piece of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of lands, so will I now doe the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the said riuere it selfe, of whose fountaine some men make as much ado, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was never found: or the Tanais, whose original was never knowne, nor shall be: for whilst one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to such mens writings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme that this famous stremme hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Teuburie, neere vnto the Fosse (an high waie so called of old) where it was sometime named Isis, or the Ouse, although divers do ignorantlie call it the Thames even there, rather of a foolish custome than anie skill, because they either neglect or vterlie are ignorant how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good riuers should) and meeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirencester towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination. From hence it hasteth vnto Creceklade, alias Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Eouesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small stremmes, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundles: and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botlic and Hinkseie, the other by Godstow, a village not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre yere they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant meadowes, it passeth at length by Oxford, of some supposed rather to be called Ouseford of this riuere, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a little from whence the originall branches doe joine and go together by Abbandune (alias Sensham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so neere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine stremme, thorough the industrie of the monks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be scene) by the decaie of Cair Dour, now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the throughfare from Wales and the west coutrie to London, which issued upon this fact, is ease to be scene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where joining with a riuere of the same denomination, it looeth the name of Isis or Ouse (whereof Ouseneie at Oxford is produced) and from henceforth is called Thamees. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Reding, which in time past, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-couurse or riuere; which maie be scene in Ouerse, or Sutherse, for ouer the Ree, or south of the Rhe, as to the skilful doth readilie appeare; yet some hold (and not altogether against probabilite and likehood) that the word Sutherse is so called of Sudric, to wit, the south kingdome, whereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Grecke word (Rhe) which is to onerlowe. Certes, as neither of these conjectures are to be contemned, so the last cometh most neere

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to mine aid, who affirm, that not one line the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his overflowing in time past called Rhe, by such Saxons as inhabited in this land: and even to this date in Essex I haue oft observed, that when the lower grounds by rage of water have beene overflown, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a river, albeit the word Riber be derived from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins, but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here glie notice how farre they are deceived, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer LIS, or LIe: but I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoever these matters stand after it hath passed by Reding, & there received the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough (& then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetisford) hieh to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertseie, where Erkenwald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I doo read.

From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (wherevpon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingston, Shene, Sion and Brentford or Bregentford, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene (another brooke descendeing from Edgworth) whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Upon this also sir John Thin had sometime a statelye house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and retaine such fish as should come about the same. From Brentfoord it passeth by Mortlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lée with it by the waie vpon the coast of Essex, and another that commeth from Abreche not far off, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth néeere to Tannige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Dernford, wherevnto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaye a notable riever (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description shall insue.

Hauing in this maner briefeliie touched this noble riever, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be severallie described to the satisfacion of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riever, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible. Heereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth evidiently that the length thereof is at the least, one hundred and eighty miles, if it be measured by the journies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferior vnto them in abundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plente, or greatest variete, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skillett not, neither will I (as diverse doo) invent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celdish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, Epistolarum lib. 8. epil. 6. nor yeeldeth cloths of gold as the Tagus dooth: but an infinite plente of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit néeere vnto his bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweete salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plente (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riever in Europa is able to exceed it. What store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sondrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable avarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riever complainteth commonlie of no want, but the more it looseth at one time, the more it yeldeth at another.
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another. Onic in carps it semeth to be scant, is it is not long since that kind of fish was brought over into England, and but of late to speake of into this streme, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of divers gentlemen's ponds, by which means it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion tbat I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be spared but even one year care from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man bee vnndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath bene choked of late with sands and shelves, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconvenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or prise set vpon the ballasse sometime freelic gien to the merchants by patent, even vnto the lands end (busques au point) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streme, and all through an advantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word ponet: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French tong, wherein that patent was granted.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleteth all his chanells twice in the daie and night, that is in euery twelve houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seantentic miles, within the maine land: the streme or tide being alwaies higgest at London, when the moone dooth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnnder the earth, and not subject to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minutes as passe yer the revolution and natural course of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to consist of twenty foure minutes, which wanteth but twelve of an whole houre in foure and twentieth, as experience dooth confirme. In like sort we see daily triall, that each tide is not of equall heighe and greatness: for at this and see by daie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigh and greatness: for at the full and see by daie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigh and greatness: for at the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehementie, because the tide which filleteth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ware) that the roomer ouerfloweth hir banks neere vnto London: which happeneth especiallie in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of custome soonest drowned. This order of flowing in like sort is perpetuall, so that when the moone is vpon the southwest and north of points, then is the water by London at the highest: neither doo the tides alter, except some rough winds out of the west or southwest doo keepe backe and checke the streme in his entrance, as the east and northeast do basten the comming in thereof, or else some other extraordinary occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the northern seas, which fill the said riuer by their natural returne and flowing. And that both these doo happen oft among, I refer me to such as have not sildome obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of three or foure tides in one natural daie, whereof the vnskilfull doo descant manie things.

But how so euer these small matters doo fall out, and how often soever this course of the streme doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their natural course and limits of time exactlie. Polydore saith, that this riuer is seldome increased or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceived, as it shalbe more apparenlie scene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of his right course, the more the water must of necessitie swell with the white waters which run downe from the land: because the passage cannot be so swift and readie in the windsing as in the streight course. These landflouds also doo greatlie straine the finesse of the streme, in so much that after a great landfloud, you shall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whose eies are so blinded with the thickness of that element, that they cannot see where to

Carps & fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.
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become, and make shift to save themselves before death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it selfe is verie cleere, and in comparison next vnto that of the sea, which is most subtile and pure of all other; as that of great rivers is most excellent, in comparison of smaller brookes: although Aristotle will have the salt water to be most grosse, because a ship will bear a greater burden on the sea than on the fresh water; and an eg sink in this that swimmeth on the other. But he may easie be answered by the quantitie of roome and abundance of waters in the sea; whereby it becometh of more force to sustaine such vessels as are committed to the same, and wherunto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of sundrie bridges placed over this noble streame, of which that of London is most chieflie to be commended, for it is in manner a coitinnall street, well replenshed with large and stacile houses on both sides, and situat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free squared stone, euerie of them being threecore foot in height, and full twenty in distance one from another, as I have often viewed.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of swans dailye to be scene vpon this riuer, the two thousand wherries and small boats, wherby three thousand poore watermen are maintaine, through the careigne and recariage of such persones as passe or repasse, from time to time vpon the same: besides those huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either Carrie passengers, or bring necessarie provision from all quarters of Oxforde, Barkeshire, Bungkinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hereforde, Midlesex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the ciyte of London. But for somuch as these things are to be repeated againe in the particular description of London, annexed to his card; I surcasse at this time to speake anie more of them here, as not lingering but hastinge to performe my promise made even now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I think it best to resume the description of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatsoever is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonstration of his course. How and where the said streame ariseth, is alreadie & with sufficiente set downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof some doo vterlie mistake, because that rill in summer drouths is oft so drye, that there is little or no water at all scene running aboue ground in the same. For this cause therefore manie affirmre the verie head of Isis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chinre, called in Latine Corinium that riseth aboue Coberlie. For my part I follow Leland, as he dooth the moonke of Malnesburie, which wrote the historic intituled Eulogium historiarium, who searched the same of set purpose, and pronounced with Leland, although at this present that course be verie small, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and sand. Preceeding therefore from the head, it first of all receiued the Kemble water calleth the Ceue, which riseth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it selfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Ashton, Canes, and Howston, holding on in one channel vntill they meet with the Chinre, the next of all to be described.

The Chinre is a faire water arising out of the ground aboue Coberlie, from whence it runneth to Cowlie, Cowlesburne, Randcome, and so into the Isis on the left side above Crekelade. These three waters being thus united and brought into one chanell, within a little space of the head of Isis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiued the Rhe, descending from Ecombe, Escot, Redburne, Widhille, &c at the fall into Iesie, or not far off joineth with another that runneth west of Purton by Braden forest, &c. Next of all our Isis mecteth with the Amnie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie roode Amnie, runneth by Downe Amnie, and finalie into the Isis a little aboue Isie. In like sort I read of another that mecteth withall on the right hand aboue Isie also, which so far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Driffield and fallest so into our Isis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not so nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine streame dooth crosse one water that descendeth from Swindon, and going also by Stratton toward Sewingham, is it selfe
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self increased with two rills by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddent by Wambrie, as I have beeene informed.

The Colne is a faire rier rising by north neere to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parneworth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winston, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quemington, Faireford, and west of Lachelade into the rier Isis, which hereabout on the southside also taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Isis being once past Sevingham, cresseth a brooke from sothenst that mounteth about Ashbirie, and receiueth a rill from bywest (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrinham, it afterward so diuideth it selfe, that the arnes therof include Inglesham, and by reason that it falleth into the Isis at two seuerall places, there is a pleasant land produced, whereof let this suffice. Being past Lehelade a mile, it runneth to saint Johns bridge, & thereabout meteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh the name (a towe wherevnto one peece of an old vniuersite is ascribed, which it did neuer possess, more than Crekelade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, fro whence it goeth to north Lech, Estenton, Anlesworth, east Lech, south Thorpe, Farendon, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenskot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riseth in an od peece of Barkeshire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said bridge (now notable through a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the estate) it is not long yere it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another od parcel of the said countie, whereof I haue this note given me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Radcote bridge, whereof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeshire by Arescote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other also riseth in the same peece, and runneth by Brisenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that brake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After these confluences, the maine course of the streame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it joyneth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth aboue Sheiburne in Gloscestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & cometh by Barrington, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbecke castell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Ensham, betwene which and Cassinton, it receiued (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water.

It riseth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marsh, and through a patch of Worcestershire vnto Euenlode, betwene it and the four shirestones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comynng by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and so to Bleddent, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich, water that issueth at two heads, in the hills that lie by west of little Rolrich, and joine aboue Kenkham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Ascot, Short hamton, Chorleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and southeast of Woodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth aboue Enstone, and goeth to Ciddington, Glinon, Wotton (where it is increased with a rill that runneth thither from steeple Barton, by the Béeche trée) Woodstocke, Blaidon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Cassinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Oxford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described.

The head of Charwell is in Northampsonshire, where it riseth out of a little poole, by Charwell. Charleton village, seven miles aboue Banbrie northeast, and there it issueth so fast at the verie surge, that it groweth into a pretie streame, in maner out of hand. Soone after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which fallith into it, about Otmer side: but forasmuch as it riseth by Bincester, the whole course thereof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Oxondshire, it receiuethe the Culen, which fallith into the same, a little aboue Edgcote, and so descending toward M 2 Wardington,
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Wardington, it meeteth with another coming from by north west, betwenee Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie also it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Compton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receueth the discharge of diverse rilllets, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The said water therfore inglended of so manie brookelets, consisteth chiefely of two, whereof the most southerlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rills withall, dooth meet with the other that falleth from by northwest into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

That other (as I conjecture) is increased of three waters, wherof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore light Tudoe, which comming betwenee Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, joineith about Broughton with the second that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I gesse. The last falleth into the Tudoe or Tudelfake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riseth not far from Sotteswell in Warwickshire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbrooke. The next water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riseth north of Michael Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Roe alias Bure, whose head is not far about Burecester, alias Bincester, and Burcester: and from whence it goeth by Burecester to Mortton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Islip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betwenee Wood and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east bridge of Oxford by Magdalene college, and so beneath the south bridge into our aforesaid Isis.

In describing this riuere, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and maull as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helidon parish, not from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of those notable rivers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, doo abundantlie serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, alreadie described. The second is the Lene that goeth westward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they doo coast the countrie, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common judgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our countrie.

But to go forward with my description of the Ouse, which being past Oxford goeth to Hifie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodliee, Newnham, and so to Abington, som time called Sensham, without increase, where it receueth the Oche, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horse, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkshire, and in one chanell, entret in the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall southwest of Sutton Courtmee) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this riuere, and is contented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the conuincution of these two waters Thamesia is produced, and that name continued even vnto the sea.

Thame riuere riseth in the easterlie parts of Chilterne hills, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring west of the said parke, which is seaven miles from the stone bridge, that is betwene Queerendon and Ailsburie (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therefore by long Mortson, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Barrant, it receueth soone after a rill that commeth by Queerendon from Hardwike, and yer long an other on the other side that riseth about Wendover in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Ailsburie, it fallith into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie doo faile me.) From this conuenience the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the

Winchingtions,
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Winchingtons, Coddington, Chereslie, Notcie abbeie: and comming almost to Tame, it receueth one water from southeast aboue the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that Tame standeth inuironed vpon three sides with three severall waters, as maie be easilie scene. The first of these commeth from the Chiltern east of Below or Bleddow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingscie, Towseie, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they proceed together as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chisleton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head commeth from Chilterne hills, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and meeting beneath Cuxham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgrave, Statham, and so into the Tame. From hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newennton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Ben- sington, Crowmarsh, or Wallingford, where it receueth the Blaue, descending from Blaeuburg, now Blewerie, as I learne.

Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingford, situate in the vale of White horse, that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Gorling, Bassilden, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Norris, runneth by Frizelham, Buckelburie, Stanfords, Bradfield, Tidmarsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwene Mapledorham and Purlicie, to Cauersham, and Cauersham manour, and a little beneath receueth the Kenet that commeth thereunto from Reading.

The Kenet riseth aboue Ouerton 5 or 6 miles west of Marleborow, or Marlingesbow, as some call it; & then going by Fifeled, Clatfor, Maulon, & Preshute, vnto Marle- burie: it holdeth on in like order to Ramsburie, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboue Alburne chase west of Alburne towne. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamstreet, & beneth Charnhamstreet it crosseeth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwijn, & at Hungerford also two other in one bottome somewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Aunnington, Kinburie, Hamsted marshall, Euburne, Newerie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Isberie, Fegerston, the Sheffords, Westford, Boxford, Donington castell, and Shaw. From Newerie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermasten, a little aboue which village it receueth the Alburne, another brooke increased with sundrie rills: and thus going on to Padworth, Oston, and Michael, it commeth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it joineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receueth the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appereeth.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betwene west Shirburne and Wooton toward the south-west, afterward directing his course toward the northwest, thorough the Vine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and thorough a piece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leaving a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I have bene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turgos towne receueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerlie called Basing water, commeth from Basingstoke, and thoroug a parke vnto the aforesaid place.

The other descendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwierr, and yere it cometh at Hartlie, joineth with the Basing water, from whence they go together to Turgos, where they meet with the Loddon (as I have said alreadie.) The next streame toward the south is called Ditford brooke. It riseth not farre from Vpton, goeth by Gruell, and underneath Wharnborow castell receueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go together by Maddingleie vnto Swallowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voyage also the Loddon meeteth with the
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Elwe or Elweie that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Euersleie: and about Eluesham likewise with another running from Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surrei, and going by Ash becometh a limit, first betwene Surrei and Hamsshire; then betwene Hamshire and Barkshire, and passing by Ash, Erinele, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamsted; it joineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, having receiveth all these waters; and after the last confluence with then now becometh to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is maruellouslie increased and grown vnto triple greatness: to that it was at Oxford.

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependon, or Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where sometime a great rill voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Grenculand (going all this waie from Shiplake just north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Medenham, Hurlie, Bisham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meeteth with a brooke soone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Vse, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a pretie market towne. The other named Higden, descendeth also from those mounteines but a mile beneath west Wickham, and joyneth both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go together to Wooburne, Hdsor, & so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word doo I use in my former treatise: but to proceed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, alias Sudlington, Braie, Dorneie, Clure, new Windsore (taking in neverthelesse, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Moore, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wraiborow, and a little by east thereof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing.

The Cole riseth néere vnto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by More to Richmansworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdon, Hemsted, betwene Kings Langlie, and Abbots Langlie, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmansworth, receiveth by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northwest, to Northchurch, Barkhamsted, and beneath Hemsted joynig with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from above Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latiemers, Mawdlen, Cheneies, Sarret and Richmanswoorth, and so going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vxbridge, where it taketh in the Missendens water, from northwest, which rising aboue Missenden the greater goeth by Missenden the lesse, Hagnondesham (now Hammiersham) the Vach, Chalhurrence Giles, Chalhurrence S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vxbridge (as I have said). Soone after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, never to joine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows straight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe cast of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leaving an land betwene them of no small size and quantitie.

Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Vindeles, which riseth by northwest néere vnto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run together toward Chertesie, where when they have met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windsourse great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeast side of Chertesie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betweene Sheperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie rising by west, commeth from Olsted, & soone after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulmire forrest, and goeth by Hedleie
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Hedleigh and Frensham) hasteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Wairolke, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it joinet with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shawford, but yere it come there, it crosseth Crawlie beck, which rising somewhere about the edge of Sussex short of Ridgewicke, goeth by Vacherie parke, Knoll, Crawlie, Brauleie, Wonarsh, and so into the Waie. From hence then our riber goeth to Shawford, and sooner after (meeting with the Abbingter water that commeth by Shere, Albie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guidoford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side taketh in a Brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one dooth spring between two hills north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboute Purbright, and afterward joining in one, they goe forth vnto Newarke, and being there united, with the consequence it goeth to Purford court, to Bifler, Waifred, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Moulesie, Hampton, and yere it come at Hampton court on the northside, and east Moulesie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Word forset, and going by Burstow, it meteth afterward with another gullet, containing a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forset aforesaid, the other runneth from Febush wood, and comming by Iseld, meteth with the first aboute Horleie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they joine in the Moule water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Mesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Ocleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finallie, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Becheuworth, west Becheuworth, and oner against the Swalow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that commeth thither from Wootton by Darkin and Milton, it runneth to Mickleham, Lethered, Stoke, Cobhan, Ashire parke, east Moulesie, and so into the Thames, which after this conuion goeth on to Kingston, and there also meetheth with another becke, raising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Mauldon, & so to Kingston town. The Thames in like manner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shere, where it receiueth a water on the northwest side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Feltham, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Sion, neere vnto new Braine ford, so that it issueth into the Thames between them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the British toong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingsburie, Twiford, Perriall, Hanwell, and Austerlie. Thence we followed our rier to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheswijc, Barnlmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it crossed a becke from Wandlesworth, that riseth at Woodmans turne, and going by Easthalton, meteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Mitcham, Marton abbeie, and Wandlesworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this is Marburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. Iames, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conuied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one difereth from other, by foure & twenty minute, that is forty eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the weather alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it meteth withall, is the Brone on Kent side, west of Greenewich, whose head is Bromis in Bromlie parish, and going from thence to Lewisham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course fourthe right vnto the Thames.

The next water that it meteth withall, is on Essex side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lee or Luie, whose head riseth short of Kempton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast.
southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a piece of Brokehall parke (leaving Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adjoining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yee it come there, it receiueth a water (peradventure the Marran) rising at northwest in Brodewater hundred, from aboue Welwyn, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingfield burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Beane (as I gesse) comming from Boxwood by Benington, Aston, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest commeth from Barkeweie in Edwines hundred, the other Sandon in Oddesey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemede, they go together by Pulcherchurch, or Puckrich, Stondon, Thunderidge, Wadesmill, Benghoo, and so into the Lee, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the same 1408, and so to Amwell, where on the north side it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a piece of Singleshall parke, then by great Hadham, and so from Widford to the aforesaid towne. From hence also they go as one to old Stansted called Le Veil, branching in such wise yee it come there, that it runneth through the towne in sundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stansted, beneath which it meeteth with the Stoure, west (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riseth at Wenden lootes, from whence it goeth to Langliele, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elsingham, & Stansted Mountfitchet.) Thence it lieth on to Bishops Stourford, Sabrichfoord, and beneath this towne crosseth with another from the east side of Elsingam, that goeth to Hatfield, Brolocke, Shiring, Harlo, & so into the Stoure, and from whence they go together to Eastwic, Parmedon, and next into the Lee. These things being thus performed, the Lee runneth on beneath Hoddesdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by west of the maine streme, a mile lower than Wormleie it selfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormelee locke.

It runneth also by Cheston nunerie, and out of this a little beneath the said house, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, because it diueth Eastsex and Hartford shire in sundre, and in the length of one medow called Frithe. This lake runneth not but at great floods, and meeteth againe with a succor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockesditch, halfe a mile from his first breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marsh point joineth againe with the streame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the first arme to S. Mauile bridge (the first bridge westward uppon that riuier) uppon Waltham causie, & halfe a mile lower than Mauile bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it meeteth with the kings streame & principall course of Luy, or Lee, as it is commonlie called. The second arme breaketh out of the kings streame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheston nunerie, and so to the fulling mill, and two bridges by west of the kings streame, wherinto it falleth about a stones cast lower at a place called Malkins shellie, except I was wrong informed. Cheston & Hartfordshire men doo saie, that the kings streame at Waltham dooth part Hartfortshire and Essex, but the Essex men by forest charter doo plead their liberties to hold unto S. Mauiles bridge. On the east side also of the kings streame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile about Waltham, & so goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the K. streame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lee runneth on by south on Waltonstow till it come to Stratford Langthorne, where it breaketh partikle of it selfe, and partikle by mans industrie for mills. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (sometimes king of England) was not of smallest force, who understanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ships into the country, there to kill and slaye his subjects, in the yere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuier: he in the meane time before they could returne, did so mightlie weaken the maine chanell, by drawinge great numbers of trenches from the same; that when they purposed to come backe, there was nothing so much water left as the ships did draw: wherefore being set on ground, they were soone fiere, & the aduersaries overcome. By this policie also much medow ground was woone,
woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was also a part of Assyria by the like practice of Cyrus with the Ganges, at such time as he came against Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was so offended, that one of his knights whom he loued deere, was drownned and borne awaie with the water in his passage ouer the same, that he sware a deepe oath yer long to make it so shallow that it should not wet a woman to the knes. Which came to passe, for he caused all his armie to dig 46 new draines from the same, whereby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. Senec. de Tra. li. 3. But to conclude with the Lee that sometime overflowed all those medowes, through which it passeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being past Westham, it is not long yer it fall into that streame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conquest, that is, how Edward the first, & sonne of Alfred, in the ycar of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time also he had Witham a towne in Essex in hand, as his sister called Aelffed repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of some called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Memmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how these waters are distinguisched in these daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is possible, that the Bene may be the same which commeth by Benington, and Benghoo: which if it be so, then must the Memmarran be the same that descendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time past right well be called Marranfield, for of like insercion of names I could shew manie examples.

Being past the Lee (whose chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the same to the north side of London) we come into the Rodon, vpon Essex side in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the most) from the fall of the Lée. This water riseth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Ethorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchamer Roding, Vifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer fallith into it, that ariseth betwixt Matching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they joine (I saie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland conjecturith that the streame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to say of it. But heereof I am sure, that the whole course being past Ongar, it goeth to Stansted riuers, Theidon mount, Heibridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & so into the Thames.

The Darwont meeteth with our said Thames vpon Kents side, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riseth at Tanridge, or thereabouts, as I have beene informed by Christopher Saxtons card late made of the same, and the like (I hope) he will doo in all the severall shires of England at the infinit charges of sir Thomas Sackford knight, & maister of the requests, whose zede vnto his countrie heerin I cannot but remember, & so much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & somewhat beside this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which these riuers for the Kentish part do run. Would to God his plats were once finished for the rest! But to proceed. The Darwont therefore, rising at Tanridge, goeth on by Titeyse toward Brasted, and receuynge on ech side of that towne (& severall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shoreham, Kinsford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that cometh from Orpinston by Marie Craie, Paults Craie, North Craie, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the brooke, it is a world to see what plentie of Serephium growth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Puichisius hath not a little halted; whilst he giueth forth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betwene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neverthelesse is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiueneth another forme cleaner different from the first, which it yeeldeth when it grew vpon the shore, and therewith appeareth of more fat & doggie substance. Which maketh me to think that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of wormwood, whereof controversie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Wauie Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for...
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rising about Corinham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuier, which I doo now describe.

I would have spoken of one ercke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Hallstoe by S. Maries: but sith I understand not with what backewaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skilfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I woulde for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lecllade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

Huie non est aliuum flumen par, nec tot in agros
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vrinque.

Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaiue riuier, whereof I find two descriptions, the first beginneth thus. The Midwaiue riuier is called in Latin Medensis (as some write) because the course thereof is midwaiue in a maner betweene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In British it hight Dourbre: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobreumu. But in an old charter which I haue seene (containing a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuier Wadring; and also a towne standing betweene Malling and east Parleie, Wed-lington; and finallie, a forrest also of the same denomination, Wedlington, now Waterdon, whereby the original name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Wedring, and joineth with another riuoke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Sussex: and after this confluence they go on together, as one by Ashhirst, where hauing receiued also the second brooke, it hasteth to Pensherst, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the northwest side, and on another little streame that commeth from the hilles betweene Peuenburie and Horsemon on the southeast. From thence also, and not farre from Yalling it receiuet the Theise (a pretie streame that ariseth about the Theise Hirst) & afterward the Gran or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and meeteth with sundrie other riuokes by the waie, whereof one branch of Theise is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a pretie Iland, doth joine with the said Midwaiue, a little aboue Yalding, and then with the Lowse. Finallie at Maidstone it meeteth with another brooke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chatham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betweene Shepeie and the Grane.

And thus much out of the first authour, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yeld such plentie of sturgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishopp of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the shrimps that are taken therein, which are not lesse esteemed of in their kind, than the western smelts or flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second authour describeth it after this manner, and more copioslie than the other.

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath ruanne a pretie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it meeteth with a brooke, whose head is in Ward forrest, southwest of Greenested, which goeth to Horsefield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long joineth with the Midwaiue. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-west from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Pensherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawtherst; and joineth above Edinbridge, it doth fall into the midwaiue beneath Heuer towe, and Chiddington. From Pensherst our maine streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Motie, another at Wroteham, the third at west Peckham, & likewise another from southeast, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiuet the Theise, whose forked head is at Theise Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a brooke out of the northside of Waterden forrest,
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forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our river goeth to Goldthurst, and comming to the Twist, it brancheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my conjecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I doo take it) riseth néeere to Cranebrooke, and going by Siffighirst, it receueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcorne, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcorne it selfe standing betweene them both. Finallie, the Garan or Crane meeting with Midwaie south of Yalling, they on the one side, and the These on the other, leave a pretie illand in the midst, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

From Yalling forward, the Midwaie goeth to west Farleigh, cast Farleigh: and yer it come at Maidstone, it interteinth a rill that riseth short of Ienham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is vere beneficial to clothiers in drie yeeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicket at the fulling miles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plenty of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Maidstone, it runneth by Allington, Sniolland, Halling, Cuckstone, and Rochester, where it passeth under a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant sir Robert Knolles, who gau the first onset vpon that piece of worke, and thereunto builded a chappell of the Trinite at the end thereof, in testimonie of his piety. In processe of time also one John Warner of Rochester made the newing thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that see were not slacke in their benevolence and furtherances toward that worke, especiallie Walter Merton founder of Merton college in Oxford, who by misfortune perished by falling from the same, as he rode to suuice the workemen. Being past Rochester, this noble river goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, and soon after branching, it imbraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heades doe Ashdon forest, that lieth betwene them both.

OF SUCH STREAMES AS FALL INTO THE SEA, BETWEEENE THE THAMES AND THE MOUTH OF THE SAUERNE.

CHAP. XII.

AFTER the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riseth at Kingseswood, which is fourteeene or fiftene miles from Canturburie. This river passeth by Ashford, Wie, Nackington, Canturburie, Fordish, Standish, and Sturemouth, where it receueth another river growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it self in twaine, & in such wise, that one arm thereof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth southeastward vp to Richborow, and so to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeast againe and falleth into the sea. The issue of this later tract is called the haueen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the streame that commeth downe thither, after the diuision of the Stoure, maie be the same which Beda calleth Wantseme; but as I cannot vndoo this knot at will, so this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peraduenture the Wantseme on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland speaketh, as Fishpoole becketh that ariseth in Stonehirst wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chisler, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which sometime inclosed Thanet, as Leland saith: the third issueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent sometime past held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich haueen, as the said authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riseth by S. Marie Burne church, and
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go ing by Bishops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: also Wihan that riseth aboue Whiam short of Adam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmll, or Wenderton: and the third namelesse, which riseth short of Wodensburgh (a towne wherein Hengist & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Othine) and goeth by Staple to Williams: but sith they are obscure I will not touch them here. From hence passing by the Goodwine, a plot verei perilous for sea-faring men (sometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerous sonne, whose name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inher- itance of erle Goodwine in time past was knowne to lie) but escaping it with ease, we came at length to Douer. In all which voage we found no streame, by reason of the clilhes that inuiron the said coast. Howbeit upon the south side of Douer, there is a pretie fresh rier, whose head ariseth at Erwell, not passing foure miles from the sea, and of some is called Douer, which in the Britishtong is a common name for waters, as is also the old British word Auon for the greatest riers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe en-trance; and therefore such are in my time called hauen, a new word growen by an aspiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this else-where, sith I am now oneli to speake of Douer, wherof it is likele that the towne & castell of Douer did some-time take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peradventuer here and there sundrie small creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble rier falleth into the sea. This Rother separateth Sussex from Kent, and hath his head in Sussex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden forrest, and from thence directeth his course vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and so forth by Newendon vnto Mattham ferrie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a castell sometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beauflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bille that riseth aboue Billsington, the other by Iden, so that it in- cludeth a fine parcell of ground called Oxnee, which in time past was reputed as a parcell of Sussex; but now vpon some occasion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence also growing into some greatnesse, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finallie with the Beckie, which commeth from Becklie: so that the plot wherein Rie standeth, is in manner a by-land or peninsula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and most men are of the likeliest opinion, that this rier should be called the Linnen, which (as Peter of Cornhull saith) doth issue out of Andradeswald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Linnen, because the Danes are noted to enter into these parts by the Linnen; and sailing on the same to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I have noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this suffice.

Being thus crossed ouer to the west side of Rie hauen, & in vewing the issues that fall into the same, I meet first of all with a water that groweth of two brookekes, which come downe by one channell into the east side of the mouth of the said port. The first thence that falleth into it descendeth from Becklie and thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Pesemarch, & soone after joining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the same at the westerlie side of Rie: the third streame commeth from the north, and as it monteth vp not farre from Mfieldset, so it runneth betweene Sescambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall that riseth (as I heare) not verie far from Westfield. There is likewise a fourth that growth of two heads betweene Ielingham and Pet, and going by Winchelseie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, so that Winchelseie standeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the streames of these two that I haue last rehearsed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by southwest of Hastings, or thereabouts, is called Aestus or Asten: perhaps of Hastaen or Hastings the Dane, (who in time past was a plague to France and Enginland) & rising not far from Penhirst, it meeteth with the sea (as I heare) by east of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a crecke (as I remember) servd with no backwater;
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backewater; and so I heare of Coddin or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Into Peuenseie hauen diverse waters doo resort, and of these, that which entereth into the same on the east side riseth out from two heads, whereof the most easterlie is called Ash, the next unto the Burne, and viuiting themselues not farre from Ashburne, they continue their course vnder the name and title of Ashburne water, as I read. The second that commeth thereunto also of two heads, whereof the one is so manie miles from Boreham, the other not far from the Parke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring southwest of Hirstmowsen, they direct their course toward Peuenseie (beneath which they meet with another rising at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall together into Peuenseie hauen. The Cuckme issueth out at seuerall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and meeting beneath Halling, they run one botomme by Micham, Arlington, Wellington, old Fristhan, and so into the sea.

Vnto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, sundrie brookes and riverets doo resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betwene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Vertwood, and running from thence by Langhoyt and Ripe, on the west side; it falleth into the aforesaid river beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The next hereunto hath his head in Arugas hill, the third descendeth from Ashedon forest, and going with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine river a little beneath Isefield. The fourth water commeth from Ashedon forest by Horsted Caines (or Ouestate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceived if this river be not called Isis, after it is past Isefield. The fifth riseth about Stornelgate, and meeteth also with the maine stremme aboue Linfield, and these are known to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the river. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall neere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his course toward the east, it meeteth with his maister betweene Newicke and Isefield (or Ifield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and having met in like sort with the maine river about Barcham, it runneth foorth with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamseie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so foorth into the maine.

The next river that we came vnto west of Brightheuston is the Sore, which notwithstanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton college in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoare stremme, because of the said towne that standeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleasant water, & thereto if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this river is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Sora from the rising, in good sooth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten miles thereon vp into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stopped vs, so that we were inforced to turrene either east or west, for directlie foorth-right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certaine space toward the northwest, it turneth southward betweene Shermomburie and Twinham, and soone after meeteth with the Bimar, not much south from Shermomburie, whences they run together almost two miles, till they fall into the Sore. That on the west side descendeth from about Billingshirt, & going toward the east, it croseth with the fourth (which riseth a little by west of Thacam) east from Pulborow, and so they run as one into the Sore, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Brember, Burles, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the castell and the vallie wherein it runneth is called Vallis Aruntings, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of exellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth vp of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the
next stremne (as I gesse) about Doursford house. The second riseth by west from the hills that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Boriton ward, and joyneth with the second betwene Peterfield and Doursford, after which confluence they goo together in one channell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that commeth betwene Fernshirle and S. Lukes chappell, southwest of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Laddesworle (as I doo read, and likewise sundrie other in one channell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Chimping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Having thus described the west side of Arun, let vs doo the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first riuer that we come into therefore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forrest, & joining a little above Horsham, they meet with the third, which commeth from field parke, not verie farre from Shinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Willicke parke, the other by west, neere unto Heslemeer chappell, and meeting by west of Doursfeld, they vnde themselves with the channell, growing by the confluence that I speake of beneath Shinfeld, a little above Billingshirst. The last water commeth from the hills about Linchmere, and runneth west and south, and passing betwene Billingshirst and Stopham it commeth unto the channell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increase, at the least that I doo heare of.

Burke hath his issue in a parke neere Aldingburrie (or rather a little above the same toward the north, as I have since beene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betwene north Berflete and Plesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Erinliske, and directing his course toward the same rising, it peninsulateth Seliscoe towne on the southwest and Pagham at northwest. Deel springeth about Banderton, and thence running betwene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Rumbaldesdowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north west from Funtingdun (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one stremne toward the sea, it meeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of Thorneie Iland.

The Racton riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it fallith into the sea, northward of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emil commeth first betwene Racton and Stansted, then downe to Emilsworth or Emnesworth, & so into the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hampshire almost from the very head. Having in this maner passed along the coasts of Sussex, the next water that I remember, riseth by east of the forest of Estbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Burhun, Farham, and so into the gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Porchester castell, which is situat about three miles by water from Portsmouth towne, as Leland dooth report. Then we go within halfe a mile further to Forthen creeke, which either gineth or taketh name of a village hard by. After this we come to Osterpole lake, a great creeke, that goeth vp by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turrent of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie over against it, the like whereof is to be scene in diverse other haunens of the west countrie, whereby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restraine.

From hence we go further to Tichelfield water, that riseth about Eastmaine parke, ten or twelve miles by northeast or there abouts from Tichelfield. From Eastmaine it goeth (parting the forests of Waltham, and Eastberie by the way) to Wicham or Wiconbe, a pretie market towne & large throughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one channell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Withoseleiches house (leaving Tichfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as hit naturall course inforceth. Finalie, within a mile of this bridge it
it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, wherunto diuere streams resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish creke, whose fall is betweene saint Andrewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham forest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it meeteth with another brooke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waiie on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botlie, and then joining with the Hamble, they run together by Prowlingsworth, Vpton, Brusill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Now come we to the hauen of Southampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefely describe so nere as lcan possiblie. The brede or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point thereof also is a strong castell laetie built, which is rightlie named Caldshore, but now Caweshot, I wote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamel hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen shooteth vp on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memorie dooth serue me. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some doo call the Arre or Arle, and I will procede withall in this order following.

The Alresford beginneth of diuere faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and soone after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hichingstocke three miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueeth two rills in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forrest in maner at hand, and by northwest of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Candiner, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewooton, Aberstone, &c: vntill we mee with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Hichingstocke, it commeth by Aunton to Eston village, and to Woorthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selle into other that resort to Hide and the lower soils by east of Winchester, there serying the streets, the close of S. Maries, Wollesie, and the new college verie plentifulie with their water. But in this meant while, the great streame commeth from Worthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it dooth also part in twaine, environing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leaving it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the east side, and so into the salt creke that leadeth downe to the hauen.

On the other side of Southampton, then resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description insuing. The Stockbridge water being head of the Stockwater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Ouerton and Stenement, it commeth at last by Lauersstocke & Whitchurch, and soone after receiuing a brooke by northwest, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, southeast from Horsseburne) it procedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranbourne, on the east side (a pretie riuelt rising about Mincheleie, and going by Fullington, Barton: and to Cranbourne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other brooke, whose name I doo not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Cullomanske forest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to ipper Claford, yer it touch there it receiued the rill of which I spake before, which rising also nere vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbateslam, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Horwell, wherefoe I spake euon now.
These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south under Stockbridge, and soone after diuiding it self in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hil, and goeth by east of vpper Wallop, west of nether Wallop, by Bucholz forrest, Broughton, and called (as I haue bene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Sombourne, and visting themselves againe, they go forth by Motteshunt, and then receive the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendon parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Motteshunt, and finally to the aforesaid water, which from thenceforth is called the Test, even vnto the sea. But to proced. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumseie, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiuet a concourse of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forrest, and jinoing in Wadecie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Murseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen.

The next river that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and commeth thercinto about Eling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leaving Calde shore castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the southwest, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie descendeth. The Mineie riseth not far from Minceiesteed, a village in the north part of the new Forrest; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea southwest (as I take it) of Exburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Being past the Mineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime converted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buying his pleasure with the ruin of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or enlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finally into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Greeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neverthelesse, sith this denomination of the river hath now hir fre passage, I think it not convenient to seke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is Mineieesteed, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it hight Mile, as I have heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond which I find a narrow going or strictland leading fro the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hoong by a thred, from the maine of the land, ready to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie bearing of the waues.

The next river that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomeie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Upham, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresbury, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Woodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogether, because it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finally to Harnham, which is a statelic bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little hilla, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reunith it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harnelham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge five miles, to Christes church Twinhain five miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse
worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficiently described. Wherefore I think good to deliver a second received of another, which in more particular manner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodly river, rising (as I said before nēere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will secke more scrupulous for the head in ded, must looke for the same about the borders of the forest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were embraced between the first names thereof, as I have beene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wootton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powsic, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth on west of Alcanings, and runneth into the same by Patnee, Merden, Wilford, Charleton, and Rustisall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Vphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Woodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiveth one notable river from by northwest, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leaving the Auon at Salisburie for a while. The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire dooth take his name, and not of the great plente of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads doo imagine: whereof also there is more plente in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Vpton by Wermister at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Vpton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Witchen, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads above Overdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on eche side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austin, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fount, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westhamnam, Salisburie, and Easthamnam: and this is the race of Wilugh.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth about Colingburne Kingston in the hills, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more souerellie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholerton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon cast of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereunto another water falleth (called Becquithes brooke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is five miles from Sarum, and three miles about Becquithes bridge, as Leland remembereth, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to have his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid river. Certes it is a pretie brooke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bostome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Pennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelve miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harneham bridge, except he forget himself. This Harneham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stead of this church, there is oneie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie off overfloone. And whereas the kings high wate laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obtained of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and upon this occasion was the maime bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the wate also old Salisburie fell into vttre decaie, & Wilton which was before the head tawne of the shire, and furnished with twelve parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputa-
tion. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the ruine of old Salisbury, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was given out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Salisbury, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifullie serued with springs and wels of verie swet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiers of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at odds, insomuch that after often bralles, they fell at last to sad blows. It happened therefore in a rogation weke that the cleargie going in solemn procession, a controversie fell betwene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on each part, that at the last the Castellanes spesieng their time, gate betwene the cleargie and the towne, and so coiled them as they returned home-ward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yere. Hecrepop the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were woont to haue bunketing at euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer said, with beeke, bread and beere) they conceived forthwith a deadlie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Pore their bishop, and he with them so effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I mean the chanons, began a new church vpon a piecce of their owne ground called Mirfield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could doo before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finished with the expenses of 42000 marks, in the yere 1260, and fuye & twentith of March, whereby it appeareth that it was aboue fortie yeeres in hand, although the clearkes were translated to the new towne 1290, or the third yeere after the fraie. The people also seeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputed their harmses for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be nene vnto these prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vterlie desolate, and new Salisbury raised vp in stead thereof, to the great deceaie also of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuerthelesse it should seeme to me that this new citie is not altogetherv void of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edwad the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie overflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pause where he sate, whereby he became wetshed, and in the end inforced to leave the church, as the executour did his masse, least they all shoue bene drowned; and this rage indued there for the space of two daies, wherevpon no service could be said in the said minster.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisbury, goeth by Burford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the wale, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Craiford, Burgate, Forcing bridge, Ringweed, Auon, Christes church; and finallie into the sea. But yer it come all there & a little bene Christes church, it croseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be left vn touched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this river the towne and baronie of Sturton dooth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giaceth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laine mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer bridge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, seven miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the five bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, and soone after croseth the Lidden and Deulis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackenmore vale, and goeth to the bishops
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bishops Caundell: the second in the hills south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth neere Liberton, and going by Fifechd to Lidlington, and there meeting with the Liden, they receive the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stouerton minister, Filefor, Hammond, and soone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by west Orchard, and a second from Funntill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launston, Munkent, Caunston, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwije, and by and by receiving another brooke on the right hand, that riseth about Stricland, and goeth by Quar-leston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminster, Her-forde lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, alias Twinburne minister, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knoton, Wikehampton, Estambridge, Hinton, Barasleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth short of Woodcotes, and east of Fardeham, named Terig, the other at Munketon above S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Ashleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton dooth the Cranburne. Finalie, meeting with the Terig above Knoton, they run on under the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Can-fords, Preston, Kingston, Perleie, and Yolnest: but yer it come at Yolnest it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from above vppe Wimborne, by Edmondesham, Vertwood, and Mannington, and joynning about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Iver bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Christ church above the meeting of the said waters (as I have said before.)

Hauing in this manner past Chrises church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little brooke running from Stouefield head, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come into is Poole, from whose mouth upon the shore, by southwest in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fisher towne called Sandwich, where we saw a pêere and a little fresh brooke. The vrie vter part of saint Adelmes point, is five miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lilleworth, where (as I heare) is some profitable harborshouette for ships. The towne of Poole is from Wimborne about four miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did gesse by the view.

Going therefore into the same, betweene the north and the south points, to see what waters were there, we left Brunkesic Island, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Poole, and leauing that creake, because it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Kesworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walter-stow, and yer it come at Birstam, receiueth Piddles brooke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deulish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ash piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middle-ton, Millburne & Biere) then to Hide, and so into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus speaketh, except I be deceuied. The south water is properlie called Frome for Frome. It riseth neere into Euershot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelminton, and Catstocke, it receiueth there a rill from beside Rowsham, and Waxehall. After this it goeth on to Chifrume, and thence to Maden Newton, where it meteth with the Owke, that riseth either two miles above Hoke parke at Kenford, or in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, fallieth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Frome aunchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth neere into the same a rill from above Vpsidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peucerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie alias Minterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the first riseth in upper Cherne parish, the other at Minterne, and meeting above middle Cherne, they go by
nether Cherne, Forston, Godmanston, and aboue Charnemminster into Frome. In the meane
time also our Frome brancheth and leaeth an Iland aboue Charnemminster, and joining againe
nearer Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthiston; but yer it come at Beckington,
it meeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martin-
stow, Heringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase
as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Wool, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath
Stoke receiuethe the issue of the Luckeford lake, from whence also it passeth by Eastholme,
Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where
we saw a little creeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe
toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and
found ourselves at libertie.

When we were past Pole hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes
chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luckeford lake, all this
portion of ground last remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninsula, and called the
Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still
westerlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a creeke. Then vnto Waie or Wilemouth, by
kings Welcombe, which is twenty miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles
aboue the hauen by northwest at Vphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were
entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Vpweie by Brad-
weie, and Radipoole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and like-
wise the third that maketh the ground betwene Weimouth and Smalmeunse passage almost
an Iland. There is a little barre of sand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the sea
runneth vp by the right hand; and scant a mile above the hauen mouth on the shore, is a
right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth
vp also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by
a little course of pibble sand. It goeth vp also from the said passage vnto Abbatsbirie about
seauen miles of, where a little fresh rondell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat aboue this,
is the head or point of the Cheill lieng northwest, which stretcheth vp from thence about
seauen miles, as a maie narrow banke, by a right line vnto the southeast, and there abuteth
vpon Portland scant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke
is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at southeast, so often the sea beateth
in, and losing the banke soketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that cor-
ner anie long time together, Portland should be left an Iland as it hath bene before. But as
the southwest wind dooth appaire this banke, so a northwest dooth barre it vp againe. It is
pretie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth strait against Milton on the other
side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breath, that a rope is
commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men doo guide their
botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to proceed with the honour. Into the mouth of this
river doo ships often come for succour.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Rase, we sailed along by the Shingle,
till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe
from Blackdeene Beaconward, by Portsham and Abbatsbirie. Thence we went to another
that fell into the sea, neere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the
Bride or Brute port, a pretie hauen, and the river it selfe serveth with sundrie waters. It
riseth halfe a mile or more about Beemister, and so goeth from Beemister to Netherburie by
Parnehan, then to Melplass, and so to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by east
in one channel, of which one riseth east of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Porestoke and Milton,
the other at Askervell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence also our Bride going to-
ward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simenburge into the same, the
whole streame soone after falling into the sea, and leaving a pretie hauenet.

The next port is the Chare, serveth with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemounth.
The cheefe head of this river is (as Leland saith) in Marshwood parke, and commeth downe by

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by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wootton, and meeting beneath Charemouth townes (as I said) doth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleeting upon Rickie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen here that I could see, but a quarter of a mile by west southwest of the townes, is a great and costie iutie in the sea for succour of ships. The townes is distant from Coliton, about five miles. And here we ended our voiage from the Anon, which containeth the whole coast of Dorchester, or Dorsetshire, so that next we must enter into Summerset countie, and see what waters are there.

The first water that we meet withall in Summersetshire is the Axe, which riseth in a place called Axe knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaite, nere vnto Chedddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Mosterne, Feborow, Claxton, Weirford bridge, Winsham foord, and receiveth one rill from the east by Hawkechurch, and soone after another comming from northwest by Churchooke, from Wainbrooke, it goeth to Axeminter, beneath which it croseth the Yare, that commeth from about Buccland, by Whistaunton, Yarecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiveth a brooke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Axe. From hence our Axe goeth to Drake, Musburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogether at Culliford, it meteth with a water that riseth about Cotelee, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiveth a rill also, proceeded on after the confluence above Culliford bridge, into the Axe, and from thence hold togethier into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnnder the roots of the winter cliffs, the points of them being almost a mile in sundrie. The most westerlie of them called Berewood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

But the other toward the east is named Whitecliffie, of which I saie no more, but that in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer adventured into this land, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this land, but Athelstane met and encountered with them in the field, where he overthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enemies. Not one of them also that remained alie, escaped from the battell without some deadly or verie greuous wound. In this conflict moreover were slaine five kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Axe minster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the cheefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Nceereunto it addeth how the bishop of Shireborne was in like sort slain in this battell, that began at Brumedune neere to Coliton, and indured even to Axe minster, which then was called Brunberie or Brumburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anie brightnesse, vntill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was cleere and nothing cloudie."

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue heard, hath bene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth therto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there bene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betwene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pible stines, in the verie mouth of it, and the rier Axe is driuen to the verie east point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull goeth into the sea, whither small fisherboats doe oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the course of the Axe, and (almost in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Axe, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west northwest, whereof riseth the rier Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward fall-eth betweene Axe bridge and Axe mouth towne into the Axe rier.

By west of Bereworth point lieth a crecke, served (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hils south of Soutlie or Branscombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Maries
The Description of Britaine.

S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another maine, and thither commeth a pretie riueret, whose head is in the Hackpennd hilles, and commeth downe first by Vpauter, then by a parke side to Mohuns Auter, Munketon, Honiton, Buckwell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riseth northwest of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Vinniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadde and Autrie, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea. On the west side of this maine is Budeleic almost directly against Otterton. It is ease to be scene also, that within lese space than one hundred yeers, ships did use this maine, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie maine of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little creke comming out of the maine maine vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past beene a towne of great estimation.

The Ex riseth in Exmore in Summersetshire, neere vnto Ex crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Exford, Winsford, and Exton, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it meet with a pretie brooke rising northeast of Whetell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with three rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & soone after taketh in the Budeleic, that receuethin like sort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Danerton, and Combe, and then doth meet with the Exe, almost in the verie confines betwene Dorset & Summersetshires. Being past this conunction, our Exe passeth betwene Brushford and Murbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Austic: and after this likewise another on ecb side, whereof one commeth from Diford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Oakford. From these meetings it goeth to Cauce and through the forrest and woods to Hatherland and Washfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receueth the Lomund water that riseth above Ashbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost even in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming brooke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bicklie, Theuerten, (taking in a rill by west) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it joineth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Haldon, and of another south of Shildon, and meeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfield, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashford, it runneth south to Wood, More hales, Columbton, Bradnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Hoxham, and joining (as I said) with the Exe at Bramford, passing vnnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by west, growing of the Fortern and Cride waters (except it be so that I doo judge amisne.) The Cride riseth above Wollesworthie, and neere vnto Vpton: after it is past Dewrish, crosseth a rill from betwene Puggill and Stockelee by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulforde, where it meeteth with the Fortern, whereof one branch commeth by Caldbrooke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and joining about Credeton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long also receueth another from by north, comming by Stockelle & Combe) then betwene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Exe, which staiteth not vntill it come to Excester. From Excester (whether the burgesses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vain) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by west, and an other lower by Exminster, next of all vnto Topsham; beneath which towne the Clue entereth thereinto, which rising about Plumtree, goeth by Cliff Haldon, Cliff Laurence, Brode Cliff, Honiton, Souton, Bishops Cliff, S. Marie Cliff, Cliff saint George, and then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limston and Poudernham castell. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton brooke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunsideke, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and so into Exe maine, at whose mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkstones, except I be deceived. The next fall, whereof Leland saith nothing at all, commeth by Ashcombe and Dulis, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.
The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Teigne Exmouthe. The head of this water is twenty miles from the sea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie town, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewise an other west of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirslowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whose course is to north Bouie, Lilleie, and Bonitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eids, a brooke beneath Preston that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is past this confluence, at kings Teignton, it crosseth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Bushels: and soone after the Aller that riseth betweene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the sea by Bishops Teignton, south of Teignmouth town.

The verie vter west point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Nesse, and is a verie high red cliffe. The east part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low sandie ground, either cast vp by the spuing of the sand out of the Teigne, or else throwne vp from the shore by the rage of wind and water. This sand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the sand riseth, and Teignmouth town, which towne (surnamed Regis) hath in time past beene sore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignmouth we came to Tor baie, wherof the west point is called Birie, and the east Perritorie, betwecne which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie also to Dartmouth is six miles, where (saith Leland) I marked diverse things. First of all vpon the east side of the hauen a great hillie point called Downesend, and betwixt Downesend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it selfe, in like sort, is not full a mile from Downesend vpward into the hauen. Kingswere towne standeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the second baie. Somewhat moreover about Kingswere towne goeth a little creeke vp into the land from the maine streame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for vessels to be made in. In like sort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creeke, and aboue that also a mile beyond either of these called Gawnston, whose head is here not halfe a mile from the maine sea, by the compassing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

The riuers of Dart or Darent (for I read Derentamuth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fifteen miles above Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forrestie ground as Exmore is. Of it selfe moreover this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so choketh the depth of the riuers downward, that the hauen it selfe is almost spoiled by the same. The mariners of Dartmouth account this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and soone after taking in the Ashburne water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfastlich that commeth from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on eche side passeth foorth to Totnesse Bowden, and aboue Gabrili Stoake, meeteeth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Rost bridge, two miles above Totnes, or (as another saith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aspremont into Darent, which yer long also commeth to Corneworthic, Grenewaie, Ditsham, Dartmouth town, wherunto king lohn game sometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totnesse) from thence betwecne the castelles, and finalie into sea.

From hence we went by Stokelleming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this baie by the Start point, we saille almost directlie west, till we come to Salcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little fresh water comming to it, and therefore no mercuell though it be barred; yet the head of it (such as it is) riseth neere Buckland, and goeth to Duddbrooke, which standeth betwecne two creekes. Hence it hieith to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill,
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

rill, whose head commeth from south and north of Shereford. Finally it hath another crecke that runneth vp by Iton: and the last of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whose head is so nere the baie last afore remembred, that it maketh it a sore peninsula (as I haue heard it said.)

Then come we to the Awne, whose head is in the hills farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dixford wood, Lodlewel, Hache, Arton, Thorlston, and so into the sea ouer against a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arne riseth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, tuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Ownewell, and so vnto the sea, which is full of flats and rocks, so that no ship commeth thither in anie tempest, except it be forced therto, through the utmost extreme and desperat hazard of the searefull mariners. King Philip of Castile lost two ships here in the dotes of king Henrie the seventh, when he was driven to land in the west countrie by the rage of weather. Yalme goeth by Cornwood, Shade, Strattle, Yalmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and so into the sea, about foure miles by south east from the maine streame of Plimouth. Being past these portlets, then next of all we come to Plimouth haene, a verie busie piece to describe, because of the numbers of waters that resort vnto it, & small helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courses; yet will I doo what I may in this, as in the rest, and so much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as shall suffice my purpose in this behalfe.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie same water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ships doo ride, is walled on eche side and chained ouer in time of necessitie, and on the south side of the haene is a blocke house vpon a rokke hill: but as touching the ruer it selfe, it riseth in the hills west of Cornewood, and commeth downe a short course of three miles to Newenham after it be issued out of the ground. From Newenham also it runneth to Plimpton, and soone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariseth northwest of Shepistour, & goeth fró there to Menchurch, Helle, Shane, Bicklee, and so to Efورد, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill it go past Plimouth, and fall into the haene south east of Plimouth aforesaid. I haue ofentimes travelled to find out the cause why so manie ruerers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was giuwne by the corruption of Dour, the British word for a streame, I rested thereon as resolved for a season: but afterward finding the word to be meere Saxon, and that Stouemare is a province subject to the duke of Saxoxie, I yielded to another opinion: whereby I conclude that the saide name was first derived from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two creckes, not served with anie backwater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thanar that dischargeth it selfe into the aforesaid haene. Going therfore vp that streame, which for the most part parteth Devonshire from Cornewall, the first rueret that I met withall on the east side is called Tauie, the head whereof is among the mountains foure miles aboue Peters Tauie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Tauie betwecne them, though nothing nere the confluence. From hence the Tauie or Tauie runneth to Tauistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth thereunto by Sandford and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thanar, by north Buckland, moonsks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton bllie. Hauing thus dispatched the Tauie, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hills aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiuethe the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredistol, goeth by Trusholton to Ibatie, where it receiuethe a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Lister, and from thence into the Thanar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhat about Elwell or Helwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thanar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton,
the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further
banks, & other side of the Thamir, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter
decide me.

Certes, the Thamir it self riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of
Hartland, and in maner so crosseth over the whole west countrie betwenee sea and sea,
that it leaueth Cornwall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the
head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell,
Tamerton, Tetcote, Laffencote, Botton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water
on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frò
this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east:
from whence it goeth by Treneclus, Tremone, Treasmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into
the Thamir, that runneth from hence by Lowwhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward
Dunterow, taketh in a rill from south Fíherwije, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterow also
it crosseth the Eian. This riffer riseth at Davidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir,
Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then under sundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamir.
From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke town,
Cliton, Cargruee (there abouts taking in a cleeke aboue Landlip) and running on from
thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Lier water. The head of Lier is
about Broomwille hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill,
and taking in a rill by east (from about Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton,
Wootton, Bloflimming, saint Erme, and beneath this village crosseth a rilet that runneth
thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, saint Germans, and Shewiick. But to proceed. After
the confluence, it goeth betweenne Erle and Fro Martine castell, and soone after taking in
a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Stevens, it is not long yer it fall into the
Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke cleeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and
betwene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus hau'e I finished
the description of Plimouth water, and all such falles as are betwene Newston rocke on
the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

After this we proceeded on with our journie toward the west, and passing by Longstone,
we came soone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is
about Liscard, & his course by Minhenet, Chaffrench, Tregowiie, Sutton, and so into
the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betwenee it and Mount Ile, we find that
it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth
in the hills, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it cease not
to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and
joineth with the Brodokke water that runneth from Brodikes by Trewargo, and so into the
sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at
Foy, or Fawy.

Foy or Fawy riffer riseth in Fawy moore, on the side of an hill in Fawy moore, from
whence it runneth by cirtaine bridges, till it meet with the Glin water west of Glin town,
which rijng above Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth
fall into Fowy a mile and more aboue Resprin from by east. After this confluence then,
it goeth to Resprin bridge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithielll bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint
Winnow, and Golan, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that
taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being
thus vntied, it proceedeth vnto Fawy town, taking in a rill or cleeke from aboue it on
the one side, and another beneath it southe of Halling on the other: of which two this
latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy.
Leland writing of this riffer addeth vere largete vnto it after this manner. The Fawy riseth
in Fawy moore (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixteene miles from Fawy
towne) in a vere quane mine on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge,
to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Resprin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge,
where it meeteth with a little brooke, and néeere therewith parisheth it selfe in twaine. Of these towne armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and some after joining againe, the maine river goeth to saint Kwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Kwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie dooth faile me. Here goeth in a salt crikke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the crikke it selfe in like manner bearing the same denomination.

From Lerine crikke, to S. Carac's pill or crikke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not above a mile and an halfe into the land. From Carac's crikke to Poulmoorland a mile, and this likewise goeth vp scant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parisheth it selfe in twaine. From Poulmoorland vnto Bodneckie village halfe a mile, where the passage and repassage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodneckie to Pelene point (where a crikke goeth vp not fulle a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching against the tower on Fawy side, betwixt which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath sometime beene stretched, and like wise moode; for the hauen there is hardly two bow shot outer. The verie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus crosse, but now Parnache crosse. It shall not be amisie in this place somewhat to intreat of the townie of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comwhath, and being situate on the northside of the hauen, is set hanging on a maine rocke hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceive me.

The renowne of Fawy rose by the wars under king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piracie. Finalie, the townesmen feeling themselves somewhat at ease and strong in their purses, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in their new desise, that as they travelled into all places, so merchants from all countries made resort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ships of Fawy sailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelsea in the time of king Edward the third, refused stoute to vale ane bonet there, although warning was given them so to doo by the portreues or rulers of those townes. Hereupon the Rhie and Winchelsea men made out vp on them with cut and long tailie: but so hardlie were they intertie by the Fawie pirates (I should saie adventurs) that they were driven home againe with noe small losse and hinderance. Such favour found the Fawie men also immediatlie upon this bickering, that in token of their victorie outer their winching aduersaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the scutcheon of Rhie and Winchelsea is quartered with their, and beside this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little rejoiced, and more peradventure than for some greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we see what great successe often commeth of witlesse and rash adventures. But to returne againe to our purpose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing some desire to finish vp this our voyaige, we will leue the Parnowth & go forward on our journie.

Being therefore past this hauen, we come into Trewardith bale, which lieth into the land betwixt Caunasse and the Blacke head point, and here about Leland placeth Vrctoum promitorium. In this we saw the fall of two small brookes, not one very far distant from another. The first of them entering west of Trewardith, the other east of saint Blaies, and both directlie against Carwarder rocke, except I mistake my compass. Neither of them are of anie great course, and the longest not fault three miles and an halfe. Wherfor sith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what should I make long harvest of a little corn, and spend more time than may well be spared about them?

When we were past the Blacke head, we came to Austell brooke, which is increased with a water that commeth from about Mewn, and within a mile aftre the confluence, they fall into the sea at Poulten, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the
the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haines, where falleth in a pretie water, whose head is two miles above saint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a moree salt crecke, till we passed the Grie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accoart to enter into Falamouth hauen.

The Fala riseth a little by north of Penuenton town, and going westward till it come fal.
downwards toward saint Dionise, it goeth forth from thence to Mclader, saint Stevens Grampoint, Golden, Crede, Corneleie, Tregue, Moran, Tregunman, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the course of Fala. But least I should sceene to omit those creekes that are betweene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in so manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entering therefore into the port, we haue a creeke that runneth vp by saint Anthonies toward saint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by cast of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, passing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midst of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweene saint Maries castell and Pendinant.

Thence we cast abowt by the said castell, and came by another crecke that falleth in by east, then the second abowe saint Iustus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Rilan. And hauing as it were visited all these in order, we came backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going upward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Pentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath saint Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming downe by S. Merther, the other another from Truro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one of them so greatnesse, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole standeth upon the head almost of the most easterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro stand abowe the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by west from certeine hills: as for the fift and sixt, as they be little creeks and no fresh, so hau I lesse language and talke to spend about them.

Of saint Caie, and saint Feokes crecke, whose issue is betweene Restronget and crecke of 'Trurie, I see no cause to make any long speeche; yet I remember that the town of S. Feoke standeth betweene them both. That also called after this saint, rising above Perammarwthewh, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeast of Milor, which standeth upon the point betweene it and Milor crecke. Milor crecke is next Restronget: some call it Milor poole, from whence we went by Trefusis point, and there found another great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin town in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for somuch as Leland hath taken some paines in the description of this river, I will not suffer it to perish, sith there is other matter contained therein with good remembrance, although not delievered in such order as the thing it selfe required.

The verie point (saith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compass, almost uninformed with the sea: and where the sea couereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small mastrie to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or forland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maister Killigrewes house one great arm of the hauen runneth vp to Penrime town, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good miles from Penfusis. Moreover there is Leuine, Priselo, betwixt saint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of sand. But to proceed.

The first crecke or arme that casteth on the northwest side of Falamouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the lesse runneth to Glasenith, Viridis nidus, the grecene nest, or Wagniere at Penrine: the other to saint Glinihas the parish church of Penrine. In like sort out of each side of Penrine crecke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I understand also that stakkes and foundations of stone hauie becne set in the crecke at Penrine a little lower than the wharfe, where
it breaketh into armes: but howsoever this standeth, betwixt the point of Trefusis and the point of Restronget is Milor crèke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ships. The next crèke beyond the point of Restronget wood, is called Restronget, which going two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Restronget and the crèke of Trurie be two crèkees; one called saint Teekes, the other saint Caie, next vp which is Trurie crèke that goeth vp about two miles crèeking from the principal streame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, casting in a branch westward even hard by Newham wood.

This crèke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the town of Trurie, and each of them having a brooke running downe and a bridge, the town of Trurie standeth betwixt them both. In like sort Kenwen street is senered from the said town with this arme, and Clements street by cast with the other. Out of the bodie also of Trurie crèke breaketh another eastward a mile from Trurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Cresilian bridge of stone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this crèke is a rode of ships called Maples rode: and here fought not long since eigtheene ships of Spanish merchants, with foure ships of warre of Deep, but the Spaniards drave the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe above the mouth of Crurie crèke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church at hand. This crèke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine streame into the hauen, as the maine streame goeth vp two miles above Moran crècke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher, is the town of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of stone upon the Fala river. Fala it selfe riseth a mile or more west of Roche hill, and goeth by Grand pont, where I saw a bridge of stone.

This Grand pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his course. From Cregowie to passe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falmouth to the mouth of Lanie horse pill or crèke, on the south side of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall streame of the hauen. From Lanie horse pill also is a place or point of sand about a mile wai of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninsula) called Ardewauer. As for the water or crèke that runmeth into the south southeast part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the crèke that hemmeth in this peninsula, of both dooth seeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the west crèke of this peninsula, vnto saint lustes crèke, is foure miles or more.

In like maner from saint lustes pill or crèke (for both signifie one thing) to saint Mawes crèke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwixte them both is called Penhinas. The crèke of saint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by cast northeast into the land, and beside that it ebbeth and floweth so farre, there is a mill driven with a fresh crèke that resorthe to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downward to the hauen, is a crèke in maner of a poole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the south side entereth a crèke (about halfe a mile into the countrey) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little crèckelet. But how so ever these crèkees doo run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are mermellousie well woodded. And lithero Leland, whose words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his judgement. Being past Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennoch, master Killegrewes place which standeth on the brimmie or shore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betwixte two hillis, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were served with anie backe fresh water or not.

From thence we went by Polwintherall crèke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riuier falkeeth that riseth not farre from thence, and so goeth to the maine streame of the hauen at the last, whether the crèke resorthe about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnnder Gare and
and Mogun bridges, doo fall in one botome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen also repareth the Penkestell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth against saint Mauons on the hither side hard without the hauen mouth (if it haue doome any.) For so motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are those bookes of Leland which I haue, and beside that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie sense from them by a leafe together. Wherefore I suppose that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose: or else he was loth that anie man should easilie come to that knowledge by reading, which lie with his great charge & no lesse travell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leaving Fala hauen, as more troublesome for me to describe, than profitable to seafaring men, without good advise to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came straight southwest to Helford hauen, whose water commeth downe from Wrêcke (where is a confluence of two small rilles whereof that rill consisteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiued a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence it goeth a maie untill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is spoiled by sand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this also is another rill comming from S. Martyrs, by whose course, and another over against it on the west side that fallith into the sea by Winniton, all Menage is left almost in maner of an Iland. From hence we go south to the Manacle point, then southwest to Lisard, and so north and by west to Predannocke points, beyond which we met with the fall of the said water. that riseth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the sea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the south. By north also of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth short of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean south of Curie. Pengwenian point.

From hence we sailed to the Loo mouth, which some call Lopoole, because it is narrower at the fall into the sea, than it is betweene the sea and Hailston. It riseth above S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it hasteth to Hailston or Helston, from whence onelie it is called Loo: but betweene Helston and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this river Leland saith thus: The Lopoole is two miles in length, and betwixt it and the maie Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in three or foure yeeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but soone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfuicie of the water of Lopoole (which is full of trout and éele) draineth out through the sande barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwayes be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Hailston town, where coinage of tin is also vsed, as at Trurie and Lostwthiel, for the quesens advantage.

Being passed the Loo, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simneie, whose whole course is not above three miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mountes Baie, and going straignt north (leaving S. Michaels mount a little vpone the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising short of Tewidmacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place this breadth of land is not above foure miles, and not more than five at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Korugie, and Gulall, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, southwest of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going southwest out of the baie by Moushole Ille, that lieth south of Moushole towne, we come to a water that entrith into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Truelie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betwixt them both, and joining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Rosecastell, there are two other creékes, whereof one is called Buckennie, that riseth south of saint Burians, and an other somewhat longer than the first, that issues by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore doo appoint
appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornwall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not neere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill also is the last that I doe reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we have sailed to S. Ies baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Brean lie eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is very hillie here, as for saint les towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will addde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéede head of Haile riseth by west of Goodallin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiveth the second, and best of the other three rilles from Goodallin towne: firstlie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without incresse by west of Gwerthan, and so into the sea west of Mara Darwaile. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Vni, another by Redreuth, and meeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other crééke, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes stand-th: and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most casterlie of these, whose head is almost three miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Thence going by the Manrecke, and west of saint Piran in the sand, we find a course of three miles and more from the head, and having a forked branch, the parts doo meet at west about saint Kibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans crééke, for the next is Carantocke pill or crééke, whose head is at Guswarth, from whence it goeth vnto Tresise, and soone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another crééke that riseth about little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Nine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbites, it passeth by Lamber, and so into the sea. S. Merous crééke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost oner against the Gull rokke. Then turning between the point and the blacke rokke, we entred into Padstow hauen three miles lower than port Isec, and a mile from port Ewin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

- The Alan ariseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well neere eight or nine miles about Dauidstone, neere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and soone after receiuethe a rill at northeast, descending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Blisseland, and Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Yer long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bedman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethell, no one of them exceeding the course of three miles, and by south. From hence it goeth toward Ighsaleward, and there receiuethe a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Ten, by Michelston, saint Tuchoe, saint Maben (no Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Ighsal, meeteth with the Alan that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there should fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carnesie, the other Laine, and coming in the end to full notice of the matter, I see them to issue on several sides beneath Woodbridge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendent from northwest, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carnesie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the southwest
southwest banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles aboue S. Esse. But howsoever this matter standeth, there are two other creekes on ech side also, beneath these, as Pethrike creek, and Minne creek (so called of the Cornish saints) for that sole bred manie, wherewith I finish the description of Alem, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water.

From Padstow hauen also they sail out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the hauen, secretly hidden at full sea, as two padds in the straw, whereof I think it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I have read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestone, and should signifie so much as Athelstani locus, as it may well be. For it is evident that they had in time past sundrie charters of privilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Ieland supposeth this river to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatal conflict: for to this day men that doe eare the ground there, doo oft plow vp bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather conjecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coin was found there, as I have often heard. Being thus passed Padstow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Port, a poore fisher towne, where I find a brooke and a pere. Then I came to Portisse, alias Cunilus two miles further, and found there a brooke, a pere, and some suckor for fisher boats. Next of all unto a brooke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Sauerne sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Hand. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Dundagie castell standeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag inuorined with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Vet. Tintagell town and Treuenni are not a mile in sunder.

The next creeke is called Bosinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwie water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two his, whereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an hauenet or perea, whither shiplets sometime doo resort for succour. A frie of late daies tooke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as liets at the west northwest point, or side of this creeke, the one (saying that a little gut dooth part them) joining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gulls. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastell or not, but if it be not, than haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell creeke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not above two miles into the land, yet it passeth by faure toweres, whereof the first is called Lesneth, the second saint Juliet, the third Minster, and the fourth Boscastell or Bushcastell, as some men doe pronounce it.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whose chief head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueneth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie wijke, from whence it runneth by Wolston and Whalesaborow, and thence into the sea betweene Elford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that liye betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornewall. Now let vs doe the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, wherof the said Hartland is the vere first point in this our postell voyage. Having therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Burstable bar, and so into the hauen, whereinto two principall streams doe perpetuallie vabunder their channels.

The first and more westerlie of these is called Ocas, whose head is not farre west of the head of Damt, and both in Damtonmore. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth northwest to Snorton, and so to Okehampion, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water comming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Tawe. From hence
hence it goeth to Stow Exborne, Moonke Okington, & Iddesleie, where it taketh in the Tanimare a very pretie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of Thamrar, three miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Putoff, Bulworthie, Buckington, Newton, and Shelbor, it receueth a fortil rill that runneth from ech side of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & so to Thornebie, where meeting with an other fallen water (whereof one head comming from Dunsland, joynith with the other north of Cockbie) it goeth with speed into the Tanbridge. After this confluence it runneth on to Sheppewash (by west whereof fallst in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Buiitieton, and so to Haitherlaie, north whereof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Iddesleie, by joining with the Oke. Hence then the Ouec hasteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receueth one rill from by east, as it dooth an other betwene Doulton and Marton from by west, and so proceeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from three heads (by Wellie parke) betwene which Combe and Roughborow are situat, it desceneth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one side, and the Ware brooke on the other, it procedeth to Bediford, crossing a rill by the waye that commeth unto it betwene Ancric & Lisham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Westeie, Norham, Appledoure, and so into the haven.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithstanding that his haue beene barred with sand; and thereby dangerous, and hath most rills descending into his channell. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deonshire well watered on the northside of the moores. The Tawy riseth directlie at south west of Throwlie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland saith) in Exmore south east from Barstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Tauetont, Cockatree, Bath, North Tauetont, Ashridge, Colridge, and soon after receueth the Bowmill creweke, wherof one head riseth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneath Bishops Mouchard, they fall into the Taw north of Ninem Rowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chinnligh, by south whereof it meeeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawlie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenhotwood, and there taketh in the Moulebraie water consisting of two in one channell, wherof the Moll dooth rise aboute north Moulton, and comming to Moulton receueth another rill running from Molland, and soon after the second that growing by two brookes (the head of one being at Knauston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both vitting themselves beneath Mariston) dooth fall into the same yer long also, and so goe together till it crosse the Braie, which (being the second of the two that makesthe the Moulebraie) riseth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and south of Holtedooth dooth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Brightley hall, Tauton, Taustocke, & Berstable, sometime a pretie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in deed, as that the suburbes thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the British speach was Abertaw, because it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berstesse pronounced short (as I gesse) for Amberesse. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to doo in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe privileger of the towne. This is also worthie to be noted hereof, that the houses there are of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head nere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vitte themselves within three miles of Berstaple. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doncham, because one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taw described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appeare in Low water marke at Berstable, and yet is it a pretie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted hereof, that it receueth
the breadth of
Devonshire & Cornwall.

The seven sisters.

Chenock's.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breth of
Devonshire & Cornwall.

Luccham & Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunstre brooke, which runneth from about Wootton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunstre, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leaving a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quanocke hills south of Bickaker by Westquantocke head, and almost at Doniford, receueth the Williton becke, then to east Quanocke brooke (omitting a creke) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alfoxton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble rivers doo make their confluence, which I will severallie describe, as to my purpose appertaineth.

The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Yoo, who saith that the rier Yoo dooth runne from Ilecesthe to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shireburn receiueth a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seven springs in an hill called the seven sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Heddon from Pusandell, three miles from thence by flat cast, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and joining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glascen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which town the other head falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhagard and Thornedford (till they meet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Mutford, Ashtone, and east of Limmington it meteth with the Cade that runneth from Yarlington, by north Cadbirie, and soone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkford, Queens Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betwixt the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokheorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses united at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasliburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I doo understand.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorneie bridge, and Muchelneie where it meteth with the second called Ill or Ieus, whose head is about III. Chelington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunnet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chascombe and Knoll. Thence leaving Limister on the east side,
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbriers, and there it joineth with a rilet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell looqeth his name, and is called Parret; but this conjecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuerthelesse, how soever this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wielcombe, to Stawleic, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water coming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brent Rafe, Milton, Oke and Hilfaries. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethford, and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Slediar, and the third & fourth at Taument, that descendeth from Kingstone by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmitte. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taumont to Riston, Crefc, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yet longer with the Chare, a pretie rier that commeth by east from Northbroor, by Carleton, Badcare, Lctecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie moore, Audrie, and Michelbrow. From whence going on betwene Quencies moore and North moore, it receuith one brooke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North moore; and likewise another that passeth by Durlele, yer it doe come at Bridge-water. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters by the wale, whereof one runneth by Coripole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receuith the Brier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Iuell, whose streame dooth water all the west part of Summersesshire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

The Brier, Bruer, or Breier, riseth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood forest, & commeth downe by Bruecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is northeast of Staffordell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it meeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth neere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Basborow wood, the Torhill, Pont perilous (wherein they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Glastebury and so into the Meere. Beside this rier there are two other also that fall into the said Meere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Creecchurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlake bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Malt (which east of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Goleie, and so into the Meere. Finalie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Buttle-house, and soone after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian alias Brent bridge, to High bridge, leaving Huntspill a market towne by southwest, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebes passage, and so into the sea, leaving a faire land, wherein beside Brentmarsh are seen or eight towynes, of whose names I have no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Cawsiee; you shall understand that as manie springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a medow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedral church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I have noted. Leland speaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which should fall likewise into the Brier; but whether those be they whereof the one riseth about Staffordell, and in the descent runneth by Shepton, Pitcombe, and so to Awnsford on the one side, as the other dooth rise betwene Batcombe and Vpton noble on the other halfe; or unto whether of them either of these names are severallie to be attributed: as yet I doo not read.

The
The second Axe which commeth by Axe town in old time called Vexa, issueth out of Owkie hole, from whence it goeth by Owkie town, afterward meeting with the Cheder-brooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Caree Axe, wherof much hath bene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compass into the northeast branch of the aforesaid river last described, betwene Rokes bridge and Hebbes passage, as I have bene informed. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Bane well parke, or else in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Lidton, and going by the Artros, Vbbeie, Perribridge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by south) beneath Cungesturie, or (as I learne) betwenee Kingston and Laurence Wike, it meeteth with the sea.

Sottespill water riseth betwenee Cheulele and Nailesce, howbeit it hath no increase before it come into the sea at Sottespill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleudean water, of a ceraine towne neere to the fall thereof. It riseth southeast of Barrow, goeth by Burton Nailesce, and so vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verry famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Bristow. Yet thus much will I note hereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verry same yeare that the old monasterie of Euesham fell downe by itselfe, a porpass was taken therein neere to the said monasterie, and never anie before or since that time heard of to have bene found in that streame. And even so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgeon was taken alioye in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the queenes majestie, if she might have bene presented withall alioye as it was taken. Certe both these rare occurences gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Breton, when they appeare, doo vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are never scene but against some mishcifie or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

The Auon therefore riseth in the verry edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Breakenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsburie, where it receiuethe two waters, that is to saie, one from by west comming by Foreleie and Bromleham, which runneth so neere to the Auon in the west suburb of Malmsburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an island. Another from Okesie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it meet with a water comming from southwest (betwenee Hullauington and Bradford) by Aston: and soone after with another at the northside from Binall by Wootton Basset (through the parke to Grethenham, and Idouer bridges) and after the confluence to Daunteie, Segar, Sutton, Christmalford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Tetherton. Beneath this townle also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmart, Whittleie house and Bramble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) passes on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thencefoorth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Cosham water, goeth to Laccoke, Melsham, and yer it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one channell, whereof one riseth about Brumham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Dnaiies, and from thence runneth to Poterne wood, Creke wood, Worten, Maston, Bucklington, and joining with the other above Littleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whadden aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and southeast of that towne meeteth with the Were that commeth from Vpton by Dilton, Brooke parke (there crossing a rill called Bise from Westburie vnder the plaine) then to north Bradlee, Trubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freshord, it meeteth with the Frome, whose description dooth insue.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Astwich, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmesbridge, and sooner after taketh in the
Nonnie water, comming from Nonnie castell, thence to Walles and Orcharleie bridge, where it receiueth a pretie brooke descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie, increased with sundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forest (and one of them from the Pratie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningsham, and the fourth from Cosleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farlie castell, Bord and Fresh foord, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from southwest, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Littleton, and Dunkerton, the other from Stone Eston, Midsummer Norton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whose head is at Littleton from whence it runneth by west Kineton to Castell combe (where it joineth with a rill rising by north from Littleton drue) and thence commeth south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Box, Baithford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, hasteth to Baithwic, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldaston) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coston.

Hæere also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Markeburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it meeteth with one rill soone west of Northstocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Duraibn by Wike, and so proceedeth still holding on his way to Caimsham, a towne in Summerset shire (so called of Caim an English saint, by whose prayers, as the countrie once beleued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserved, and for a certein space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some store as yet is to be found in those quarters. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie, with his staffe; or that maid Radegund should drive the crowes to the pound, which did annoe hir corne while she went into a chappell to heare & sees a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Chle Issuething from Cloton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluenes goeth to Briselton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each side (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glouchestershire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambruch, Stapleton, and through Bristow, the other by south from Dundoie hill and towne, by Bisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Rauneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rokke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the sea, whither all waters by nature doo resort.

Beside this water, Lefand maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Douresleie becke, whose principall head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith no thing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tucking lurking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I mistake his meaning, which may some be doone among his confused notes.
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAUERNE, & SUCH WALTERS AS DISCHARGE THEMSELVES INTO THE SAME.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Sauerne which Prolemie calleth Sabrana, Tacitius Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Island, which sometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brute, as our histories doe report. But now that region bight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation dooth vse to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This river tooke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten upon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbrus or Vmar, and for which some write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that sometime invaded this Island, and was ouerthrown here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added "Propter euphoniam:" for the mouth or fall of euere riuer in the British speach is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Vmar, which is worthie to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloyallie towards hir, she caused the stremme to be called Habren of the young ladie, for which the Romans in processe of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time doo pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abren also I find these verses insuing:

In fluuium precipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluvio de virgine, nomen eide
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betwene Wales and Cornwall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer dooth keepe hir name. But as the said stremme in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferior or second to the same. Finallie, there is nothing to be recommended in this riuer, but the opennesse thereof in maie places to the weather, whereby sundrie periles oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble stremme is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in English, the blacke mounteines, or moore heads, from whence also the We and the Rhidoll do procede: and therefore these three waters are commonlie called the three sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fiftene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by south southwest, called the Dulas, which commeth theireinto on the south side, & southwest of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should seeme) of diuers heades in the edge of Radnorshire, and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meteth at the last with the Brueham brooke, and so they goe together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdegh, from northwest, a water produced by the influence of foure pretie brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaslin, the third Lhoid rising in lin Beglin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne proceeded on by Berhild toward Landiman, taking in by the waite, on the east side the Couine, thence
hence to Cairfuse castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Dul sexe that riseth in the edge of Radnor shire, and meeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powisie, otherwise called Trenewith, as I find in British language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot esclue (right honorable) to give one note, as by the waie, touching the original of my ladie your bedfellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Newtons onele, for that the grandfather of sir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwise the right name is Caradoc, for which some doo corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortenes of pronunciation, than the true orthographic and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes have beene, and yet are a lineage of great honor, antiquite, and service; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Comonies of Summersetshire: but in what order they descended to the Newtons, in good sooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our rier, which being past Newton, runneth forth by Landlouane, and so forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whose head is in the edge of Radnor also, and thereto his passage by Kerrie and Lammerewicke. After this also it procedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in also the Tate or Tadbrooke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops townse, the whole course thereof being about seaven miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a pretie brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomeric, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbhirde piorie stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomeric, which are a mile from the Sauerne shore, and likewise of the Lan Idlos brooke that meeteth withinall four miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onele leaving the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularie as time and trauell maie reveale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another note this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchstocke, Chirbirde, Wallcote, and Winstirbe, and so into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Meluerleie, and there it meeteth with sundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie pretie water (whereinto the Peuerie or Mernewie doth fall, which descendeth from the hilles by west of Matraffall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and joining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamouch meer unto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yere they meet with the Mordant brooke, and there loose their names so soone as they joine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Mordant issueth out of the Lannuerd hilles, where diouser saie, that the parish church of crosse Oswald or Owestere sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirtene miles northwest from Shrewesburie, and containeth a mile within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great streetes, of which one is called Stratal, another Wulicho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns standing on a rowe belonging to the citizens or burgesses, and the fourth named the Blacke gate street, in which are thirtie barnes maintained for corne and haie. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bowe shoote without the wall; & going vnnder the same betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnnder the Blakke gate. There is another, oue whose course the Baderikes or Bederich gate standeth, and therefore called Bederich brooke. The third passeth by the Willigate or Newgate, & these fall all together with the Crosse brooke, a mile lower by south into the Mordant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwene Landbreuie and Meluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheaurdon castell, Mountford, and Bidon chappel: and here it receiuethe a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Ellismerie, and joining betweene Woodhouses & Bagleie, the confluence
runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddesmer, Roiton, Baschurch, Walford, Grafton, Mitton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwije, upper Rossall, Shelton, and so to Shrewesburie, where it croseth the Mele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Weston.

The Mele therefore rising at Weston, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aston Pigot, Westleie, Asterleie, and at Lea it mêteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford, and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Westburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewesburie, it falleth (as I saide) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Viflimgton, Preston, and betwene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthie to be well handled; if it hie in me to performe it. This riever riseth in a mere beside Welbridge parke, nève onto Ternenere village in Staffordshire. From whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croseth with a water comming from about Abaston (where maister Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amning: so that the Terne on the one side, and this brooke on the other, do inclose a great part of Bourne heath, where a noble battell was sometime purposed betwene king Henrie the sixt, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

But to proced. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croseth with a brooke that riseth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Morton, the great Meere, Forton, Pilson, Pickstock, Keinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it joineith with the said Terne not farre from Water Vpton. Thence passinge to Crogenton, it mêteth with another brooke that commeth from Chaltwen Aston, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and so through the Wilde moore to Kinslie & Sîeepe, and finallie into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Eton bridge, and nève unto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Ouenleie, croseth a rill from Cowlemere by Lemall. Thence it goeth to Horton, and (joining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Mîde) runneth on to Wen, Aston, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and so to Lée, Befford, Stanton, Morton, Shabréie, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Vpton, Norton, Barwijc, Aham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wëene.)

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth unto Roxater or Roxcester, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it joineith with the Euerne that runneth from Frodesleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Cressedge, Garnestone, Leighton, and betwene the two Bildasses croseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Bowsleie and Hoord parke, where it unitheth itselfe with another brooke to be described in this place, whilst the Sauerne rests, and recreates itselfe here among the pleasant bottoms.

This water ariseth aboue Tongcastell, and yer it haue run anie great distance from the head, it mêteth with a rill comning by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, comning by Haughton and Euelin, it procedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Worfe (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon poole) and so passeth foorth to Badger, Acleton, Worfield: a little from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another brooke into it called Charle, & so goeth on to Rindleford, and then into Sauerne somewhat above Bridgenorth at Penston mill (except mine information deuite me.) From Bridge-north our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbrooke beneath Eaton that riseth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Moruill & Vnderton, it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aulelie, & beneath in the wae to Bargate, croseth with a brooke comning
The Description of Britaine.

Dowlesse.

Lempe.

Stoure.

Astile.

Doure.

 Sudwair.

Tiber.

Temde.

Clude.

Barfield.

Clun.

Owke.

Oneie.

Bow.

Warren.

Queenie and Strabroke.

Somergill.

Corue.

Commign from Vpton parke, by Chetton, Billingslie, and Highlie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Astile, Clarnewood parke, Hawbach and Dowlesse. Here also it meeteth with the Dowlesse water, a pretie brooke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to looke upon, and three miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forest, & taking withall the Lempe, dooth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bawdliee.

But to proceed. From Bawdliee our Sauerne hasteth directlie to Ribford, Astile and Redston, and here it meeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water yer long running from Sturton castell) then to Knüer Whittenton, Ouerlie and Kidmister, above which it crosseth one brookelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od pece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Redston to Shrawlie; and above this town receiueth the Astile water, as beneath the same it dooth another. From Witliee then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimliee, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwaie waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswhic, and runneth by Stoke priorie, & Droitwich, the other above Chadesliee, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth foorth vnto Worcester, in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it meteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand above that citie, and beneath it neere vnto Powijc with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I proceed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radnorshire, out of the Melenith hilles, and soone after his issue, meeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuwerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is five or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth over the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that commeth from betwene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here following word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth aboue New Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwene Lhan Vehan and Maiston, and going on by Bucton, Cluncastell, Clundon, Parslaw, and Clunbirie, it crosseth with a brooke that runneth along by Kempcon and Brampton. Thence going foorth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Marlou, it meteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Tenderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it because I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Tripleton, Donington, Burington, and Broomefield, where it meteth with the Oneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwene Hissington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwic, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adston and Wentnor. After the confluence also going on by Chouleton and Cheinies, it taketh in the Oneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, whereof the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Stretons, till it passe by Fellanton. The second moutenth about Longuil, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queenie, and so by Stratford into the Oneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwic, whereof I saie before. Finallie, the Oneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Hawford chappell, Oneibirie, Broomefield, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, meteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from above Brotton by Morehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Bremcost castell, goeth on to Corsham castell, and thence crossing another from saint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Buriford vnto it selfe with the Ludwich that commeth beneath Milburne stoke, from betweene Browne, Cleehill, and Stitterton hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ludwich, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdierie receieth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde dooth goe by Astham, Lingridge, Shelleye Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwijc and Bradwais. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credeleie, Aufrike, and into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the said streame runneth to Braumford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Martlie, and passeth by Kengwije) it goeth to Powije, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wicke-cester.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntil I come to Powije, wherof (as you may easily perceive) the Temde is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this our riere. Certes, from Powije mills which are about half a mile beneath Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempseie and Clewel, whence after it hath crossed a brooke comming from Cowleie, it hasteth first to Stoke, and so to Vpton, which is eleven or twelve miles from Gloucester, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yet it goe there, it drowneth another rill descending from Maluerne hill to Blackemoore parke, and soone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Maluerne hill by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Bushelleie, and Tewkesbury, where it receieth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be described, before I proceed anie further in my discourse of Sauerne.

The Auon riseth at Nauesbie in the borders of Northamptonshire, a little side hand of Gillesborow and foot of the hills whereon Nauesbie standeth, and even out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kinmotes to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Cosford. From thence also it goeth to Newbold, Wolston, Ruington, and betweene the Stolies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from above Calendar to Whitleie, and soone after meeting with a rieret from Countrie, which some doo call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I have read from Kenelsworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Ashelow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwicke.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from south east with two waters in one channell, whereof the least commeth to Marton from Bishops Itchingdon, by Herburinie and Thorpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that descendeth from about Helladon, or nere vnto Catesbie in Northamptonsire, and going by Ouencote, Brauntom, Lemington and Merton, it joyneth with the other, and then goe from thence together under the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike also the Auon taketh in a water running northwest from Grone parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there crossing another from Shirburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, meeting finally with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it hasteth to Streford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth about Cheerington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head, it goeth by...
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITANE.

Weston, and yer long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Aston, & Todnan, it runneth to Barcheston, Aldermaston, Clifford, & so into the Avon.

From hence then the said Avon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleve, and being parted from the said town, yet it come at Sawford, it receiuethe the Arow or Aur, which rising in the blacke hills in Worcestershire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Yoslie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alue, out of Fecknam forest, and going by Coughton parke, it hasteth to Alcester, Arow, Raglie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Stratford, and so into Avon, which after this confluence goeth to Vifenton & then to Eouesholme: but yet it come there it receiuethe two waters in one channell, whereof the first rill about Willerseie, the other nere to Buckland, and joining beneath Badseie, they fall into Avon, under the name of Pludor brooke, before it come to Eouesholme.

Being past Eouesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hills somewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchecombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, procedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuethe there the last on the right hand also (as all above rehearsed) it falleth into the Avon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a town called Hampton, or (as some doo write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Avon goeth to Charlton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almost at Persore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Persore it goeth to Birlingham, and soone after carrieng a brooke withall descending from Fakenham, by Bradlie, Himmelton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Besseford and Desseford, it fléeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, and Tewkesburie, where it joineth with the Sauerne.

Now to resume the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Tewkesburie it goeth to Derehirst, the How passage, and soone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Ashelworth, Sainthirst; and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Glocester, where it vniteth it selfe againe. But in the mean time the easterlie branch receiuethe a forked channell, whereof one head is not far from Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preston, Diumecke, Pantiele upper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Arecknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Glocester.

The Sauerne therefore being past Glocester, it méeteth with a little rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmoure, Minsterworth, Longieie, to Framilode, it receiuethe yer it come at this latter the Strowd brooke, which rising not farre from Side, goeth by Massade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuting there a water that commeth from Panneswic Lodge, by Pitescombe on the one side, and another from Radbridge on the other, it prosecueth its voyage to Stone house, Eslington, white Misen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strowd dooth fall into the Sauerne. After the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlinghan, and soone after receiuting a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackmeie and Catcombe, it goeth fourtill it meet with another water on each side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and meeting above Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which commeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.
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OF SUCH WATERS AS FALL INTO THE SEA IN COMPASS OF THE ISLAND, BETWEENE THE SAUERNE AND THE HUMBER.

CHAP. XIV.

THE Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie upon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendaciu chappell, in the mouth of the riever Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie dooth faile me. This riever Guie or Wie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles, where the Sauerne dooth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glieberie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhafren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third sister, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberistwith, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

Leland writing of this riever Guie or Wie saith thus: The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Vehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riever be vmbres, otherwise called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riever is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other rivers is abandoned and out of use; wherof we of the east parts doo not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blakke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiuethe one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it joyneth with the Elland, whose head is nere to Comeristwith, and taketh likewise into him the Claradwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknock, which Claradwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hille soile adjacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Dissart, where it receiuethe the Ithin, a riever rising abouve Lhanibister, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne vawr: beneath which it croseth a water on eche side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Cluedocht, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is abouve Lanthingle, and in the forrest of Blethwy. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ittor, till it come to Dissart, taking in the Hawie on the left side yere it come there, and then into the Wie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiuethe the Yrwan, a notable streame, descending from the hilles abouve Lanhangle Aberqywas, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Vechan, Langantone, and so to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weueerie, whose head is about Lanauan moore, the Dulesse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weueerie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more abouve the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Yrwan goeth to Lhanuareth, where it croseth the Debon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiuethe the Edowie on the northeast, which ariseteth in the hilles abouve Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lambaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstefhan, and there (or a little abouve) takedeth in the Machaweie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going
on in process of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hills, from whence it goeth to Brecknock mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men doo fish in Vniligneis or botes of one pece, as they doo in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finally, bringing great store of reed sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his original issue at Mennith gader, and is increased with the Trufini) it fallith into the Wie above Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Gue. Being come to Haie, a pretie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Jewes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it meeteth with the Dulesse that commeth also from the Atterill by Kersop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leaving Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course beene march) then to the Whitenies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Biford, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of river worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesses, & there meteth with a water rising short of Wormesleie, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Crednell, Stryton, and Huntington, and soone after into the Wie, beside a little rill that runneth betwixt them both cuen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wie hasteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wie, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Momonacht, Pillath Whitton, Fuldbrooke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betweene Bonie & Beton, or Button, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march to Radnor forest, directeth his streame betwixt the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Nash, and so into the Lug, which presentlie passeth by Kinsham, Shirleie, Almister, Kingsland, Eaton chappell, and so into Lemister, where it croseth the Oneic (a streamelet rising short of Shobden, and going by Chorlester) a little before it come to the west side of the towne.

At Lemister it selfe in like sort three waters doo meet, and almost imniron the towne, that is to saie, the Lug, the Pinfullie or Pinsell (a riueter rising at Kingsland two miles from Lemister) & the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mountains, from Lemister, otherwise called Leofminster, of the builder, and also Leomister, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and above Hope, whereof one head is betwixt Hatfield and Bickleton, another nere unto Marston, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwic, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croseth the Frome or Frome, a pretie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riseth about Woffereaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the southeast by Edwinsloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Bishops Frome, Castell Frome, Can Frome, to Streton upon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Bishops Grendon, by Pencombe, Cowarne, Steke Lacie, Cowarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Yarkeleie, Dormington, and Longward, and so into the Lug, betwixe Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Mordford, or Morthford, and there into the Wie, unto whose description I now returne againe.

Being come therefore unto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballyingham, Capull regis, where it receiueth a water called Treske, from little Berch by Treske, Fairleie, How, Capull Inkston, Feic, Brampton, Bridstow, Wilton castell, the Rosse, and there a rill from Bishops Vptonward by Rudhall, Weresend, Ham, Gleweston, Godderich, here in like sort meeting with another that commeth from Ecleswall in the confines of Gloucestershire, by Peniard castell & Coughton, to Welch Bicknor, English Bicknor, Huntsheam, including a parcell of Monmouthshire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of
of Herefordshire which butteth upon Gloucestershire (as you shall find the like piece of Herefordshire in the confines of Salop and Worcester, wherein Rochford standeth, beside manie other which I have elsewhere spoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gannar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran crosseth the Garran brooke, that riseth in Gregwood, short of Arcop, six miles from Monemouth by northwest: after which these two doo runne as one to Marston, and almost Whitchurch, and so into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gumarew, S. Michaell, Dixton, and Monemouth, where I will staie a while, till I have described the Mone, next of all to be remembered here.

The Mona or Monbecke, riseth in the forest of Henne, twenty miles from Monemouth by west in Eireland, and going by Creswell, or Cranwell chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknock, and northeast of Hattill hile, which after it hath run a good distance from the head receiueth first the Eskle, and passeth by Laniangle and the old Court, from northwest, then the Olcon, from southwest, which meteth withall neere Cledddol or Knedoch, & passing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth shires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewise the Hardwde or Hodni is which riseth in Becknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonic, Cumroe, Michaell church in Monemouthshire, and joineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which alter this confluence hasteth to Waldersone, Lansillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechursh it joineth with the Doure that riseth about the Bache aboue Dourston, which is six miles aboue Doure abbie, so that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Forchurch, Morehamton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Dulesse, from southwest and Laniangle, by Harleswas castell on the one side, and yer long the Wormesbecke, descending from aboue Keurnall by Didliee, Deuerox, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell upo Mona, that river goeth on to Kinech church, Grismond, Cardwaie, Skentrie, Warnethall, Penithire, and so to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which rivers Monemouth towne hath his particular bridge.

The Guie or Wie therefore being increased with thus manie brookes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landoges, it meeteth with the Trolle becke, whose head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth shire, and goeth from thence by Lhaintello, Laniangle, Graceieu, Diggestow, Wonastow, Troie, and so into Wie, that runneth also by Wies wood chase, taking in there the Elvie that commeth from aboue Landelwye by Langowen, Lannissen, Penclase, Treilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforesaid streame, the Wie directeth his course from thence to Tinnterne abbeie (where it crosseth a rill from Trile grange) Chappell hill, Parcasicke, Penterie chappell, Lantancie, Cheptowe, and so into the sea, leaving the Tracle (a chappell standing on a rocke) on the hand betwene it & Sauerne, ouer against the point that lieth south of Bettleslie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great course, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the bishops of Lantaff. Thence passing by Charston rocke, and the point-whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riseth short of Trogie castell, and runneth toward the sea, by Landuair, Dewston, Calicot, and southerly by the Ocean, ouer against the Charston rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from above Penho by saint Brides, north and by west of Dennie land, which lieth midwate betweene that fall & Porshot point, and before I touch at Goldcliff point, I crosse another fall of a fresh brooke, whose head is aboue Landuigo in Wencwood, and course by Lhaimbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Wiston.

Next vnto this is the Aberwish, or Wiske, in Latine Osca, whereon Caereal standeth, sometime called Chester and Chaitas legionum, because the Romanes sojournd there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who also held a noble parlement in the same, whereof Gallrade maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in those daies the maiestie thereof was such, as that all the forefronts of their houses were in maner lad ouer with gold, according.
according to the Romane usage. There was in the same in like sort a famous
universitie, wherein were 200 philosophers; also two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of
Iulius and Aaron, two British martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third
metropolitcal see in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of
the greatest in Southwales, and huge ships might well come to the town of Caerleon,
as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them;
nevertheless, big botes come thereto. It is sight Welsh or twelve English miles from
Chepstow or Strugull, and of some thought to be in base Wenceeland, though other be of
the contrarie opinion. But howsoever the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the
bounds of Brechnockshire, as Rentie is middle to Wenceand & Glamorganshire. But to
leave these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

You shall understand that the Vske or Wiske, in Latin Osca riseth in the blacke mountaines
ten miles aboue Brechoynoke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Ynminih
Duy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betweene Brechoynoke and
Carmardine shires, from whence windinge into the northeast, it commeth to Trecastle, and
in the waie betweene it and Capell Ridburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right
hand before it come to Ridburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Dewynoke, it
crosseth the Senine on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senine) next of all
the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whose head is three miles from
Brechoynoke, and runninge by Lanhamangle, it meteth I saie with the Vske, about master
Awbries manor. Beneathe Aber Yster, it receueth the Yster, which-riseth northwest aboue
Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanspithed and
Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechoynoke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honttie
on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by
Defrune chappell, Lanihangle and Lanuilog, it meteth with the Vske or Brechoynoke
townes end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I have beene
informed: on the other halfe likewise it receueth the Tertarit that riseth among the Bane
hills, five miles from Brechoynoke, and commeth likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne,
beneath Trenwirth, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.

After these confluences, the Vske procedeth on toward Aberkinurike, or the fall of a
water whose head is in the roots of Menuchdennie hill, and passage by Cantref. Thence
it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethlie castell, Lonsanfreld, Landetie, Langonider, and
soone after receuing the Kiangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell
standeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it passeth betweene Luggatocke and
Cergihowell, to Langroine, and ther about crosseth the Groine brooke, that descendeth
from Monegater, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Vske is past this
brooke, it taketh in three other short rills, from by south within a little distance, whereof
the first right Cledoch Vaur, the second Ydan, and the third Cledoghvehon. Of these
also the last fallth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vske runneth to Aberguemni
towne, where it meteth with the Kebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Betus
chappell aboue the towne, and the Guennie that descendeth from above Landilobartholl
beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Hardwije, beneath which it crosseth
three namelesse rilles, on the right hand or southwest side before it come at Lanihangle
upon Vske, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length,
and the chanell of sufficient greatnesse severally to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and
Trostreie it meteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Betthus Newith. Thence
it goeth to Caer Vske or Brenbigcie (whose bridge; I mene that of Vske, was overthrownne
by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint
Hughes daie after a great snow) but yer it come there, it receueth the Birthin on the right
hand, which is a pretie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is northwest of
Manihilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Next vnto this it joineth with the Elwie aboue Lambadocke, whose head is east of
Penclase,
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

Penclose, and running westwards by Penclose, Lanislen, Langwen (and beneath Landewie taking in a brooket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth southwest, untill it come at the Vske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanhowell, meteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the mildest falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I have beene informed. From the mouth of the Romene to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greatest river in all Glamorganshire, (called by Ptolemy Rhatostathybius, as Iresse) and the citie Taffe is selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth oft such logs and bodies of trees withall from the woodie hilles, that they doo not seldom crush the bridge in pieces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, wheras if it were of hard stone, all the countre about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the woode hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Monuchdenie, the other west of that mountaine, of which the first called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell lan vehan, Vainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Nante, and joining at southwest beneath Morlais castle, they go to Martyr Tiduill, and toward Lamabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northwest a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockshire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodnee comming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Estrilindodoch, a crotched brooke, & therefore divided into Rodnee vaure, & Rodnee vehan, that being joined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Eglesfian, castle Coch, Whitechurch, Landaflie, Cardif, and so into the sea, not far from Penmarth point, where also the Lake dooth bid him welcome vnto his channell or streame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caeleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betwene Landgwaie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hilles that sence to part Monemouth and Brechenocke shires in sunder, and after a rill received from Blorench hill on the northside of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countre, and in processe of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Guennocke and Penrose, & so in Vske before it go by Caeleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame joining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendent (as I said) from the hilles about foure miles about Landgwaie and Langweth, dooth make an Iland above Caeleon, where Penrose standeth, & much Romane coin is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other scene to me to be but a draine deuisd by man, to kepe the cite from the violence of such water as otherwise would oft annoie the same. 

Being past Caeleon it runneth to Crindie, where maister Harbert dwelleth, and there carieth another brooke withall, that riseth north of Tomberlow hill, and descendent by Henlis and Bethus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch castle Newith) and from thence under a bridge, after three or foure miles course to the sea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meteth with the same almost in the verie mouth or fall, and riseth in the edge of Brechnocks shire, or (as Leland saith) high Wincelando, from two heads of which one is called Eberin Vehan, the other Eberin Mawr, as I have beene informed. The course of the first head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluenes they passe together by Lanbileth, and comming by west of Tomberlow hill (crossing a rill, from north east by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Trestrent, & is of lesse race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that same quarter. After this confluenes it goeth to Rislie, Rocheston castell, next of all thorough a parke, and so by Grenefield castell, and is not long yer it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doe find in the countie, which...
which beareth the name of Merenmouthe, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

The Romanie or (as some corruptly call it) the Nomine, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march between Monemouch & Glamorgan shires. The head thereof is aboue Egglius Tider vnp Hoell otherwise called Panum Theodore, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie springs, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoeh and not Romanie till it be come to Romancie. It receieth no water on the east side, but on the west diuers small beakes, whereof three (and one of them called firth) are betweene the rising and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cometh in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligare, the fift from betweene the Waldraie and Lanuabor, the sixt & seuenthe before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer against Bedwas it selfe from chappell Martyn, Caflillic castell, and Thawan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mableie and Romanie, & yer long crossing a becke at north west that commeth from aboue Lisuyn, Lamssen and Roeh, it falleth into the sea, about six miles from the Wibse, and albeit the mouth thereof be nothing profitable for ships, yet is it also a march betweene the Silures and Glamorganshire.

The Laie falleth into the sea a mile almost from the Taff, and riseth in the hilles about Lantrissent (for all the region is very hilly.) From whence comming by Lantrissent and Auercastell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambeadder, S. Bride, Lhiannhangle, saint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and so into the sea, without anie manner increase by anie rils at all sauing the Dunelais, which riseth four miles from his fall, cast northeast, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Velim Vaur, and likewise by west, the Methcoid that commeth from Glunne Rodencie, and wherein to the Pedware dischargeth that small water gathered in his chanell. Here will I staie a little and breake off into a discourse, which Leland left also as parcell of this coast who toucheth it after this maner.

From Taff to Laie mouth or Ele rier a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that standeth on the west point of it) to the mouth of Thawan rier (from whence is a common passage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summersetshire of 17 miles) are about seven Welsh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe above Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie succour for ships) whose head is in Wenne paruch two miles and a halfe from the shore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of fresh water into Sauerne, whose head is scant a mile off in plaine ground by northeast, and rright against the fall of this becke lieth Barrie land a flight shot from the shore at the full sea. Halfe a mile above Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come Kidie, which riseth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and serveth off for harbour vnto sea-farers. Tence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherunto ships may come at will.

Two miles above Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill resortheth from Lau Iluit, thence to the mouth of Alen four miles, that is a mile to saint Dinothes castell, and three miles further. The Alen riseth by northeast vp into the land at a place called Lhes Brômith, or Skirpton, about four miles above the plot where it commeth by it selfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur aliâs Gur three miles. Then come they in processe of time vnto the Kenseke or Colbrooke rier, which is no great thing, sith it riseth not above three miles from the shore. From Kenseke to Aber Auon two miles, and herein doo ships molested with weather oftentimes seekhe harborage. It commeth of two arnes, wherof that which lieth northeast is called Auon Vaur, the other that lieth northwest Auon Vehan. They meet together at Lhanuie Hengle, about two miles above Aber Auon village, which is two miles also from the sea.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon or me shiplets almost to the tounge of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crianline becke is two miles, and being passed the same we come vnto the Tauie, which descendeth from the aforesaid hilles and falleth into the sea by cast of Swanseae. Being past this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we
passed to the Wandresmouth, wherof I find this description following in Leland. Both Vendraith Vaur and Vendraith Vehan rise in a piece of Carmarthish, called Issoketune, that is to say, the low quarter about Kenned riuier, and betwixt the heads of these two hills is another hill, wherein be stones of a greenish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Vendraith Vaur riseth in, is called Memnith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a morrish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principal spring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles from Kidwelle: the hill that Vendraith Vehan springeth out of, is called Memnith Vehan, and this water commeth by Kidwelle towne.

But about three or foure miles yet it come thither, it receiueneth a brooke called Tregirth, the course whereof is little above a mile from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or five tucking milles and thrie corne milles vpon it. At the head of this brooke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the brooke it selfe, it is one of the most plentiful and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the sides also of Vendraith Vaur, you shall find great plentie of sea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Vendraith Vehan, where men vse to enter into vaults of great compasse, and it is said, that they make go one waie under the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Caikemen castell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true these things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vehan. There are diverse prints of the passage of certeine worms also in the cave, at the head of Vendraith Vehan, as the inhabitants doo fable: but I never heard of anie man that saw anie worme there, and yet it is beleued that manie wormes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.

Leauing the Laie, which some call Elaie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that liet betwene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Iet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen before described) and came vnto the Barrie, whose head is aboue Wrinston Barrie, and from whence he runneth by Deinspowis, Cadoxton, Barrie, and so into the sea.

Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or three miles aboue Lansanor, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbridge, and from thence goeth to Lambilithian, Landoch, Beanpeere, Flemston, Gilston, and betwene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yar it come all there it receiuenthe a brooke called Kensan, or Karnsan, or Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Bolston, & comming by Charnelhoid, Lhancaranu, & Lanceadle, it falleth into the former aboue either of the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kensan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Brane, lieth in Luenithian, and runneth seaven miles before it meet with the other. Leauing this water we sailed on, casting about the Nash point, omitting two or thre small waters (whereof Leland hath already as ye see made mention) because I have nothing more to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Ian Iltruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

The Ogur or Gur, which some call the Ogmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodencies are to be found, but much more westerlie, and running a long course yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere or Langouodocho, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to Newcastell, and Marthermaure, beneath which it meeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur or Ogmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth foue or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill yerlong from northeast, and the confluence passeth foorth by Coitchurch, Ogur castell, & so into the Ogur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Ogur saith thus. Into the Ogur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lansanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of

Glin

Vandal

Vendraith

Vaur, Vendraith Vehan

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Glin Corug, at northwest, and then running two miles lower, uniteth it selfe with the Corug brooke, a little short thing, and worthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further yere it meete with the Ogar on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles about Peabowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Next vnto the Ogar is the Kensig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kensig castell, and being past the same we crosse the Morgan rill, where sir Edward Maxwell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which having two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michael church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, yelding also in time of need a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, rising of diuerse heads, whereof the more easterlie named Nethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedorin to Aberpigion it receiueth Nethauur, a little aboue the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Tauie in Brecknok shire (as all the rest doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Melteia and the Hepsaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one channell, about a mile or more before it ioine with Nethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Nethauur, so the Melte riseth by east of Trangarth, and joineh with the same aboue Istrad wealthie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepsaie. So that albeit their seuerall risings be half or a whole mile in sander, yet haue they (in a manner) like distance from Aberpigion, and their final confluence in the edge of Glamorganshire, which they directlie doo crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the wooddie soiles, till it meet with Cledaugh, which joineth with the same beneath the Resonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisted, where it taketh in the Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Brecknock. Thence it goeth to Cador town, or between it and Lannistide, then to Neth town, whither small vessels often come; and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoche that runneth by Kelebebelich (and also Neth abbeie where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke forest, Nethwood, Briton ferrie, and so into the sea.

The Tauie riseth in the thickest of the blacke mountaines in Brecknokshire west of Nethauur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the east banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus uniteth the channell passeth forth by Istradgunles, and then meeting with the Turch or Torch water that cometh from the foot of the blacke mountaines, and is march to parcell of Caer-mardinishire, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Johns, Swansea, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth three or foure miles yer it come into Swanseie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither have, nor find anie great want thereof. Wherefore going about by Oistermont castell, and Mumbles point, we passe foroorth the southwest, by Penmarch point, til we come to Ilston water, whose head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch castell, a rill or two dooth fall into the same. Then casting about by Oxwich point, we goe ouerdure there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (having passed the Wormeslead and S. Kennets chappell) and then northeast by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Loghor, or as Lloid nameth it, the Lichwr, whose indraught for a certene space is march between Caermardine and Glamorgan shires. It riseth aboue Gwennie chappell, from whence it goeth Landbea, to and above Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that enthrall thereinto from northeast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Artelshs bridge, and ouer against Landllio Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwile by west of Parkreame, and afterward the Morlais above Langmarch on the same side. Then comming to Loghor castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not about five miles, and thence looseing the name of Lochar, it is called Burrice, as some gesse, vntill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side (of Bachannie Iland, a small thing) and not worthie
worthie for anie thing I read thereof, as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachanics Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles abowe Prenacrois, it passeth by Lanheltheie, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dulesse a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinsaren: thence by the Pembraie and Calicoot points, till we came about to the Wandres or Vendraith mouth, whose description is particule touched alreadie; but because it is not such as I would it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendrath or Vendraith vaer riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Kenneth Vaur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, commeth at the last to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Vendraith Vehan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Vendraith Vaur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the southwest, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and so into the see, about one mile from the fall of Vendraith Vaur.

The Towie riseth in the monteines of Elenith foure miles by southeast from Lintue, and two from Lingonon, in a moorish ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forrest called Bishops forrest, midwaie betwixt Landwibrie & Landanuerie castell. For fish, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Taffe, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne vp their bellies hote aloft and die out of hand. It parteth Brecknock from Cardigonshire also for a certaine season, till it come by the water of Trausnant, that falleth thereinto from by east out of the confines of Brecknock, vnto Pifin capell, and so to Istrodfene, where it meeteth with the Tothee that commeth thither from Lhinuer-win where it riseth, and so through Rescoth forest, vnting it selfe by the waie with the Pescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come together beneath Istrodfene into Towie, which we have now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbreie, Lanihowell, and Lanumphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one channell, whereof the first is called Brane, the other Gutherie (which lieth more southerlie of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landonuerie, which runneth on till it meet with the first Dulesse that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Morlais, and these on the northwest. Certes the Brane is a pretie brooke rising two or three miles aboue Capell Newith, and descending by Lanbrane and Vstradwalter, it meeteth (I saie) with the Gutherie, whose head is west of Triccastell in Brecknockshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanumphrie and a rill that meeteth with the same, descending from northwest of Lanudran, it taketh in the influences of divers waters in one channell, of which the greatest is called Modewie, and thereof I find this description.

The Modewie, or (as some pronounce it) Motheuie, riseth of two heads, which joining aboue Lanihangle, the streame runneth on till it meet with the Cledoch on the left hand, proceeding also further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawtheie, whose two heads descend from the blace monteines or east edge of Carmadineshire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the second Dulesse dooth meet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles aboue Talthogiae abbeie, northwest from Langadocke full five miles; then comming downe by Landilovaur, Newton, Dunefar castell, and Golden grove, it receiueth the third Dulesse from by north that commeth in by Lanihangle and Drislan castell, and after that the Cathie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not vterlie to be passed ouer.

Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbrieie, vnder the hulke of Blame Icorne, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pensent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lana-crois: thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergorlech, Brehuangothe, Lannigood, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by north,
then the Gwilie from northwest, whose head is above Lanio Pinessent, and race by Canwell, Eluer, Comewilie, and Merling hill as I have often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanstephan, S. Ismaels, and so into the sea.

Next into the Towie is the Taue, whose head is in the blacke mountaines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Penbrokeshire, from whence it runneth by Lanauirmach, Langludiuen, Laualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from southwest, out of the same countie by Lambeder- uelvraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Marlias by north that runneth by Lamberdie and Whirland. Thence meeting with one rill called Venni, as I take it, that commeth through Carthif forest on the one side, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it west of Landowror, it hasteth to S. Cares, where it taketh in the Corth- kinnie, or Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Tow both in one chanell, of which the first riseth about Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacauce, Kilsant, and Langminn, the other issuethe out of the ground above Trologh Bettus, from Midrun, & joining with the former a little above S. Cares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betweene it and Abercowen, admiiteth finallie the Gowen or Gow streame, which connuming likewise from the blacke mountaines, goeth by Ebberenar, & so into the Taue, who directeth his course by Lancharme castell, and then into the sea.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a small thing rising above Lam- beder Velfraie, and going from thence by east of castell Merhie hill, Cruunuier and Argvaire, it is not long yer it fall in the sea, and so we leaque Cairdinshire, and go ouer into Pen- brooke. Then passed we by an other comming out of Rathe forest called Coit Rathe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leaving the Monkeston rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dinbechie Picood, and passing into the port between the castell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it serted with two little backe waters, of so small countenance, that they are not worthy of anie further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one sceneth to be called Florence brooke, the other Fresto, Gunfreston standing betwene them both, whereby their sight cannot persist. After this we passed betwene Londe and an other llet or rocke lieing by northwest of the same, to Ludsope point, & so to Abertrewe, where I found a sillie fresh water named Trewand that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Their gathering west and by north before we came at Shene hille, we found another fresh water, that riseth short of Kirig Maharen, and running south of Ygggarston, Windmill hill, or betwene it and Castell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Being passed this water, we cast about toward the northwest, by the Peptons and Pennar, till we came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in manner issueth Penbrooke. From this (omitting sundrie salt crëleich on both sides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a mere salt course) cloeseth three parts of Carew castell. The other rising neere to Coit Rathe forest is a fresh, & going by Gelflaiston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereunto two rivers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledlu or the two swords, and betwene them both is a rill which they call also Culledell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that long in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peradventure not verie well occupiied, was demanded of his hostes (where he did brake his fast the next morrow) at what time he laie in the night precedent, because he came so some to his house yer amie of hir maids were vp? Oh good hostes (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betwene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betwene these two rivers, and his brest towards the south neere to the
the head of Cultiell. But to passe ouer these iest. Here Leland speake of a riuere called Gwile, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose.

The one of these riuers is named Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this short and brewe description. The Clotheie is continuall, of the southeaste aduenture. It is certainly true that Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie vaure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langclman, Lannakeun, and Egremond, it receueth a rill from by north-west before it come at Lanhdaddon castell, which commerch from aboue the moore by Charaston and Bletterston, his head ariseth in the hill west of Monclaghie, as Leland dooth informe me. Yer long also and betweene Lanhdaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarch castell, comming by Robaston, then going by Cunastow, Slebach, Picton castell, Sister houses, Minware & Marthelwic, at Riss castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue beene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledic, whereof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somewhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Traugarn, Redbaxton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford west, and there vinseth it selfe with a waile, which peradventure is the same that Leland called Gwile. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledic, over against the town of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hulford; as Lhoid dooth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another waile from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and entrance betweene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessor as some call him, who was a grussenous mall unto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frō Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I goe from it making hasting west to Cultiell, & omitting two rills betwixt it and the Clotheie on the south-side, of no great weight and moment. The Cultiell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by north, of three or four miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by S. Leonards, after whose vnition with the aforesaid waile they run on as one till they meet with the Clothie, casting out by the waie sundrie salt creakes, as the maine chanell dooth from thence forth vntil it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a sillic fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Having thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we cast about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gatesholme Ile, that lieth betweene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie over against Stockelome lland that is situat further off into the sea, toward the south-west, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betwixt the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, the on the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Mewstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may wardlie be taken for lands, and even in like sort we may judge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if ye saille theither on the south side, you must needs passe by the Mewstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leave the Yardland stone on your left hand. Where to if you note well the situation of these lands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramseie and S. Daults lland, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Briddike, wherein (notwithstanding the greatness) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withal. Finaile, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good a together to leave that bale unsearched, at lestwise to see what lands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides lland, a very little place and situate nere the land, before I came at Galtroie rode. From thence we went
went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Caruac hauen, Shirelase rocke, Carnbude, and Caruac baiws, Portelais, and so into the sound betweene Ramsee and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ille, almost annexed to the maine: but in the midst thereof, I mean of the sound, is a rocke called the horse (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramsee) and more unfortunate than ten of Seians colts, but thanked be God I never came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephens, and Whitesand baiws, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted hole water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peradventure haue ve, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, I read to be separted from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diverse other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, besides those that are heere mentioned out of a register of that house.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a crekke seuered with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this crekke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about four miles is Saluach crekke, otherwise called Saurach, whither some fresh water resorteth: the mouth also thereof is a good rescue for balingers, as it (I mean the register) saith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth through seant Dewies close dooth run. It lieth a mile southeast from S. Dewies, saint Stimans Chapell also is betwene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Maw, where I found a great estuarie into the land. The Pendwic halfe a mile from that: Lhand Vehan is three miles from Pendwic, where is a salt crekke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another crekke to Langunda, four miles, and another crekke is there in like sort where fisheremen catch herrings. Heere also the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidianc from Fisherdine Kenmeis land. From Langunda to Fischard at the Gwerne mouth four miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Besides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhiennes and pooles, but for as much as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhiennes, I passe them over as hasting to Teife, in Latine Lbius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiurobius, which is the next riuer that seereth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from saint Dauids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till wee came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence northeast, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat south by the Cow and Calfe (two cruel rockes) which we left on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwine or Fischard, where we found a fresh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whose course is in manner directlie out of the east into the west, from Vremie hills by pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foresaid towe. It riseth flat north of the Perselic hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerllidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport standeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nangwyn, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Wrinie vaure, and thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a little land ouer against the north point. Hereinio also commeth the Teife, a noble riuer which riseth in Lutwie, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not else where in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Castor or Beuer to be found. But to proceed. The verie hed thereof (I saie) is foure miles aboue Stradllore in Luitie, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiuth a brooke
a brooke from southeast that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradlure abbeye, beneath which it meetseth with the Mirieke water (that riseth above Stradmirth) and soon after with the Landurche (both from the northwest) and finallie the Brechim above Tregaron, that commeth in by the east; as Leland hath set downe.

Nedere to Landwibrueiie also it crosseth the Bromis by east northeast, and then goeth to Lanuir, Cledoch, Kellan, and soon after taking in the Matherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas above Lanbedder (which riseth above Liangibie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northwest, it goeth next of all to Lancbedder townie, then to Laniuir, beneath which it crosseth the Graudeth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lanforne, Lanigrue, and Sandisell, and there it vntieth it selfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantisilued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landissell from by north, as I doo here affirm. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landreugog and Newcastell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whose course is somewhat enlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Kenwith two beckes in one chaneell doe fall into it, which be namelesse, and but of a little length.

Beneath Trewdair also it crosseth another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teife, they run as one by Kennaeth (still parting Cardigan shire from Carmardin, as it hath done sith it met with the Matherne) and so forth on till they joyn with the Cheach, which rising southeast above chappell Euan, dooth part Carmardine and Brechmocce shire in sunder, till it come vnto the Teife. From this confluence, and being still a limit vnto Cardigan shire, it goeth by Marierdine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Pennerall, by north of Monardlue or Marierdie, and two other from by southwest, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron castell, the other from Lantwood north west of Oswid Mortemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betwene S. Dogmeile, & Langordmire, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his vprise, and sending vs forth from Penlooke into Cardigan shire, whereunto it hath become march ever sithence it came from Kellan, or confluence with the Matherne.

Being come into Cardigan shire, and hauing passed the Cardigan point, an hand of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon three miles beneath Lancleere, it riseth in the mountaines by a chappell called Blam Penall belonging to Landwibrueiie about three or foure miles by Tine banks, & runneth on by Lambervoodie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuillian, Talaforne, and soon after taking in a rill from by south from Sylam by Laneir it runneth by Istrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the sea, crossing by the waie the Bidder brooke, which conning from Dehewiede, dooth fall into the same, betwene Lanicharin, and Henenmeie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth three or foure miles or more within the land slopewise, and conning by Lambaderic, and Tribeglois, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Aberarth.

Being past the Arth, & hauing staied there a while because we found some harborous, we came next of all vnto the Wereie, which riseth of two heads, aboue whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lanicharle, Redrod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruther to Laristed, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Ystwith, which riseth in the blacke moutaine above Comerstwite, from whence it runneth certaine miles, vntill it come vnto Ispittie, Isitwh, Launar, Lanifer, Lan Nachairne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Meleucon, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the shore, whereof I have this description. The Ridall riseth in the top of Plimimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinven, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneath it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Ystwith, and so into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Ystwith, and taken our selves againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memoriall.
The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Vm-
maboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiuen the Massalique, and from thence goeth
into the sea, southwest from his orinal. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indraught
of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceived) for anie ship
to harbouroth in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lan-
hangle castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by
the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon
trifles?

Thus have I brought my selfe out of Caerdisan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betwenee
it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the
head, minding in the descriptioun of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we
will doo in such good maner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be
performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie and goeth on north right to Lammoth-
wie, by Mowdlewie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueu two
rill from northwest, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cludoch from northeast, &
so holdeh on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in
part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lam-
brin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathrauerne, crossing another from by north
and so forth to Lanworing, where it metethe with the Keig on the one side, and the Gwi-
dall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

After this, our maiuer run goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence
from southeast, called the Duke, and another from the northwest: from thence it hasteth
on to Magenillet, or Machenley, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the
Pentall from northwest, thridlie the Emon, fourthlie the Kirar, fiftlie the Cleider, these
three last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwin-
helin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeh. It seemseth in some mens judg-
ements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight
Deuus, in Welsh or Britton Difi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth scone to fetch his
sound. But to proceed with the rest of such fallles and waters as are to be found in this
countie. Going therrfore northwestward we come to a fall frô the north called Town Me-
riometh which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie ruer rising in the hilles aboue
Lanilhangle, and west of castell Traherne receiueu the Ridrige, which commeth from Chad-
rdziel hill, by Tallilin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from southeast, fetching
his course by LaneGrin, and so into the sea within five miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen
becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with di-
ligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Moth or Derie, for so are
the two chief heads called out of which this ruer descendeth, and are about six miles west
of the Lin, out of which the De hath his issue, and betwenee which the Ruran vauere hilles
are situat and have their being. After the joining of the two heads of this Barre, as I name
it from the orinal, it receueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the
same, comming from Beuose wood, and so holdeh on towards the south betwenee Lamili-
ad and Kemnor abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dolgelth with the Aon vauere, which
comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hastes north-
westward (by Dolgelth) to joine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kessligunt,
then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to five miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered
the very hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth
by Corsogdale and Lanithwe, alias Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the
Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Lan-
dango, which is a town situate on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the ruer Flô, that falleth there into the sea,
and commeth thither from the Alpes or hills of Snowdonie, mounteins, no lesse fertile for
grasse,
grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers doe make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh divers rivers with him whose names I doo not know. Then vnto the Arro a brooke, whose head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiveth the Cedgar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesss which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith vehan, which is the fall of the Drudir, a pretie river comming from the marches of Caernaruenshire, which passing by Festunog, soone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Velenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, because their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a river proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hills, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betwene Merioneth and Caernarvon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Krekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lanstidwie, and after that to the Moie, whose mouthes are so nere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land dooth seeme to kepe them in Sunder.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke descending from Madrjir hills, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe doo seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses doo come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Helle: except my memorie doo faile me, then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Abersoch or mouth of the Soch rier upon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two lands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrjip: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I choose rather to shew their fallings and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen doe give vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easy to be found out and sounded.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelins ile on the right hand, we come to Daron rier, whereupon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Vortigernes vale, where the compass of the sea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarme beck, a mile and more south of Newin. And ten or twelve miles from hence is the Vennie brooke, whose course is little aboue so marie miles; and not farre from it is the Lian, a farre lesse water, comming also from the east: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by south and the Carrog by north after their conuincion doo make their common influence. Haung passed this rier, we cast about toward the north east, and enter at Abermenai ferrie, into the streights or streame called Menai, betwene Anglesey and the maine, meeting first of all with the Gornae, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and passeth by Lanunda into the sea or Menai streame at Southercroke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, passeth by Lanihangle, and so falleth into the Menai at Abersaint, which is on the southwest side of Caernarvon: on the other side also of the said towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it standeth between two rieres, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Oeg.

Then come we (saith Leland) to Gwiniwith mirth (or Horse brooke) two miles from Moilethom, and it riseth at a Well so called full a mile from thence. Moilethom is a bowe shot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleseie. Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Meneie shore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Meneie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mountaine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronn men hath his course) almost a mile aboue it. Aber Ogewine is two miles aboue that;
it riseth at Tale linne, Ogwino poole, five miles above Bangor in the east side of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles above Aberogwene, and it riseth in a poole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon lan var Vehan riseth in a mountaine therby, and goeth into the sea, two miles above Duguewelth. Auon Duguewelth is three miles above Conwée, which rising in the mountaine a mile off, goeth by it selfe into Meneie salt arme. On the said shore also lieth Conwée, and this river dooth run botwixt Pennmaine Maur, and Pennmaine Vehan. It riseth about three miles from Pennaclon hills which lie about sixtie miles from Conwée abbeie, now dissolved out of a lake called Lin Conwée, and on the north and west of this river standeth the townes of Conwée, which taketh his name thereof.

This river (which Ptolomie calletth Toesobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, passeth on the west side by Spittieuan and THERIO, beneath which it taketh in a streame comming from the east out of Denbighshire, derived from three heads, and of the greatest called Nag. Soone after also another, and then the third, which commeth in from the west by Lanpen MAWR: next of all the Leder on the same side, which commeth by Dolathel an castell: and abowc that from a Lin of the same denomination. Beneath this and selfe hand lyeth likewise the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Mumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we still descend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be past another on the right side, we come to the Perloyd, which commeth out of Lin Cowld, to the Ygan, to the Idulin, to the castell Water on the left, & then to the Melanderer on the right, without the sight of anie other, till we come almost to Conwée, where we find a notched streame comming from by west, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the same by one channell on the northeast side of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and over against Lansanfraid in Denbighshire; so farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruaunon stretcheth also beyond Aber Conwée, or the fall of Conwée, & it is called Ormedesh point, wherein also is a rill, whose fall into the sea is between Penin and Landright. And thus we have made an end of the chéefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we doo as it were step over into Flintshire, and whose first water is not great, yet it commeth from southwest, and falleth into the north or Irish sea called Virginium, beneath Landillas; as the next that commeth south from Bettas dooth the like thrée miles beneath Abergel, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it selfe importeth) but also noted to take his course through the Canges. Having thus gone over the angle of Denbighshire, that lieth between those of Carnauon and Flint, we come next of all into Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a streame not to be shorliote intreated of. It riseth among certeine hilles, which lie not far distant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighshires. Southeast from his fall, and having run foure or five miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Manitou on the left hand, and the Mespin on the right: and soone after the third from bywest, whose head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen also it taketh in the Leuncie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and so holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Ystrade, which passeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheler on the right, and so to his joining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Asaphes, a bishops sce that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riseth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lannair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lamsannan, and joineth with him five miles beneath Langrenewe. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence passeth on to the sea by Rutland castell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by east, and hath a course almost of sixtie miles. From hence we tooke sea toward the Dee mouth: and as we passed by the rest of the shore, we saw the fall of a little brooke née Basing Werke, of another née to Flint, of the third at Yowlie castell, which with his two armies in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like sort goeth round about the same, & from whence we came to the Dee, where we landed and tooke vp our lodging in Chester. In this
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this place also it was no hard matter to deliver & set downe the names of such riuers and streams as are also to be found in Angleseie, finding my selfe to have some pleasure and fit opportunitie for the same: and imagining a journeie thither also, as vnto the other places mentioned in this description, whither as yet it hath not bene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amisse to take it also in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnauquonshire to Beaumarise, I went by land without crossing of anie riuers or streame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the southeaste part of that Islan: This Brant riseth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his course southward to Lanthoniell, it goeth on to Bodoweruch, Langainwen, and so into the sea.

The next fall we came vnto was called Malrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers, the Geennie and the Gint, who joine not farre from Langestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hilly soile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: so that part of the Islan obtineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is neere to Langinwen, and passage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aberfraw, and so into the sea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or three miles above Haneglosse: and passing from thence to Treualghmaie, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan ferville, and falleth into the sea; southeast of the little Islan, which is called Ynis Wealt, it is namelesse also as the other was: and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt creake by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Islan: and in some respect not vnworthie to be taken for an Isle. In the north side therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or creake: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I doo not remember.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bridge, into the maine of Angleseie, and going northwards I find a fall infornced by three riuers, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the stremme: the name of the most north-erlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogither namelesse for aught that I can learene, wherefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we buttled vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the joining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and nere to the Langechell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Hillarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse: and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finally southward, till we came to Langurdin; from whence vnto Beaumarise (where began our voyaige) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I goe forward with the description of the Dee.

The Dee or Deu (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the best trout, whose head is in Merioneth shire, about three miles sowe of the lake, situate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Teognis, whose stremme yet verie small, by reason of the shorteesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters which come also into the said lake, which is foure or five miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his issue into the same by Langower: the third on the north side of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glannitigid called the Jauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Troverin, a pretie stremme, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the same, and joyneth with the Dee south of Lanuir; from whence forth it loosen the name, and is afterward called Dee. East of Bala in like sort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by

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Landright
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Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riseth in the hills above Langham, the other in the mounteines about five or six miles by northwest of Lanihangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and afterward rising againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then joineth with the Giron, full six miles above Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lansanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighshire, and so to Langlock, Dinas, Bren, &c: keeping his course by certeine windless, till he receive the Gristoneth, descending by Ruabon, then another est of the same; the third from by west called Kerog (whose head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and course by Larnaum, Lansanfraid, and Chylke) the fourth from south east out of Shropshire, called Morlas, and so passeth as bounds between Denbighshire, and the Outliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Bystocke on the one side and Banger on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receueth a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the second from Hammere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betwixt Chad and Worsall. These two later meeting above neither Durtwich, doo hold on to Talerne, as mine information instructeth me.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth north westwards toward Shocklidge, metteth by the wae with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originnall mother to those trouts for which the Dee is commended) and descendeth from Capell Moinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrexham, both joining a mile and more beneath Wrexham, not far from Hantwerne. Soone after also our maine riuer receueth another becke from by east, which is bound on the northwest side to the Outliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betwixt Holt castell and Fermeton, Almere and Pulton, as march between Denbighshire and Cheshire, and then taketh in the Alannus or Ailen; a prete riuer and worthie to be described. The head of this Ailen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two severall places, ecb being two miles from other, the one called Ailen Mawr, the other Ailen Vehan, as I doo find reported. They meet also beneath Landeglefe, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuere, where meeting with a rill comming from by west, it runneth on to the Mold to Horsheth, and so in and out to Gresford, taking the Cagidog from southwest with it by the waie; then to Traue Ailen, and so into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which also descendeth from southwest out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, even from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheshaters on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it meteth with the Beston brooke, whereof I doo find this description following.

"The Beston water riseth in the wooddie soile betwixt Spruson and Beston castell with a forked head, and leaung Beston towne on the northeast, it goeth to Tarneron, and to Halkeslec, where it diuideth itselfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Lelehall, to Aldford, and so into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it brancheth againe, sending forth another arme by Stann dic poole, and the parke side into Merse armes, toward the northwest, and another by southwest, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backford, Charleton, Vpton, the Baites, and so vnder a bridge to Chester ward, where it fallith into the Dee arme of Flockes brooke, excluding Wirall on the northwest as an hand, which lieth out like a leg betweene the Merse and the Dee armes, and including and making another fresh hand within the same, whose limits by northwest are betwixt Thorton, Chester, & Aldford, on the northeast Thornton and Hakeslec, and on the southeast Hakeslec and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof dooth in part resemble a triangle." And thus much of the Dee, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at southwest, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in harvest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their
their grasse and corn that groweth in the lower grounds nere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about three hundred foot, at his departure from the Tignie, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of channel, it inforceth men to seeke new bounds vnto their lands, for here it lieth new ground, and there translatheth and taketh awaye the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Otton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime nere vnto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogether to omit it.

This abbeie of Bangor stood sometime in English Maior, by lither and south of the rier De. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there doo plow vp bones (as they saye) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparel of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbeie stood in a vallie, and in those times the rier ran hard by it. The compasse thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled town, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the De having now changed his chanell, runmeth through the verie middest of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hercoubt, and the Romane coin, there is no such necessitie of the reherall thereof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being past the De we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hibrie or Hilbre Iland, and Leupole, Nase, making our entrie into Merseie arme by Leupole hauen, where we find a water falling out betweene Seacombe and the Ferie, which dooth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising nere to the northwest shore, it holdeth a course direcitial toward the southeast by Wallaseie and Poton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well nere three miles except I be deceived. Froence hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betweene Bebington and Brombro chappell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Besont water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuere, than the which I read of no rier in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windless & crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckel hilles, which lie betweene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and soon after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Ridlie poole, it runmeth by Ridlie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a meare that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runmeth by Langerslaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuere, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the fift Auon or third Ouze, whereof I haue spoken alreadie. After these confluences it hasteth also to Audlem, Hawlkow, and at Barderton croseth the Beltie water, that runmeth by Duddington, Widdenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid stremme. Thence it goeth to Naurwich, but yere it come at Marchford bridge, it meetcheth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Culuerlie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lee and the Wuluarme both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Weston, the other goeth by Copnall. From hence the Wiuere runmeth on to Minchion and Cardeswijc, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ashe (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rofall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Northwich where it receueth the Dane, to be described as followeth.
followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbishire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Warneford, Swithamlee and Bosleie, is a limit betweene Stafford and Darbieshires, almost even from the verie head, which is in Maxwell forest.

It is not long also yet it doo meet with the Biddle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confinenc goeth vnto Sweatham, the Hermitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cawthton, and after the confinenc goeth to Warmingham, joining also beneath Middlewith the Croco or Croxton, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerston (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco goe as one vnto the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane dooth from thence to Bostocke, Dauenhain, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Northwich into the foresaid Wuer. After this confinence the Wuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme & Lastocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a roll called Puererie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holforde, and there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and joyning at nether Tableie) it goeth forth to Winshambridge, and then meting with the other, after this confinence they proceeded till they come almost at Barneton, where the said chanell joineth with a pretie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betweene Comberbach, Rudworth and Marburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine ruer. After these confinences our Wuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it meteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Nordie, and Gritton, finallee the third soone after from Kimsleie, and then proceeded on in his passage by Ashton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and so into the sea: and this is all that I doo find of the Wuer, whose influences might have bene more largelie set downe, if mine inunctions had bene ample deliuered, yet this I hope may suffice for his decription, and knowledge of his course.

The Merseie riseth among the Peke hills, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouse, and taking sundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwene Chester and Darbishires. Going also toward Goitehall, it meteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrie waters called Goite, whereof I find this short and briefe description. The Goite riseth not far from the Shire mære hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane have their original) that parteth Darbishire and Chestershire in sunder, and thence commeth downe to Goite houses, Orcerton, Taxhall, Shawcross, and at Webridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riseth about Thersehall and runneth by Ouerseet. After this confinence also the Merseie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford or Stopford towne meteth with the Tame, which divideth Chestershire and Lancastshire in sunder, and whose head is in the verie edge of Yorkshire, from whence it goeth southward to Saldleworth Frith, then to Muckelhirst, Stalie hall, Ashdon Vnderline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddish, and so at Stock ford into the Merseie streame, which passeth forth in like sort to Diddlesbire, receuuing a brooke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by BRmnhall parke and Chedle.

From Diddlesbire it procedeth to Norden, Ashton, Aiston, Flixton, where it receueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I doo go forward anie further with the Merseie, although it be not nauigable by reason of sundrie rocks and shallowes that lie dispersed in the same. It riseth above Baco, and goeth thence to Rosendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this confinence it goeth to Newhall, Brandleham, Brurie, and above Ratcliffe joineth with the Rache water, a faire streame and to be described when I have finished the Irwell, as also the next vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, because I would not have so manye ends at once in hand where to trouble my readers. Being therefore past these two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton, Holland, Edgecroft, Strengwates, and to Manchester, where it vnites it selfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Roiton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manches-
ter also it meteth with the Medlocke that commeth thither from the northeast side of Oldham, and betwixe, Claion and Garret Halles, and so betwix two parke, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going forward to Woodsall, Whilesawic, Ecles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth near unto Flixton, into the water of Merseie, where I will staie a while withall, till I have brought the other unto some passe, of which I spake before.

The Rache, Rech or Rish consisteth of sundrie waters, whereof each one in maner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Rache it selfe, which riseth among the blacke stonic hills, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and being past Clegge, receueth the Beile, that commeth thither by Milneraw chappell. After this confluence also, it meteth with a rill near unto Rachedale, and soone after with the Sproton water, and then the Sudleie brooke, whereby his chanell is not a little increased, which goeth from thence to Grisehirst and so into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The second streame is called Bradsha. It riseth of two beds, aboue Tureton church, whence it runneth to Bradsha, and yer long taking in the Walmeleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the More. From hence (receu'ing a water that commeth from the roots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the More, and so into Bradsha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerlesse, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before described, and whereof I find these two verses to be added at the last:

\[ \text{Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,} \]
\[
\text{When they meet with the Merseie, do loose their name.} \]

Now therefore to resume our Merseie, you shall understand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence intereineth the Gles, or Glesbrooke water, increased with sundrie armes, whereof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all united nearer unto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling greene into the swift Merseie. After this increase the said streame in like sort runneth to Rigston, & there admitteth the Bollein or Bolling brooke water into his societie, which rising nearer the Chamber in Maxwell forrest goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Prestbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Woodford, Wimesleie, Ringie, and Ashleie, there receueth the Birkin brooke that commeth from betwixe Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberlie, and soone after the Marus or Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawstorne, and after these confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer against Rixton beneath Crosford bridge into the Merseie water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meteth with all nearer Lim before it go to Thelewah. Thence also it goeth by Bruche and so to Warrington, a little beneath crossing a brooke that commeth from Par by Browsie, Bradie, and Sauke, on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from Grophenhall, and with these it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and so to Penkith, where it intereineth the Bold, and soone after the Grundich water on the other side, that passeth by Preston, and Daresbirie. Finallie our Merseie going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepoole, or as it was called of old Lirepoole hauen, when it is past Runcombe. And thus much of the Merseie, comparable unto the Wiuer, and of no lesse fame than most rivers of this lland.

Being past these two, we come next of all to the Tarmoche water, that falleth into the sea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be past all 'Wirall, out of Lirepoole hauen, and from the blacke rocks that lie upon the north point of the aforesaid lland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whose fresh rising not far into the land, commeth to the Eston, and soone after receu'ing another on the right hand, that passeth into it by Auighton, it is increased no more before it come at the sea. Neither find I anie other fallles till I meet with the mouth of the Yarrow and Duglesse, which have their recourse to the sea in one chanell as I take it. The Duglesse commeth from by west of Rauenpike hill, and yer long runneth by Ander-tenford to Worthington, and so (taking in two or three rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where
it receiueth two waters in onechanell, of which one commeth in south from Bin parke, the
other from northeast. Being past this, it receiueth one on the north side from Sandish, and
another by south from Holland, and then goeth on toward Rufford chappell taking the
Taun withall, that descendeth from aboue Skelmersdale towne, and goeth through Lathan
parke, belonging (as I heare) unto the earle of Derbie. It meeth also on the same side,
with Merton meere water, in which meere is one land called Netholme beside other, and
when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Yarrow.

The Yarrow riseth of two heads, whereof the second is called Bagen brooke, and making
a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egeslan, Crofton, and then
joineth next of all with the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth
foorth to Bank-hall; Charleton, How, Heskett, and so into the sea. Leland writing of
the Yarrow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglesse also
runneth the Yarrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Charleton towne,
that pertain Lelandshire from Derbeshire. Under the foot of Chorle also I find a rill
named Coole, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarrie of stones,
whereof the inhabitants doo make a great boast and price. And inuerto I Lelund.

The Ribble, a rier verie rich of salmon, and lampreie, dooth in manner imuron Preston
in Andernesse, and it riseth neere to Kibbesdale aboute Gisborne, from whence it goeth to
Sawleie or Salleie, Chatburne, Woodington, Clitheroe castell, and beneath Milton meeth
the Odder at north west, which riseth not farre from the crosse of Greet in Yorkshire,
and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirst, it falleth yer
long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it
meeth with the Calder from southeast. This brooke riseth aboue Holme church in
Yorkshire, which lieth by east of Lancastershire, and going by Towleie and Burneleie,
where it receiueth a trilling rill, thence to Higham; and yer long crossing one water that
commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle brooke, that runneth
by New church in the Pidle, it meetheth with the Calder, which passeth foorth to Paniam;
and thence receiueth a becke on the other side, it runneth on to Alicham, and so to
Marholme, where the Henburne brooke dooth joine withall, that goeth by Akington
chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Rishton, and so into the Calder, as I haue said before. The Calder
therefore being thus enlarged, runneth foorth to Reade, where maister Nowell dwelleth, to
Whallie, and soone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisbury hall,
Ribchester, Osbassin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the
Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine sea. The Darwent
diuideth Lelandshire from Andernesse, and it riseth by east aboue Darwent chappell; and
soone after visting it selfe with the Blackburne, and Rodlesworth water, it goeth through
Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the
Sannocke brooke, it riseth somewhat aboute Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton
towne, Gotham, Lee hall, and so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of this
riuer.

The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Garstan, out of an hill in Wiresdale forest,
whence it runneth by Shireshead chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler,
Grenelaw castell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garstan, and Kirkland hall, it first
receiueth the second Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then another
chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I proceed anie
further with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plimpton brooke, it riseth
south of Gosner, and commeth by Casford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke,
it procedeth forward till it joineth with the Brooke rill that commeth from Bowland forest,
by Cloughton hall, where maister Brookhale dooth lie, & so through Mesco forest.
After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water meetheth with the Calder, and then with
the Wire, which passeth foorth to Michael church, and the Raw chipes, and aboute
Thornton crosseth the Skipton that goeth by Potion, then into the Wire rode, and finallie
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through the sands into the sea, according to his nature. When we were past the fall of
the Wire, we coasted vp by the salt coasts, to Coker mouth, whose head, though it be in
Coker, Waresdale forest, nor far from that of the Wire, yet the shortnes of course deserueth
no description. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it,
is not increased with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands
thereof so much the sooner.

Being past these two, I came to a notable riuier called the Lune or Loine, or (as the
booke of statutes hath) Lonwire Anno 13 Ric. 2. cap. 19, and gueth name to Lancaster,
Lonecaster, or Luncaster, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuere
stamps, whose course dooth rest to be described as followeth; and whereof I have the two
descriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as master Moore of Catharine hall in
Cambridge delierued it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one
that hath taken painses (as he saith) to search out and view the same, but verie latelie to
speake of. The Lune (saith master Moore) of some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at
Crosseho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondshire out of three heads. North also
from Dent dale is Garsdale, an vnplaisant towne, wherein are scene manie times great store
of red deere that come downe to feed from the mountaines into the vallies, and thereby
runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewise is a brooke
meeting with Garsdale water, so that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke,
which is the riuier that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it.
Beside these waters also before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great
brooke, which commeth out of the Worh, betwene Westmerland and Richmondshire,
which taking with him the aforesaid channels, dooth run seven miles yer it come to Dent
dale foot. From hence it entrench into Lansdale, corruptlie so called, peraduenture for
Lunesdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles southward, and in this dale is Kirbie. 
Hitherto master Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine
other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riseth at Wustall head, by west,
and going by Wustall foot to Skalleg, it adtniteth the Breder that descendeth thither from
Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & so to Tibarie,
where it meeteth with fourre rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from besides Orton,
another from betwene Rasebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each side of
Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundswath, above which
it vnieth it selfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke,
and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Moruill hilles,
and afterward crossing the Dent brooke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath
Dent. Sebbar, they continue their course as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune.
From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by
east, then to Kirbie, Lamsbele, and above Whittenton crosseth a brooke comming from the
countie stone by Burros, and soone after beneath Tunstall and Greteie, which descending
from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twiselton, Ingleton, Thornton, Burton, Wratton,
and nere Thurland castell, toucheth finalie with the Lune, which brancheth, and soone
after vnieth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth
the Wennie, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the crosse
of Greteie, and going by Benthamis and Roberts hill, above Wraie taketh in the Rheburne
that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence also above New parke, it taketh
his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Soddale, Orton,
and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference
or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the same that Leland dooth call the
Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitson was borne, it riseth north
of Docker towne, and going by Barwijke hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea,
where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunesands. Next of all we come to Birham

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U beck,
beck, which riseth not far from Bitham town and parke, in the hilles, where about are
great numbers of goates kept and maintained, and by all likelihood resorteth in the end to
Linsands.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called Kensands: into the first of
which diverse waters doo run in one channell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of
them comming from Graggir hall, another from by west of Whinfeld, & joining with the
first on the east side of Skelmere parke. The third called Sprot or Sprota riseth at Sloddale,
& commeth downe by west of Skelmere parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid
parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth east of Barneside, not verie farre in sunder.
The fourth or last called Ken, commeth from Kentmers side, out of Ken moore, in a poole
of a mile compass, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of
Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Staweope, it taketh in a rill from Chapleton Inges.
Then leaving Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Barneside, to Kendall, Heslon, Sighath,
Siggeswijc, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes this Ken is a pretie
deepe raver, and yet not safelie to be adventuried vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason
of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the
channell there. The other piece of the forked arme, is called Winstart, the hed whereof is
above Winstar chappell, & going downe almost by Carpmannsell, & there to take, it is not
long yer it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulf from the Ramside point
to the Mealenasse, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to see how they
increase. Those also which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kensands: but such as
receiving the descent from the Fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuesands, as I find
by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impedim-
ent: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will yer long become verie noisome,
if not choked vp altogether. The Winander water riseth about Cunbalrasetones, from
whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a meere: then to Ambleside, and taking
in yer it come there, two riller on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by
Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest meere, or fresh water in England; for I
read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one small channell above Newbridge, it
reacheth not above six miles yer it fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the
Fosse that riseth meere vnto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, and goeth foorth by Grisdale,
Satrethwate, Rusland, Powbridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the
maine sea. On the west side of the Fosse also commeth another through Furnesse felles,
and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake not far
from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow channell, passe h forth by Nib-
thwaits, Blareth, Cowilton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the sea. Hauing passed the
Leuen or Conisands, or Conisonesands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the
Lew, which riseth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the sea beside Plumptone. The
Rawther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from
Penniton, the other by Vnisterne abbeie, and joining both in one channell, they hasten into
the sea, whither all waters direct their voyaige. Then come we to another rill southwest of
Aldingham, descending by Glaiston castell; and likewise the fourth that riseth meere Lindell,
and running by Dawlton castell and Furnesse abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it
falleth into the sea ouer against Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine advertisement
mislead me.

The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Westmerland, commeth
from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackhill, Southake, S. Ioohns, Vffia
parke, & Broughton, it falleth into the ortwatter, betwenee Kirbie, and Mallum castell.
And thus are we now come into the Rauenglass point, and well entred into the Cumberland
countie.

Comming to Rauenglass, I find hard by the town a water comming from two heads,
and both of them in lakes or pooles, whereof one issueth out of Dunocke or Deuyenocke
meere,
mëere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske poole which runneth
by Eskedale, Dalegarth, and soone after meeting with the Denocke, betwenee Mawburthwate
and Ravenclasse, falleth into the sea. On the other side of Ravenclasse also commeth the
Mite brooke, fromMeterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the
hils, and at the first is forked, but soone after making a lake, they gather againe into a
smaller chanell; finally meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton south-
est, as I wéeme of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out
of Copeland forrest, by Cander, Sellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Euer
twater, descending out of a poole above Coswallhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it
crosseth a water from Arldon, and after proçeedeth to Egremond, S. Iohns, and taking
in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it mceteth with the sea.

The next fall is at Moresbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast
about by saint Bees to Derwentset hauen, whose water is truelie written Dargwent or
Dargwent. It riseth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth unto the Grange,
thenne into a lake, in which are certyne Ilands, and so unto Keswic, where it falleth into the
Buren, whereof the said lake is called Bursemere, or the Burtmhere poole. In like sort the
Bure or Burthmhere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegburthesworth, Forndeside,
S. Iohns, and Threlcate: and there meeting with a water from Grisdale, by Wakyethwaite,
called Grise, it runneth to Burness, Keswic, and there receiueth the Darwent. From
Keswiy with in like sort it goeth to Thoneswate and making a clath) to Armanuswate,
Isell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar, which rising among the
hils commeth by Lowsewater, Brakenthwaite, Lorton, and so to Cokarmouth towne, from
whence it hasteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the south side
that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the
sea.

Leland saith that the Wire is a croke where ships lie off at rode, and that Wirketon or
Wirkington towne dooth take his name thereof. He addeth also that there is iron and coles,
beside lead ore in Wiredale. Nevertheless the water of this riuer is for the most part
sore troubled, as comming thorough a suddie or soddie more, so that little good fish is
said to live therein. But to proceed. The Elme riseth in the mines aboue Amautree, and
from Amautre goeth to Yeresbie, Harbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand
comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton castell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and so
into the sea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie serued
with two fresh waters, whereof one rising westward goeth by Warton, Barrie, Cotes, and
so into the maine, taking in a rill whithall from by south, called Croco, that commeth from
Crockdale, by Bromefield. The second is named Wampoole broke, & this riseth of two
heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like sort it goeth to Thuresbie, Croston,
Owton, Gamlesbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betwene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the
saltwater. From hence we double the Bowlesse, and come to an estuarie, whither thre
notable riuers doo resort, and this is named the Solucie mouth. But of all, the first
exceedeth, which is called Eden, and whose description dooth follow here at hand.

The Eden well fraught with samon, descendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelstane
moore at the foot of Hussiat Moruell hill, where Swale also riseth, and southeast of Maller-
stang forrest. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerstang towne, Pendragon castell,
Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie castell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great Musgrane,
it receiueth thre waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, because it commeth from the
Derne and Elinge mountains by a towne of the same denomination. The other is named
Bellow, and descendeth from the east mountains by Sawardsbie, & these two on the north-
east: the third falleth from Ravenstandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Blaterne,
and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop; and taking in the Orne about
Burelles on the one side, and the Morton becke on the other, it hasteth to Applebie, thence
to Cowbie, where it crosseth the Dribbecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there meeting
with
with the Trotte becke, and beneath the same with the Lieuenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Clebron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confluences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and soone after meeting with the Milburne and Bincorne waters, in one channell, it runneth to Windewart and Horniebie, where we will state till I have described the water that meetheth withall neere the aforesaid place called the Vise.

This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with six rils, whereof one is called the Marke, and neere the fall thereof into the plash is a toweyne of the same name; the second right Harteshop, & runneth from Harteshop hall by Depedale; the third is Paterdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fifth Glenkgiene, but the sixt runneth into the said lake, south of Towthwaite. Afterward when this lake commeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a small channell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Dakar castell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Yoneworth, and soone after meetheth with a prettie brooke called Loder, comming from Thornmethwayte by Bauton, and neere a rill; then by Holeton, and there another; thence to Askham, Clifton, and so joineth with the other called Vise, they go to Brougham castell, Nine churches, Horniebie, and so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that commeth downe from Pancath. Being past Horniebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and soone after receiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and joining beneath Wingsell, it hasteth to Lasenbie, then to Kirke Oswald (on eich side whereof commeth in a rill from by east) thence to Nonneie, and there a rill, Anstable, Cotchill, Corbie castell, Wetherall, Newbie: where I will state, till I have described the Irding, and such waters as fall into the same before I go to Carleill.

The Irding ariseth in a moore in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto Horsse head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gillesland in sundre, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfore come to Ouerhall, it receiueneth the Pulrose becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Ouerdenton, Netherdenton, Leucrcst, and Castelstead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into Eden, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & so into Eden. But a little before it come there, it crosseth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and soone after falleth into it. After these confluences, our Eden goeth to Linstocke castell, (and here it interteineth a brooke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Carleill, which is now almost inuironed with foure waters.

For beside the Eden it receiueneth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This Peder riseth in the hills southwest of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Grastocke castell, Catelie, and Kenderside hall, and then taking in a water from Vnthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrelvaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and so into Eden, northeast of Carleill. But on the north side the Brufeth brooke dooth swifle make his entrance, running by Leuercston, Scabie castell, and Houseton; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which rising about the Skidlow hills, runneth to Mosedale, Coldbecke, Warnell, Saperham, Rose castell, Dawston, Bronstown, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimsdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea beneath the Rowclifie castell. And thus much of the Eden, which Leland nevertheless describeth after another sort, whose words I will not let to set downe here in this place, as I find them in his commentaries.

The Eden, after it hath run a prettie space from his head, meetheth in time with the Vise water, which is a great brooke in Wesumerland, and rising aboue Marcedale, a mile west of Loder, it conmethh by the late dissolved house of Shappe priorie, three miles from Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Loden. Certes this streame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles course, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth foorth in a mane and indifferent bottome. The said Eden in like sort receiueneth the Aimote about three miles beneath Brougham castell, and into the same Aimote falleth
Dacor beck (already touched) which riseth by northwest in Materdale hills, four miles above Dacor castell, and then going through Dacor parke, it runneth by easter a good mile lower into Eimote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Dacor. In one of his books also he saith, how Carlell standeth between two streames, that is saie the Deun, which commeth thither from south-west, and also the Logus that Deun descendeth from the southeast. He addeth moreover how the Deun in times past was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of these two, Lugibala for Carlell hath beene vna. deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his conjecture as yet I have not read. Of this am I certaine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else where described, according as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where last occasion mocont me to remember them, for the better understanding of our histories, as they doo come to hand.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one channell, and with them the Lamford and the Eske, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen joining therefor above Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Brackenhill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Eske. In like sort the Kirsop joining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirsop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Eske aboue the Mote, it looseth the former name, and is called Eske, vntill it come to the sea.

Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we proced with those which are to be found vpon the Scottish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repace vnto the Thames, from which we did set forward in the beginning of our voyage. The first riuers that I met withall on the Scottish coast, is the Eske, after I came past the Soluee, which hath his head in the Cheviot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Borow on the sands. This Eske hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluee first at Atterith. After this I passed over a little creeke from Kirthell, and so to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale dooth seeme to take the name. There is also the Nide, whereof commeth Nidsdale, the Ken, the De, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diverse other small riuers of lesse name) doo lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

On the north side also we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Cassile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide (where vpon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Craith) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leudin mouth, where vnto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomund Lake, with his fleeting Iles without finnes (yet verie holoseme) dooth seeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swwelth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best mariners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise vp salies on hie. The like is seen in windie weather, but much more perilous. There are certeine Iles also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull for pasturage of cattell.

Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goie, & the Heke, which for the exceeding greatness of their heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinseie, the Foreland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, where vnto the Spausseie, the Loiue, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zefe doo fall, there is also the Sell, the Zord, the Owin, the Newisse, the Orne, the Lang, the Drun, the Hew, the Brun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, the Nesse, the Herre, the Con, the Glassie, the Maur, the Vrdall, the Pers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairsoke, which two latter lie a little by west of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, because they issue onelie from springs; but most of the other lakes, because they come from finnes and huge pooles, or such low bottomes, f proceeded with the description of the Scottish riuers.
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fed with springs, as scene to have no access, but onelie recess of waters, whereof there be
manie in Scotland.

But to proceed. Having once past Dungisbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yer long come
to the mouth of the Wille, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mountains called the
Maidens pappes. Then to the Browre, the Clin, the Twin (wherein runneth three riuers, the
Shin, the Sillian, and Carew) the Nesse, which beside the plente of saion found therein
is never frozen, nor suffereth yee to remaine there, that is cast into the poole. From
thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaye (which receiues the Vine) the
Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we
come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dee: which two streames bring
forth the greatest saions that are to be had in Scotland, and most plente of the same. Then
to the north Eseke, whereinto the Esmond runneth aboue Brechin, the south Eseke, then the
Loun and the Taw, which is the fineste riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereinto
most riuers and lakes doo run. As Frlake, Yrth, Goure, Leic, Cannack, Lincell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rilettes which I did never looke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whose mouth saint Andrews dooth stand, the lake
Leuin. vnto whose streame two other lakes have recourse in Fidland, and then the Firth or
Fortha, which some doo call the Picterish and Scotish sea, wh ether the kingdome of the North-
numbers was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that commeth
from Londors) includeth all Fife, the said Fortha being full of cisters and all kinds of huge
fish that vse to lie in the deepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie
Lora, it is not in my power justifie to declare: yet are there both riuers, riills, & lakes that
fall into the same, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeston,
Rosham, Mushull, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, particly after infor-
mation, and particly of such townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past
the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leaving Barwike on the
right hand and his appartus, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and containeth a triangle of
so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and three
miles in breith in the broad end: except mine information doo falle me.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualis or Toesias, & betwene which and the Tine
the countie of Northumberland is in manner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers)
is a noble streame and the limes or bound betwene England & Scotland, whereby those two
kingdomes are now divided in sunder. It riseth about Drimal in Eus-bale (or rather out of a
faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Airstane, or Haresan in
Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Landar, Dribiwig, Lese,
Warke, Norham and Hadgarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thys
saith Leland. But I not contended with this so short a discourse of so long a riuer & briefe
description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race
on the English side, and rehearsal of such riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam,
it receiueth betwene that and Carham a becke, which descendeth from the hilles that lie
by west of Windram. Going also from Ridam by Longbriatham (on the Scotish side) and
to Carham, it hasteth immediatlie to Warke castell on the English, and by Spilaw on the
other side, then to Cornwall, Cald streame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth sundrie wa-
ters in one botome which is called the Tilt, and whose description insuch hereat hand.

Certs there is no head of anie riuer that is named Tilt, but the issue of the furthest water
that compass hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of Veswai in the Cheviet hilles, where
it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brenicia did sometime take the name.
From thence it goeth to Hartsie, Ingram, Branton, Crawlie, Hedgeslie, Beaulie, and
Bowije, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by west, and sooner
after a second descending from the Middleton, and so they go as one with the Bromish, by
Chatton to Fowbreic (where they crosse the third water fallinge downe by north from How-
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borne by Heselbridge) thence to Woller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, whereby the water of Broneridge is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Broneris but the Till, vntil it come at the Twede. The Till passing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, meeeteth soone after with a faire streame comming from by south-west, which most men call the Bowbent or Bobent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattones, beneath the which it joineth from by southeast with the Helleborne, and then goeth to Padston, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betwene it and west Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuic hilles by Heith poole, and from thenceforth runneth on without anie further increas, by Copland Euart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fod-castell, Eatall castell, Heaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by west of Wesell, except my memorie dooth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Twede descendeth to Grotchugh, the Newbiggins, Norham castell, Foord, Lunridge, & crossing the Whitsaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe cueric waie, or not much more; except he be de-ceuied.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Bowsden by Barington. Then by the second which ariseth betwene Middleton and Detcham or Dereham, and runneth by Eskill and the Rosse, next of all to Warnemouth, of whose backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riseth southwest of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradfor, Spindlestone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receueth a rill beneath Yessington, which commeth downe between Newland and Olchester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the same. From Warnemouth we saile by Bamborow castell, and came at last to a fall betwene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that serueth this issue, riseth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which seemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Tynkie, Doxford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the sea, as to his course appertinem. From this water we went by Dunstanburgh castell, unto the Chalne or Alnemouth, which is serued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riseth in the hils west of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celmius. From thense also it runneth by Rike, Kile, Eslington, and Whittingham, where it crosseth a rill comming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Erichild at Brone, & likewise the third that riseth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from above Shipley from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnemouth, & then to Denniye, receueth there a rill from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betwene Alnemouth towne and Wooddon, it sweepeth into the Ocean.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head also thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Vswai (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Limbridge, and there receueth the Ridiele by south-west, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie soile by Allington, & falleth into the same, west of Parks head. It joineth also ye long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilstone, and then hith to Sharpton, to Harbottle, where it crosseth the Yardop water by south, then to Woodhouse, and swallowing in a little becke by the waie from southwest, to Bickerton, to Tessons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a brooke withall that commeth in northwest.
northwest of Alnham, néeere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Sitter, and Throxton, and soone after vnitten it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkehorne, Welden, taking wicheall soone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from south, then to Elihaw, Peton (receiueth thereabout the Fareslie brooke, that goeth by Wimtring by south east, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Brainsaugh by north) and from thence to Morricie, Warkworth castell, and so into the sea.

There is furthermore a little fall, betwecene Hawkewal and Drurich, whiche riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie brooke rising west of Espleie, from whence it goeth to Trittling, Vgham, Linton, and yer long in the sea. Wansbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth vp west and by north of west WHELPINGTON, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Heere it meteth with a water running from about Farnelew by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Mosedien to Mitforth, and there in like maner crosseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by NONNE Kirke, Witton castell, Stanton, Nurriding, Newton, and so into the Wansbeecke, which runneth in like maner from Mitford to Morpeth castell (within two miles whereof it ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Bottle castell, Shepwash, and so into the sea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe water riseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Bellie, Ogle, and (receiving the Port alias the Brocket, that springeth east of S. Oswolds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Madfennes, Hawkwell, the Grange, & Dissingtons. After it hath taken in the Font from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Harteie streame) and is past Barwije on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the depe Ocean. Hartleie streamet riseth in Weteslade parioch, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie towe yeeldeth to the sea.

The Tine or Timna, a rier notable stored with saumon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth vp above Belkikre in the hills, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirsch and the Shele) thence to Cragheses, Leapelish (receiuing on the south a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betweene Yarro and Fawston hall, and the third at Thornburne, and so goeth on to Greneweld, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holinhed, and likewise another on the south comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalecastell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaslie, to Bilingham, and at Rhedes mouth meteth with the Riddie, a verie prettie water, whose description is given me after this maner.

The Riddle therefore riseth within three miles of the Scottish march, as Leland saith, & commeth through Riddesdale, wherevnto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redesquie hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Cheslop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rills nameless and obscure, as one on the north side next unto the Petop or Spellhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rochester, then two from southwest, another from by north which goeth by Dartryburne, and is called Dart or Durt, then the Smallburne from the west. Next to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Ouerie, and lastly the last which descendeth from Ellesdon hilles, by Monkrice and joindeth with our Riddie, northwest of Nudhowgh, after which the said Riddie goeth by Woodburne, Risingham, Leane, and so into the Tine, a little lower than Bilingham or Bilingham, which sandeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the
the least above the town of Hexham. After this confluence it passeth to Lechall, to Carehouse (crossing Shitlington becke by west which also receiueth the Yare on the south side of Shitlington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Workesburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Morleis or Morelee aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechase, and likewise the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne castell, next of all the Kiall from the northeast, which commeth by Erington, & so holding his course directie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswolds through the Picketwall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, and northwest (as I doo weene) of Hexham.

The south Tine ariseth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Esgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awsten moore, it joineth with Schud from by west, and soone after with the Vent from by east aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Alne on the other) to Thornehope, where it is Inglarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Knaredale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it meeteth with Hartleie water, by southwest conming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from southeast, and thence when it commeth to Billester castell, it cariet another withall from by west, Thirlawall called Rippall which riseth in the forrest of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinsop, & Widon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinsheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltwestell: thence going by Vnthanke, it crosseth another rill from by south, descending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding unto Wilmotteswicte, it admeteth the Wilmots becke from the south, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north side of Beltingbam; after which it mecteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this manner.

The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth southeast of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by est; after which confluence it runneth to Newshele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the course to Stauertpele, meeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Killop low hilles aboue Whereleie sheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Owston, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permandbie, and crossing there another rill in like manner from by west, it goeth by Whitefield, and joining soone after with the est Alen, they run as one to Stauert poole, Plankford, and so into the Tine betwene Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Woodhall, Owners, Wherebie, Costieie, & so by Warden, till it cross the north Tine, and come to Hexham, from whence it goeth to Dilstan, crossing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by south, and is called the Wolsh, which holdeth his course by Stelchall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grinbridge: the other called Dill somewhat lower descending from Hedleie, and running by Rising, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Dilstan, it goeth to Bywell castell, over against which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it hasteth to Eltingham, Pruddo, Willam, (and there it mecteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaiddon, and next of all joineth with the Darwent, from by south.

This river riseth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the southerlie the Guent: and joyming so well yeer long in channell as in name, they runne on to Humsterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aspersheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield side, Pansheles, Ebchester, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, nere to Blacke hall in the bishoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinside, Wickham, Swalwell, and so into Tine, which passeth from thence by Elswie, and meeting with another water comming from Stüdrew, by Rauensworth castell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcastle, Fellin, Netherheworth, Walker, Waswon, Hedburne,
and next to Jerro or Girvie, where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diverse townes resort, as mooneke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southseles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Heworthes) and from thence to the south and Northseles, and so into the sea, five miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelve miles from Newcastell, and hereby dooth the Corne run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Leland gesseth that the name of the brooke should rather be Col than Corue, and in my judgement his conjecture is verie likelee; for in the life of S. Oswijn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies used for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leave this short advertisement. In this country also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether thence or true men doo most abound in them; that is to saie, Riddlesdale, Tuidale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scotch, and without the marches of England. Neuerthelesse, sithens that by the diligence cheeffe of maister Glipin, and finalie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue beene called to some obedience and zede vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wilnesse and fierenessse so qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue beene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Prolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Vedra, a river well knowne vnto Beda the famous præst, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the banke thereof. It riseth of three heads in Kellopslaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burlop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerliest Kellop, which vniiting themselves about S. Iohns chappell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope park, by cast Yare, and so to Frosterleie. But yere it come there, it receieth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Bollop, Bishopsleie, Milhouses, and Landew, as I haue beene informed. Being therefore united all with the Were, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Wascropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harplee hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betwene Witton and Witton castell called Belburne, comming by Hamsterlee, whereby this river dooth now wax verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receieth the Garondslesse, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrews Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one brooke from southeast by Het, Crossie, Cronefurth, Tursdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Ash by Langlie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kincheleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Kellee or Hedlee with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betwene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our river goeth on to Howghwell, Shirkeleie, old Duresme (and there taking in the Pidding brooke by northeast) it goeth to Duresme, Finkelie, Harbarhouse, Lumlie castell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are vniited betwene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedlee) and from thence to Lampston, Harroton, the Bedikes, Vfferton, Hilton parke, Bishops Weremouth, and so into the sea, betwene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called moonke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherein Beda read & wrote manie
of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Werc is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Werc, & entered into the Bishoprije, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwicke, and likewise Hartlepoolo towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a rier that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Moretons, and goeth by Stofeld and Claxton, the other at Dawton, going by Breerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie joining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

The These, a rier that beareth and feedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke Thesiowes, above two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Werc called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forest: and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durtip chappell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiving by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at thre seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lanebecke, and the third by south at Bander Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run together in one botome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Having therefore met with these, it runneth to Mickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander brooke by south west) and then going to Morewood hag, and Morewood parke, till it come to Bernards castell.

Here also it receiueh the Thuresgill water, comming east of Rere crosse in Yorkshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being united with the These, it goeth by Stratford, Eglesdon, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Owtington, Winston, and betwene Barfurth and Gainfirth meteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betwene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I have no knowledge. But to proceed. The These being past Ramforth, runneth betwene Persere and Chiffe, and in the wae to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a prettie water, which riseth about Trinidon, and goeth by Fishburne, Bradburie, Preston, Bradforton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should seeme) is the same which Leland calleth Grettele or Grette. From thence it runneth to Stockburne, nether Dunleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Yarne (crossing a brooke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leunius in Latine, whose crinkling course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner.

The Thorpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonmethorpe, and so to Stokesleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betwene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Easbie they go by Eaton, and likewise vnto Stokesleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one commeth from Inglesbie, and meteth with the second beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokesleie, they met with the Thorpe above the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Ridleie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Milton, Hilton, Inglesbie, and so into the These, betwene Yarne and Barwicke, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our These hasteth on to Barwicke, Preston, Thorne abbeie, and Arsham, which standeth on the southeast side of the river almost betwene the fall of two waters, whereof one descendent from west Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arsham finallie it goeth to Bellas, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this rier speketh of the Wiske, which should come thereinto from by south under Wiske bridge,

X 2
bridge, by Danbie, and Northalorton, and should joine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certaine place where to bestow the same.

Next of all we come vnto the high Chiffe water, which rising aboue Hutton, goeth by Gisborow, and there receueth another streame comming from by southeast, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yer it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towe ne, from whence we come to the Molemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Molgrauw castell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eske mouth, which riseth aboue Danbie wood, and so goeth to Castleton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on together by Armar and Thwate castell, till they joine with another water aboue Glasdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Goodland ward, and likewise the Ibur, and so go on without anie further increase by Busworth, yer long into the sea.

There is also a creeke on each side of Robin Whodes baie, of whose names and courses I haue no skill, saviing that Fillingale the towe ne dooth stand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Businton, and soon after meeting with another rill on the southwest, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwicke, Bothorpe, Foxhoole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a rier that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wisted, from thence to another that commeth by Rosse, Halsham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwicke, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerlie shore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the north side, comming from about Lisset: the second on the northwest banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeswell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which joined beneath little Drifield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run vnto the maine rier both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Ratsee, to Goodalehouse, and then taking in a water from Hornesie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Netherwicke, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I saie no more, sith it is enough to name them in their order.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HUMBER OR ISIS, AND SUCH WATER-COURSES AS DOO INCREASE HIR CHANEL.

CHAP. XV.

THERE is no rier called Humber from the hed. Wherfore that which we now call Humber, Plutomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland sundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properie to be called Ouze or Ocellus euin to the Nuke beneathe Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it
it Humber of Humbrus or Vmar, a king of the Scithians, who invaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularly provided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this business it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilst he attempted to save himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the precease of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned together in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers saie; and wherof I find these verses:

Dum fugit obstat ei flumen submergitur illic,
D&quae suo tribuit nomine nomen aquae.

This riever in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albainia, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongest sonne of Brute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres have beene so enlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Twede on the one side, & the Soleue on the other, be taken for the principal bounds betweene vs and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must needs begin with the Ouze, whose water bringeth forth a verie sweet, fat and delicat salmon, as I haue beene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south and southwest coasts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occasion to speake more at large hereafter.

The Vre therfore riseth in the furthest parts of all Richmondshire, among the Coterine hilles, in a mosse, toward the west fourtie miles beyond Midleham. Being therefore issued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Harkrave, Hawshowe, Butterside, Askernbridge (which Leland calleth the Askaran, and saith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obscure bridges) then to Askaroth, through Wanlesse parke, Wenselie bridge (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwin, parson of Winslaw) New parke, Spannithorne, Danbie, Geruise abbeie, Clifton and Masham. When it is come to Masham, it receiueth the Burne, by south west (as it did the Wile, from verie depe scarrie rockes, before at Askaran) and diverse other wild rilles not worthie to be remembered. From Masham, it hasteth into Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by southwest) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the hither end of Rippon, and so to Huicke bridge. But yer it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the same, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and soone after receive the Swale.

Here (saith Leland) I am brought into no little streight, what to conjecture of the meeting of Isis and Vre, for some saie that the Isis and the Vre doe meet at Borowbridge, which to me dooth scene to be verie unlikelie, sith Isurium taketh his denomination of Isis and Vre, for it is often scene that the lesse riuers doe mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamesis and other is easie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Vre after his passage under Borowbridge, but onelie of Isis or the Ouze in these daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it selfe, which of the Vre is truulie called Vrewic (or Yorke short) or else my persuasion dooth faile me. I haue red also Ewerwic and Yorwic. But to proceed, and leave this superfluous discourse.

From Borowbridge, the Ouze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldwaker, taking in Usburne water, from the southwest, then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpon Ouze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nid yer long, and so going withall to the Redhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it crosseth the Fosse) to Foulesforth, Middlethorpe, Acaster, & Acastor, Kelblet, Welchall, Barelebie, Selbie, Tunmonhall, Skurr-hall, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Rednessse, Whitegift, Valet, Blacketoft, Foxblet, Brown-blet, and so into Humber.

The course of the Ouze being thus described, and as it were simple without his influences, now will I touch such riuers as fall into the same also by themselues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenspurne, vntill I come neere to the head of
These, & so southwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie soile vntill I get to Buxston, Sheffield, Scrobic, & the verie south point of Humber mouth, whereby I shall crosse them all that are to be found in this walke, & leue (I doubt) some especial notice of their seuerall heads and courses. The course of the Hull, a streame abounding with sturgeon and lampreie, as also the rivers which haue their issue into the same, being (as I say) already described, I thinke it not amisse, as by the waie to set downe what Leland saith thereof, to the end that his tranell shall not altogether be lost in this behalfe; and for that it is short, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred contenied in the same.

The Hulne (saith he) riseth of three seuerall heads, whereof the greatest is not far from Drifield, now a small village sixtene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbrigt king of the Northumbers, and place of sepulture of Alfred the noble king sometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julij, the twentieth of his reigne, and whose toome or monument dooth yet remaine (for ought that I doo know to the contrarie) with an inscription upon the same written in Latine letters. Neeere vnto this towne also is the Danefielde, wherein great numbers of Danes were slaine, and buried in those hils, which yet remaine there to be scene ouer their bones and carcasses. The second head (saith he) is at Estburne, and the third at Emneswell, and meetering all togethier not farre from Drifield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue said alreadie.

From hence also it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the last not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great vessels) almost to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or stood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland namea out of an old author to be the first doctor or teacher of diuinety that euery was in Oxford, and (as it seemea also by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hostell where the vniuersitie college now standeth; & therefore they write him, Sometime fellow of that house) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as some affirme) to this daie. Indeed all the country betweene the Deirward & the Humber was sometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in respect of the higher soile, but now it is named the east Riding. But what is this to my purpose? The Hulne therefore being come almost to Beuerleie towne, & meetering there about also with the Cottingham becke comming from Westwood by the waie, it hasteth to Kingston vpon Hulne or Hull, and so into the Humber without anie maner impeachement.

The Fowlne riseth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Harestwell, Seton, Williams bridge, and soone after spreading it selfe, one arme called Skellet goeth by Cane Cawse to Brownefleet and so into the Ouze. The other passeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalfie chappell, Blacktoft, and so into the aforesaid Ouze, leaving a verie pretie land, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwise obscure to vs that dwell here in the south.

The Darwent riseth in the hilles that lie west of Robin Whooode baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, west from Scarborow as Leland saith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiuing two rilles in one bottome from by west, which joine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go together to Broxeile, and at Hackness take in another water comming from about Silseie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there crosseth the Kenford that descenndeth from Roberteston. After this also it goeth to Petersbrunton where it taketh in one rill, as it dooth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that descenndeth from Brunton. From these confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Axbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & so to Cotehouse, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yeelding great plentie of delicate samons to such as fish vpon the same. Leland reckoning vp the names of the seuerall brookes, numbreth them confusedlie after his accustomed order. The Darwent (saith he) receiueith diverse stremes, as the Shirhutton. The second is the Crambecke, descennding from Hunderskell castell (so called Tanquam 2 centum fontibus, or multitude of springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Ric, which comming
coming out of the Blackemoore, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left
hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering brooke.

The Seuen also (saieth he) riseth in the side of Blackemoore, and thence goeth by Sin-
nington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile above a certeine bridge over Rie
goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering
towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about
Kirbie minster. Finalie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoore, and halfe a mile beneath
Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other
small rill or two, of whose names I have no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine
opinion, it haue beene far better to have described them thus. Of those waters that fall into
the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebber-
ston, the third from Ollerton, the fourth from Thornton & Pickering, and the fift on the
other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he have dealt in
better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also unto
their proper places.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come
at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and joining west of Locton they
run through Glansbie parke. Finalie, receiuing the Costeie, it mecteth at the last with an
other streame increased by the falls of six waters and more yer it come into the Darwent.
The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoore, from
whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanie, Newsound, How, and so into the Rie.
The second named Don hath his original likewise in Blackemoore, and descending by Kas-
more, Keldon and Edston (where it receieth the Hodgebecke, that commeth from Berneshale,
Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth
careton, and whereof Ridall (as some think, but falsie) doth seeme to take the name.
Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bisdale shappell, and mecteth with the Rie at the Shaking
bridge, from whence they go togethuer vnder the Rie bridge, to Rius abbeie, and thence
(after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to New-
ton, Muniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlon, as I doe find it written. Here also it taketh in
the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangrau.
from whence it goeth on to Brabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the
Darwent, which from thence dooth run to Wickham.

Being past Wickham, it mecteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to
Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe
saieth that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worthe but sixpence, carie awaie whilst
you may, so as you can kepe them from running through the sakes) Sutton, Wellam,
Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the
other of this commeth from Burdalf, that other from Couisthorpe. From Kirkeham
it goeth to Cramburne and Owsham bridge (crossing by the waie an other brooke comming
from saint Edwards gore, by Faston) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (alias Butterham) bridge.
Stanford bridge, Kerbie bridge, Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babbthorpe,
and so into the Ouze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: saving that I have to
let you understand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent
also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shaldor and so choke
up his course.

The Fesse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in Nemore Calaterio,
that is, Galters wood or Cawood, among the wooddie hilles, and in his descent from the
higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie,
Marton, Stakeleigh, Farlington, Towthorpe, Ferswic, Huntington, & at York into the Ouze.
The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill,
Ruskell parke, Avne, Tolferton, and so into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze. The
Swale is a right noble riuier, & march in some places betwixt Richmondshire and Westminster.

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land, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this
towne it goeth to Kelda chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto
Yalen taketh in the Barneic water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth
by Harcaside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleie) and so to Flemington, Grinton,
Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe,
the Mariske becke, or paerdunterse Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descended
from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.

Here by north it intertelineath two or three waters in one channell, called Rauenswath water,
whereof the two furthest doo ioinc not farre from the Dawltons, and so go by Rauenswath,
Hartfooth, Gilling, and at Skebe mee with the third, comming from Richmond beacon-
ward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, running from Resdale,
and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterjic bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton,
Kirkeb, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie stepele: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it
meeteth with the Bedall brooke, alias Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by
Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gatenbie likewise
it goeth to Mawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueath the Wiske, which is a great water, rising
betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in
another; and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betwene the
Roughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birbtie, Hutton Coniers, Danbie, Wije, Yafford,
Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Auerton, it procedeth to Otterington,
Newbie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the
Swale, that runneth fro thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and
aboue Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one botome, whereof the northwesterlie
is called Cawdebec: the south easterlie Kebecke, which ioinc est of Thornton moore, and
so go to Thornton in the street, Kiluington, Thruske, Sowerbie, Grastwic, and soone after
crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold
beckes, which ioonc aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton,
it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thornton
bridge, Mitton upon Swale, and so into the Ouze.

The Sckli riseth out of the west two miles from Fountaines abbeie, and commeth (as
Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Rippon, as the Vre dooth on the other.
And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Fountaines or Adfontes, so much
renowned for the lustie monks that sometimes dwelled in the same. It receiueath also the
Lauer water (which riseth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall nere vnto Rippon)
and falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon towne, & almost midwaie
betwene the North and Huike bridges.

The Nidde, which the booke of statues called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto
noteth it to be inchred with store of samon, are as also the Wheof and Aire, riseth among
those hilles that lie by west northwest of Gnarresborow, five miles aboue Pakelie bridge,
and going in short processe of time by Westhoues, Lodgehoues, Woodhall, Newhouses,
Middlesmore, Raunsgill, Cowthowe, Gouthwall, Burelie, Brinham, Hampeswale, and soone
after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke,
Gnaresbridge, Washford, Cathall, Willeshorpe, Munkeaton, or Rannocke, and so into the
Ouze, fourteene miles beneath Gnarresborow, being increased by the waie with verie few
or no waters of anie countenance. Leland haung said thus much of the Nidde, addeth
hereunto the names of two other waters, that is to saie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo
fall likewise into the Vre or Ouze. But as he saith little of the same, so among all my
pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the first riseth six miles aboue Couerham
by west, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles
beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riseth at More hilles, and falleth
into the said riever a little beneath Massham bridge. And so much of these two.

The Wharfe or Gwerfe ariseth aboue Vghtershaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons,
Rosenill,
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Roscimill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cumniston in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Armelcliffe, and joining withall northeast of Klinesele crag, it passeth over by the lower grounds to Girsington, and receiving a rill there also from Tresfeld parke, it procedeth on to Brunsall bridge. Furthermore at Applekrewey, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Both and Mistleie hall, where it crosseth a rill comming from by west, thence to Addingham, taking in there also another from by west, and so to Ikeleie, and receiving yer long another by north from Denton hall, it hasteth to Weston Wauasour, Ouleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padside, & the Washburne (both in one streame from Lindlie ward) and thence to Caslie chappell, and there it crosseth one from by north, and another yer long from by south, and so to Yardwood castell, Kerbie, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpeth, Newton, Tadcaster, and when it hath received the Cockebecke from southwest, that goeth by Barwi, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grimston, it runneth to Exton, Kirbie Wharte, Vekell, Rither, Nunapleton, & so into the Ouze beneath Cawood, a castell belonging to the archbishop of Yorke, where he weseth oft to lie when he refresheth himselfe with change of aire and shift of habitation, for the avoiding of such infection as may otherwise ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his house.

The Air or Arre riseth out of a lake or tarne south of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fish but red tooth, and perch. Leland saith it riseth nere vnto Orton in Craven, wherfore the odes is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Mawlam, Hamblith, Kirbie, Moldale, Calton hall, Aretok, and so forth till it come almost to Gargraue, there, crossing the Otterburne water on the west, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flasbie receiuethe a rill from Helton, as I heare. Being past Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eshton, Elswood, and so forthon, first receiuing a brooke from southwest (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thornton, which meeteth about Broughton) then another from northeast, that runneth by Skipon castell. After this confluence it hasteth by manifold windless, which caused thirteene bridges at the last to be over the same within a little space, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kirkdale, by south east whereof it meeteth with one water from Mawvis, and Glusburne or Glukesburne, called Gilke; another likewise a little beneath from Seton, beside two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddlesden, and over against this towne the Lacocke and the Woorth doo meet withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water dooth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Rishforth hall, and so to Bangleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Liverpool, and there crossing another from Thornton, Leenhthorpe, and Bradleie, to Caluerlie, to Christall, and so to Lecles, where one water runneth thereunto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by south in one chanell, wherof the first hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Padseie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made above Farnesleie hall. The other likewise hath two heads, whereof one is about Morleie, the other commeth from Doningleie, and meeting with the first not far southwest of Lecles, they fall both into the Air, and so run with the same to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke south of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ollerton, Castleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riseth of diuerse heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodlesie, Templehirst, Gowl-dall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Arnie, and so into the Ouze with an indifferent course. Of all the rivers in the north, Leland (in so mane of his books as I haue scene) saith least of this. Mine annotations also are vere slender in the particular waters wheriby it is increased: wherfore I was compelled of necessitie to conclude euven thus with the description of the same, and had so left it in deed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (even when the leafe was at the presse) which saith as followed in maner word for word.
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There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whose head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creston chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiving one rill nere Elfrabright bridge, and also the Hebden by northwest, it goeth to Brearlie hall, and so taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eastward by Sorbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from southwest) and so to Coppieale hall. Beneath this place I find also that it receueth one rill from Hallifax, which riseth from two heads, and two other from southwest, of which one commeth by Baresland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforesaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles above the same on the north side, so beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretie armie increased by sundrie waters coming from by south, as from Marsheden chappell, from Holmesworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of sundrie heads; whereof I would saie more, if I had more intelligence of their several gates and passages.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munford, and receiving yer long one rill from Leuersage hall, and another from Burshall by Dewesburie, it goeth on northeast of Thornhull, south of Horbie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and sooner after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hills, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Wateron hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altofice, and finalie into the Aire, west of Casteworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I hear not, and therefore no maruell that I doo not set it downe, yet is it certaine that it is called Chald, after his coufluence with the Chald, and finalie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath joined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to have shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it oner vntill another time.

The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it dooth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Ouez or Sauerme, I mean the second Ouez, whose course I have latefie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moore, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and above Stoke receueth in the Foullebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finalie making a confluence they go to Hanfleet, where they meeet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saying: that it riseth in the hills above Newcastell, as may be seen by his commentaries.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it croseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Ason, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little above Shubbourne & Hawood, it receueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leaving the Trent at Shubbourne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, above Whitemoore chappell, and goeth by Charlton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioine to another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chesbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it croseth the Penke beck, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & above Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightlee ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going fourth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they have passed Draiton, Dunstan, Acton, and Bauswich, where loosing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them doo ioine with the Trent, at Shubbourne, vpon the southerlie banke.

From Shubbourne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Ousleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesie) thence by Hawksberie, Maneaste, Ridware, and so toward Yoxhol; where I must staiye a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet
I meet in this voyaige. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Nedewood forest, northeast of Haggiersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsteed Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whatelie moore, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Druicote, alias Dracote, Painsleie, Gratwych, Grimleie, Aldstamton, Hamsteed, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yexhall, which runneth also from thence, & leaving kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth straightswaie to Catton, where it meteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Peteshall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Woolfhall, and joineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Yarneton hall, beneath which it meteth with the Rhée, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forest by Kingsnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now glue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forest by Kingsnorton wood, and going by Yareleie and Kingshirst, it meteth betwene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Helmedon and Sheldon.

Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it joineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Golihull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on each side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth through the Queenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confusions it procedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vneth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and soone after on the other dooth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhée, a common name to all waters that moose and run from their head. For πως in Greke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Norfield, so that his course shoulde be by Kingsnorton, Birmingham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Yarneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confusions on by Lee, Kingsebirle parke, and going by east of Draiton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it meteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tanworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner delievered unto me.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Yer long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vneth it selfe with a water from Bosworth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confuence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Pollesworth, Arrington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and soone after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Festrike, it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and so to Catton, therabouts receiveth his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betwene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Mesham, and Stretton, and therabouts crossing a rill about Nethersale grange, from Ouersale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Chilton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maior riuers a mile above Repton. Leland writing
writing of this river (as I earst noted) saith thereof in this wise. Into the Thame also runneth the Brechicham brooke, which riseth foure or five miles about Brechicham in the Blacke hills in Worcestershire, and goeth into the aforesaid water a mile above Crudworth bridge. Certes (saith he) this Brechicham is a towne maintained chichie by smiths, nailers, cutters, edgepole forgers, lorniers or bitmakers, which have their iron out of Stafford and Warwike shires, and coles also out of the first countie. Itherto Ieland. Now to resume the Trent, which being grown to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there crossing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winshull, Wrightmore, and Newton South, where it receiueth two channels within a short space, to be described apart.

The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it riseth about the three shires meere, and is as it were lines betweene Stafford and Darbishires, vntill it come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the head, it goeth by Earlesbooth, Pilsburie grange, Harrington, Wolvscot, Eaton, Hunsington grange, and above Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, so called, because of the sundrie crickling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it selfe sheweth before it come at the Dou. Rising therefore not farre from Axe edge crosse (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Shene, Warslow chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton also it taketh in the Hansleie water, that commeth out of Blackemoore hilles to Watersall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiueth into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and above Thorpe dooth cast it selfe into Dou. Having therefore met togethuer after this manner, the Dou procedeth on to Maplington, beneath which it crosseth one water descending from Brassington by Fennie Bentleie, and another somewhat lower that commeth from Hosston hall by Hognastone and Ashburne, and then going to Matterfield, Narburie, Ellaston, Rawston Rowester, it meeteth with the Churne, euin here to be descripte before I go aume further. It riseth a good waie about Delacrassa abbie, and comming thither by Hellesbie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmeire, betweene Harracrasse and Leike.

Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Yendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing crossed the Ashenhirst brooke above Cantes hall, it runneth by Ypton, Froghall, Below hill, Alton castell, Prestwood, and at Rowester falleth into the Dou, which yer long also receiueth a rill from Crowesden, and then going to Eton meeteth first with the Teine that commeth thither from each side of Chedicke by Teinetowne, Bramhirst and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Vnester or Vtoxeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Suterrie, Cawton, it crosseth a brooke from Sidinmister college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like sort it passeth fourth to Tilberie castell, Marston, and at Edgerton meeteth with the water that commeth from Yelderslie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus joined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it selfe falleth yer long likewise into the Trent, above Newton South. So that the maine river being thus enlarged, goeth onwards with his course, and betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riseth neere Dawabrie Lyes, and runneth by Trusselie and Ashe: the other that entereth above Repton, descendeth from Hartesburne, so that the Trent being past these, hasteth to Twiford, Inglesbie, Stavon, Weston, Newton, and Aston, yer long also meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be despatched. The Darwent, or (to vse the vere British word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine Fluvius Dereuantanus) riseth plaine west, neere vnto the edge of Darbishire, aboue Blackwell a market towe, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be risen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden house, Darwent chappell, Yorkshire bridge, and at Witham bridge dooth crosse the Neve or Nouius that commeth from Newstole hill, by Netheriburgh, Hope (crossing there one rill from Casterton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hathersage, from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Padile, Stockehall, receiueth a rill by the waie from
from by west, to Stonie Middleton, and Baslow, and having here taken in the Burbrooke on the one side, and another from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowsleie, where it is increased with the Wie comning from by west, and also a rill on the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wie before I go ane further.

The Wie riseth about Buxton well, and there is increased with the Hawkeshow, and the Wie brooke, whose heads are also further distant from the edge of Darbshire than that of Wie, and races somewhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wie, having two heads, the one of them is not faire above the place where Wilebecke abbeie stood, the other is further off by west, about Wilebecke towe: and finally joining in one they runne to Cuckneie village, where receaing a becke that commeth downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford, or the Manbecke. Vnto this also doo other two rills reposable, whereof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunsfield, of which two also this latter riseth west about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipston (three miles lower) and so likewise to Rufford, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the same time it returne againe to the Wie. From Buxton well, it runneth to Stadden, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receieth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be joined in one at Alport. And this is the first great water that our Darwent dooth meet withall. Being therefore past the Rowsleies, the said Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wenslie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeast, as it dooth another at Cranford that goeth by Boteshall.

From Mattocke, it proceedeth to Watston, or Watsond, Well bridge, Alderwash, and joyneth with another streame called Amber comning in from by north by Amber bridge, whose description shall issue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Amber is about Edlestone hall, or (as Leland said) est of Chesterfield, and comning from thence by Middleton to Ogston hall, it taketh withall another brooke, descending from Hardwicke wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and above Dale bridge meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknalward to Shireland park side, there crossing the Moreton becke, and so to Afferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfield, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and so into Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanslieby Pemtridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a rill comning from Monie park: thence to Makenie, and at Duffeld, receieth the Eglesburne, which ariseth about Wirkesworth or Oresworth, and in the same parish out of a rocke, and comneth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradshill, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comning from Mirkasten by Weston vnderwood, Kidlestone and Merton. If a man should say that Darwent riuer giveth name to Darbie towe, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend some. In the mean time I beleue it, let other judg as pleaseth them, sith my conjecture can prejudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Alasaton, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Sore, a faire streame, and not worthy to be overpassed.

It riseth in Leicestershire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that comneth by Doupont and Broughton Asteie. Thence to Marleborow, and before it come to Eston, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leicestere towne, Belgrave, Burstall, Wenslie; and yer it come at Cussington or Costion, crosseth the Eie, which riseth neere Occam aboue Bramston, going by Knavstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whiteson; and beneath (a little) receieth a rill on the right hand from Coldhorton. Thence to Stapleford, & soone after crossing a brooke from aboue Sproxton, Coson, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wilerbie, Brenティングbie; and yer it come at Milton, meeteth with two other small
small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Sibson, there meeting with another from northeast over against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke or Vrke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asterbie, Radgate, Habie, Tristaning, Ratcliffe; and soone after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Queset, by Twifol, Ashbie, and Gadesbie; another from Losebie, by Baggrae, and Crawston, and joynig with the first at Ouennihow, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barkeleie, and Sison. But the third and greatest of the thre, is a chanell increased with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foston and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Astleie, and meeting with the third from Sapcoth, and stouie Staunton, they run together by Narborow, and soone after joining abowe Elston, with the first of the thre, they go as one by Elston to Leieerester, Belgrae, Wanlip, and abowe Cussington doo fall into the Wark, and soone after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sorrel, & taking in another brooke southwest from Leieerester forreest, by Glenfield, Austie, Threacotstan and Rodelie, joineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrel, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charne-wood forreest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swinthland) and then procedeth to Cotes, Lugborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Notinghamshire by northeast; and soone after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shopesheude, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Disworth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratcliffe, and so into the Trent.

These things being thus brought together, and we now resuming the discourse of the same rie, it dooth after his meeting with the Soure, proced withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selston, Wansbie, Codnor castell, Estwood, and crossing a water from Beavall, runneth to Coshall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Henor by Shipleie) it procedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Clifton, and yer it come at Wilford, it meteth with a brooke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodingston, and thence to Notingham, where it crosseth the Line, which riseth aboue Newsted; and passing by Papplewic, Hucknall, Bathord, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farndon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a brooke from Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well and Eaton in Leieerester is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipston; & beneath Knipton meteth with a brooke that commeth by west of Croxton, and thence holdeth on with his course, betweene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Bottesworth, Normanston, Killington, Shilton, there receueng the Suite from by south (whose head is nere Clausiton, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orston, and Flare-berow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coxam, Hawton, Newark castell, and so to Winktorhas, where the branches are reunited, and thence going on by Holme to Cronwell (and soone after taking in a brooke comming from Bilshorpe, by Kersall, Cawton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a little Ille, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on ech side, whereof one commeth from Morehouse by Weston & Gresthorpe, another from Langtorhas, by Collingham, and Bostonhay. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkescie, Knash, Gainsborow, Walrith, Stockwith; and leaving Axholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hoglike water out of the Ille, and so goeth forthe to Wildsworthe, Eastferric, Frusworth, Burringham, Gummeis, Hixburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receueng the swift Doue by the waie, which for his noblenesse is not to be ouerpassed, especiallie for that Anno 1536 Hen. 8, 28,
it was (by God's providence) a staie of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betwixt the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battle should haue beene stricken, and without anie apparent cause (a little showre of raine excepted) farre vnspossibell vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said river arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not joine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification insueld, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be overpassed, because of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a pruncrbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better feed on Doue banke: that maketh it also the more famous.

The Doue therefore riseth in Yorkshire among the Peke hilles, and having receiued a water comming by Ingburchworth (where the colour thereof is verie blacke) it goeth to Pennstone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Oxspring to Thurgoland, and soone after (joyninge the waie with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, and Hondshelfe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowsterston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bridge, and at Alerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffeld castell (by east whereof it receiueth a brooke from by south that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it proceedeth to Westford bridge, Brikkeie bridge: and southwest of Timsleie receiueth the Cowliee streame that runneth by Ecclefied. Next of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Pilsleie, from whence it goeth under the name of Dalele, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfeld church, Wingerworth, and Foreland hall, twelve miles from Rotheram, to Chesterford, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton castell, and yer long crossing one water comming from Dronefield by Whittington on the one side, and the second from about Birmington on the other, it goeth through Stallie parke, and soone after meeteth with the Crawliee becke, whereof I find this note.

The Crawliee riseth not farre from Hardwicke, and going by Staniesie and Woodhouse, it receiuethe about Netherthorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Kilmarsch, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Boughton, visiteth it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledles, called Mesebrooke, which diuideth Yorkshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Trent, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yielding plentie of sarnon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Mexburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next describe, and staie with the Doue, vntill I have finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Breton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Contwake hall, by Cawthorne united of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Drax, where it toucheth with a water from southwest, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it selfe with a faire ruer, increased by divers waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Mexburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warnesworth, Doncaster, Whateleie, (there meeting with the Hampall crekke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwich ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thorne or Thorne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finallie into Trent, and so into the Humber.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie delivered as I looked.
looked for: yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Mansfield, five miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the streame commeth neere the abbeie, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth again into a narrow chanell, and so goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a meandre long course, it goeth to Bawtric or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamshire, five miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Rumford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth into Southwell miles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

The Idle, which some call Brier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Mansfield, Clipston & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Bedworth, and runneth on by Rughsford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forresterz call this Manbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Manbrooke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blishthorpe, and so to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle haung taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothonsall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Meding Maiden, or Midding brooke, which rising about Teuersall, goeth to Pleaslie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Worsop, Budlie, Thursbie, Bothomsall, and so into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wile, which commeth from Cleowie, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elselie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordsall, Retford, Bolam, Tilnie, Matteresie abbeie, and so to Bawtrie, where it meeteth another from the shire Oxes, that riseth aboue Gtitford, passeth on to Workesop (or Radfurth) Osberton, Bilbie, and Blith, there vnting it selfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Blithe townes, another from by west Ferbecke three miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water neere to Blith, and there being united they passe on to Scrobib, and so into the Idle.

From hence it runneth on to Missen, to Sadlers bridge, and next of all to Santoft, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Rosington bridge, Brampton, Riholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowlie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Axeholme, it goeth into Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wile, Wife, or Gwilie (as some write it) saith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie stood; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie joining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford. To this riuer likewise (saith he) doo two other waters repair, whereof the one goeth hard by Mansfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then commeth three miles lower to Rufford; the other (so far as I remembre) goeth quite through the towne.

OF SUCH FALLES OF WATERS AS JOINE WITH THE SEA, BETWEEENE HUMBER AND THE THAMES.

CHAP. XVI.

HAUING in this maner described the Ouze, and such riuers as fall into the same: now it resteth that I proceeded in my voyage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine sea, I find no water of anie countenance or course (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which risethcast
of Mercate Raising, and from thence goeth by middle Raising. Then receiving a short rill from by south, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, northeast; where also it meeteth with another brooke, from Vsselbie that commeth thither by Vreebie, goeth by Cadneic (taking in the two rilles in one bottom, that descend from Howsham, and north Leisie) and thence to Newsted, Granford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horslow, north Ferrible, and so into the sea.

Being past Ancolme, we go about the Nesse, and so to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Gotham abbeie, Nersham abbeie, Thorleton, and leaving Coxhill by west, it faileth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another brooke comming from Fleeting, all alongst by Stallingburne. Then crossed we Grimsbie gullet, which issuing above Erebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Coties, and then into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet, whose backwater descendeth from Balesbie by Ashbie, Briggeslie, Wath, and Towneie, and finallie to the next issue, before we come at Salflete, which branching at the last, leaueth a prettie Island wherein Comsholne village standeth. This water riseth short (as I heare) of Thetwell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Essington, Lowth, Kidirington, Auingham, and then branching above north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the sea, by Graeuthorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Salflete water hath but a short course: for rising among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at Salflete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Cawtorpe paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the west middle and east Salfletes, and so into the Ocean. The water that riseth above Ormiesbie and Dribie, goeth to Cawesbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeast of Thefthorpe into the maine sea.

Maplethorpe water riseth at Tharesthorpe, and going by Markelie, Folothorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yet it meet with the Germaine Ocean. Then come we to the issue that commeth from above the Hotto, and thence to Mumbie chappell, whither the water comming from Claxbie, Willowie, and Slouthe (and whereinto another rill faileth) dooth runne, as there to doo homage vnto their lord and souereigne. As for Ingold mill creke, I passe it ouer, and come strecthe to another water, descending from Burge by Skenes. From hence I go to the issue of a faire brooke, which (as I heare) dooth rise at Teford, and thence goeth by Somerie, Bagenderbie, Ashwardbie, Sawsthorpe, Partnecie, Ashbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croft, and so into the sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the east sea, and goeth betwene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete towne, and treading the path of his predecessors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the sea.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a famous riuier, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, dineser the Rhe, and I have read all these names my selve: and thereto that the Lincolnshire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lendus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region also Ptolomie placeth Rage, which some take to be Nottingham, except my memorie doo faile me. It riseth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnshire, and (as I take it) in south-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colsterworth, Easton, Kirkestone Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by southwest, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Man, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneston, where crossing a becke from northeast, it procedeth furthwer southwest ward by Mereston, toward Faston (there also taking in a brooke that riseth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbrooke) it hasteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Bassingham, Thursbie, and beneath Amburgh crosseth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton castell.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth still souther on his waie to the Wickhams,
Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by transposition of the letters, or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine pooles (whereof one is called Swan poole) and soone after diuiding it selfe into armes, they run both through the lower part of Lincolne, each of them having a bridge of stone ouer it, thereby to passe through the principall street: and as the bigger armes is well able to bare their fisher botes, so the lesser is not without his seuerall commodities.

At Lincolne also this noble riuier meeteth with the Fosse dike, whereby in great floods vessels may come from the Trents side to Lincolne. For betweene Yorksie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue seven miles, as Leland hath remembred.

Bishop Atwater began to close this ditch, thinking to bring great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but sith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene since so well minded as to prosecute his purpose. The course moreouer of this our streame following, from Lincolne to Boston is five miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall haue but 24. For there are four common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, five miles from Lincolne, Tattersall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dog-dike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie five miles, and so manie finallie to Boston.

But to go forward with the course of Lindsey (whereof the whole province hath beene called Lincolnesie) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewash, Wassingburg, Fiskerton, and soone after taketh in sundrie riuers in one channell, whereby his greatness is verie much increased. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiving a rill (descending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it slideth fourth by Tupham to Tatersall castell, taking vp there in like sort three small rills by the waie, whereof I haue small notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall please God that I may liue to haue the filling of these rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more leasure to peruse them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being past Tatersall, and Dog-dike ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boston, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I brieftly dispatched this noble riuier Witham. But hauing another note delinered me thereof from a frend, I will yeeld so farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his travell here, and set downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuier be sufficientlie described alredie.

Into Witham therefore from by north, and seven miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakehorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarfard, Resbie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on eche side, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewise beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stansted, and joining all in one, soone after it is not long yer it fall into the channell of Witham, and so are never more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwest, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Tatersall it meeteth with the Bane, which riseth aboute Burgh, and néeere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemningsbie, Bamburgh, Fillingon, Horne castell (where it crosseth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comsbie, Tatersall, and so to Dogdike ferrie.

Aboue Boston likewise it taketh in a water comming from Lusebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Sticknie, Sibbesie and Hildrike. And to Boston townne it selfe doo finallie come sundrie brookes in one channell, called Hammond becke, which rising at Donesbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it casteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiving four brookes by the waie, whereof the first commeth from Milthorpe, the second from Pokingham, called Bolingborow, or (after some, I wote not upon what occasion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by Kirton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewise falleth the Holiwell, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from Haliwell to Onebie, Esonden, Gretford, and so to Catbridge, where it receiuelth another rising at Witham and west of Manthorpe, and the second comming
Thence pilnc but goeth a and my last whimeU. The brancheth passe did be me’eteth is Holland goeth Tiling selues signifie or meth riseth don, third Mercate broad with Fossedike his stanched, South. ing, is which house, Maries, that Being bicause foureteene miles is noted Alexstone, also to aboue made Nene, and more cold to couered Wiland, noted -called Wauerlie, far and both and ane. Buticause it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both the more noble rier: and about the midst thereof in place is a certaine swallow, so depe and so cold in the midst of summer, that no man dare due to the botome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue beene touched with frost, much less be to be covered with ise. The next therefore to be described is the Auon, otherwise called Nene, which the said author describeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene meere, where it riseth out of two heads, which joine

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ioine about Northampton. Of this riuere the cite and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which error is committed also in south Auondune, as we may easie see. In another place Leland describeth the said riuere after this maner. The Auon riseth in Nene meere field, and going by Oundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it selfe into three armes, wherefoe one goeth to Horneie, another to Wisbech, the third to Ramseie: and afterward being united againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the descent of these waters leave here a great sort of lands, wherefoe Elie, Crowland, and Mersland, are the chief. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuere at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoever the other doo want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northampton, where it receiuenthe the Wedon. And here I will state, till I have described this riuere. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulese in master Knighties pooles, and in Badbie plashes also are certaine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulese pooles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuere is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betwixt the heads of these two riuers.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euer-\n\n\nVedunu
\n\n\nFlorut
\n\n\nBogius
\n\n\nKilis
\n\n\nRether
\n\n\nOcleie
\n\n\nCorbie
\n\n\nLin 3.
\n\n\nSin.
\n\n\nInclov.
\n\n\nEria.
\n\n\nGaran.

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From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euer-
by Padbire, till they fall into the Ozee, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorne-
ton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forrest by 
Luffield, Lecansted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and 
Wolurton.

Here the Ozee meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Vere or Were) on 
the left hand, as you go downwardes, that commeth betwene Wedon and Wexenham in 
Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Wolurton 
and Hauersham into the foresaid Ozee, which goeth also from newport-paganell, 
where in like sort I must staie a while till I have described another water, named the Clee, 
by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This river riseth in the verie con-
fines betwene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whippesnade, and going on 
toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linclade, where it entrith 
whollie from Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Femie Stratford, 
Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, 
and so goeth on till it meet with the Ozee neere vnto Newport, as I have said. Being 
united therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble river, to Latlib-
rie, Thuringham, Filgrave, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turree 
on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie wildnesses, and then meeteth with 
another streame, which is increased with soe manie waters, that I was informed to make 
an imagined staie here also, and view their severall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe 
from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie where-
soever) I note the same as followeth.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Pottan, 
and met withall neere Beckywaie: another that grew of two waters, wherof one descended 
from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which joined beneth Arlesie, and thence went to 
Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, wherof one 
is not farre from Wood end, the other from Wooburne (or Howburne) and joining about 
Flitwijfe, they go to Fliton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and so by Chiphill, and Chick-
sand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforesaid Langford water with them, 
they goe forth by Beckywaide, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are united with 
the Ozee. And now to our purpose againe.

After this the Ozee goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Wares-
lie becke) and so runneth to S. Nottes (or saint Nedes, in old time Gohuesburg, as Cap-
grane saith In vita Neotis) to Paxton, Offerdes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called 
Gumiceste, which (as it should sence) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance 
than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coin is found, and 
sometimes with the image of G. Anius which hath long hair, as the Romans had before 
they receiued barbars into their cite, and thereunto the bones of divers men of farre 
greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I upon these 
things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to Huntington, Wilton, saint Iues, Holi-
well, and Erith, receiueith in the meane time the Stow (neere vnto little Paxton) and likewise 
the Ellen, and the Enner, in one chanell a little by west of Huntington.

Finalie, the maine streame spreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how 
amie braches, neither how manie Ilets are inforceth by the same; although of Iles, Marshland, 
Ancarig or Ancarie be the chief, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland 
also hight thornie A cruda terra, or store of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing 
in the same, and Ancarig because sundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great swaye therein. 
But howsoever this case standeth, this is certaine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with 
ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Graunta, 
from whence it goeth with a swift course vnto Downham. Betweene it also and the Aoton, are 
sundrie large meeres or plashes, by southwest of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof 
Whitlseeé meere, and Ramseeé meere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from 
above
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above Broughton, Wiston, and great Riuelle) are said to be greatest. Of all the rivers that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabryschire, as appeareth by the register of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe even in this place, notwithstanding that I had earst appointed it unto my second booke. But for somuch as a description of Ouze and Granta were delivered me togethy, I will for his sake that gave them me, not separate them now in sunder.

The verie furthest head and originall of this ruer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Sussex, wherein (as the townesmen saie) are foure springs that run foure sundrie waies into the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpone the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although doctor Iohn Cauus the learned physician, and some other are of the opinion, that this ruer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose judgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Granta or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a town of the east Saxons, which going in a botome beside the same, receiveth a pretie rill, which in the midde thereof dooth drue a mill, and descendeth from Wickin Bonhart, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Newport, it goeth amongst in the lower ground, untill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his household doo soiourne, and sometime stood an abbeie of Benedictine monoks, before their general suppression. From Awdleis end it goeth to Littleburie, the lesse and greater Chesterfords, Yealdune, Hincstone, Seeston or Sawson, and nere vnto Shaleford receiue the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogether to Trompington, it meteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Rhee (a common name to all waters in the Saxon speach) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waie. The Rhee riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing under the bridge betweene Gilden Mordon and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haselingefeld, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and southwest, as Wendie water southwest of Crawden, Whadon brooke southwest of Orwell, Mildred becke southwest of Malton, and finallie the Orne which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the same betweene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Now to proced with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantchester, on the other, it lasteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels sometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the queenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betwene the town and the castell to Chesterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Stura (at whose bridge the most famous mart in England is yearlie holden and kept) from Chesterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long meeting with two rilles (from Bottesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech: and finallie here joining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Denie, and so forth into the Ouez, fiftene rilles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Isis or Ouez, out of the aforesaid author: wherevnto I haue not onlie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent observation of the course of this ruer hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come neerer to the coast of Northfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by vpon the same, wherein I will deale so preciselie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content
content even the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some truell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected.

The first rier that therefore we come vnto, after we be past the confluence of Granata, and the Ouze, and within the jurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboute the greater Whelham, and from thence it goeth on to Nawtton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengraue, Plemon, Lackford, Ickingham, and to Milden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catitlege, and going by Asheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well provided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Iselham into the Burne, from whence they go together as one into the Ouze. With the Burne also there joyneth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iselham, and not verie far from Mildenhall.

The Dune head, and rising of Wattenheie, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bridge betwene Lopham and Ford, whereby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue bene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Fetham, then to Hopton, & to Kincts hall, where it meeteth with a water coming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Quddenham, Herling, Gasthorpe) and so on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewston. Here they meet in like sort, with another descending from two heads, whereof the one is nere vnto Pakenham, the other to Taustocke, as I heare. Certes these heads joine aboue Ilesworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Yxworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Hunnington, Pakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston; as I said. From hence also they hasten to Downeham, which of this rier dooth seeme to borrow his name. South Rée rill I passe ouer as not worthie the description, because it is so small.

Next vnto this rier on the south side is the Braden, or Bradanus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, south Peckenham, Kiringham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Munford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie, and so into the Ouze. The nearest vnto this is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Massingham, Newton, the castell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentnieie, Wrongeie, Roughton (which at one time might haue bene my living if I would haue giveu sir Thomas Rugband money enough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Westchurch, and so to Linne. As so dooth also another by north of this, which commeth from the east hilles by Congenham, Grimston, Bawseie, Gaiuwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue care to the rest sith I am past the Ouze. Being past the mouth or fall of the Ouze, we meet next of all with the Rising chase water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that commeth from about Snetesham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betwene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Norton a mile at the least, except my conjecture doo fille me. The Gloor or Glowie riseth not far from Baconsthorne, in the hundred of Tunsted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glaunford, Blacknieie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betwene Killing towe and Walburne.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Watersend, Towns, Skelthorne, Farneham, Pensthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingsford. And here it receiueth two waters in one botomme, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on ech his owne waie, till they meet at Houndlinton, southwest of Billingsford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all together to Below, Ieng, Weston, and Moreton; but yer it come to Moreton, it meeteth with the Yowke, which (issuuing about Yexham) goeth by Mattehall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Ringland, and so to Norwich the pontificall.
to receiuen threescore of the bishop, to whom that jurisdiction apperteineth, which seemeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leeland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proced. Beneath Norwich also it receiuethe two waters in one chanell, which I will severallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Bixlee, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads wherof one mounteth vp southwest of Whinborow, goeth by Gerneston, and is the verie Hierie or Yare that drowneth the name of Wansumse, so soone as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Mitford hundred, and after confluence with the Hierie at Caston, going by Brandon, Bixton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Bixlee as I said) doth meet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that meet northwest of Therslane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hennall, Fretton, Streton, and Tasborow, till they joine at Therslon, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therslon therefore they go together in one to Newton, Shotesham, Dunston, Castor, Arminghale, Bixlee, Lakenham, and Trowse, and then fall into the Wansumse beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hierie. The Hierie, Yare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voyage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paswije, Surlingham, Claxton, and Yardlie; and here it meeteth againe with another riuert descending from about Shotesham to Therslane, Shedgaraue, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Yare, whereof Yardlie the towne receiuethe denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh castell meeteth with the Waueneie, and so into the sea.

Into this riuier also falleth the Bure, which rising at a towne of the same name, passeth by Milton, Buresdune, Corpesteie, Marington, Blekeling, Bure, Alcesham, Brampton, Bixton, Horsted, Werxham bridge, Horning, Raneworth; and beneath Bastewije receiuethe the Thurine which riseth aboue Rolesbie; then to Obie, Clipsbie (there also receiuing another from Fillie) Rimham, Castor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Brisingham, and is a limit betwene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Octe, it meteth with the Eie, which riseth neere Ockold, or betwene it and Braisworth, & goeth on by Brome, Octe, and so into the Waueneie. From thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Brodish, Nedam, Harleston, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungie, Sheepemedow, Barsham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is most likele) it goeth along by Somerlie, Horningfleete, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithstane or Fristan brooke, out of low or little England) Fristan & Burgh castell, where it meteth with the Hierie, & from thencefoorth accompanieth it (as I said) vnto the sea. Willingham water commeth by Hensted, Einsted, or Enistate, and falleth into the sea by south of Kesland.

The Cokell riseth south southwest of Cokcleie towne in Blithe hundred, and neere vnto Hasteworth it meteth with the rill that commeth from Wisset, and so goeth on together by Wenaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an hausen betwene Roidon and Walderswicke. A little rill runneth also therto from Eston by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderswicke: and hereby it wanteth little that Eston Nesse is not cut off and made a pretie Iland.

The Ford riseth at Poxford, and going by Foderleie, and Theberton, it falleth at last into Mismere creene. Into the Oreford hausen runneth one water comming from Alborow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west wherof (when we are past a little Ile) it receiuethe the second, descending from betwene Talington and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming at last to Marleford, meeteth with a rill southwest of Farnham called the Glemie (that commeth by Rendlesham, the Gleinhams) and so passing foorth, it taketh another at Snapesbridge, comming from Carleton by Saxmuntham, Sterefield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it meteth with the third rill at the west side) it fetcheth
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fetcheth a compass by Sudburne cast of Orford, and so into the hauen. Next vnto this by west of Orford, there runneth vp another creke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Cellesford, and from the lake doo run both in one bottome. And thus much of Orford hauen.

The Deue riseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertsmere, and from thence goeth to Mickford, Winston, Cretingham, Ledingham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in maner full south, it runneth neere vnto Ash, Ren- dlesham, Viford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receueth on the west side, a water comming of two heads, wherof one is by north from Oteleie, and the other by south from Henleie, which joining west of Mertelsham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, cast of Mertelsham abouesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleie, and meeting soone after with Brightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leaving Bawdesie on the cast, where the fall thereof is called Bawdesie hauen.

Vre riseth not farre from Bacton, in Hertsmere hundred, and thence descendeth into Vrsus Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Kattlesden, by one house) and so going on to Nedeham (through Bosmere and Claidon hundred) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ipswich, receuings beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ipswich, the Chatsman water, that goeth by Belsted, and so into the Vre, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deep and large pit, whereof some marriners say that they could never find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and joining the name of the river withall, it commeth to passe that the hauen there is called Vrewell, for which in these daies we doo pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treaty all of new to be described.

The Sture or Stoure parteth Essex from Sufolke, as Houden saith, and experience confirmithe. It ariseth in Sufolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourmeere. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thilo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Harshed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often dry, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid river. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Manitre, which carieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my conjecture be any thing) ariseth at Stourmeere, which is a poole containing twenty acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherein the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this meere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Bureslee, Sudbury, Bures, Boxsted, Stoke, Niall, Lanham, Dedham, Stratford, east Barfold, Brampton, Manitere, Catwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it joyneth with Orwell hauen, so nere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that dooth run along betwene them: neither dooth it passe clere in this voyage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receuings sundrie brookes and rilles not htere to be omitted.

For on Essex side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Boumsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudbury: and the third that glideth by Horkesliede, and meteth withall west of Boxsted. On the north, or vpon Sufolke side, it receueth one descending from Catledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerill falleth into this Stoure. The second descendeth northward from Posling field, and joyneth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it meteth with the Stoure in such wise that they sence to maken a right angle, in the point almost whereof standeth a ruinous castell. Howbeit as sithence which time this water (in some mens judgement) hath beene named Claram (not so much for the greatnesse as cleerness of the streame) even so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarem, which giueth denomination to a duchy of this Iland of no small fame and
honour. But these are but méere fables, sith the word Clare is derived from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Riebie hundred, and joining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Boxsted, Stansted, and north of Foxeth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueeth from betwixt the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Boxsted, Ailington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Boxstal falleth into the same. The fifth riseth northwest of Cocksfield, and goeth to Cocksfield, Lanheam, Brimsleie, Midling, and receiuing Kettle Baston water southwest of Chelsworth (and likewise the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Bisseston street on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and so into the Stoure. The sixt is a little rill descending southwest from Chappell. The seventh riseth betwixt Chappell and Bentleie, and going betwixt Tatington, and Wheststed, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is never heard of.

As for Ocleie Drill, that riseth betweene Ocleie, and Wikes parke, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Essex side, west of Harwich, and east of Ree Ile; I passe it over, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Ramsey bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeath over the streame being there verie great) as an arm of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Messe, and falleth into the sea about the midst of the Bat, betwixt Harwich and the Naze.

Betwixt the Naze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the deepe sea.

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Oungton that goeth by Tilberie, and cast of Yeldam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Redgewell in Essex, from whence also it goeth to Yeldam and Hediegham, otherwise called Yngham: also Hedingham or Heudingham. * or Heudingham of the superiourie which accrued thereunto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heed or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot easlie be forgotten. The third falleth in south of Yeldam, and being once met all in one channell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedingham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Forden, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Bricklestone. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situate in diverse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithameaster out of whose ruines the said town of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot judge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take this beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should seem rashlie to take hold of euerie conjecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea enteryng by the Colne made thre seuerall passages fro thence into the land: but now I understand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causele that leadeth unto Mersie Ile, over which the sea meeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arm that floweth unto Maldon, and all these three have their fallas either ouer against or méere unto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colunas also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not A colonia Romanorum, although I may not consent to him herein) doo run manie salt creeces beneath Fingering he, of whose names sith I doo not know, nor whether they
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they be served with anie backewaters or not, I glue over to intreat anie further & likewise of their positions. I to that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

There is a preie water that beginneth nere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, a town of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautefull or faire; & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hills on eche side of the said rill, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vstered decated, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessive building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that enmolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yete have their rents in triple maner inanced.) This said brooke runneth direcdly from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime cheefe owners of the same. By the wai: also it is increased with sundrie preie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant) and which (to sale the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath bene a preie water, and of such quantitie, that bothes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the moons in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there nere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parliament were suruued and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbeech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and finde no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord Iohn of Radwinter, could worke him none other inurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the use of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was scrued by that brooke abundanctlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some poets thereof doo yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a wolfe vnto the other in their mischeuous moods. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his adversarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to doo his said service, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: wherevpon issued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office converted into a pound of pepper, which is truefull paid to this daie. But to leave these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Talteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rotheres bridge, meeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Perrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which felleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but because it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the cheefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lauing the said manour to morgage to the moonks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe
the better toward the service of his prince, it came to passe that he staid longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Whereupon he came before his date to confer with his creditors, who commanding his care to come out of debt, wilfed him in friendly maner not to suspect his having dealt upon their behalfe, considering his business in service of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaye of payment vpon the date assigned. Whereupon he went over againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the date came, the mooneks for all this made searce of the manour, and held it continuallie without amie further recompense, marge all the friendship that the aforesaid Bendisch could make. The said gentleman also tooke this consouling part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be scene among his euidences, whereby he admonished his posterity to beware how they trust either knaue moonke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by inacall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and joine with our Punt.

The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring goth the whole hundred bache the name. & after this confluence the river it selfe wherunto it falleth (from by north) so farré as I remember. Certes, all these, sauing the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therefore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell, of Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the wai, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfiled) to Shelford, Bocking, Stitted, Paswije, and so to Blackwater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt armie of the sea that beateth upon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceiued) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this conjecture, for that Stanester stood somewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundreth of Duncele, whose ruines (as they saie) are also swalowed vp by the said streame, which can not be verifieth in our rier that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my conjecture) above one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, anas the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coxall, Easterford, Braxsted and Wickham, where it meteth with the Barus, and so going together as one, they descend to Hetebridge, and finallie into the salt water abowe Maldon, and at hand as is aforesaid. As for the Barus, it riseth in a stately parke of Essex called Bardfeld, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth whilst he lived, who hath it to him and his heirs male for ever, from the crowne. Being risen, it descendeth directly to old Saling Brainctre'e, crossing a rill by the wai comming from Rainie, decke Notice, white Notice, Falkeburne, Wtitham, and falleth into the Blackwater beneath Backsted on the south.

Beside this, the said Pant or Gwin receiue the Chelme or Chelmer, which arieth also in Wroth the aforesaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Bronzeke (where master Thomas Wiseman esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Lymghauns in the same parke, and joining yet long in one channell, they bee then toward Thames, under Prowes bridge, meting in the wai with a rill comming from Botten end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thacted, it goeth by Titled, and soone after descends one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindzell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeast at Titled aforesaid, & another comming from southwest, rising southeast from Lindzell at much Eiston. From thence they holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunnum, little Dunnum, Paleside, Lies, both Walthams, Springield, and so to Chelmeresford. Here upon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth five miles (or threebouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Dunnum, Buttesburne (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Ingastone, Market Inge, Woodford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmeresford (crossing also the second water that descendeth from Ruxford southwest of Writtle by the wai) whereof I let this suffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Beslow, Owting, Woodham water, Little, and so to Blackwater north-west of Maldon, receiuing nevertheless yet it cometh fulie
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fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lee parke, to little Lee, great Lee, Hatfield, Lee. Peersell, Oxtonge, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame dooth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Tollesbies, and so forth into the maine sea neere vnto Marecie: betwene which fall and the place where Salute water eareth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being handlie hecket, did send vnto him for rid and spéedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Cameldonum.

The Barne doth somewhere about Runwell, and thence goeth to Hull Bridge, south Barne. Farnbridge, Kirkeshot ferrie, and so to Foulness. And as this is the short course of that rier, so it brancheth, and the south arme thereof receiveth a water comming from Hawke- well, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakesham dooth meet by south with the said arme, and so finish vp his course, as we doe our voiage also about the coast of England.

Thus have I finished the description of such rieres and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I save of that which is here done, that from the Salute by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side; to the Tweed, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riueres, you shall not need to use anie further aduise for the finding and talles of the aforesaid streames. For such hath beene my helpe of master Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I have also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit vpone anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I mean the cuil writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I have noted some one man, in the description of a rier, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to choose one (at aduenture most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be sound in mine opinion and judgement.

Finally, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lying on ech coast of the English part of this Ile; and had provided the same in such wise as I judged most convenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would have gluen over to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I sçew it may prooue a spurre vnto further mischée, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuerthelesse, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the becke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leaving the supplie of the rest wether to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

OF SUCH PORTS AND CREEKS AS OUR SEAFARING-MEN DOO NOTE FOR THEIR BENEFIT UPON THE COASTS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVII.

IT maie be that I haue in these former chapters omitted sundrie haunens to be found vpon the shore of England, and some of them served with backe waters, through want of sound and sufficient information from such as haue written vnto me of the same. In recompense whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creeks, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I shall make satisfaction of mine oversights. And albeit I cannot (being
too too much abused by some that have beenest me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of England round about, from Berwike to the Solne; yet I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countryman shall not altogether want that benefit, hoping in time to recover also the rest, if God grant life and good success thereto.

In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bambarow, Bedwel, Donstanbarow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blishes nuke, and Tinnmouth hauen.

In the bishoprjce, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepooles, These.

In Yorkshire, Dapam sands, Steningreene, Staies, Runswicke, Robinhoothes baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Filie, Flambarow, Bricklington, Hornesie becke, Sister kirke, Kelcie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Keningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Bauertie, Hull, Hasell, Northferebie, Bucke creake, Blache cost, Wrethell, Howden.

In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Surpe, Turnbrigie, Rodifie, Catebie, Stockwith, Tokerscie, Gainsborow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatemill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfieete, Wilgripe, Mapleford, saint Clements, Wentficete, Frisson, Toft, Skarbike, Boston, Frompton, Wolueron, Possedike a good hauen.

In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitcham, Desingham good, Thunstone, Thornham good, Brankerester good, Burnham good, with dures townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Marston, Blakcleie towne, Withon Clie, Blakolie hauen good, Salthouse creake, Sheringham hith, Boughton, Cromer, Boston, Trimingham, Mounsleie, Bromwall, Haseborow, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton, Custer, Helmesleie, Okell, Vpton, Waibrige, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diverse villages on the riper side.

In Suffolke, Beeles, Bongie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Latina a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kasseldon, Bliaborow, Coffe hith, Eston, Walderswije, Donewich, Swold hauen, Siswell, Thorpe, Albarow, Orford a good hauen, Balseie good, Felixstow, Colnie, Sproten, Ipswich, Downambridge good, Pinemill, Shotleie, Catawie, Barfold.

In Essex we haue Dedham, Maning tre, Thorne, Wrabbesnes, Ramseie, Harwich, Dourcourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Taphaete, Newhaun good, S. Oisithes, Bentleie good, Briclesie, Thorlington (where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made) Alsford, Wintershall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, east Merseie, west Merseie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Stanegate, Sudmester, S. Peters, Burnham, Crixeie, Aldon, Clements Greene, Hulbrige, Pacleston, Barling, little Wakering, much Wakering, south Sudburie, Wakeringham, Melton, Papper hill, or Lee, Beamfleete, Pasie range, Fobbing, Hadie good, Mucking, Stanford, and Tilbere ferrie.

In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Tanfleete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Melhall, Maidston, Ailesford, New hith, Rochester, Gelingham, Reinham, Vpchurch, Halsted, Quimborow, Milton, Feuersham, Whitstable, Herne, Margate, Brovedastier, Ramsgate; and manie of these good creakes: also Sandwich, Deuer, Hide, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

In Sussex we haue Simalade with the creakes adjoining to the same, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelsea nothing at all inferior to the same, and so manie shires oneie are left unto me at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie haue off to deale anie further with the rest, whose knowledg I am right sure would have been profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue receapt great thanks at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as should haue had vse hereof.

Desunt cetera.
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

OF THE AIRE, SOILE, AND COMMODITIES OF THIS ISLAND.

CAP. XVIII.

The aire (for the most part) throughout the land is such, as by reason in manner of continual clouds, is reputed to be grosse, and nothing so pleasant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirm these things, haue onely respect to the impediment or hinderance of the sunne beams, by the interposition of the clouds and oft ingrossed aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Caesar himselfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in summer than that of the Galles, from whom he adventured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not usuallie scene amongst other nations lying beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must needs confesse, that the situation of our land (for benefit of the heamens) is nothing inferior to that of anie countrie of the maine, where so euery it lie under the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Elysian fields to be found in Britaine, and the isles that are situate about it in the Ocean.

The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries have need, and yet it selfe (if fond necessesse were abolished) needlesse of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheless it is more inclined to feeding and grasing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and such store is there also of the same in euery place, that the fourth part of the land is scarsedie manured for the provision and maintenance of graine. Certes this fruitfulness was not vnknowne unto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuing in those daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and grasing onelie. The grasers themselves also then dwelled in mouucable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laye (a thing much like to the Irish Cricht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath bene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarsedie comparable to the manner of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scottish dooth faile in some respect, so dooth it surmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeild forth like commodities.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if need be) sufficient help to cherish our ground within, and to make it more fruitfull. For beside the compest that is caried out of the husbandmans yards, ditches, ponds, drouehouses, or cities and great towns: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast ouer a piece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need of anie further compesting. Hereof also dooth Plinius speake, lib. 17, cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth upon the earth by the space of fourscore yeres: insomuch that it is laid upon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to travell twice in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Marga, and making diverse kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, above all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deep, and farre better than the scattering of chalke upon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also doo practise: albe it diverse doo like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported.
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

There are also in this land great plentie of fresh rivers and streams, as you have heard already, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in rivers. The whole landlikewise is very full of hilles, of which some (though not very manie) are of exceeding heigh, and diverse extending themselves very far from the beginning; as we may see by Shooters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the land westward, until it come to Cornwall. Like vnito these also are the Crowden hilles, which though vnnder divers names (as also the other from the Peke) doo run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheviot hilles, which reach twentye miles in length? of the blacke mountaines in Wales, which go from (*) to (**) miles at the least in length? of the Che hilles in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester by the Teme? of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Children, which are eightene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are very well replenished with wood and corne? notwithstanding that the most part yield a sweet short grass, profitable for sheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doe somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensated, not onlie with plentie of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

(*) Here lacks.

In this land likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often scene upon the naked hilles, not garded with trees to bear and keep it off. That grieuous inconvenience also inforseth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communallie, to build their houses in the vallies, leaving the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should bre'd them greater annoince: whereas in other regions each one desirith to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be scene a farre off, and cast forth his beans of statelie and curious workmanship into euerie quarter of the country; but also (in hot habitations) for coldnesse sake of the aire, sith the heat is newer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sonne beans either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected upon the lower soil.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purposed place (which notwithstanding have verie much increased, I mean for curiosity and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soyle againe. Certeinlie it is even now in these our daies grown to be more fruitful, than it hath beeene in times past. The cause is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they have beeene: insomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yeelded but small profit, and this onlie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as daile manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this land, that is to say, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and livelihood was wont to be looked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meanes time living idlely, dissolutely, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth his owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

The pasture of this land is according to the nature and bountie of the soyle, whereby in most places it is plentiful, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yeeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest cheese are made. But where the blue clairs aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the wintrye water in long season) there the grass is spearie, rough, and verie apt for brushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable unto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardifi is the chief.

I speake of the same which is to be found in the mountaines there, where the hundred
hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby
the soile becometh matted, and diverse boggges and quicke moors made withall in long
continuance: because all the cottell in the countie are not able to eat it downe. If it be
to be accompted good soile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the mor-
row find it hidden and overgrown with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in
manie places of this land. Nevertheless, such is the fruitfulness of the aforesaid countie
that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for bataablenesses
with Itacie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wicked-
nesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and drain of hell: so that whereas
they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie
speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Itacie is a noble soile, but the
dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodness.

Our medowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bi-
cause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borrowed from the best &
fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such
streams as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the
hills about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefo-
re their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome,
and batale, sith the hale of our low medowes is not onlie full of sandie cinder, which breed-
eth sundrie diseases in our cottell, but also more rottie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefo-
re not so profitable for stoure and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference further-
more in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadows we haue not often
above one good load of hale, or peradventure a little more in an acre of ground (I use the
word Carrucata or Carrueca which is aaine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie
lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadows we haue sometimes thrie, but commonlie two or vpward,
as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twice mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cat-
tell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become
oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases
doconsume manie of them before the owners can secke out any remedie, by Phleboto-
tomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget
are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue
holes in them, and must be found unlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockeshot for
the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilst the cottell go scot free and are
not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath
brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalves, it would aske a greater
volume than is convenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to have said thus much
of these things.

The yeeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the
land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares,
wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, wil yeeld commonlie sixtene or twen-
tie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or five quar-
ters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes sur-
mounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togethers, tares and
otes (which they call bullmone) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake,
yet their yeeld is nevertheless much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And
yet is not this our great leans comparable to that of hote countries of the maine. But of
all that ever I read, the increase which Eldred Danus wroteth of in his De imperio ludeorum
in Aethiopin surmoventh, where he saith that in the field nere to the Sabattike river, called
in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barlie growing dooth yeeld
an hundred kernels at the least unto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in plantinge of hops, whereof

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our moorie hitherto and unprofitable grounds doo yeald such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countre, which have not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those faire better than doo come from Flanders vnto us. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie daily practised in this kind of ware, garte vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conviction of his moorie grounds into hopyards, whereof before he had no commoditie, dooth raise yearelie by so little as twelve acres in compass two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret friends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which nevertheless after three yeres doo also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatness of bone, sweetnesse of flesh, and other benefis to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenessse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and horns are such, as none of anie other nation doo commonlie or may easlie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of limes, finesse of fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eanniing) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like sort doo follow the same order, and our dœre come not behind. As for our conies, I haue scene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Meall and Disnege, that the greese of one being weighed, hath pesed verie neere six or seven ounces. All which benefis we first refer to the grace and goodness of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefis which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countrymen (especiallie of the south partes) who doo not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for advantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deal for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knownen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor successse of their travell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that provision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied upon the same.

If it be true, that where wine dooth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I must not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue grewne in this land heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperor gave equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimony. And that it did grow here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithe for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, & elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie sutes, commensed in diuere ecclesiastical courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie albeie yet called the vineyards, may be a notable witnessse, as also the plot which we now call cast Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certaine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which thereof was called Knighten Guild. The truth is (saith John Stow our country man, and diligent traueller in the old estate of this my natuere citie) that it is now named Port soken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Algate. Nowbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geoffr lele of Essex constables of the Tower of London, witheld that portion frō the said house, vntill the reigne of king
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king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appeareth, that the bishop there had yarelie three or foure tunne at the least given him Nomine decime, beside whatsoever over-summie of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other excheats, whereof also I have some mention. Wherefore our solie is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the moone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long enough upon the same: a verie mercere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, because experience convinceth the vpholders thereof even in the Rhenish wines.

The time hath bene also that wad, wherewith our countrie men died their faces (as Cesar saith) that they might scene terrible to their enimies in the field, and also women & their daughters in law did staine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the sacrifices of their gods, coueting to resemble theerin the Ethiopians, as Plinie saith li. 22. cap. 1. and also madder hauie bene (next vnto our tin and woollies) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this mane. I find also that rape oile hath bene made within this land. But now our solie either will not or at the leastwise may not beare either wad or madder: I saie not that the ground is not able so to doo, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careless of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the same of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may sawe of flax, which by law ought to be sown in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or lesse: but I see no succese of that good and wholesome law, sith it is rather contemptously rejected than otherwise dutfullie kept in anie place of England.

Some saie that our great number of lawes doo breed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; because we have so manie, that no subiect can live without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances dooth much harme in this respect, which (after Aristotle) doth scence to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Euentus varios res noua semper habet.

But verie manie let not to affirm, that the gredie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiors, & privat respects of their establishment on the other, are the greatest causes while the inferiours regard no good order, being always so rude to offend without anie facultie one wate, as they are otherwise to presume, upon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I have no skill, so I wish that fewer licences for the privat commoditie but of a fewe were granted (not that thereby I deny the maintenance of the prerogatieve royal, but rather woulde with all my hart that it might be yet more honorable increased) & that euerie one which by freeddship (or otherwise) dooth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and prove hurtfull to manie, might be at open assizes and sessions denounced enimie to his countrie and commonwealthe of the land.

Glasse also hath bene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said stuffe also, beside fine scissors, sheeres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laied vpon this Iland. In like sort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and vessels of iuoric (as Strabo saith.) Wherby it appeareth that in old time our countrymen were farre more industrious and paineful in the use and application of the benefit of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gave themselves more to idlenesse and following of the warres.

If it were requisit that I should speake of the sundrie kinds of mould, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diverse sorts (red, blue, blacke and white) also the red or white sandie, the lomie, rosellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could saie that there are so manie diverse veines in Britaine, as else where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this
I must needs confess, that the sandie and cledgie doo beare great swale: but the claje most of all, as hath beene, and yet is alwaies scene & felt through plente and dearth of corn. For if this latter (I meane the claje) doo yeeld hir full increase (which it dooth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plente: whereas if it faile, then haue we scariste, according to the old rude verse set downe of England, but to be understood of the whole Iland, as experience dooth confirme:

When the sand dooth serue the claje,  
Then may we sing well awake,  
But when the claje dooth serue the sand,  
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horsse, another of Eouesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcestershire, the third of Ailesbirie that goeth by Tame, the rooutes of Chilterne hills, to Donstable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckhingham, Birstane parke, &c. Likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemooore in Dorsetshire. The fift of Ringdale or Renidale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and also the Marshwood vale: but for somuch as I know not well their seuerall limits, I glue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes, although our country be not so full of this kind of soilie as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botomes, the which are not onlie indued with excellent riuers and great store of corne and fine fodder for next and horses in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficially to their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well known to be either of ten, twelue, sixteenth, twenty, or thirtie miles in length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seven miles euerie waie, and whereto there is no accesse but by three causies, whose inhabitannts in like sort by an old privilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewise haie for their catrell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soile for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defraued, in so much that not the poore tenantes inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherefore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserve the same whole vnto the due place whilst I go forward with the rest; setting downe nevertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

illa quidem longe celebres splendore, beata,  
Glcbis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,  
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuitis ab ore  
Profuit oceanus, &c.

And a little after:  
Testis Lundonia raibus, Wintonia Baccho,  
Hercordia grce, Worcestrorum fruge redundans,  
Bathacu lau, Salabrya fers, Cantuaria piscis,  
Eboracca syluis, Excestria clara metallicis,  
Norwichum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,  
Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia praeunguis,  
Testis Lincolnia genu infinita decore,  
Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.
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OF THE FOURTEEN HIGH WAIES SOME TIME MADE IN BRITAIN BY THE PRINCES OF THIS ISLAND.

CAP. XIX.

THERE are, which inquiring to bring all things to their Saxon original, do affirm, that this division of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should appertaine unto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and hereupon they inferre, that Watling street was builded by one Wattle from the east unto the west. But how wenke their conjectures are in this behalfe, the antiquity of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that have written of the severall journeys from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confusion of diverse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the original of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the traciont of the rivers than was allotted vnto me, and that I see great cause (notwithstanding my late allledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I haue for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Jesus Christ, seeing the subjects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by thieues and robbers as they travelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as travelled into all parts thereof; from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the secureitie of his subjects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon justice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those pasages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were couueded at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not unpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by dooles and markes, which being in short time altered by the avarice of such irrereligious persons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet justifie to be found almost in euery place, even in the time of our most gratious and souereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles doo vnto their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or gue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; wherevmo, in truth, they have no right: and yet out of them also doo raise a new commodities) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne; he to avoid all further controverseie that might from thenceforth inuade, caused the same to be paeued with hard stone of eightenee foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallow vp his workmanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He induced them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whoseoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie manner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by frendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie provided in those cases were
were due vnto the offenders. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erning, and the Ikenild.

The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this land, beginning at Dotnesse or Tomense in Devonshire, where Brute sometime landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likele) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers doo scene to note the contrary. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Devonshire & Summer setsshire, and commeth to Bristow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Suderie marker, Tetburie, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the middle waiue betweene Gloucester and Cirencester, (where the wood faileth, and the champaigne countrey appeareth toward Cotteswold) straignt as a line vntill you come to Cirencester it selfe. Some holde opinion that the waiue, which lieth from Cirencester to Bath, should be the verie Fosse; and that betwixt Cirencester and Glocester to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed also by some experience, judgeth that most of the waies crossed eche other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland also, who learned it of an abbat of Cirencester that shewed great likelihood by some records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirencester, it goeth by Chepingnton to Coventrie, Leicesters, Newark, and so to Lincolne ouerwaite the Watlingstreet: where, by generall consent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeath it vnto Cathnesse in Scotland) it is said to have an end.

The Watlingstreette begun (as I said) by Dunwallo, but finished by Gutheline, of whom it is directlie to be called Gutheline street, though now corrupted into Watlingstreet, begineth at Douer in Kent, and so stretcheth through the middest of Kent vnto London, and so forth (peraduenture by the middest of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlancester, now saint Albans, where, in the yeare of grace, one thousand five hundred thirtie & one, the course thereof was found by a man that digged for granell wherewith to mend the high waiue. It was in this place eightene foot broad, and about ten foot deepe, and stone in the botome in such wise as I have noted afore, and peraduenture also on the top: but these are gone, and the rest remaine equall in most places, and leuell with the fields. The yellow grauell also that was brought thither in carts two thousand yeeres passed, remained there so fresh and so strong, as if it had bëene digged out of the natural place where it grew not manie yeeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leaving it on the west side. And a little by south of this place, where the priorie stood, is a long thorough fare vpon the said street, meetly well builded (for low housing) on both sides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell saith) to Caxton, and so to Huntingdon, & then forward, still winding in and out till it on onelee becommeth a bound vnto Leicestershire toward Lutgie, but also paseeth from Castleford to Stainford, and so forth by west of Marton, which is but a mile from Torskeie.

Here by the waiue I must touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the said street to go another waiue, insomuch that he would have it to crosse the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and so go on to Binford bridge, Whitbo, the High crosse, and thence to Atherston vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Fosse had his course by the countrey in such sort as he desciibeth; but that the Watlingstreette should passe by Atherston, I cannot as yet be perswaded. Neuerthelesse his conjecture is not to be misliked, sith it is not vallikelie that three severall waies might meet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I doo not doubt that the said towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath beene dedicated: but that the Watlingstreette should be one of them, the compass of his passage will in no wise permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waiue. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingstreet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice also of the countrey confirmeth. Thence it passeth hostile over Castelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where
where are most manifest tokens of this street and his broad crest by a great waie togethier, also to Yorke, to Witherie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof stood certaine monuments, or pyramids of stone, sometimes placed there by the ancient Romans. These stones (saith Leland) stand eight miles west from Bowis, and almost west from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden castell, situate apparantlie upon the side of this street. And here is one of those pyramids or great round heapes, which is three score foot compass in the bottome. There are other also of lesse quantities, and on the verie top of each of them are sharpe stones of a yard in length; but the greatest of all is eightene foot high at the least, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreover, how they stand on an hill in the edge of Stanesse moore, and are as boundes betweene Richmondshire, and Westmerland. But to proceed. This street lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightene miles; that is, twelve to Leuing, & six to Catericke; then eleven miles to Greteie or Gritto, five miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanesse moore, four miles from Applebie, and five to Browham, where the said street commeth thorough Winfoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Eiumouth and Loder, and leaung Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the west side of it, goeth to Carkeill seventene miles from Browham, which hath bécne some notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth evidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathnesse, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

The Erming street, which some call the Lelme, stretcheth out of the east, as they saie, into the southeast, that is, from Menceia or S. Daniels in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is somewhat likelie indeed that these two waies, I mean the Fosse and the Erming, should meet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Glocester, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that coutrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can saie no more of it, except I should inuent to druw aweie the time, in alleging what other men say thereof, whose minds doo so farre disagree one from another, as they doo all from a truth, and therefore I give them ouer as not delighting in such dealing.

The Ikendle or Ikenild began somewhere in the south, and so held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worcester, Wiccombe, Brincham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and crossing the Watlingstreet somewhat in Yorkshire, stretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine sea, as most men doo confesse. I take it to be called the Ikendle, because it passed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him doo scene to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolk; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, Sith it is manifest by Tacitus, that they laie neere vnto the Silar, and (as I gesse) either in Stafford and Worcester shires, or in both, except my coniecture doo faile me. The author of the booke, intituled Eulogium historiarum, doth call this street the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, so haue I dealt withall so faithfullie as I may among such diversitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confusion in the names and courses of these two latter, the discussing whereof I must leave to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to speake generalli of our common high waies through the English part of the Ile (for of the rest I can saie nothing) you shall understand that in the clie or cledgij soile they are often verie deepe and troublesome in the winter halfe. Wherefore by authority of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trunnel for six dais in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decayed places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcellie two good days works are well performed and accomplisshed in a parish on these so necessary affaires. Besides this, such as have land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo viterlie neglect to dich and scowe their draines and watercourse, for better avoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the streets
doo grow to be much more galled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daises works are not imploded vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ecb suruerior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as seme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhab-
itants are driven to seke them farre of in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein
those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue given monie to haue them borne away,
doo now reap no small commoditie by raising the same to excessive prices, whereby their
neighbours are driven to grievous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of
that good law is verie much defrauded. Finalie, this is another thing likewise to be con-
sidered of, that the trees and bushes growing by the streets sides; do not a little keepe
off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were
taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to
spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie
a slough prove hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroaching of the
coutous vpon the lie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas
some streets within these fue and twelue yeares haue bené in most places fiftie foot broad
according to the law, whereby the troueller might either escape the thieve or shift the
iner, or passe by the leaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horse; now they are brought
vtnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby
the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombrd in his joumee. But what
speake I of these things whereof I do not thinke to heare a lyst redresse, because the error
is so common, and the benefit thereby so sweete and profitable to manie, by such houses and
cotages as are raise vpon the same.

OF THE GENERALL CONSTITUTION OF THE BODIES OF THE BRITONS.

CHAP. XX.

SUCH as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of
stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the
warres. As for their generall comeliness of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great,
at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easiecly confirme what it is, which
yet dooth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may
perceiue betwene Herefordshire and Essex men, or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for
the one, and Pokingion and Staffordrie for the other; these latter being distinguished by their
noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there then in other places of the land. As
concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies bené in soveraigne
admiration among forren princes: for such hath bené the estimation of our souldiers from
time to time, since our Ile hath bené knowne vnto the Romans, that wheresoever they haue
serued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of service haue bené reserved vnto them. Of
their conquests and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories
are full: & where they haue bené overcome, the victorers themselves confessed their
victories to haue bené so decerlie bought, that they would not gladlie caus to overcome
often, after such difficult maner. In martiaall prouesse, there is little or no difference be-
twene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue bené often and verie
grceuouasie overcome by the force of our nation, it hath not bené for want of manhood
on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his justice vpon them,
sith they alwaies haue begun the quardes, and offered vs meree injurie with great despite
and cruelty.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding
(I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulness or wisdome.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacke in colour, & some so blacke in deed as ane crow or raven. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in prouncie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inventions, they generally exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into mere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulness, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandre is of the opinion, that the fertilles region dooth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile dooth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had “Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbia.” But nether of these opinions do justie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to sake their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, because of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymenus noteth lib. 3. affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish, vncivil, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come neerer unto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse, wisdome, ciuitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell under both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit neere vs and under the equinoctiall. As for the small variance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length of our daies. Wherefore his reason seemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandre afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, because our brains are not warmed by the variance of the sunne. And thus also dooth Comineus burden vs after a sort in his historie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compasse to doo so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen (not without great wisedome and forecast) haue brought to passe in France. The Galles in time past contemned the Romans (saith Cesar) because of the smalnesse of their stature: howbeit, for all the greatnesse (saith he) and at the first brut in the warres, they shew themselves to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to stand in great calamities. Ceris in accusing our wisedome in this sort, he dooth (in mine opinion) increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with singleness of mind, sincerelie and plainelie, without anie such suspicous fetches in all our dealings, as they commonelie practise in their affaires, then are our countriemen to be accompted wise and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour crafinesse, subtilie practises, doublenesse, and hollow behaviour, with a cloake of policie, amite and wisedome: then are Comineus and his countriemen to be reputed vicious, of whomse this prouerbe hath of old time bene used as ane care marke of their dissimulation,

Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.

How these latter points take hold in Italie, I mean not to discusse. How they are dailie practised in manie places of the maine, & he accompted most wise and politike, that can most of all dissemble; here is no place justie to determine (neither would I wish my countriemen to learne anie such wisedome) but that a king of France could saie; “Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, or viure,” their owne histories are testimonies sufficient. Galen, the noble physician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blakke, constancie; to bloud,

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mirth;
mirth; to phlegme, courtesy: which being mixed more or lesse among themselves, doe yeald an infinit varietie. By this means therefore it commeth to passe, that he whose nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which joined with strength of bodie, and sinceritie of behavour (qualities vniversallie granted to remaine so well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot see what may be an hinderance while I should not rather conclude, that the Britons doe excell such as dwell in the heter countries, than for want of craft and subtilies to come anie whith behind them. It is but vanitie also for some to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, because we so little regard the shedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we see the liquor of life to go from vs (I vs their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eleis, because we be rather inflamed then appalled at our wounds, then are those obiectors flat cowards in our judgement: sith we thinke it a great piece of manhood to stand to our tackling, vntill the last drop, as men that may sone much because we haue much: whereas they haue lesse are afraid to lose that little which they haue: as Frontimus also noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their histories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papist in treating of religion, a Spaniard of his meekenesse, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on: no more is a Frenchman to be trusted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he dooth either dissemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in such as professe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we so hard to strangers as Horace wold serme to make vs, sith we lose them so long as they abuse vs not, & make accompt of them so far forth as they despise vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they use our privilages and commodities for diet, apparel and trade of gaine, in so ample manner as we our selues enjoy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doe in their countries, where no stranger is suffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to proced with our purpose.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) some doe liue an hundred yeres, verie manie vnto foure score: as for three score, it is taken but for our entrance into age, so that in Britaine no man is said to wax old till he draw vnto thre score, at which time God speed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas sometime said in mirth, affirming that vntill thirde yeares of age, You are welcome is the best salutation; and from thence to threescore, God keepe you; but after threescore, it is best to salue, God speed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our journeys end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leave to go. These two are also noted in vs (as things appertaining to the firme constitutions of our bodies) that ther hath not bene scene in anie region so manie carcasses of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine; and that after death by slaughter or otherwise, such as remaine vnburied by fourie or sixe daies together, are easie to be knowne and discerned by their kinfreds and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complains of sundrie nations, saien, that their bodies are "Tam fluida substantia," that within certeine houres the wife shall hardlie know his husband, the mother her sonne, or one friend another after their liues be ended. In like sort the comelinesse of our liuing bodies doe continue from middle age (for the most) euern to the last gaspe, speciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doe after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie so wretched and hard fawoured to looke upon in their age, as the French women, and diverse of other countries with whom their men also doe much participate; and thereto be so often waiward and pceuious, that nothing in maner may content them.

I might here adde somewhat also of the meane stature generallie of our women, whose beautie commonlie exceedeth the fairest of those of the maine, their comlinesse of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs that come outer vnto vs from beyond the seas. This nevertheless I utterlie dislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier doe sildome offend herein: that being of themselves without government, they are so careless in the education of their children (wherein their husbands are also to be blamed) by means whereof oftentimes
THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

verie mutie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doe oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anye correction or discipline had bee ne used toward them in youth) might have prooved good members of their common-wealth & country, by their good service and industri. I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tracation herof craveth a better head than mine to set forth the same, so will I glie place to other men that list to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice.

HOW BRITAIN AT THE FIRST GREW TO BE DIVIDED INTO THREE PORTIONS.

CAP. XXI.

AFTER the conning of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you have read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Goropius after his maner doo utterie denne our historic in this behalfe,) he made a generall surueie of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new attchiued conquest might yeeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenable place wherein to erect a citie, he began there euene the verie same which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen doo call it still Trenewith. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his regigne, so that he liued not aboue fiftieene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and done, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arrivaull by the space of foure and twentieth yeares, he finished his daies at Trenouanton aforesaid, being in his young and flourishing age, where his carcase was honourable interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant; I mean howe it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grceuous wounds receiued in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saye nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, dividing it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonses then living, whereof the eldest exceded not eight and twentieth yeares of age, as my coincteyle giueth me.

To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he giue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the est with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dee, toward the west (which parcell in these daies containeth Southwales and Northwales) with sundrie Ilands adjacent to the same, the whole being in maner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegres by the said streams, whereby it seemeth also a peninsula or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did use the word Walsh in such sort as we doo Strange: for as we call all those strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Walsh which were not of their country.
The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanactus his youngest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue said before) whose portion seemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you have regard to the severall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for whatsoever the first & second haue in plentie of corne, fine grass, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding store of fish, rich mettal, quarries of stone, and abundance of wild foule: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equal partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner. This later parcell at the first, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) receiveth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certaine Scots that came over from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some doo note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) contained all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Catnesse. To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kinglymome after this maner, and therein containing himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after ye he ended his life; and being solemnly interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and tooke possession of their prinencies. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanactus, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none issue behind him to succeed him in that kinglymome.

AFTER WHAT MANER THE SOUEREIGNTIE OF THIS ILE DOOTH REMAINE TO THE PRINCES OF LHOEGRES OR KINGS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXII.

It is possible that some of the Scottish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offense with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwaies belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diuere, and now finallie brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, sith there is (or at the leastwise hath beene) nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland. How their historiographers have attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to avoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their bookes indifferente, wherevnto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments together, wherein cheeflie I haue vsed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawyer, who wrote thereof (of set purpose) to king Edward the sixt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, John Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beside three other, whereof the first dedicated his treatise to Henrie the fourth, the second to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the first, as their writings yet extant doo abundantlie beare witness. The title also that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this manner: "These remembrances following are found in chronicles authorised, remaining in diuere monasteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is evidentlie knowne and shewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to have the souereignitie over all Scotland, with the homage and fealty of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c." Herevnto you have heard alreadie, what division Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof ech of his children, so
soone as he was interred, tooke seizure and possession. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was slain, wherevpon Locrinus and Camber raising their powers, revenged his death: and finally the said Locrinus made an entrance upon Albainia, seized it into his owne hands (as excheated wholie vnto himselfe) without yeelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the same. Hereby then (saith Adams) it evidentlie appeareth, that the entire seigniorie ouer Albainia consisted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren ever since hath continued, in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall ascension from the yongest, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this daie.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to saie, the sonne of Membris, sonne of Madan, one of the same Locrine builded in Albainia the castell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (so called of Aidan sometime king of Scotland, but at the first named Cair Minid Agnes. 1. the castell on mount Agnes, and the castell of virgins) and the castell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottish Hector Boetius confesseth: whereby it most evidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof seized. This Ebranke reignd in the said state ouer them a long time; after whose death Albainia (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heirs from the said Ebranke, who brotherlie at the first diuided the realme between them; so that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albainia. But shortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denouncing warre, death miserable ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obtained the whole empire of all Britaine: in which state he remained during his natural life.

From him the same lineallie descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbdian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferrex, and Porrex. This Porrex, requiring like diision of the land, affirming the former partitons to be rather of law than favor, was by the hands of his elder brother (best loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome beercauce at once. Wherevpon their vnnatural mother, using his naturall malice for the death of his one sonne (without regard of the loosing of both) miserable slue the other in his bed mistrusting no such treason.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scottish as other, was the next inheritor to the whole emprye: but lacking power (the onelie meane in those daies to obtaine right) he was contented to diuide the same among foure of his kinsmen: so that Scater had Albainia. But after the death of this Cloten, his sonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon these foure kings, and at last overcame them, and so recovered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the vere first of that mettall (if amie at all were before in se) that was wonne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people should assemble for prayer; to which temples he gaue benefit of sanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in cases of murder and felonie, whereby a thefe that liued and made his art of fighting, should for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, believeing assuredlie, that the gods (for then they supposed manie) would by miracle assigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priviledges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be intioied to this daie, few causes by late positive laws among vs excepted, wherein the benefit of wager of battell is restraine. By which obedience to his lawes, it dooth manifestlie appeare, that this Dunwallo was then seized of Albainia, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reignd in this estate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the sonnes also of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death favourablie diuide the land betwixen them; so that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albainia: but for that this Brenne (a subject) without the consent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmark; Beline seized Albainia into his owne hands, and therevpon caused the notable waires privileg'd by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie.
newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornwall, vnto the sea by north Cathnesse in Scotland. In like sort to and for the better maintenance of religion in those daies, he constituted ministers called archflamines, in sundrie places of this Iland (who in their seuerall functions resembled the bishops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie also spakeyth but not without wresting of the name) whose power extended to the uttermost bounds of Albania, whereby likewise appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the said Beline, who faavourable made partition, so that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by south, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus surruied, and thereby obtained the whole, from whom the same quietie descended, and was by his posteritie accordingli inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the first of that name. In his time an obscure nation (by most writers supposed Scithians) passed by seas from Ireland, and arrived in that part of Britaine called Albania: against whom this Coell assembled his power, and being entered Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorously stue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great prowesse, made there king, wherupon they sat downe in that part, with their wives and children, and called it Scotland, and themselves Scots: from the beginning of the world, four thousand six hundred and seuentieene yeares after the Scotch accounct, which by just computation and confession of all their owne writers, is six hundred yeares lacking ten, after that Brutus had reigned over the whole Iland, the same land being inioied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietie inioied, is the best title that all their owne writers can allege for them. But to proceed. Fergus herevpon immediatlie did divide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: whereby it most evidente appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

The lands of Cathnes lieg against Orknie, betweene Dummesbeie and the water of Thane, was gien vnto one Corneth, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Rosse, being in breth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were gien to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spae and Nes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murrie land, were gien to one Warroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Bein Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were gien to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoche, and Lochquhaber, were gien to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mountaines thereof, lieg from Mar to the Ireland seas, were gien to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were gien to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabrun, & Brawdawane lying west from Dunkell, were gien to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were gien to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnex & Clidisdale were allotted to Loalgona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were gien to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were gien to the companye called Brigindees, which (as their best men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albani, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Meirris, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fife, Strickling, Callender, Calderwood, Lochthian, Mers, Teudale, with other the Remant Dales, & the Sherifdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Beringer built the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & these people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had opportunite to vse wars, whereof they
they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he prevailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they never dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome regne of Sisilt king of Britons, which was the twelth king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betwene this Sisilt and his brother Blede to their best advantage, arrived againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Vpon this their new arrivall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sisilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus succeeded, against whom the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he freely submitted himselfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where shortly after the tenth yere of his regne he died. Finanne brother of Josine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who shortly after (compilled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subject, and for the better assurance of his faith and obedience to the king of Britons, delievered his sonne Durstus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantastieng the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplicite saith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

This Durstus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to have liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, disinherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Herevpon new warre sprong betwene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receive Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, descended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this bond of love to hold. For shortly after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane King of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Caesar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subject. But Iulius Caesar, after his second arrivall, by treason of Androegeus prevailed against the Britons, and therevpon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots deny it, their dead writers confess that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the regne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whom it was subuered: but the monument thereof remaineth to this day.

Marius the some of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scythian, with a great rabble of needle souldiers, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, dividying Pentland from Fiffe: against whom this Marius assembled a power, by which he slue this Rodericke, and confounded his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained alue, he gave the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which procueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coell the some of this Marius had issue Lucius, counted the first christian king of this nation: he converted the three archflamines of this land into bishopricks, and ordained bishops vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Cornewall to Humber water. The second dwelled at York, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third abode at Caerleon vpon the river of Wiske in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Senever through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canterbury, the other at York: yet they confesse that he of York had jurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to prooue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.
Severus, by birth a Roman, but in blood a Briton (as some thinke) and the lincall heir of the bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephe of Cassibelane, was shortlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancester Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But hereupon this Severus came into Scotland, and meetinge with their faith and false harts together, drove them all out of the maine land into Iles, the verie most bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Severus, began to hate him, whose yeet they had no time to loose, and who in their defense and suertie had shaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor just desert appease.

Antoninus Bassianus borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne of a Roman woman, were the sonnes of this Severus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Bassianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remained emperour, against whom Caractius rebellled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill, descended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was shortlie after king of the Britons, whose one daughter and heir called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state over them thirtie or fourtie yeares.

Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octavius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewisses (which some expound to be afterward called west Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octavius defrauaded this trust, and tooke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Constantin: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperour sent Maximus his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroye the same Octavius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Whereupon this Maximus, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in bloud, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximus made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Britaine, and ceased not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and druen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scottish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boedius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had beene subjects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subjects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which bearth title of Helena vnto hir sonne Constantine, and entreath after this manner: "Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c." And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conewgh it into this treatise whilst I had his books. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discours: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuerthelesse, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were reserved. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Greeke) "Veritatem sapiens animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iacturam, &c."

About
About five and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximius) with the helpe of Gounn or Gouen and Melga, the Scots newlie arrived in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But because they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their adventure in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yere of our Lord, foure hundred and two and twentieth, as they themselles doo write.

Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and vnle to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons: but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdom, he married Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, invading Gallo-waie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cumingham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a line, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obtained quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousin Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gave to Conan his cousin, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme tooke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forren writers it keepeh unto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being mooed betweene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed together againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factiones) they owerecame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell lossing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie unlikelie if they had conquered it, they would have left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not have deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behoueth. And it is beyond all beleue, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be woon without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taryed finallie at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne believe in this tale. For he saith that Galfride, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behoueth a hier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, whole bewraeth himselfe, saing that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon civill warres betwene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber unto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had beeene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousin of Brutes bloud to this Maximian, and his nearest heir was next king of Britaine, he immedicatly pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his regne, whereby he recovered Scotland out of their hands, and tooke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortigern shortlie after obtained the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to avoid the smoke dooth oft fall into the fire) receieved Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he...
entred Scotland & overcame them, whereupon they tooke the Illst, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowae, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole Kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conpired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his veritie and theirs were both recompensed together, for he was taken prisoner by Eldulph de Sanor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whom and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowae in Scotland, for which they became his subjects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Vter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now forsworne subjects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowae in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recovered vnto his subjection. Arthur the sonne of this Vter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfully borne in matrimonie, succeeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables have rather stained than commended: yet all the Scottish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and overcame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotlond: and in all these wars against them, he had the service and obeisance of Scots and Pits. But at the last setting their feet in the gullegal paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the cite of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercy and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same country to dwell in vnder euerlasting subjection. Upon this he tooke them to his grace, hommage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subjects and liegenem, he ordained his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Vrian king of Iland, and Murefrence king of Orkene. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotlond.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roaill feast at Carleau, had there all the kings that were subjects vnto him, among which, Anguisan the said king of Scots did his due servise and hommage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthur's sword afore him. Malgo shortlie after succeeded in the whole Kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwae and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obtained at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succeeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subjects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agreed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the regne of Cadwalla that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whereupon the same Cadwalla came into Scotland, and vpon his treason receiued the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the viceroyes of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subjects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallas gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwalla, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallowa, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwalla reigned in the whole monarchical of great Britaine, hauing all the seven kings thereof,
as well Saxons as others his subject: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwayes either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the oneie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers doo confess.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelve yeares over all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then upon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerable, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousin Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they, and their posteritie, remained princes. Upon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 "The injuri of Englishmen doone to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 "When Frenchmen be invaued by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels by the French.

3 "When Scots be invaued by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

4 "None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the advise of other, &c."

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onelie admissable by inforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league gieue no benefit to themselves, either in freie traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other(privilege) to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by loosing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessaries more abundant than France) the Scots fiele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their towne, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their seed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortlie after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortlie to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also usurped upon the kingdom of Picts. Whereupon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he tooke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subject and rebell, his head was striken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Pasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

Osbright king of England, with Ella his subject, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortlie after, for that the Scots had of themselves elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceased not his war against them, vntil their king and people fled into the Iles, with where at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Firth shall be march betwene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scotch sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, shall be march in the west parts betwene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcliffe, but now Dunbriton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroyed by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Firth & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodeties thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betwene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Firth named the Scotch sea, march betwene them and Englishmen on the other side; and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Osbright had the castle of Stirling, where first he caused
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to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage over the water of Firth, in the middest whereof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arrived in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Osbright had before made king: whereupon Edulfc or Ethelwulf, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarie: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulf granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the payment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet doo paie it, by reason of that grant, which prooueth them to be then vnder his obedience.

Alured or Alfred succeeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noble over the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propietie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obedie; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also prooueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constrained Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and servied him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reserving or making any excetion of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like service and obedience of Donald king of Scots with five thousand horsemen, against one Gurmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obedience with Alured.

Edward the first of that name called Clifod sonne of this Alured succeeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whom Sithrije a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obedience. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this dooth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Hounden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 922, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Yorke, whilst the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with mowie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Bruningsfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolm deputie in that behalfe: to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselves to have lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaine land there lyeing in Annandale by his deed, the copie whereof dooth follow:

"I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Ruddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mould my wife."

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plain and simplicitie of mens doings in those daies: but also a full proove that he was then seizd of Scotland. At the last also he receiued hommage of Malcolm king of Scots: but for that he could not be restored to his whole Kingdome, he entered into religion, and there shortlie after died.

Then Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to have two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one
Malcolm to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolm did homage to Athelstan.

Edmund brother of Athelstan succeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund succeded next king of England: he not onelie received the homage of Irise then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstan, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie over the whole monarchie of Britaine, and received homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolm prince thereof.

This king gae unto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Osbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He imioined Keneth their said king also once in euery yeere at certaine principall feasts (whereat the king did vse to weare his crowne) to reioine vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was done by the noble mens or peéeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successors, whereat to lie, and refresh themselves in their journeys, whencesoever they should come vp to doo their homages: and finallie a piece of ground lyeng beside the newe palace of Westminster, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posterity was imioined vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resudued into the king of Englands hand. The house is decaded, but the ground where it stood is called Scotland to this daie.

Moreover, Edgar made this law, that no man should succeed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights service, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yeeres: because by interdiment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serve his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland: and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which prooueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obeisance.

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolm king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Duuenall king of Southwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaye, & Jukill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint lohns to service, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and stirring the same vpon the water of Dee, made the said kings to row the barge, seeing that his successors might well be joisful to have the prerogatiue of so great honour, and the superioritie of so manie mightie princes to be subject vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolm king of Scotland to be poisoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receive him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclaimed one Malcolm to be prince of Scotland, who immedialie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same king Edward.

Etheldred, brother of this Edward succeded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolm then king of Scots. But shortly after, this Malcolm sorrowfully submitted himselfe into the defense of Etheldred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onlie be repeated, benigne receiued him. By helpe of whose service at last Etheldred recovered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, some of this Etheldred, was next king of England, in whose
whose time Canutus a Dane invaded the realm with much cruelty. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Etheldred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betwene her natural love to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betwene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to divide the realm with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gave all the rest beyond Humber, with the seigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Whereupon Malcolm then king of Scots (after a little accustomedable resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like services, so long as they lined together. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glory of his seigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolm their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olaus patrone of Norvae and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolm accordinglie performed.

Edward called the Confessor, sonne of Etheldred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolm king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolm sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and seallie.

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realm, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands untill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeares. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euerie woman marrying a freeman, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioye the third part of his inheritance during his life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolm king of Scots obeyed, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be observed to this day, and directlie proeweth the whole to be then vnder his obeisance.

By reason of this law, Malcolm the sonne of Duncan next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland delivered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minoritie, one Mackbeth a Scot traitorouslie vssped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which the said Mackbeth was overcome and shaine. Whereupon the said Malcolm was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward aforesaid. This Malcolm also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessor for the kingdome of Scotland.

Moreover, Edward of England, hauing no issue of his body, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Goodwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would usurpe the crowne, if he should leave it to his cousin Edgar Earling (being then within age) and parte by the petition of his subjectes, who before had sworne neuer to receive any kings ouer them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demise the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximinate in blood betwene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Etheldred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole blood to the same Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that parte to extinguish the mistrust of other titles, and partie for the glory of his victorie, he challenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath bene so written ever since the time of his arraual.

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to just obeisance after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessour; he entred Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Malcolm then
then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

William surnamed Rufus, some to this William called the Conquerour, succeeded next in the throne of England, to whom the said Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scottish men did choose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was slaine by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar son of Malcolme, and brother to the last Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie called Beaucerke the sonne of William called the Conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succeeded to the crowne of England, to whom the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beaucerke maried Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had issue Mawd afterward empress.

Alexander the sonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd called the empress, daughter and heire to Henrie Beaucerke and Mawd his wife, received homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empress gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Voldosius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their union appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this marriage, & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beaucerke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whom I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima partu,
Hic iacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parenst.

In the yere of our Lord 1136, and first yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the said Dauid king of Scots being required to doo his homage, refused it: for so much as he had doone homage to Mawd the empress before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie called Fitz empress, the sonne of Mawd the empress daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiveth homage for Scotland of Malcolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said Dauid their last king. Which Malcolme after this homage attenbed upon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was never renewed after the last division of their country by Osbright king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediatlie seized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the same Malcolme died without issue of his bodie.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second, his father. Also the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after restored to the crowne of Scotland.

This William did afterward attend vpon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licenced to deport home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the sixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token also

also of his perpetuall subjection to the crowne of England, he offered yp his cloake, his saddle, and his spearre at the high altar in Yorke: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatly he moued cruelle warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defense of king Henries part, and delivered the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeare of his reigne. But at the last, at the sute of Daniel his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his trespass: to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie, which he did in all things accordinglie, sealing his charters thereof with the great seal of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also comprised, that he and his successors should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successors for ever. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earldome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him surrendered. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Roxborough, and Striueling were delivered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespass was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were delivered as mortgage into the hands of king Henrie, untill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redeemed, or ever after came to anie Scottish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earldome of Huntingdon was never occasion of the homages of the Scottish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreover I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) "confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots dooth homage to king Henrie for the kingdom of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to doo the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselves to be of his prouince and jurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that Rex Anglie dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem cius consilio dabatur, that is, The king of England gane honors, bishoprics, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not gien without his advise and counsell."

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall jurisdiction ecclesiastical by Christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Ferguse prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for consuervation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whose the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdom of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Ostrich, for whose redemption the whole realme was taxed at great summes of monie, into the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributorie, and paied two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and doo his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie,
turburie, and of all the people there assembled, and thervnto tooke his oath and was sworne
upon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he
should have the marriage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwayes to hold of the
king of England: promising moreover that he the said king William and his sonne Alex-
ander, should keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king Iohn, as
to their chief lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.
Also whereas William king of Scots had put Iohn bishop of saint Andrew out of his bi-
shoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should molese and induce
the same William; and if need required by his roiall power and prerogatiue over that nation,
to compell him to leve his rancor against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and
occupie his said bishoprike againe.
In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fift & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, sonne to
king Iohn, the same Henrie and the queene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasses, for
the solemnization of a marriage made in the feast of saint Stephan the martyr the same
yeare, betweene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the
said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.
In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions givien to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by
that of Gregorie the sist and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie keepe
all such appointments, as had beene made betweene the kings of England and Scotland. And
that the kings of Scotland shoulde still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England,
upon paine of curse and interdiction.
After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of
age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scot-
land brought to Yorke, and there delievered vnto him. During whose minoritie king Henrie
governed Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, used the aid of fift thou-
sand Scottishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he
received not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one
and twentye yeares.
Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; im-
mediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage
to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.
"I. D. N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God
king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I
make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and clave to hold of you. And
I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men,
faithfullie I shall knowleghe and shall doo you service due vnto you of the kingdome of
Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holic evangellis."
This Alexander king of Scots died, leaving one onelie daughter called Margaret for his
heire, who before had maried Hanigo, sonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter
also shortlie after died, leaving one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose
custodie and marriage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to
Edward the first: whervpon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward
to send into Norwaie, to conuie this young queene into England to him, whom he inten-
ded to have maried to his sonne Edward: and so to have made a perfect union long
wished for betweene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the same
tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon shifte and delays of mi-
noritie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and therevpon sent two noble men of
Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their
comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioe the lawfull liberties that
they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.
After the death of this Marytes, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from
this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Mawd
vol. I. 2 E daughter
daughter of Malcom sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest broyle of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdom in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him, Bruce, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realm of Scotland comitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superioritie of the realm to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seals of fourie bishops, sevene earles, and twelve barons of Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordingly, as most evidencie dooth appear.

The Balioll in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his hommage and fealtie at Newcastell vpon saint Stéveuns daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdom of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did very much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward invaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the strengths thereof. Wherevpon Balioll king of Scots came vnto him to Mauntrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his regne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did hommage and fealtie to king Edward, there becoming his subjects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their laws, processe, all jugements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same reheasall, writeth thereof in this manner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same lohn king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastell vpon Tine, passed the water of Twed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this brunt 13700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meanse season, the said king lohn of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benigne grants, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towre of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatie. And there it was agreed that the said lohn and all the Scots should vterlie submit themselves to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordingly, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seal of Scotland, by the which he knowledgeing his simplices and great offense done to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and free will yeelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and hommage of the same. Then our king went forth to see the mountains, and understanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he toke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were woon to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire thereof for the priests that should sing masses at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be scene."

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he toke hommage singularlie of diverse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents scaled with their scales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southsax lord Warden of Scotland,
The Description of Britaine.

land, Hugh of Cresingham treasurer, and William Ormesbie justice of Scotland, and forthwith sent King John to the Tower of London, and John Comin, and the earle Badenough, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to ducere places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said John king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroie their castels, townes, and lands, if he were not repaid for his cost and damages sustained in the warres; but king John and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer moved with pitie, granted them their liues; so that they would doe their homage, and make their oath solemnely at the high altar (in the church of the abbey of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displayed, he and all his power should draw thereunto. And that neither he or anie of his from thencefoorth should bære armes against the king of England or anie of his bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the said John and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwike furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawikere on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine threescore thousand Scots, & William Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawn, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto because of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfriese, and then was crowned at Schone abbeye. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great host, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & tooke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth because they were forsworne.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceable, dooing in all things as is above said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and many other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadie accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortune in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and nevertheless held forth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsoore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minorite the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to have their homages released: whose good will therein they obteined, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds starling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds starling yerecly. But because the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent unto it, their king being within age, the same release proceded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this quene and earle. But before those three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue bene paied, were expired, our king Edward invaded Scotland, and ceased not the warre, vntill

David
David the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutely submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said David Bruse had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married the sister of this king Edward: he mooned by naturall scale to his sister, was contented to give the realme of Scotland to this David Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said lade (saving the reversion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same David Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortly after causelesse conceiving cause of displeasure, this David procure to dissolve this same estate tailie, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also invaded England, whilst king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this David was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Amandale, Gallowaic, Mars, Teudale, Tweadale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betweene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Sowtrie hedge. Which when this David went about to recover againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleven yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enjoyed Scotland peaceable, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorrowfull sister, wife of this David, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion David should pate to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starring, and therto destroye all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward delivered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of David, touching his delings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles doo report, that in the yeere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeares of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diverse lands there, either by themselves, or by their wifes, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghome with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went fourthe to Dunfermline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gastmoure (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine twelve earls, thirteene barons, a hundred and three score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirteene persons enclie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great howst, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid siege thereto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure battels well armed & arrayed.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparrelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Haldon hill, beside Berwike, met these two howstes, and there were discomfited of the Scots fife and twentieth thousand and seauent hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the town with the castell were yeelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, David Bruse by the provocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great howst vnto Neuis crosse: but the archbishop of
of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Douglas with Morrise earle of Stratthorne were brought to London, and manie other lords elaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtie yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Hereupon the king came thither with a great host, and anon the towne was yeelded vp without anie resistance.

Edward Baliol, considering that God did so manie marvoules and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokesborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in presence of all his lords spirituall and temporall, let crowne himselfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordained all things to his intent, and so came ouer into England.

Richard the sonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, sonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the said Iane, the wife of the said king Dauid of Scotland was deceassed without issue, and being informed how the Scots desirous to their uttermost power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made foorthwith war against them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, spoiled all their countrey, took all their holds, & held continually war against them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued these warres begun against them by king Richard, and ceased not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) resigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and delivered his sonne Iames, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his custodie, wardship and disposition, as of his superiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confessor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this estate ouer them fourtiecne yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, sonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres against the French king, in all which this Iames then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his superiour lord, with a convenient number of Scots, notwithstanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the hommage of this Iames their king (hauing not fullie accomplished the age of one & twenty yeares) was by reason and law respited. Finallie the said Iames with diuerse other lords attended vpon the corps of the said Henrie vnto Westminster, as to his dutie appertained.

Henrie the sixt, the sonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whom the seigniorie of Scotland & custodie of this Iames by right, law, and reason descended, married the same Iames king of Scots to Iane daughter of Iohn earle of Summerset, at saint Marie ouer Ise in Southwarke, and tooke for the value of this mariage, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling.

This Iames king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the same king Henrie the sixt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windsore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the seventh, grandfather to our souereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath bene molested with diueritie of titles, in which enmeet time neither law nor reason admit prescription to the prejudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war against the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, sufficiencie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the same souereignty over them.

After whose death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our souereigne lord king Henrie the eight, exceeded not the number of seauen and twenty yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of Iames their last king, which so continued the space of one and twenty yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reason an impediment to himselfe to make homage; so was the same by like reason an
an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, so that the whole time of inter-
mission of our claim in the time of the said king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the
number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

OF THE WALL SOMETIME BUILDED FOR A PARTITION BETWEENE ENGLAND AND THE
PICTS AND SCOTS.

CHAP. XXIII.

Hauing hitherto discoursed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scottish
kingdome: I have now thought good to adde hereunto the description of two walles that were
(in times past) limits vnto both the said regions, and therefore to be touched in this first
booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the estate of the whole Iland; and no lesse famous than
that which Anastasius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Thracian sea, con-
taininge 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in bredth, & distant from Constantinople
280 furlongs, albeith that of Hadrian was made of turffe and timber. The author therefore of
the first wall was Hadrian the emporer, who (as Aurelius Spartanus saith) erected the same
of four score miles in length, twelue foot in heighth, and eight in bredth, to diuide the bar-
barous Britons from the more ciuill sort, which then were generallie called by the name of
Romans ouer all.

After his time Seuerus the emporer comming againe into this Ile (where he had servued
before in repressiou of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongst other things
he made another wall (but of stone) betwene eightie and a hundred miles from the first, &
of thirteene miles in length, reaching on both sides also to the sea, of whom the Britons
called it S. Murseueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which
later indureth vntill these daies in fresh memorie, by reason of the ruines & square stones
there of found, whose inscriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting
also, how that in this voyage he lost 50000 men in the Scottish side, by one occasion and
other, which hinderance so incensed him, that he determined vterlie to extinguish their
memorie from vnder heaven, and had so doone in deed, if his life had endured but vntill
another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this
prince containede two and thirteene miles, whereby the brede of this Iland there, and length of
the wall conteined oncely so manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But cheeflie for
the length of the wall, Spartanus who touching it among other things saith of Seuerus as
followeth: "Britanniam (quod maximum dius imperij decus est) muro per transuersam insu-
lam ducto, vtrique; ad finem oceani munuuit," that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of
the cheefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on
both sides euens to the vere Ocean.

That this wall was of stone also, the ruines thereof (which have ministred much matter to
such as dwell neere thereunto in their buildings) is triall sufficient. Hereby in like sort it
commeth to passe, that where the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention
of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as vntill this daie maie evidentlie be
confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betwene these two
kingdouns, Sith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij dooth write of another that Lollius
Vrbicus made beyond the same, of turffe, in the time of the said prince, who (for his vic-
tories in Britaine) was also called Britannicus, which neuerthelesse was often throwne downe
by the Scots, and eftsoones repaired againe, vntill it was gien ouer and relinquished almo-
ter. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone;
but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles
made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampiers made in such
wise,
wise, that the Scotch adversaries had much a doo to enter and scale the same in his assaults.
And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their accesse more easie into the south parts: but as it was eftsoons repar'd againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiers, which came over verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which season the land was in manner left void of soldiers and munition. Betwixt Thirleweall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people doo babble manie things.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof; from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Bolnesse to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carlell, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terreibie, a village about a mile from Caerlell, then through the baronie of Linstocke, and Gillesland, on the north side of the river Irdoing or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercoast. Thence three miles aboue Leuercoast, and above the confluence of Arding, and the Pulrose becke (which diuideth Gillesland in Cambeland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall town, next of all over the river to Swenshield, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuoren tower) to Walwijc, and so ouer south Tine, to Cockie tower, Portgate, Halton sheles, Winchester, Rutchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastell, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastell, and then crooketh vp toward Timmouth vnto Wallesend, three miles from the mouth of the said river, so called because the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the Pictish wall. As for the Romane coin that is often found in the course thereof, the curious bricks about the same here vnto Caerlell, beside the excellent cornellines and other costifie stones already intailed for scales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose.

In like maner I would gladlie also have set downe the course of Oflaes ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, because it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnasburgh hill through Treuelach forrest, by est of Crekith Cauchhill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Discoid, and hauing brought it hithero, either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Bristow, along vnder the mountaines of Wales northwards, over the river of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dee, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concern the generall estate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well have spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound advertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith: "Modò mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c." But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawne a more absolute piece of workemanship, whereunto my vnskillfulness (I hope) shall prooue no hinderance.
SUCH as haue written of the woonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of just reproch, and in stead of fame purchased vnto themselves nought else but merre discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre doo publish unprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they doo consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become prejudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. dooth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, containing woonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleuee, that infernal spirits can die and glue vp their ghosts like mortall men? though Saxo scence to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie nere hand, oneic to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holiness. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire? they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelee deceased: for as a candle (said they) hurteth none whilst it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie saour: so these Gods, whilst they liued, were either not hurtfull, or verie beneficall to mankind; but being once deceased, they so movue the heauens and aire, that much mischeefe dooth usue eftsone topon the same.

Being also inquisitive of the state of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherein Saturne being ouertaken with a dead slepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne also had manie spirits attending vpon him in sundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is easie to conceive, with what vaine stuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of such writers as we haue too too manie, so among the said rable Geruase of Tilberie is not the least famous, a man as it were euery sold to vter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his De otio imperialis, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within sight & by south of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped some time, when they entered into this Iland) and of a spirit that would of custome in a moone shine night (if he were challenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turne in compleat armor with anie knight or gentleman whomsoever, in that place: and how one Osbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereoff, armed himselfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one esquier, and called for him, who foorthwith appeared in rich armour, and answerd his challenge, so that running together verie fiercelie, they met with such rigor, that the answerer was ouerthrown and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot so long, till Osbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leaving his horse behind him, which was of huge stature, blacke (as he saith) of colour, with his furniture of the same hue, and wherewith he seized, giving him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was nere date, during which space
he was scene of manie. But when the daie light began to show it selfe somewhat clearer, the beast stamped and notred, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran away, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane season Osbert being verie faint, and waxing weare (for he was sore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaswise assembled to know it) caused his leg-haraxes or steele bootes to be pulled off, which his freinds saw to be full of bloud spilled in the vjangge. But let who so list beleue it, sith it is either a fable denised, or some diuelish illusion, if anie such thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my dies, I purpose here to set downe no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit themselves by lieng.

In writing therefore of the woonders of England, I finde that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and woonders of the land.

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the hilles called the Peke, so violent and strong, that at certeine times if a man doo cast his cote or cloake into the cave from whence it issueth, it driueth the same backe againe, hoising it aloft into the open aire with great force and vhemenche. Of this also Giraldus speaketh.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certeine stones vpon the plaine of Salisburie, vhereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be woondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbered, but also for their greatnesse & strange mater of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which seemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banke, which Hengist and his Saxons provided for them, where they were also buried, and Vortigern their king apprehended and led awaie as captuie. I haue heard that the like are to be scene in Irelan; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth also, that these were brought from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can safelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnnder the ground, which some call Carcer Acoli, but in English Cheddarhole, vherein manie men have entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the passage is large and nothing noisome: so diverse that have adventured to go into the same, could never as yet find the end of that waie, neither see anie other thing than pretie risterets and streames, which they often crossed as they went from place to place. This Cheddarhole or Cheddar rocke is in Summerseshire, and thence the said waters run till they meet with the second Ax that riseth in Owkie hole.

The fourth is no lesse notable than anie of the other. For westward vpon certeine hilles a man shall see the clouds gather together in faire weather vnto a certeine thicknesse, and by and by to spread themselves abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the sudden. The causes of which dispersion, as they are vterlie vknnowne: so manie men conceiue great store of water to be in those hilles, & verie neere at hand, if it were needful to be sought for.

Besides these foure marvells, there is a little roacke Ile in Aber Barrie (a riveret that falleth into the Sauerne sea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or elft next the first shore; wherevnto if a man doo laie his care, he shall hear such noises as are commonlie made in smiths forgeis, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowes, and such like: whereof the superstitious sort doo gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lene god Vulcans pot. The river that runneth by Chester changeth hir channell euerie moneth: the cause whereof is yet I can not learne; neither dooth it swell by force of anie land-flowd, but by some vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moouable Iland, which is carried to and.
fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fishes in it, as eels, trouts, and perches: but herein resteth the wonder, that all those have but one die a piece onelie, and the same situate in the right-side of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed also by authors: There is a well in the forest of Gnaresborow, whereof the said forest doth take the name; which water, beside that it is cold as Stix, in a certain period of time knowne, conquetteth wood, flesh, leaues of trees, and mosses into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape. The like also is scene there in frogs, wormes, and such like liuing creatures as fall into the same, and find no ready issue. Of this spring also Leland writeth thus; A little above March (but at the further banke of Nide river as I came) I saw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, because the water thereof distilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continualie, which is so cold, and therefor of such nature, that what thing soever falleth out of those rocks into this pit, or groweth therefrom, or be cast into it by mans hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground issues out with this water from those hard rocks, which cleansing vnto those things, giveth them in time the forme of stones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monasterie sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie piece, and pitch it into the ground theraaboutes, or throw it into the water, within twelve moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of Alderdle, a mile from Kingswood, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame have lien there ever since the flood. In the clifts betweene the Blacke head and Trewardle baie in Cornwall, is a certeine cave, where things appeare like images guided, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I do not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongst our woonders. Maister Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocestershire, where certeine okes doo grow, whose roots are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will growe and take rooting beyond all expectation. Silvester towne also is said to conteyne fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corn-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein dooth come to verie good perfection till it be ready to be cut downe: but cuen then, or about that time it vanishteth away & becommeth altogether vnprofitable. Is it any woonder (thynke you) to tell of sundrie causes neere to Brownham, on the west side of the riuier Ainoe, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of household cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of maruels verie much by a rehearsall of other also. For we haue mane of the like, as one neere saint Assulph upon the banke of Elvie, and about the head of Vendrath Vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other elsewhere. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarman in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twenty seats heuen out of the hard rockes: but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here; yet were it well doone to have it removed, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reverencie. There is also a poole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mountains in Brecknokshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanerie, which hath such a proporitie, that it will breaed no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recoverie: but this peradventure may grow throug the accidental corruption of the water, rather than the natural force of the element it selfe. There is also a hill in Wales, which in the one side bareth trouts so red as samous, and in the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare
heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand vere néeere together, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one heareth sope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogether of contrarie qualities. Which is not a little to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one sole, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice given me moreover of a stone not farre from saint Dauides, which is verey great, as a bed, or such like thing; and being raised vp, a man may stirc it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonic Stratford, which converteth manie things into stone; and an other in Wales, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge tools that is quenched in the same. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meaning in the parish of Killen) which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Sennill in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twice in one daie; alwayes ebbing when the sea dooth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea dooth vse to ebb; whereof some doo fable, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinable spring called Schiniant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but vere softie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Piccardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also glie ouer to run at all in such times, whereof they conceive the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthwhile the rehearsal; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceived of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little pooles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the These banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the dunle Kettles, as if he should seeth souls of sinfull men and women in them. They add also, that the spirits haue oft beene heard to cry and yell about them, with other like talke sauring altogether of pagan infidelities. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cuthbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall upon a daughter of the house of the Commers, as Leland saith) of great learning and judgement, that the colo-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other virtuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so dooth leave a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cleere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadan deep. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the These, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes alias Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the fashion of the duckes of the bishoprike of Durham, was put into the same betwixt Darlington and These banke, and afterward scene at a bridge not farre from master Clercuax house. If it were woorth the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found verie often about Ha-lidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceived an opinion that they were fallen from heauen: whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oswald and his men in the battell wherein they prevailed sometimes against the British infidels, upon a superstitious imagination, that those crosses should be their defense and shield against their adversaries. Beda calleth the place where the said field was fought, Heaven field; it lieth not far from the Petiche wall, and the famous monasterie of Hagulsiad. But more of this elsewhere. Neither will I speak of the little hillets scene in manie places of our Ie, whereof though the vuskillfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing else but Tunufi or graues of former times, as appeareth by such tooms & carcasses as be daily found in the same, when they be digged downe.
downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not so well knowne by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, because it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horses feet as hit vpon it where it growth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouslie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compass of the parish where I dwell, and doo take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathio- lus and the herbarists doo write, albeit that it hath not beene my lucke at aile time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie superstitious things thereof, but especiallie our Chymists, who make it of farre more vertue than our smieths doo their ferne seeed, whereof they babble manie woonders, and prate of such effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth seeed, which is commonly Ad calendas Grecas, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbieshire called Tideswell (so named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whose water often seemeth to rise and fall, as the sea which is fortie miles from it dooth usuallie according to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is grown that it keepeth an ordinarie course as the sea dooth. Howbeit, sith diverse are knowne to haue watched the same, it may be that at sometimes it riseth, but not continually; and that it so dooth I am fullie persuaded to beleue. But evenough of the woonders of our countrie, least I doo seeme by talking longer of them, woonderouslie to overshoot my selfe, and forget how much dooth rest behind of the description of my countrie. As for those that are to be touched of Scotland, the description of that part shall in some part remember them.
OF THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT ESTATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

There are now two provinces one and in England, of which the first and greatest is subject to the see of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & also Ireland, which in time past were seuerall, & brought into one by the archbishop of the said see & assistance of the pope; who in respect of meed, did yeld into the ambitious desires of sundrie archbishops of Canturburie, as I haue elsewhere declared. The second province is under the see of Yorke, and of these; either hath hir archbishop resident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchic and jurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: so far fourth as their commissions and seuerall circuits doo extend.

In old time there were three archbishops, and so manie provinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlheon vpon Uske. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Augustine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithstanding
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withstanding that the greatest part of his jurisdiction is now bequeath to the Scottish archbishop) so that Caerleon is vterlie extinguisht, and the government of the country united to that of Canturbury in spiritual cases: after it was once before removed to S. Davids in Wales by David successor to Dubrius, and vnele to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clergies might be further off from the cruelty of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Bastard, and for a season after, before it was annexed unto the see of Canturbury.

The archbishop of Canturbury is commonlie called priuate of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to set it upon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continualie, although not a few of them have presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subjection vnto them. That this true, it may casilie appere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers written in print; wherein they have sought not onely to match but also to match them with great rigor and more than open tyranny. Our aduersaries will peraduenture denye this absolute, as they doe manie other things apparent, though not without shamelesse impudence, or at the leastwise defend it as last and not swarving from common equitie; because they imagine equitie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the saieing of Peter, & examples of the primitue church, it may casilie appere. Some examples also of their demeanor (I meanie in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should sale I speake of malice, and without all ground of likehhood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstane the author of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for so much as the dealing of Robert the Norman against earle Goodwine is a rare historie, and deserved to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene delievered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) have so defaced earle Goodwine, that were it not for the testimonic of one or two more Englishmen living in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to bire circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie mens into such favor with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clerkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Herypon therefore one Robert, a iolle ambitious præest, gaue first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Eadsius, to be archbishop of Canturbury by the gift of king Edward; leaung his former see to William his countriane. Ulfo also a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke convenient.

These Norman clerkes, and their frends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the morre, as they daily saw themselves to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diverse of them to be of his secret counsell, which did not a little incense the hearts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betweene the seruants of earle Goodwine and the French, whose maisters came over to see and salute the king: whereof I have spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleercie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part sought for opportunitie of revenge, which yer long tooke hold betwene them. For the said Robert, being called to be archbishop of Canturbury, was no sooner in possession of his see, than he began to quarrell with earle Goodwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who also was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and so the mischief began. Hereupon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruelie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into
into the land with five and twenty sail, upon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arrived with them giving out how they came to recover their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & thereunto the vnskillfull young gentlemen, shewing themselves to like of the rumour that was spread in this behawfe, the report of their demeanour was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie forthwith of Danes priuile to take wait for them, as they rode toward Giford, where Alfred was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficulite escaped to his ships, and to returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothe out with his craftie vterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frendes, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and thereunto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Goodwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland surnamed Digara or Foris, Leofrije earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Goodwine, iuendeavouring to persuade him vnto the reuocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saieing plainelie, and swearinge by saint John the euangelist (for that was his common oath) that earle Goodwine should not have his peace till he restored his brother Alfred aline againe vnto his presence. With which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Goodwine toward the coast.

Comming also vnto the shore and readie to take shipping, he kneeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to sailie vnto Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there prayed openlie before them all, that if ever he attempted anie thing against the kings person of England, or his reiall estate, that he might never come safe vnto his cousine, nor see his countrey any more, but perish in this voyage. And herewith he went aboard the ship that was provided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his frendes to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countrey: which yet more incensed the harts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his frendes, among whom the emperor was one, to write vnto the king in his behawfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obtained from him, of which the Normans had no liking, whereupon the earle and his sonses changed their minds, obtained aid, and invaded the land in sundry places. Finallie joining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke neere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to encounter with them in the field. The king seeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Goodwine was the cause of the whole countrey, which he had in maner given ouer vnto the spoile of the French; and therupon they not onelie vittelld them abundandlie, but also received the earle and his chiefe frendes into the cite, where they lodged them at their case, till the kings power was readie to joine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the countrey, so that the earles armie was woonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flé to the earles, other to laie doone their weapons, and not a few to run a waie out right; the rest telling him plainlie that they would neuer fight against their owne countrienmen, to maintaine France men quarrells. The Normans also seeing the sequele, fled a waie so fast as they might gallop, leaving the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilste they did saue themselves elsewhere.

In
In the mean season the earles power would have set upon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he stayed them, sayling after this manner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subject with his soueraigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this injurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdom, I will doe him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battell ax he ran to the king, that stood altogether amazed, and falling at his feet he crased his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblie of his pereces; and finallie determined as truth and equitie should deserve.

The king (after he had paused a pretie while) seeing his old father in law to lie grousling at his feet, and conceiving with himselfe that his suete was not vnreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and freendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpone the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and summoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read how many billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some containing matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherewith the king (as a man now awaked out of sleepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, oneie three or foure excepted, whom he retaine for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came never more so neere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this also the earle lied almost two yeares, and then falling into an appoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first broyle raised by the clergie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intertall of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelates of this see, against their lords and souereignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this land.

Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also making a shew, as if he had bin verie vnwillinge to be placed in the see of Canturburie, gave this answer to the letters of such his frends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. "Secularia negotia necio, quia seire nolo, corum niamque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendumque est ne aratum sancte ecclesie, quod in Anglia duo bous validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeatn triahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, distorquenter a recto. Egoouisvetula, qui si qüietus essent, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lance, aliquidus possum fortasiss non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro communiquet, videbitis pro disparsitate trahentium, aratum non recte procedere, &c." Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I have no skill, because I will not know them, for I even abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to have his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indenoe to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equal law, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swarms from the right forrow, by matching of an old sleepe with a wild vn-tempered bull. I am that old sleepe, who if I might be quiet, could paradinenture shew my selfe not altogether vragantfull to some, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and conforming them with woolpe; but if you match me with this bull, you shall see that through want of equaling in draught the plough will not goe to right, &c: as foloweth in the procresse of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort have protestted, that they ought nothing
nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onlie, reserving all obedience vnto the see of Rome.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, so the yong cockerells of other sees did imitate his demeanour, as may be scene by this one example also in king Stephens time, worthie to be remembered; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as swear to be true subiect: wherein also he was mainteyned by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.


Thus we see, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subiects than stood also with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto queene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calle (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

"Solomone attestante, didicimus quod mulier sapiens xditat domum; insiapiens autem constructam destruct manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deutorionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam iuc quod religiosos relatione accepimus, timorem Dei pra oculis habens, operibus piétatis intédis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoros. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitate tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemur, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis init iis exitius meliores inungas, & venerabilis fratre nostro Roberto London episcopo, pro illius reuerentia, qui cum olim duas sesse, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attenditis diligis & honoros. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insinuam regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cosilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensitus habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate testa) attendimus eum sine salute, & suæ ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vo his sufficiet, veraci & simplici verbo promissione ab eo suscipere, quod liesionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suae nò inferat. Dat. vt supra."

"Is it not strange, that a precisious order of religion (denised by man) should breake the express law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whom some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And even vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couerthe incouraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to give over his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which wise to keep it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to swear obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie."

"Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesie canonici spirittu consili in Domino. Sicut ratione contraria prorsus est abjiciendi petido, in his, que justè desideramur, effectum negare omnino non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quod Londinensis ecclesi, de proprio destituta pastore, communem voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabiliem filium
filium nostrum Robertum, eisdem ecclesiis archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum an-
marum suaram suscepserit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia
desuper ei attributa, & honestas conversationis, & morum reuerentiam primum commendabi-
lem reddidit. Inde est quod fraternitati vestrae mandando consiliumus, ut proposito vestro
bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papae cognosceatis, non tepidè,
non lentè debitum suaem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huissmodi, spirit-
tuallium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius namque industria credit-
mus, quod antiqua religio, & forma disciplinae, & grauiitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra repara-
ri: & si que fuerint ipsius contentiones, eorum absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, &
codem praesente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c."

Hereby you see how king Stéphan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Can-
turburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a
dooer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogative of holy
church. And even no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with John of Arundell,
who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and
contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters
yet extant) & beginning thus; "Thomas proditionis non exprs nostrse regie maiestati insidiis
fabricaut," the pope understood the bottom of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should
be deprived, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride stale at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the
rake-helles of the clerge and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the inuiure received of
their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cisterians at Lincolne in the second
of his reigne? Certes, when he had (upon lust occasion) conceived some grudge against
them for their ambitious demeanor; and upon deniall to pay such summes of moneie as
were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horses, swine, neate,
and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forrests. They denounced him as fast
amongst themselves with bell, booke and candle, to be accused and excommunicated.
Therevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine
to yeeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betwenee
them at Lincolne, by means of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betwenee
him and the Cisterian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end,
the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapter house,
and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them,
and heartily requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in
their praiers vnto the protection of the almighty, and receive him into their fraternitie:
promising moreover full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of
their order in whatsoever place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he
confirmed by charter, bearing date the seaven and twentith of Noouembar, after the Scottish
king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the
like, as betwene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c.) a man may easilie conceive
how proud the clerge-men haue beene in former times, as whole presuming vpon the
primassi of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to
be found among our common historiographers: howbeit rescuing the same vnto places more
conuenient, I will cease to speake of them at this time, and goe forward with such other
things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall au-
thorite in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obtained the pre-
rogative aboue Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed &
contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuerthelesse written primate of England, as one
contenting himselfe with a piece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And
as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke dooth the-like to the quene,
whose perpetual chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, since the determination of
this controversie, as writers doo report. The first also hath vnder his jurisdiction to the
number
number of one and twentieth inferior bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatness and circuit of the jurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seaven and twentieth sees have their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) doe bare the cheefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so neere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches have in like manner other dignities and canoniies still remaining vnto them, as heretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and vnprofitable persons (as in times past they have bene when most of these livings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, whereunto they were called by virtue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and doe learnedlie set forth the glorie of God, and further the overthrow of antichrist to the uttermost of their powers.

These churches are called cathedrall, because the bishops dwell or lie neere vnto the same, as bound to keepe continual residence within their jurisdictions, for the better oversight and governance of the same: the word being derived a cathedra, that is to saye a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie jurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praise, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by anie of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproche to appeare empyrie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came daily vnto them, to heare the word and receive the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then finallie parish churches were builded in euerie jurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to have their original, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archiprestes; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, both to trauell farre, and willing to have some case by building them neere hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the clergie in old time of the same deanie were appointed to repair the sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole jurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be seene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repairie of the fauithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praiere, whereunto they were first erected. Moreover in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundays and festiwal daies, the canons doe make ceretne ordinarie sermons by course, whereunto great numbers of all estates doe orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the weeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his stead, dooth read and expound some ppeace of holy scripture, whereunto the people doe verie reuerentlie repairie. The bishops themselves in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and counsell, which is one (and a no small) ppeace of their felicite (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as ye appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, Epistola 44. Petri Blesensis, where he saith; Because the clergie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, "Supra dorsum ecclesiae fabricant peccatores, &c:" they so apply their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doe not euerie sundaie or ofienr resort to some place or other, within their jurisdictions, where they expound the scriptures with much gravitie and skill; and yet not without the great misliking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one see to another I will see nothing; which is not now doone for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie favoured, and advantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one see to another;
Another; & left undecided, till prescription by royal authority made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

They have under them also their archdeacons, some one, diverse two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are helden within so manie or more of their severall deaneries by themselves or their officials once in a moneth at the least,) doe kepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop dooth in erie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a little for that ceremone) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behaviour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resoring to their parish churches and conformarie unto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the purses (where permutation of penance is thought more greeneous to the offender) as are presented unto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocese, or his chancellor, or else to sundrie grave persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed unto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous manner doe see the offenders gently reformed, or else seuerelie punished, if necessarie so inforce.

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we have an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected oneleie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holic scriptures. Howbeit, such is the threstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also have as it were with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers oneleie) to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same. Herein also (for the most part) two of the younger sort of ministers doe expound eeh after other some piece of the scriptures ordinarie appointed unto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the evangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assembly to choose at the first in erie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betwene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorised, & of a sound judgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a brieve rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, whereby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable meeting. When all is done, if the first speakers have shewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and incouraged to go forward. If they have beene found to be slacke, or not sound in deliverie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to judge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place.

The laithe never speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselves with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is used in some places weekely, in other once in foureene daies, in diverse monethlie, and elsewhere twice in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre unto all the ministers, thereby to applie their booke, which otherwise (as in times past) would guie themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithful distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as saith the author of all mischeefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp adversaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commodity that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as speakers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at
words and terms, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peraduenture taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses doo occupie the roomes, haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made upon surprises into other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and daile breeders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be judge, vnto whom the cause belongeth.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferior orders, sometime use in popish church we have not) are made according to a certeine forme of consecration concluded upon in the time of King Edward the sixt, by the cleargie of England, and soone after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hirarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto ane spirituall promotion, doo yeld vnto the prince the entire taxe of that their living for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this under the name and title of first fruits.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two livings, not distant either from other above thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to passe, that as his majestie dooth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vnitie of two in one man dooth bring oftimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I mean for doctrine) than they have had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame against such faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than livings to maintaine them. In deed when a living is void, there are so manie suitors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staid men in controversie, judgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardly finde one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuerthelesse, I doe not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogether grounded vpon rumours or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our universities are neuer able to performe. For if you observe what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford doo yearelie send forth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall soone see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or five of the tittle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed.

And to salie truth, one most commonlie of these small livings is of so little value, that it is not able to maintaine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelve, sixtene, seuentene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) doo go out of the same. I salie more than before, because euerie small tribe, noble mans request, or courtesie craved by the bishop, dooth impose and command a twentieth part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our livings, which hitherto hath not beene usuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer sort considered of, which now are equallie burdened.

We paie also the tenths of our livings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath beene latelie made: which nevertheless in time past were not anuual but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though done of late yeares, to wit 1432, at which time the cleargie seeing the continuall losses that the king of England sustained in France, upon some motion of relcfe made, granted in an open convocation to give him two tenths toward the recouerie of Bur-
deaux, which his grace verie thankefullie received. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had done, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse speed, where, in a solemnne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spiritual father the pope, and mother the see of Rome, than they had shewed themselves vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their souereigne lord in temporall jurisdiction, &c. In deliueringe also the cause of his sute, he shewed how grcevouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthrote, varlets, and harlots, which doe now so abound in Rome, that his holinessse is in dailie danger to be made auaie amongst them. To be short when this fine tale was told, one of the companye stood vp and said vnto him; My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke, it deserueth little consideration and lesse care, for how would you haue vs to contribue to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are doo continually vphold, it is not un-known in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth just reformation of manie things in that cite, which would have bene made sooner, but now it is too late: nevertheless I beseech you to write vnto his holinessse, with request that he would leave and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sike of mischiefe, and keepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whom you are most bound, he be encouraged therto. Manie other words passed to and fro amongst them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was dismissed without ane penie obtained. But to returne to our tenths, a paiment first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, wherevnto we may iome also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commodifie of our luying, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes coers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt also of these two paiments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, doe not make his dutifull repairie by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the paiment of his said fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penalitie, limited by a certaine statute prouided in that behalfe, against such as doe intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, and refuse to pare the accustomed duties with the temporallie, but in such sort, that if these paim after foure shillings for land, the clergie contribute commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twenti pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himself well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being discharged he may reserve thricetane pounds six shillings eight pence towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldomie also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiment, a thing not often scene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldomie without the limit of a subsidie. Herein also they somewhat find themselves grieved, that the lattie may at erie taxation helpe themselves, and so they doe through consideration had of their decarie and hinderance, and yet their impoverishment cannot but touch also the parson or vicar, vnto whom such libertie is denied, as is dailie to be scene in their accompts and tinings.

Some of them also, after the mariaiges of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by friendship get themselves quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the injurie offered by some of our neighbors of the lattie, which dailie endeavor to bring vs also within the compasse of their tenuish or taxes for their owne case, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champaigne than woodland soilie, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden easie enough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the clergie, whose tenths and subsidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troublesome vnto their aforesaid paiments. Sometimes also we are threatned with a Melius inquirendum, as if our livings were not racked high enough alreadie. But if a man should secke out where all those
of these church lands were, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made vp, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of his expectation and right. We are also charged with armor & munitions from thirie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diverse other charges imposed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our case growth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporall services) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I seee not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the ass whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their severall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon receiued at his synods, &c: remaine still as if they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commounlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the clerge doo vsuallie paiue double fees, as vnto the archbishop. Hereby then, and by those alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no lesse commodious to the princes cofferes than the state of the laitie, if it doe not farre exceed the same, since their paiments are certeine, continuall, and seldom abated, howsoever they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, sute, and slanderous speeches of the paire, or haue their litings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the vtermost farding, or shrewdfie cancelled by the couteoussenesse of the patrones, of whome some doo bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cooks, good archers, falconers, and horsekeepers, in sted of other recompense, for their long and faithfull service, which they implore afterward vnto their most advantage.

Cersets here they resemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so doo they their parasites, pages, chamberlins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exchange of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times past bishopricks went almost after the same maner vnder the late princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clereke vnto a se, was sure to have a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes cofferes, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Here of one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my younger daies, whilsts queene Marie bare the swaine and gourned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the see of Winchester was void for a season, during which time cardinall Poole made seizure vpon the revenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie therevnto Sede vacante, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the bishop of Lincolne called White tooke such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to keepe that see from ruine. He wrote also to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be prefered thereunto, promising so as he might be Compos voti, to pace to the popes cofferes 1600 pounds yeerlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simonical practise verie grieciouslie, considering the dangerousnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which hoong as yet in balance readie to yeeld anie waie, sauing forthright, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the poore bishop, that he was driven vnto another issue, I mean to recover the popes good will, with a further summe than stood with his ease to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleecce, a new devise was found, and meanses made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obtained, but in such wise as that the pope and his nearest friends did lose but a little by it. I could if need were set downe a report of diverse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in steed of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vigodlinesse, or to scatter more vngratings seed in lowd ground alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as feend the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words,
words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I have said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme have greatly infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ever once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And hereunto if the curate be adjudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficiently instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithal able to teach, he permitted to make some exposition or exposition in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and universities have become so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to have one: there are (beside fourse sermons appointed by publicke order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (devised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the dniuens, and publicke authority of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curates of meane understanding (which homilies doe comprehend the principal parts of christian doctrine, as of originall shine, of justification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbath daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we have two lessons, whereof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new. And of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after noone out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we have the letanie and suffrages, an invocation in mine opinion not devised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsieke persons vterlie condenne it as superstittious and sauring of confusion and sorceries.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receive the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene creed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabbath daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after noone likewise we mett againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we have commonlie a sermon, or at the lastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus doo we spend the sabbath daie in good and godlie exercises, all daone in our vulgar toong, that each one present may hearre and understand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiati churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onely are sung by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, seeing that in the administration of the communion the quier singet the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may understand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonic consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skillfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar toong, hath not a little offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by divers princes, but never generallie obtained, for scarce least the consenting therunto might breed the utterthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: nevertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed magure his resistance. Vratilas duke of Bohemia, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdom, but not daring to better so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and received his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

"Gregorius septimus Vratilas Bohemorum duci, &c. Cuius nobilitas tua postulat, quod secundum Scholastici Enigma apud vos diuimum celebrati annuencium officium, in eam nos tuas petitiones tuas nequaquam posse fuere, ex hoc nempe se voluntibus legis, non immiseris sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quisquam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pararet, fortis vileseret, & subiaceret despectui, aut praee intellecta a mediocribus in errorem
I would set down two or three more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselves, belles, and times of morning and euening prayer, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, roodlofts, and monuments of idolatrye are remoued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreme charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogether abolisht in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to deceale, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was woon to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all; and to saie the truth altogether needlesse, sith the minister saith his service commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doo not onelie learne diverse of the psalmes and usuall prayers by heart, but also such as can read, doo praiie together with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the living God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and fervent manner. Our holy and festiuall dailies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftene, called festiuall, and thirtie Profesi, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seaven and twenty: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathennish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holy daies that follow upon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vttlerie remoued from the calendars, as neither necessary nor commendable in a reformed church.

The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is common, & in truth, more decent than ever it was in the popish church: before the vniversities bound their graduates vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also euen by the blind sir Johns. For if you peruse well my chronologic insuing, you shall find, that they went either in diverse colors like players, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their shoes piked, their hair crisped, their girdles armed with silver; their shoes, spurrers, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall; their apparell (for the most part) of silke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butted with gold: so that to meet a priest in those daies, was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taille when he danseth before the henene: which now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitalitie, there was never anie greater use in England, sith by reason that mariage is permitted to him that will choose that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dressed; their furniture of household more convenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore often fed generallie than heretofore they have beene, when onlie a few bishops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses for the intertainment of the rich, which did often see and visit them. It is thought much peradventure, that some bishops, &c: in our time doe come short of the ancient gluttonie and prodigallitie of their predecessors: but to such as doe consider of the curtailing of their livings, or excessive prices wherunto things are grown, and how their course is limited by law, and estate looked into on every side, the cause of their so doing is well enouguh perceived. This also offendeth manie, that they should alter their deaths

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leave their substances to their wifes and children: whereas they consider not, that in old-time such as had no lemans nor bastards (verie few were there God wot of this sort) did leave their goods and possessions to their brethren and kinsfolks, whereby (as I can shew by good record) manie houses of gentilite haue growen and bene erected. If in anie age some one of them did found a college, almshouse, or schoole, if you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer deeds of charitie doone, nor better grounded vpon the right stub of piccie than before. If you saie that their wifes be fonde, after the decease of their husbands, and bestow themselves not so aduisedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth these curious surriuors make small accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehension: I beseech you then to looke into all states of the laithie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses, barons, or knights wifes, doe not fullie so often offend in the like as they: for Eue will be Eue though Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wifes were causes of our wo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue bene performed of late in Essex, where a minister taking a benefice (of lesse than twenty pounds in the Quenes booke so farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and sixtie yeerelie of barlie, which he called hawkes meate; and another left the like in barne to his patrone for ten pounds by the yeere, which is full worth fortie at the least, the cause of our thred-bare gowynes would easilie appeare, for such patrons doe scrape the wooll from our clokes. Wherfore I may well saie, that such a thred-bare minister is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when such cooke & cobling shifteres shall be remoued and weeded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our patrones will prooue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or else the single minded bishops shall see the liuing bestowed vpon such as doo deserve it. When the Pragmatik Sanctio tooke place first in France, it was supposed that these enormities should vterlie haue ceased: but when the elections of bishops came once into the hands of the canons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worse. For they also within a while waxing couteous, by their owne experience learned aforesaid, raised the markets, and sought after new gains by the gifts of the greatest liuings in that coutrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eightieene archbishopprikes, one hundred fortie and sixe bishopprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuersities, 1000700 stéeples (if his report be sound.) Some are of the opinion, that if sufficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from the vniuersities, this mishiefe would soone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I consider wherevnto the gifts of felowships in some places are growen: the profit that ariseth at sundrie elections of scholars out of grammar schooles, to the posers, schoolemasters, and preferrers of them to our vniuersities, the gifts of a great number of almshouses builded for the maimed and impotent souldiors, by princes and good men heretoffore mooted with a pittifull consideration of the poore distressed: how rewards, pensions, and annuities also doe reign in other cases, whereby the giuer is brought somtimes into extreme miscarie, & that not so much as the roome of a common souldior is not obtained oftentimes, without a What will you give me? I am brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this desie, that I dare pronounce (almost for certeine) that if Homer were now alie, it should be said to him:

"Tûque licèt venias musis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil atuleris ibis Homere foras."

More I could saie, and more I would saie of these and other things, were it not that in mine owne judgement I have saied enough alreadie for the advertisement of such as be wise. Neuerthelessse, before I finish this chapter, I will adde a word or two (so brieflie as I can) of the old estate of cathedrall churches, which I have collected togethre here and there among the writers, and whereby it shall easilie be seen what they were, and how neere the gouernement of ours doe in these daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconcilable odds betweene
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betweene them and those of the papists, I hope there is no learned man indeed, but will acknowledge ye could ynto it.

We find therefore in the time of the primitie church, that there was in euerie see or jurisdiction one schoole at the least, whereunto such as were catechistes in christian religion did resort. And hercife as we may find great testimonie for Alexandriae, Antioch, Rome, and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left of the like in the inferior sort, if the names of such as taught in them be called to mind, & the histories well read which make report of the same. These schooles were under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and from thence did they & the rest of the elders choose out such as were the ripest scholars, and willing to serve in the ministerie, whom they placed also in their cathedral churches, there not onlie to be further instructed in the knowledge of the word, but also to invre them to the deliverie of the same ynto the people in sound maner, to minister the sacraments, to visit the sickie and brethren imprisoned, and to performe such other duties as then belonged to their charges. The bishop himselfe and elders of the church were also hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in processe of time found meet workmen for the lords harvest, they were forthwith sent abrode (after imposition of hands, and praiie generallie made for their good proceeding) to some place or other then destitute of his pastor, and other taken from the schoole also placed in their rooms. What number of such clerks belonged now and then to some one sees, the chronologie following shall easlie declare: and in like sort what officers, widowe, and other persons were dailie maintaine in those seasons by the offerings and oblation of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the dailie and ablationse scene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which avarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedral churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of governement might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be done with easie, sith the schooles are alreadie built in euerie diocese, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedral churches great enough to receive so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie scene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenence by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits choose rather to employ their studies vnto physike and the lawes, vterlie giving ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare least they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this means also the stalles in their queeres would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indeed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiastical function, and then other men chosen to succeed them in their rooms, whereas now prebends are but superfluous additantments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leisure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuertheless, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our severall sees, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.
OF THE NUMBER OF BISHOPPIES AND THEIR SEVERAL CIRCUITS.

CHAPTER II.

Having already spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the several provincial, sitting so much of each of them as shall be convenient for the time, and not one of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine own experience, beginning first with the see of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primat of all this land for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and most accounted of common use, because he is nearer to the prince, and readie at use call.

The jurisdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected first by Augustine the monk, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you have respect to his provincial regiment, extendeth it selfe over all the south and west parts of this land, and Ireland, as I have noted in the chapter precedent, and few shires there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiar. But if you regard the same onelie that was and is proper unto his see, from the beginning, it reacheth but over one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the jurisdiction of Rochester including the rest: so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprie and the least bishopricke of all are linked in togeth. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, which hath jurisdiction vnder deaneries or a hundred sixtie one parish churches; & in the popish time in sted of the 3093 pounds, eighteene shillings, hallespence, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maiorie, vnder the name of first frutes, there went out of this see to Rome, at enterie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beside 5000 that the new elect did usuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an English crowne or thereabout, as I have beene informed.

The see of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Augustin in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Cezirige over the west-Saxons. The bishop of this see hath one archdeacon, vnder whose government in causes ecclesiastical are three deaneries, or 132 parish churches: so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 parish churches in Kent, vnder which the said two archdeacones have especiall care & charge. He was woont to paie also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see 1300 ducates or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smallnesse of circuit belonging to his see. Howbeit, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reserve them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three shillings, six pence, hallespenne, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more precise made than ane bishop of that see dooth take any great delight in. He was crosse-bearer in times past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. And there are and haue beene few sees in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in deed, so it is commonlie a preparative to an higher place. But of all that euer possessed it, Thomas Kempke had the best lucke, who being but a poore mans sonne of Wyl (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew first to be doctor of both l avere, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this see, he was translated from thence to Chichester, thirldlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after seaven and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became also cardinal, deacon, and then preest in the court of Rome, according to this verse, "Bis primas, ter preses, bis cardine function." Certes I note this man, because he bare some favour to the furtherance of the gospel, and to that end he either builded or repaired the pulpit in Paulus churchyard, and tooke order for the continual maintenance of a sermon there upon the sabbath, which dooth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as have no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.

The see of London was erected at the first by Lucius, who made it of an archdeaconie and temple.
temple of Jupiter an archbishops see, and temple vnto the living God, and so it continued, vntil Augustine translated the title thereof to Canturbrie. The names of the archbishops of London are these; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus restitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Fastidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus slaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Junior. But for their just order of succession as yet I am not resoluted, nethertheless the first bishop there was ordained by Augustine the moonke, in the yeare of Christ 694, in the time of Cœlrije, after he had remoued his see further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what secret occasion, if not the spécie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For jurisdiction it included Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was vntied to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this see, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Imber as I find, whilst he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his gournement. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repaired and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and whole reedified by Mawrice bishop of that see, and sometimes chapleine to the bastard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stuffe from Bainards castell née vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the moold of the quire was not statelye inough in the eies of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diverse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the wallies, to the end their memories should be of longer contiuenue. The jurisdiction of this see also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacones, to wit, of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 365 parish churches, or thercabouts, beside the peculiars belonging to the archepiscopal and chapter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 2000 florins) which divers suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the bishop hath fute eies), I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the see of Lincolne, and therefore worthlie called an exempt, it hath also fute and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

The first beginning of the see of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolseie, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the bastard, and generall remouing of sees from small villages vnto the greater towne. It conteineneth Sussex: onelie vnder hir jurisdiction, wherein are sixeene deanries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the see of Rome 332 ducats: and after Ethelbert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whom the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yeere as now it is) was void by many yeres. It was erected in Seolseie also 711, by the deere of a synod holden in Sussex, which bowed it from the jurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that have bee in this see, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of ane one that hath bee of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merton college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that lived in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomic resercued in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Score or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester.

The bishop of Winchester was sometime called bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which towne was gien to Birinus and his successors, by Kinggils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellows. In my time it hath jurisdiction onelie over Hantsire, Surie, lardeseie, Gardeseie, and the Wight, containing eight
eight deaneries, two hundred seventeen and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetual prelate to the honorable order of the Carter, devised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducats or florins, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence half pence. Canturburie was said to be the higher racke, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better maner. There are also which make Lucius to be the first founder of an house of prayer in Winchester, as Kinigils did build the second, and Kinwaldus his sonne the third; but you shall see the truth herof in the chronologic inuing. And hereunto if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriours, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimoongers, and politike counsellors in temporal affaires to hate, I note not by what secret working of the diuine providence, borne plaied here in Winchester, since the foundation of that see, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italic) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kingjis, then translated to Wincheste, where it doeth yet continue.

Salisbury was made the cheife see of Shirburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire under his jurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that one of Hamsire and Surrie were left unto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Barke, Summerse, Devon & Cornwell assigned unto Shirburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishoprike (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the said diision. And as manie lerned bishops did succeed him in that roome, before and after it was remooed to Sarum; so there was never a more noble ornament to that see than bishop Luell, of whose great learning and judgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called Ordinline ecclesiastici officij, which old preestes were wont to vse. The bishops also of this see were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house necer unto Reading (as it should seeme) and among those that liued before the said Luell, one Roger builded the castell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seuen port cullises. Finallie this see paid vnto Rome 4000 florins, but vnto hir maistie in my time 1367 pounds twelve shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excaster hath, Deuonsire and Cornwell, sometime two seuerall bishopricks, but in the end brought into one of Cornwell, and from thence to Excaster in the time of the Bastard or soone after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratiae 903, in a provinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbishop of Canturbirie, among the Gewisese, wherein it was found, that the see of Wincaster had not onelie beene without hir pastor by the space of seven yeeres, but also that hir jurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into five parts; the latter thre being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwell: this of Cornwell hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the river Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his jurisdiction in Deuonsire, Kirton, or Cridioc. And the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwell being united, the valuation thereof was taxed by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or florins, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I ges.) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vtermost, I find that it is little worth aboue five hundred pounds by the yeere, because hir tenths are but fittie.

Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before Iohn the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summerssete onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was four hundred & thirtie florins: but in hir maisties books I find it five hundred
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hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edward of the west Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had bene seuen yeeres without anie pastorall cure. And therefore in this councell it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shirleyburne) there should be fine ordened, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this means Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Etheline at Shirleyburne, both of them being then void. Shirleyburne also sustained the subdudition; so that Wersane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Endulle of Welles, vnto whom Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present jurisdictions.

Worcester sometime called Episcopatus Wicciorum (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwickshires. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the said, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at erie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seuen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doo deceive me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whom succeeded Ostfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there got a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificallie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and ther lieth buried in the same (as I have bene informed.) Ceret this man was once elected, and should have bene archbishop of Canturburie in the roome of Reginald that died 1513 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would have shewed himself more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcesther then being. And furthermore, least he should shewe onelie to rectet the said Thomas and displesse the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, Martij 31, being thursdaie (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long pless holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did ofteest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that five Italians succeeded ech other in the same, by the popes provision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nepheue (for nepheues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thie nepheue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nuguutis, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into favor with the pope, then into faimiliaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best livings of the church, farther off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Glocester hath Glocesthire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 204 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, because it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolisshed the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it woorth yeerelie 315 pounds, seuen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation
tion 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paimeth unto his majesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfpence, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Bruton, upon whom the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A woonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnic remembred, than anie good sermon that ever he made, which function peraduendure he committed to his suffragane, Sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield, wherevnto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwike shire, that is void of subjection to the see of Worcester shire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which lye on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succeeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not liking of this president, remoued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilst he lived, whereby the original division of the bishoprie of Lichfield into Lichfield, Chester, and Couentrie, dooth casilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Chester remaineth a bishoprie by it selfe. It paid the pope at cuerie alienation 1739 florina, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a just punishment, as one saith, Sith that anno 765, Edulfe bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see lye here and there abroad in the cite, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and paung the streets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would never make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King Iohn was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, Quasi mortuorum campus, because of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioele- sian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, five shillings two pence, halfpenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which tooke it first in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfortfhire onelie, a verie young jurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of queene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Jesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conversant (as the constant fame went) in the blacce art, than skillfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane,monarchs. It is said that observing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalties of that see: but I have heard since that he wist well enough what became of those commodities, for by one meane and other he found the sweetness of 354 pounds six- teene shillings three pence halfpene, yearelie growing to him, which was even enough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skillfull, as the same then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

Elle hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and weathie abbeie. One Henrie also was made bishop there, as I have found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finally it paid to the pope at cuerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testifie at large,
large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixteene shillings three pence halfe pence farthing, whose disme joined to those of all the bishoprikes in England, doo yeeld yearelie to his majesties coffers 23370 pounds sixteene shillings three pence halfe pence farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome dooth in some measure appeare. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon the ruins of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroyed by enemies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular preists, and stored with moonkes prouided from Abandune nere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstone then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a greeneious contenction betwecene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so parcellie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chaplaine, a man unlearned and not wortlie the name of a clarke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope understanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, stayed his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourable with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holiness, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference vterlie disableth his election, till he had prooned by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that Ex mera plenitude potestasis, he was made capable of the beneficie and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had doone he wist not what in preferring so vnmaet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speach the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to avoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, dooth presente picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obteined against hir by piee and course of law: yer long also afores headed in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelve men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherefore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheless, being sore grieved, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne chosse: he taketh his horsse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great injurie received at hir hands. But in the delierie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdeemancor toward his person by his rude and threatening speachies. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings objections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by wittes : wherevpon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was doone, she beginmeth a new to be dealing with him: and in a bratling fraie betweene their servauntes one of hir men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his mooables, and committeth the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being
found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespas e. To be short, vpon safe-conduct the bishop committh to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his pères. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and priviileges of the church, hoping by such meane to be solamne rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gave ouer to use ane such meane; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercy, which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he wrieth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater justice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeared not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and doong-hilles, "Vnde timor & turba (saith my note) in Anglia." For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and whatsoever instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduentur'd contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembrd of some joint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in vere venement manner to the king of England, threatnmg far greater cursses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amenys for all his losses sustene in these broyles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheless, in the end he wrieth to Rome about a reconciillation to be had betwene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in efffect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington dooth deliver it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliver it.

The see of Norwich called in old time Episcopatus Donnicensis, Dononice, or Eastanglorum, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime scholemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuasion also the said Sigebert erected the universitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remooned from thence to Donwiche, & thence to Helmham, Anno 870, about the death of Celhothus of Canturburie; thridlle, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For jurisdiction it containeth in our daies Norfolk and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the cast-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honourius also confirm'd, and after which he held it by the space of seauenteene yeeres. It paid sometymes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir majestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I have been informed. In the same jurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one converted into a barne, whilest the people heare service further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I understond that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuertheless a little chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repair thither as they ought.

Peterborow, sometimes a notable monastrie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires vnder hir jurisdiction, a diocesse erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then delivered) whereof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors
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Collectors left it not ungathered, I wot not for what purpose: it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one pence abated: I haue scene and had an ancient inuiron the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Siguer king of Sussex, Sebbie of Essex, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Etelred brother to Wulfhere,
Kindburg and Kindswith sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ithamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Jaronman bishop of Meare,
Wilfride and Loppa prcests,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fuye and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinesheued, Lusgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath bene used to the hinderance of the gospell, and maintenance of idle mooneks, an humane invention grounded upon hypocriste.

Bristow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisbury, a see also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sees of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deducted, upon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is thre hundred four score and thre pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue bene informed.)

Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken these of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it still refetheth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Belford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thame unto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope five thousand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of his diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tri-bute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seven pence farding. It began since the conquest, about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigias, who remoued his see from Dorchester to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the bishopricks which lie within Lloegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proced with Wales.

Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it payd seuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prlat; yet is it scarcele worth one hundred fiftie and fewe pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the seede time and the free planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawn.

S. Dauidis hath Penbrooke and Caermardine shires, whose euerie or first fruits to the see of Rome was one thousand and fuye hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paich vnto hir maisties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop mis-
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liketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he woule gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what surnamè he would put in to see it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarouon, Anglesey, and Merioneth shires vnder hir jurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishopries in England it is now the least for revenues, and not worthe above one hundred and one and thirriche pounds, and sixeene pence to hir maisties coffers at euerie alienation (as appeareth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeeldeth not ycérelic above thirteene pounds, three shillings, and seaven pence halfe pence, as by that court is manifest.

S. Asaphes hath Preistholme and part of Denbigh and Flintshires vnder hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastically, which being laid togethor doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, nevertheless it paid to Rome 470 ducats at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence; whereby it Salemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compass of this jurisdiction, who is bound to give an harpe of siluer yarclie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thynke you desyre that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the province of Canturburie, for so much thereof as now lieth within the compass of this Iland. Now it resteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his jurisdiction and obedience.

The see of Yorke was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time lustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop ther, in the time of Gadwijn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus sate sixeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, whereby Lindeffarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaine preferred Ceadda or Chad to that roome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recovered his roome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulstade, or Lindeffarne, where Eata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincoln or Lindisie in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Woolfhire. Of it selfe it hath now jurisdiction ouer Yorkshire, Nottageemshire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastreshires orchie not subject to the see of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his see 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his see, thorough the erection of a new metropolite in Scotland, but in my time it yeeldeth 1609 pounds ninetene shillings two pence to hir maistie, whom God long preserve vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our walfares.

Chester. Chester upon Dee, otherwise called Westchester, hath vnder hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastically, Chesterhshire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancastreshire (to wit vnto the Ribbell) Richmond and a part of Flint and Denbigh shires in Wales, was made a bishoprike by king H. S. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentye pence (a strict reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales orchie vnder hir jurisdiction, and hereof the bishops have sometimes beene earles palatines & ruled the rest vnder the name of the bishoprike and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a see (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maisties coffers by 221 pounds eightene shillings ten
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pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir provinciall, neuertheles the sunne-shine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recover the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Caigraue saith how that the first bishop of this see was called bishop of Lindsey (or Lincoln) & that Caedda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a mansion house nere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the West-saxons bestowed all the land betwene the These & the Tine now called the bishoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoeuer belonged to the see of Ha-
gulstade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appartenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whom I had this ground. But whatsoeuer this bishoprike be now, in externall & outward apperance, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Ailaid a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this see, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindefarne Ile, till one came that remooved it to Durham. And now judge you whether the allegation of Caigraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwoolle confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches contenied in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds fourteene shillings eenen pence halfe penie, the pope received out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime even before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peraduenture should haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatterers, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was vuttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and effscenes reape by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cardeill. For in an ancient booke which I haue scene, and yet haue, intituled, Liber formularum literarum curiae Romanse, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose teneth in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelve shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doo euidentlie declare, what store of coinie was transported out of the land vnto the papall vse, in that behalfe onelie.

Cerets I take this not to be one quarter of his gains gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisits, as elections, procurations, appeals, preemitions, pluralities, tot quotas, trialities, tolle-
ratios, legitimations, bulles, scales, presists, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for marriages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearlie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruelle though he seeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the teneths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishopikes latesie erected be left out of his old booke of record, which I also haue scene, yet I find heartie that the whole sum of them amounted to not above 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeres before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did never heare, of so much as one graine grete. Marke therefore I praise you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his teneths over all Europe, and thereupon tell me whether our land was one of the best pairie of hollowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot sceth, beside all other commod-ities.

Beside
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Beside all these, we have another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof had not wherewith to mainstaine his countenance sufficientie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, sometime named Episcopatus Sodoricensis, whereof one Wimundus was ordaine the first bishop, and Iohn the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this pretie resteth in the carles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time therto as to them dooth scene convenient. Howbeit if that see did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and disierce them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath denoued the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Having therefore called this later see after this manner unto mind, I suppose that I have sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they have beene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dowings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onlie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by frindship, doo bring them to this honour.

I might here have spoken more at large of diverse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the land, as of that of Caerleon tofore overthrown by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburi saith) where Dubritius governed, which was afterward translated to S. Davids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leicester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Vinwn) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramsburi or Wilton, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishop was Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Willrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driven him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosl over the Derames that held his see at Hagulstade, or Lindlare: and Eatta over the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus over Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwina, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Sexulfus was sater Lindseie before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to seke his refuge and succour.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casum, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the province of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this late either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would belieue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also have added the successors of the bishops of euerie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would have extended this treatise to an unprofitable length. Neertheless I will remember the fame of London my native citie, after I have added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casum, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherewith it was builded, and was scene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.
THE NAMES AND SUCCESSIONS OF SO MANIE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF LONDON, AS ARE EXTANT, AND TO BE HAD, FROM THE FAITH FIRST RECEIVED.

Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.
Tadwinus alias Theodwinus, some doo write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus alias Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the moorke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remooued his see to Canterbury, to the intent he might the sooner fle, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare froin, or send more speedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waltherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Eadbaldus.
Edmundus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suidulphus.
Eadstanus.
Wulflinus.
Ethelwuldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elswoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elsward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Eouesham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramseie, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order doo I find them.

The see void twelve yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, avarice, riches, and learning
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.

6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Bascet.
12 Henricus.
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12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauencesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segrave.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauencesend.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vesterie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, 1 will deliver in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornements that haue beeene in that seat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalms conteined in the whole psalter, and appointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Riceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfriedus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Synam.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.

Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux alias Leseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohanes Collet, founder of Paules schoolc.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham alias Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable see. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is nerce
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vnto chekke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with tutors, and no lesse subject to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at. I would have doone so much for euerie see in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatness of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuerthelesse I have reserved them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

OF VNIIVERSITIES.

CHAP. III.

THERE haue beeene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not alitogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward converted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Veke, neere to the place where the river dooth fall into the Seuern, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime King of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betwene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are thre noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambrige and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the toonges, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onelie read and learned, by such as glue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are no onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceding liberallitie of kings, queenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large linings and great revenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seeane in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such convenient numbers of poore mens sonsnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their original founders, as yet it is vncertaine: neuerthelesse, as there is great likelihood that Cambrige was begun by one Cantabror a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is saide to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beverley studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Caer Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the leastwise of the river that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Granesteer. An other sort affirme that the river is better written Canta than Gran, &c: but whiche then is not the town called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onelie (as I think) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who com-
name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it be-ne a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thence over into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath be-come often scene, and that out of Britaine, they have gotten over also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London,) standeth most pleasantlie, being immured in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie rivers in the bottoms and valleys beneath, whose courses would breed no small commodite to that cite and country about, if such impediments were removed as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about fourtie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, saving that it is somewhat neere vnto the fells, whereby the wholesome-nesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of provision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the river that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Ely, which is so neere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as study there, wherefore this kind of provision is brought them either from Essex, and other places therabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacoale, whereof they have great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreover it hath not such store of meadow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the town and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are enforced in like sort to provide their haine from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great abundance.

Oxford is supposed to conteine in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minutes, and in latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minutes; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twenty degrees and twenty minutes in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrees and fiftene minutes in latitude, as by exact supputation is ease to be found.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificient, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the town for the most part more large and comelie. But for uniformitie of building, orde-rlie compaction, and politike regiment, the town of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, excedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath be-come the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diverse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoever the difference be in building of the town streets, the townsmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroaching upon their liberties, and kepe them bare by extreme sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouerity, because that goods euill gotten doo seldome long indure.

Castels also they have both, and in my judgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie reparèd: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gur-guntius, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Olle, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman gien to no lesse superition than creduilitie, began also the abbeie of Osenie neere vnto the same, vpon a bond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will heere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how rendile the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fieldes, neere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedges-rows, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happpened diuerse times. In the end being weary of
of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & vexe hir. Oh madam (saith he) the wildest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatoriæ that craue reliefe. And is it so in decd quoth she? Now De pardeux, if old Robert will giue me leane, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest. Hereupon she consulted, cursed, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he joined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1120, which afterward prooved to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, having an heart in hir hand couched upon the same, in the habit of a vovesse, and yet to be scene, except the weather haue wore out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these universities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue bene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, doo there receive the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they use the French word Commencement; and such resort is made yeralie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the frends of those which doo proceed, that all the town is hardlie able to receive and lodge those gests. When and by whose the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repaire in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seventh, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defeied the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steple, which since that time haue neuer bene repaire. There were sometime foure and twentye parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarcele sixtene. There haue bene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentye miles compass about the towne, for their provision of vittels.

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, commeth next the mood of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seaueneth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone thrée more notable piles within the compass of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betwene these two universities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diviided by distance of place, and not in frendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so dere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupil: or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them. But to lese these things, and proceed with other more convenient for my purpose. The manner to live in these universities, is not as in some other of forren countries we see dailie to happen, where the students are informed for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tawnes, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we live in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouvernement, as that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterdame being here among vs 50 yeares passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, even with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreover in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came necere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutius that ever were devised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the revenues of the houses, and other by the puruciances and helpe of their rich frends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred
hundred and fiftie, in diverse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capactie of the said houses is able to receive: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late suruice it manifestie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, one for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so incroch vpon them. And so farre hath this incommencement spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a fellowship (though he be neuer so good a scholar & woorthie of that room.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserveth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholar, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends have beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doe intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatues devised by the founders, oneie thereby to place whom they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too culdent: and their attempt would soone take place, if their supeiors did not provide to bridle their indeuors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholars to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briterie is vsed; for yer the scholar can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort received (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the living by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sons, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and rest it out, exceeding in apparell, and bating riotous company (which draweth from thier books vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to say, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a little. But to proceed with the rest.

Euerie one of these colleges have in like maner their professors or readers of the toongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelve termes) to shew themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were "In arcjani") there to trie their skilles, and declare how they have profited since their comming thither.

Moreover, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) five professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Grecke toongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadrivials, although the latter (I meane arithmetike, musike, geometric, and astronomicc, and with them all skill in the perspectives are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselves doe allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficiently provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incorag'd to be diligent in their functions.

These professors in like sort have all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dailie used in common schooles seuerallie assigned to each of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to have attained to anie conuenient ripeness of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted seelamnlie to take their deserved degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they have spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they use such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto gravitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they have learned more sufficicntie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of batchelers of art.
art, after four yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giving their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other libellall sciences, & the toongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or four yeares) to be called masters of art, each of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professes but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his general skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to choose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be divinitie, law, or physike; so that being once masters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meant to go forward with divinitie, this is the order used in that profession. First, after they have necessarie proceeded masters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniversitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two severall questions of divinitie in the open schools, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward reply twice against some other man vpon a like number, and on two severall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receueth the fourth degree, that is, batchelor of divinitie, but not before he hath beeene master of art by the space of seuen yeares, according to their statutes.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe perfore all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I have read that John of Beurelue was the first doctor that ever was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now used, Sith euere teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitive church as kept schooles of catechistes, wherein they were tayned vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptism, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vnversitie vnto the last degree received, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeares, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serene his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke to tarrying longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeares of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like dron beeis on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniversitie as the other. But this shall suffice in stead of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and upright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarry anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giuent wealth, the other honor) so soon as he commeth to the vniversitie, if his knowledge in the toongs and ripenesse of judgement serve therefore: which if he doo, then his first degree is bachelors of law, or physike, and for the same he must perfore such acts in his owne science, as the bachelors or doctors of divinitie, doo for their parts, the onlie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finally, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniversitie, as the best students beyond the sea doo in their owne or else where. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is the vsefull going into Italie, from whence verie few without special grace doo returne good men, whosoever they pretend of conference or practise, chieffely the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of certaine simples doo ofteentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better unknowen than practised, as I have heard of alleged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be scene without a guide, that is, without special grace given from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behaviour of the people.

There is moreover in euerie house a maister or prouest, who hath vnder him a president, 

THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.
& certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behavior and manners of the students there, whom they punish verie severelie, if they make anie defaulting, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the usual names of gournoures in Cambridg. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In each of these also they have one or moe thersers whom they call Bursaries or Busers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Our each universtie also there is a seuerall chancellor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicewchancellors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two universties in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their favour than my desert to yeeld and bestow vpun me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be prejudicial to anie that meane well, as I am resolutive persuaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation thereof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the universties, with request that the vicewchancellor with his assistants might provide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their judgement be meet to take the charge vpun him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouded of good pastors, by whom God should be glorified, the universties better stored, the simoniaicall practises of a number of patrons vitterlie abolished and the people better trained to live in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.

To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the rest of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manic scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore bene brought vp in one of the aforesaid universties, and prooue such commonlie as in proesse of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselves, and rules of discipline, under which they live most ciuilie in their houses, albeit that the younger sort of them abroad in the streets are scarce able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this error was woon that greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betwenee the students and the burgesses; but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteries it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these universties, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberalie indied, for the better reliefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manic corporat townes now vnder the queenes dominion, that haue not one Grammar schoele at the least, with a sufficient living for a maister and vsher appointd to the same.

There are in like maner diuere collegiat churches as Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an unprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Nowell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholers daile mainteined by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, booke, and apparell, from whence after they haue bene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke toungs, and rules of versifying (the triall whereof is made by certeine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certeine especial houses in each universtie, where they are receiued * the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their privat hals, till they be eadjudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles, as I have said alreadie. And thus much have I thought good to note of our universties, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the scale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance never perish from among the wise and learned.
OF THE COLLEGES IN CAMBRIDGE WITH THEIR FOUNDERS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yeares of the foundations</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
<th>Founders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1546</td>
<td>1 Trinitie college.</td>
<td>King Henrie 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>3 S. Iohns.</td>
<td>L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1505</td>
<td>4 Christes college.</td>
<td>K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1446</td>
<td>5 The queenes college.</td>
<td>Ladie Margaret wife to king Henrie 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1436</td>
<td>6 Iesus college.</td>
<td>John Alcocke bishop of Elie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1342</td>
<td>7 Bennet college.</td>
<td>The brethren of a popish guild called Corporis Christi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Pembroke hall.</td>
<td>Maria de Valentina, countesse of Pembroke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1256</td>
<td>9 Peter college.</td>
<td>Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1348</td>
<td>10 Gundeuill and Caius college.</td>
<td>Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and John Caius doctor of physicke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>11 Trinitie hall.</td>
<td>William Batenian bishop of Norwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1326</td>
<td>12 Clare hall.</td>
<td>Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519</td>
<td>14 Magdalen college.</td>
<td>Edw duke of Buckingham, &amp; Thom. lord Awdlie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>15 Emanuell college.</td>
<td>Sir Water Mildmaie, &amp;c.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

OF COLLEGES IN OXFORD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yeares</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
<th>Founders</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>1 Christes church.</td>
<td>King Henrie 8.</td>
<td>He founded also a good parke of Eaton college, and a free scholer at Wainflet where he was borne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1459</td>
<td>2 Magdalen college.</td>
<td>William Wainflet first fellow of Merton college, then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375</td>
<td>3 New college.</td>
<td>William Wickham bishop of Winchester.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td>4 Merton college.</td>
<td>Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1457</td>
<td>5 All soules college.</td>
<td>Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1516</td>
<td>6 Corpus Christi college.</td>
<td>Richard Fox bishop of Winchester.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1323</td>
<td>8 Auriell college.</td>
<td>Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340</td>
<td>9 The queenes college.</td>
<td>R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1263</td>
<td>10 Balioll college.</td>
<td>John Balioll king of Scotland.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>12 Trinitie college.</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Pope knight.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1516</td>
<td>13 Excester college.</td>
<td>Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1513</td>
<td>14 Brasen nose.</td>
<td>William Smith bishop of Lincoln.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875</td>
<td>15 Univeresitie college.</td>
<td>William archdeacon of Duresme.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Gloucester college.</td>
<td>John Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene monks.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 S. Marie college.</td>
<td>Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 Jesus college now in hand.</td>
<td>There</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are also in Oxford certein hostels or hals, which may rightwell be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. I mine opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brodegates.</th>
<th>S. Marie hall.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hart hall.</td>
<td>White hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magdalen hall.</td>
<td>New In.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alburne hall.</td>
<td>Edmond hall.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postminster hall.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The students also that remaine in them, are called hosteler or halliers. Herof it came of late to passe, that the right reverend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canterbury being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therefore in despite divere hanged vp bottes of hale at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, whereas in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house & in the end a faithfull wittesse of Jesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his bloud and yeld vp his life unto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of divers other hals or hostels, that haue beene there in times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appeare: so that if antiquite be to be judged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be fore, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie.

Therin are also manie dwelling houes of stone yet standing, that haue bene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue bene converted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

**In London also the houses of students at the Common law are these.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sergeant's In.</th>
<th>Furniuals In.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graies In.</td>
<td>Cliffs In.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple.</td>
<td>Clements In.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln's In.</td>
<td>Lions In.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davids In.</td>
<td>Barnards In.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staple In.</td>
<td>New In.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedy griplers doe gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to have prevailed in their purposes. But who are those that have attempted this suite, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisedome; or else have spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to mainetaine themselves? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this manner; Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands have fleshed you and set your teeth on edge, to ask also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe a frime by defacing the monasteries, you have a desire also to overthow all goodnesse by subversion of colleges. I tell you siris that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gournded when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your walfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selues with that you have already, or else seekke honest means whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impair the reuenues of any one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholde. In king Edwards daies likewise the same suite was once againe attempted (as I haue heare) but in vainee, for with the duke of Summerset among other speaches tending to that end, who also made answer therevnto in the kings presence by his assignation; If learning decaie, which of wild men
men make th ciuil, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subjects, and of ciuil men good and godlie christians; what shall we look for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the hands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose stafe shall stand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as lye to spend all, and thinke that what so ever another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandment, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In queene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious queene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as mooved also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his coutrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their counsell house, by meanes whereof those people became sauge, tyrants, and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilite.

OF THE PARTITION OF ENGLAND INTO SHIRES AND COUNTIES.

CHAP. IV.

IN reding of ancient writers, as Caesar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue benë sometime in this lland, as the Nauante, Selgoue, Dannoni, Gadeni, Ordagdeni, Eponii, Carones, Caramoce, Careni, Cornabi, Caledoni, Decanta, Logi, Mertec, Vacomagi, Veniconces, Texali or Polii, Denani, Elgoii, Brigantes Parisi, Orduici alias Ordoluci, Cornouij, Coritani, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetec, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatii, Cantij, Regni, Belge, Durotriges, Dumnoni, Girijui, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Casij, Canimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentishmen, and such like. But sith the severall places where most of them haie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of these daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my judgement vpon such doubtfull cases, least that in so dooing I should but increase conjectures, and leading peradventure the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so likelie to be true, as those which other men haue remembred and set downe before me. Neither will I speake ought of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Augustane, is to me vterlie unknowne.

It shall suffice therfore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certeintie of things may be derived, and that is with the estate of our lland in the time of Alfred, who first dividied England into shires, which before his daies, and since the coming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the same in their daies, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doe witnesse.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the lland, it is yet not yet found out; howbeit if my conjecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, sith we find by no good author, that aboue fifteen haue beene added by anie of his successours, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shires, he diuidied againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and master Lambert following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saieing almost after this manner in his description of Kent; "The Danes (saith he) beth before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this lland in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword and fire, wheresoever they might arrive, and sometime taking

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Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

Shire and share all one.
great booties with them to their ships, without doing any further hurt or damage to the country. This inconvenience continuing for many yeers together, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gave occasion and hardiness to evil disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloak their mischiefe withall, they feigned themselves to be Danish pirates, and would sometime come a land in one part, and sometime in another, driving daily great spoiles (as the Danes had done) unto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had marvellous travell'd in repelling the barbarous Danes) expieng this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subject, than to hold out the forren aduersarie; by the advise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, signifying to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also containe ten, twelve, thirtie, sixtene, twenty, or thirde hundreds, more or lesse, as some hundreds doo sixtene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or sixtue townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receive an hundred able men to serve him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and order each of the partes he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whom he committed the governement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Galathian, which is to assemble together; other hundreds, for that they enjoyed jurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, because there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suerite for others good abearing. He prouided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiu'd into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suerite for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto master Lambert.

Some as it were roming or rousing at the name Lath, doo saie that it is derived of a barna, which is called in old English a lath, as they conjecture. From which speach in like sort some derive the word Latsow, as if it should be trulie written Lath stow, a place wherein to late vp or hie on things, of whatsoever condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absoluelie be satisfied, although peraduenture some likelihood in their judgements may seeme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirm a that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire containing an appointed number of townes, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to know and understand of matters touching their portions, in to some one appointed place or other within their limits, especiallie whilst the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And M. Lambert seemeth to be of the opinion, that the leets of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci pleijg of the word Free burgh) doo yeeld some shadow of that politicke institution of Alfred. But sith my skil is so small in these cases that I dare not judge one thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe any thing more than I read, least I should rune at random in our obscure antiquitie, and reading no more of lathes my next talkes shall be of hundreds.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this division not a name
name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantity) but a limited jurisdiction, within the compass whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which each one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behaviour in the common-wealth of the realm. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreover named a burg or burrow, although that in the West countre he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is parteile afore noted) that the said Alred caused ecb man of fre condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwayes have such as should sweare or seue upon their certeine knowledge for his honest behaviour and cuiall conversacion if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthe to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their kêtes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselves, & make finall ends of the same, according unto justice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelve men chosen of good age and wisedome, and those sworne to give their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in use, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceive) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go together from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, at the commandement of the high constable of euerie hundred. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, because the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met upon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagineion or not as yet I am vncrease, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirteene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be governed by one law, which in times past were ordeined by diverse, and those far discrepent and disagreeing one from another; as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereas the first ten lie betwene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also dooth set them downe.

Kent. | Wilshire.
Sussex. | Dorsetshire.
Surrey. | Summerset.
Hampshire. | Deuon.
Barkeshire. | Cornwall.

There are moreover on the northside of the Thames, and betwene the same and the river Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as Polydor saith) sixtene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest of the countre.

Essex, sometyme all forest save one hundred. | Cambrigeshire in which are 12 hundreds.
Middlesex. | Bedford.
Hartfordshire. | Huntingdon wherein are fourie hundreds.
Suffolke. | Buckingham.

2 L 2 | Northampton.
We have six also that have their place westward towards Wales, whose names ensuing.

Glocester.    Shropshire.
Hereford.    Stafford.

And these are the thirteene two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same river we have in like sort other eight, as

Darbie.      when it is accompted as parcel of Yorkshire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.
Yorke.       Durham.
Lancaster.   Northumberland.
Cumberland.  Westmoreland.
Wesmerland.

Richemond, wherein are fine wapentaxes, &c.

So that in the portion sometime called Llhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof seven are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.    Glamorgan.
Penmoroke, or Penbrooke.   Monmouth.
Caermardine, wherein are 9 hundreds or commotes. Brecknock.
Radnor.

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

Anglescie.    Denbigh.
Carnarvon.   Flint.
Merioneth.   Montgomery.

Which being added to those of England yeied fiftie and three shires or counties, so that under the queenes Maiestie are so many counties, whereby it is easie discerned, that his power farre excedeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine under his subjection as afterward contained thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof 1 spake before.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwayes counted or laid together in one parcel, whereof I have great maruell. But sith the occasio hath grown (as I take it) either by privilege or some like occasion, it is better brieferie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in seeking a just cause of this their od diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betwene Amondsesham, and Beconsfield, there is a piece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not above three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Barkeshire also betweene Ruscombe and Okingham is a piece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden rier. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Leffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcel of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compass.

With Oxfordshire diverse doo participate, in so much that a piece of Glocesthire, lieth halfe in Warwikeshire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is ther, of Glocesthire not far from long Compton, but lying in Oxford countie: & a piece of Worcestershire, directlie betwene it & Glocesthire. Glocest hath the third piece upon the north side of the Winarsh neere Falbrooke, as Barkeshire hath one parcel also upon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Glocesthire: likewise another in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lach lade,
lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be scene in Barkshire upon the Loden, and the riner that falleth into it: whereof and the like sith there are vere manic, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I have not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, whereof most readers (as I persuade my selfe) are ignorant.

But to proceede with our purpose. Over ecli of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen under the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authority over the same for the time being in manic cases which doo concern his office: otherwise it is governed by a shiriff (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exechker, of the profits of his countie received, whereof he is or may be called Questor comitatus or Province. This officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a viscount, Quasi vicarius comitits or Procomes, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that bareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome scene in England, that the earle hath any great store of possessions, or ought to doo in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall residence, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

In the election also of these magistrates, diverse able persons aswell for wealth as wise-dome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith priceth some one of them, as he pleased to assigne unto that office, to whom he committeth the charge of the countie, and who hereupon is shiriff of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriff also hath his vnder shiriff that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriff for his true execution of justice, preseration from impeachment, and yeelding of accompl when he shall be thervnto called. There are likewise vnder him certaine bailiffes, whose office is to serue and returne suche writs and processes as are directed vnto them from the high shiriff: to make seizure of the goods and catels, and arrest the bodies of such as doo offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shiriff by order of law ought to present them to the judges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more high constables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiving the writs and inmuctions from the high shiriff vnder his scale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the provision of vittels or for other causes, or prout puruance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, doo forthwith charge the pettie constables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same.

In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Moteealagh, of the word mates and law. They have also an other called the shiriffes turne, which they hold twise in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appoynted by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folknote ordeyned by king Arthur to be held yearely on the first of Mai, vntill the first of euerie month) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They have finalie their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the justices and gentlemen of the countie, & twice in the yeare galie deliciarie, at which time the judges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the justices there resident associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & justice. Howbeit in doinge of these things, they retaine still the old order of the land in use before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelve sober, grave, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth
(which number they call an inquest) & of these inquests there are more or less impanneled at
divers assises, as the number of cases there to be handled doth crave and require, albeit that
some one inquest hath often diverse matters to consider of. And when they have (to their
uttermost power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they re-
turne againe to the place of justice, with their verdict in writing, according whereunto the
judge dooth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter which soever
is brought before him. It is also verey often scene, that such as are nominated to be of these
inquests, doe after their charge received seldom or never eat or drinke, untill they haue
agreed upon their verdict, and yeelded it vp vnto the judge of whom they received the charge;
by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diverse of the inquest haue
beene wechere famished, or at least taken such a sickenesse thereby, as they haue handle
avoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and there-
fore commande some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe never yeeld vnto the
rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shireife be not the better man) for the craft-
tier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselle shall like of, whereby
he is sure of the issue before the charge be given: and beside this if the matter doe justice
proceed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue
Bona fide discharged their conscience shall be sued of an atteint, & bound to appear at
the Starre chamber, with what rigor they shall be caried from place to place, countie to
countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and dooth cause a great number of them to
abstaine from the assises, & yeeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good
meaning he thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be
kept at home, whereby upon poore men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to boore their
costes, are impaneled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor judgement to
performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halle so
painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and attor-
necies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shifts must needs be found and matters sought
out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more
than two or three Nisi prius, but verie seldom of an atteint, whereas now an hundred &
more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perceived, and some of them for
a cause arising of sixpence or twelvepence. Which declareth that men are grown to be
fare more contentious than they haue beeene in time past, and reader to reuenge their
quarels of small importance, whereas the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from
whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in suerie countie, as crown-
ers, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present
the pieces of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diverse also of
the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not
suffice (and whose revenues doo amount to aboute twentye pounds by the yeare) appointed by
especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good government of his subjects, in
the countie where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace,
the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that
the first haue authority enclie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as
are brought vnto their presence. These also doe direct their warrants to the keepers of the
gales within their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offenders as they shall judge
worthie to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises,
to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these
officers were first devised about the eighties yeare of Edward the third, as I haue beeene
informed.

They meeting also & together with the shiriffes, doe hold their aforesaid sessions at four
times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of su-

drie trespasses, and the common anoiances of the kings liege people, and diverse other things, determining upon them as justice dooth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these meetings also vittellers, and in like sort servants, labourers, roges and runnagates, are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their care be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are judged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & have not since their second apprehension applied themselves to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

I might here deliver a discourse of sundrie rare customes and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintaine and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are beastlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing converted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in mere contempt and slauish abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmas daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogether in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lantern vnnder his croke, and goeth to the kings hill, where sitting on a mole-hill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their apperance vpon a piece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lantern: so soon as the tenants also doe miss the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once. Here here, whereby they escape their amereaments: which they should not doe if he could have calleed over his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said counties and their maner of governance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, because that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to sake truth) smallie concerned my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the division of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserve vnto that excellent treatise of my friend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit-of such as will read and peruse the same.

OF DEGREES OF PEOPLE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. V.

W T. in England diuide our people commonlie into four sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, which are artificers, or laborers. Of gentlemen the first and cheefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speeche is) lords and noblemen:
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noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquires, and last of all they that are simple called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are divided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearsal.

The title of prince dooth peculiarly belong with vs to the kings eldest sone, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparent to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sone hath the title ofolphine, and is named peculiar Monseur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word Princeps, sithe he is (as I may call him) the scheefe or principal next the king. The kings youngers sones be but gentlemen by birth (till they have received creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properly assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome con

ected to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wives.

The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word Dux, a decendo, because of his v

lor and power over the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or chëede gouvernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whose ground will not long bære one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I doe not thinke but that they would florish and prosper well enough.

In old time he onelie was called marquesse, Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching

province upon the enemies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is charged in common vse, and reputed for a name of greate honor next vnto the duke, euerm ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had Comites sacri palatij, comites terrij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, lartitionem, scholarum, commerciorum, and such like. But at the first they were called Comites, which were joined in commision with the proconsull, legate, or judges for counsell and aids sake in each of those severall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintium fratrem rememrebeth, where he saith; "Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores, negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat fimibus his praebelis, quos ante praecripsi, &c." After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called Comes, but our English Saxons use the word Hertoche and earle for Comes, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sithe the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that Comes and Graue is all one, to wit the viscount, called either Proconsul, or Vicecomes: and in time past governed in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such service or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. His reliefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight shie at the most for euerie fee.

The baron, whose degré answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a fre

lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diverse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did serve the king in his wars, and held their tenures in Baronia, that is, for performance of such service. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the third time) termeth Barones, quasi robur belii. The word Baro indeed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for even in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans Liberi vel Ingenui, or Frethers in the Germane tong as some men doo coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses of good townes and cities were called Barones. Neuertheless by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word Baro and Filius in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properly called Ba

rones, from whence also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferetielie. That Baro and Filius signifieth one thing, it yet re

maneth
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remaineth to be seen, although with some corruption: for to this daie, even the common sort doo call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accusomable in use. And it is also growne into a proverbe in the south, when anie man susteinel a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue toong (as some affirm) it signifieth Filij solis, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but Filij or servili regum? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the original of the word Baro shall not be anie more to secke: and the first time that euere I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the regnue of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a counsell holde at Cirencester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where rememberd. Howbeit the word Baro dooth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchequer is of custome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiver of accounts next vnto the lord treasurer, as they are vnder hym are called Tribuni erarii, & rationally. Hervto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doe execute the same, and no longer.

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lorde, and hold the same roome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, because those lustie prelates sought after earthie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost sheepe of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse rearruened than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loe either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for civill gouernments sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease retained within a limited compass of uniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be maruelled at, that veie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crieng to haue the word lord abolished, their civill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them doe agree vpon forme of discipline and gouernment of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whom Livie dooth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the paterne of one townie or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will never yeeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a privacie house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath devised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates doe daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neverthelesse their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the clergie men were feared because of their authoritie and suree gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloved generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall lining, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuerthelesse with what degrees of honour and worship they haue bene
matched in times past Johannes Bohemus in his De omnium gentium moribus, and others
doo express; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat,
and pelting prior were placed before the carles and barons in most statutes, charters, and rec-
cords made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundry yeares of
Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious compar-
isons and ambitious titles are now decayed and worthlie shrouanke in the wetting, so giuing
over in these daies to maintaine such pompous vanitie, they doo thinke it sufficient for them
to preach the word, & hold their living to their sces (so long as they shall be able) from
the hands of such as indeavour for their owne preferrement to fleece and diminish the same.
This furthermore will I addde generallie in commendation of the clearge of England, that they
are for their knowledge reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polandia, to be
the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto
they are in deed so skillfull in the two principal toongs, that it is accounted a maine
in anie one of them, not to be exactlie seene in the Greke and Hebrue, much more then to be
vutterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latin toong it is not wanting
in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or four-
téene yeares, whereas before there was small choice, and manie cures were left vnserued,
because they had none at all. And to saie truth, our adversaries were the oncious causers
hereof. For whilst they made no further accompl of their priesthood, than to construe, sing,
read their service and their portesse, it came to passe that upon examination had, few made in
queene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to doo anie more, and
vere hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serve at all.

Dukes, marquesses, carles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come
to that honor by being the eldest soumes or highest in succeision to their parents. For
the eldest soume of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest soume of an erle is a
baron, or sometimes a viscomt, according as the creation is. The creation I call the original
donation and condition of the honour gien by the prince for good seruice done by the first
ancestor, with some aduanancement, which with the title of that honour is alysae gien to
him and his heires males onlie. The rest of the soumes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the
law be but requiers: yet in common speech all dukers and marquesses soumes, and carles
eldest soumes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agree to none of lower de-
gree than barons, yet by law and use these be not esteemed barons.

The baronie or degree of lords dooth answer to the degree of senators of Rome (as I said)
and the title of nobilitie (as we use to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in
England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispense of yearelie revenues
a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie maintaine & bear out his countenance and
port. But viscomts, erles, marquesses, and dukers exceed them according to the proportion
of their degree & honour. But though by chance he or his soume haue lesse, yet he keepeh
this degree: but if the decay be excessive and not able to maintaine the honour, as Sena-
tores Romani were anomi a senatu: so sometimes they are not admitted to the upper house in
the parlament although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them
upon anie such occasion. The most of these names have descended from the French inven-
tion, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, inde-
avouring to restore the decayed estate of Italia vnto some part of his pristime magnificence,
did after the French example gien Dignitaires & pradia to such knights and soldiers as had
served him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukers, marquesses, carles,
valuators or capelians, and valuinse.

His Pradia in like manner were tributes, tolls, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, pro-
fits by salt-pits, millies, water-courses (and whatsoever emoluments grew by them) & such
like. But at that present I read not that the word Baro was brought into those parts. And
as for the valuators, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrees of honor under the first
three (which are properly named the kings capteins) so that they are called Maiiores, minores, & minimi valuasores. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor thereof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins under them. If from the prince, then are they called Maiiores valuasores, if from anie of his three pères, then were they Minores valuasores: but if anie of these Valuasors doo substitute a deputie, those are called Minimi valuasores, and their deputies also Valusini, without regard vnto which degree the valuasor dooth apperteine: but the word Valuasor is now growne out of use, wherefore it sufficeth to have said thus much of that function.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are madde either before the battell, to encourage them the more to adventure & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an advancement for their courage and prowess already shewed (& then are they called Millites;) or out of the warres for some great service done, or for the singular vertues which doo appeare in them, and then are they named Equites aurati, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authority given for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called Equitum Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were chosen Ex censu, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie revenues or abundance of riches, wherewith to maintaine their estates. Yet all that had Equestrem censum, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made Knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuere ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and nevertheless refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redounded vnto his coferes, and to saie truthe, is ofetimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their service should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be manie in England able to dispand a knights liuing, which never come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncertene: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the Equites Romani had Equum publicum of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but bear their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defense and seruice. This nevertheless is certeine, that who so may dispand 40 pounds by the yeare of fre land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paye the revenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie forcie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins Equitem, or Equestris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword nakend vpon the backe or shoulder, the prince, &c: saieing, "Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu." And when he riseth vp the king saith "Aduances bon cheualier." This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in use among the common sort.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonys, called knights of the bath. But how soever one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by calleth madame or lady, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my lady, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the common law she hath no such prerogatieve. If his first husband also be of better birth than his second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretenderd a privilege.
a privilege to loose no honor through courtesie yelded to hir sex, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not scene elsewhere.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, and king Iames of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his reigne, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then invented this soctie of honour, and made a chosa out of his owne reigne and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowned persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giving them a garter garnished with gold and preistous stones, to weare daille on the left leg onlie: also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnifiques apparel, both of stufle and fashion excessive & heroicall to weare at high feasts, & as to so high and pryncelie an order appertaining. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and queenes of England, be the sovereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawses amongst themselves be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twenty, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I have here inserted word for word, as it was deluered vnto me, beginning after this manner.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iand; and theereunto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I think in so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inventions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilliie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelve pereus, with their solemne rites and visages: but vnto this also I have no great devotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errors and fables inserted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should profess to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diverse aswell subjectes as princes have attempted to restore againe a round table in this Iand (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but such were the excesse charges appertaining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued thereupon, beside the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forrenne countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gave it ouer, and suffered their whole inventions to perish and decoie, till Edward the third devisd an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for pryncelie port and countenence, as shall appere hereafter.

Knights of the garter.

Round table.

Roger Mortimer.

The occasion of the deusse.

Paradisenture but a blue ribbow.
set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclaimed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and forthwith inuested an appointed number into the aforesaid fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the souereigne and principall of that compa-

Next vnto himselfe also he placed

N. earle of Warw.  Sir Miles Stapleton.
N. capt. de Bouche.  Sir Thomas Wale.
N. earle of Stafford.  Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
N. earle of Sarum.  Sir Neale Lordinge.
N. lord Mortimer.  Sir John Chandos.
Sir Bartholomew Burwash.  Sir Otho Holland.
N. sonne of sir John Beauchamp.  Sir Henrie Eme.
Sir N. de Mahum.  Sir Sanchet Danbricourte.
S. Hugh Courtneie.  Sir Walter Pannell alias Paganell.
S. Thomas Holland.

What order of election, and what estatutes were prescribed vnto the elected at this first Election.
institution, as yet I can not exactlie understand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the six and thirte th yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the sixt: wherefore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at this present, which I will set downe so brieflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (upon a roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we greete you well, ascertaining you, that in consideration aswell of your approoved truth and fidelitie, as also of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the said Order, as your deserts doo condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with convenienc diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receive such things as to the said order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our manor of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it should seeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordsships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same.

Edward duke of Summerset vncl to the king.  L. S. John lord great master.
The marq. of Northampton.  Sir Iohn Gage.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.  S. Anthonie Wingfield.
Earle of Shrewesburie.  Sir William Paged.
L. Russell lord priuie seale.

Being elected, preparation is made for his installing at Windsore (the place appointed al-
wais for this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be set vp, of two yarde and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breeth, besides the fringe. Secondlie his sword of whatsoeuer length him seemeth good. Thridlie his helme, which from the charnell vp-

Admission.
wards ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the crest, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such convenienc stuffe and bignesse, as it shall please him to appoint.

Item
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Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and crest with mantels and beasts suppor-
tant, to be graven in the mettall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuironed with a garter, and painted in paper or
cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Ins
where he dooth lodge, as a testimonie of his presence and stais from time to time as he
did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windsore, the other to use at his plea-
sure, with the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, tasselets, and knaps
ofblue silke and gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimosine velvet, with a whood of the same, lined
with white sarronet or damask.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, haueing the buckle and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to set upon the mantell. And
this furniture is to be prouided against his installation.

When anie knight is to be installed, he hath with his former letters, a garter sent vnto
him, and when he commeth to be installed, he is brought into the chapter house, where
incontinent his commission is read before the souereigne, or his deputie, and the assembe
present : from hence he is lead by two knights of the said order, accompanied with the other
of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either
by a knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to whome it secondarlie apperteyneth to
beare it. This mantell shall be deliverued vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before
his stall, and not before: which doone, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where the
souereigne, or his deputie, shall deliver him his collar, and so he shall haue the full possession
of his habit. As for his stall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance
of the receuuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one called vnto
this knighthood (the souereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted)
shall have the same seat, which became void by the death of his predecessor, howsoever it
fall out : whereby a knight onlie oftentimes dooth sit before a duke, without anie murmuring
or grudging at his roome, except it please the souereigne, once in his life onelie to make a
generall alteration of those seats, and to set each one according to his degree.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the
first deuiser of this order left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say,
scarlet, sanguine in graen, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure
the content of cloth for his gowne and whood, lined with white satin or damaske, and mul-
titude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath five yarde of cloth for his gowne and whood, and garters with letters of
gold at his pleasure, beside five timbre of the finest mineuer.

A duke hath five yarde of woollen cloth, five timbre of mineuer, 120 garters with title
of gold.

A marques hath five yarde of woollen cloth, five timbre of mineuer, 110 garters of
silke.

An earle five yarde of woollen cloth, five timbre of mineuer, and 100 garters of
silke.

A viscount five yards of woollen cloth, five timbre of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.
A baron five yards of woollen cloth, three timbre of mineuer gross, 80 garters of silke.
A bannercet five yards of woollen cloth, three timbre of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.
A knight five yards of woollen cloth, three timbre of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter, hath eache and twenty timbre of mineuer
pure,
pure, nineteen timber greasse, three timber and a halfe of the best, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellour of the order five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.
The register of the order five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are six and twenty in number, and whose patron in time of superstition was supposed to be S. George, of whom they were also called S. Georges knights as I have heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of saint George argueth a wrong patron.

Furthermore at his installation he is solemnely sworne, the maner whereof I have thought good also to annex, in this maner. You being chosen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, shall promise and swear uppon the holye evangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maistrie, and to observe and kepe all the points of the statutes of the said order, and euerye article in them conteined, the same being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse other godlie proceedings, so far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much have I thought good to note touching the premises.

As touching the estatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit ifanie doubt doo arise above the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall souereigne of that order hath to determine and resolve the same. Neither are anie chosen therevnto under the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentleman of bloud and of sound estimation.

And for the better understanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to descend of three descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name and of arms both by father and mother.

There are also foure degrees of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the first is heresie lawfullie prooued, the second high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall excesse of expenses, whereby he is not likeli to hold out, and maintaine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreover touching the wearing of their aforesaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the euon of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the aforesaid place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, and the auoid doone. The next day they resort vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell vnto euening prayer, and likewise all the supper time, vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie likewise of these feastes, the thirtene chansons there, and six and twenty poore knights have mantels of the order, whereof those for the chansons are of Murrecie with a roundell of the arms of S. George, the other of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said arms.

If anie knight of this order be absent from this solemnitie vpon the euon and daie of S. George, and be inferred not to be present either through bodilie sickenesse, or his absence out of the land: he dooth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, provide an honorable stall for the kings maistrie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of estat, and cushions, and scutcheon of the garter, and therein the arms of the order. Also his owne stall of which side soever it be distant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at Windsore, there to remaine, the first euening prayer on the euon of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewise the next daie during the time of the divine service, vntill the morning prayer, and the rest of the service be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with.
with the George and the lace, without either whoed, collar or surcote. Or if he be so sicke that he doo keepe his bed, he dooth vse to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine service aforesaid.

At the service time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (sauing the deputie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings bannor of armes, then other two the sword with the hilts forwards, which being done the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and crest, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the statutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords, dooth deliure at his offering a piece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he so procedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like solemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation being made, euerie knight according to their stals, with an herald before him procedeth to the offering.

What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare, wherefore I will shew generallie what is done at the disgrading of one of these knights, if through anie grievous offense lie be separated from this companie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finish vp his daies. Therfore when anie such thing is done, promulgation is made thereof after this maner insuing.

Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the most noble order of the Garter, is found guiltie of the abominable and destestable crime of high treason, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oath, which he hath sworn and taken. For which causes therefore he hath deserved to be deposed from this noble order, and fellowship of this Garter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor and disloyall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowned stomach & bountifull provos, or that his armes should be mingled with those of noble chivalrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince and supreme of this most honorable order, by the advise and counsell of his colleagues, wilth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deserved shall be from henceforth be taken awaye and throwne downe: and he himselfe eane cut off from the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the same, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespass, or fall into such notorious infamous and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there resorteth vnto the parte to be disgraced certeine officers with diverse of his late fellows appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solomne maner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in uttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison Dor or golden fleuse, with the ceremonies appertaining vnto the creation and inuestiture of the six and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especiallie by Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitis ordinis, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and therefor addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, guie or lye the same to mortage (would to God they might once brooke their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deing in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, biefelie to set forth those things that apperteine vnto our renowned order of the Garter, in whose compass is written commonlie. * "Honi soi qui mal y pense," which is so much to saie, as, "Euell come to him euill thinketh?" a verie sharpe impr[e]cation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promisethe like measure to the meter, as he dooth mete to others.

Some think that this was the answer of the queene, when the king asked what men would thinke of him, in losung the garter after such a maner.
There is yet another order of knights in England called Baronsets, who are made in the field with the ceremony of cutting off the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bachelor knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to display his armes in a banner, as barons doo. Howbeit these knights are never made but in the warres, the kings standard being unfolded.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as Scutiger vel armiger, and such are all those which bear armes, or armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie gien to distinguish them from common soldiers called Gregariij milites when they were together in the field.

Gentlemen be those whom their race and bloud, or at the least their vertues doo make noble and knowne. The Latines call them Nobiles & generosos, as the French do Nobles or Gentlemens. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as Gens in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papprios, Scipiones, Fabios, Amilios, Iulios, Brutus, &c: of which, who were Aognati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

Moreover as the king dooth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not known to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accapt, much lesse of the British issue) doo take their beginning in England, after this mater in our times. Who soever studieth the laves of the realme, who so abideth in the vnuerstie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his service in the roome of a capitaine in the warres, or good counsell gien at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefitted, can live without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie have a cote and armes bestowed upon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same doo of custome pretend antiquitie and service, and manie gaiie things) and thereunto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men gie to esquires and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman ever after. Which is so much the lesse to be disallowed of, for that the prince dooth loose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subject to taxes and publike payements as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise dooth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the governement of the common-wealth he medleth little) what soever it cost him, he will both arriie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who perdauenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to sustaine.

Cerets the making of new gentlemen bred great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were Nomi homines, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie scene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelee defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants * could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinia with justice and equitie, so it forceth not what language the malicious doo glue out against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This nevertheless is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the usuall sending of noblemen & meane gentlemens somnes into Itailie, from whence they bring home nothing but meer atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conversation, & ambitious and proud behaviour, whereby it commeth to passe that they returne far worse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Itailie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could saie after this manner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is sustained by holding of the same; and forgiuensesse onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made. Another no

* Sic.—qu. defendants?
lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a foole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more foole that will loose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yeeld to loose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthwhile to be taken for most foole of all the rest. This gate bootie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for where such blossoms doo appeare. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may have the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are casilie knowen; for they have learned in Italie, to go vp and downe also in England, with pages at their hceles finelie appareled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe over to sale anie more of these Italianes and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

Citizens and burgesses have next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens and burgesses are to serve the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assembly of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assembly is called the high court of parliament) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or state there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conversion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in his owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will casilie bewraie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restreined, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more casilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decrese, by breaking of the bankrupt. I doe not deny but that the maiue of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they have gotten the onelie sale of things, upon pretense of better furtherrance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crown, raisons or corints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, clouses at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixeen pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequelle of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carsiis of all colours, likewise cottons, fréeses, rugs, tin, wooll, our best béere, bales, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or realie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwai, Scotland, and Iceland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contended with these journies, they have sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voyages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not
not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I doo except of it) was supefficiently provided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble estatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staid or not called on, in good sooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and sequarall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cestorne.

Yeomen are those, which by our law are called Legales homines, free men borne English, and may dispence of their owne free land in yearelie revenue, to the summe of fortye shillings sterling, or sixe pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phrase is vse in my day it is farre unlikerlie to be so. The truth is that the word is derived from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I have read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being married and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of judgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people have a certaine preheminence, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie line wealthie, keepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called Pagani, & opponuntur militibus, and therfore Persius calleth himselfe Semipag anus) or at the leastwise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants (not idle servants as the gentlemen doe, but such as get both their owne and part of their masters liuing) do come to great wuth, in somuch that manie of them are able and do buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherupon they may liue without labour, doe make them by those meanes to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemens are, or sir as to knights apperteyneth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone very good service: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were woont to remaie among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no free land) coping holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the privilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is yearelie remoeued from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Tropobanes, who supposed it a great inuie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whom she in her woonted course dooth product and bring forth free. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogether neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make up their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, alecomers, now and then constables, and manie times inioie the name of hedboroughes. Vnto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a proverbe: Yoong seruing men old beggers, because seruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enimies to their masters, to their frends, and to themselves: for by them oftentimes their masters are incouraged vnto wilfull actions of their tenants, their frends brought vnto pouerie by their rents in-

2 N 2
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

hanced, and they themselves brought to confusion by their owne prodigality and errors, as men that having not wherewith of their owne to maintaine their excesses, doo search in high wales, budgets, coferes, malle, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diverse of them also coueting to bee an high saile doo insinuate themselves with young gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but also their livelihoods and revenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recover themselves. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforseth to have some, yet let wisdome moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of vnecessary charge, and the common wealth of manie theues. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we doo here in England in hope of which maintenance manie give themselfes to idleness, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and live in order like subjects. Of their whoresomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them doo make the first a cheefe piller of their building, consuming not onelie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such unlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I saie in such a large sea? I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workemanship of the later sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurtech the common sort of our artificers more than hast, and a barbarous or slauiish desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make spede the vterance of their wares: which inforseth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often sore defraude, and findeth to his cost, that hast maketh wast, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need? How manie needfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c: and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be provided from other countries if we could use the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better chéepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leue these things and proceeded with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generalle by waiue of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and maintained by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the queene: in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administered.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts, as the baronie or estate of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquires, & simple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord president dooth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Iland, which later with certeine counsellours and judges were erected by King Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. Weretho I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Coot, goodman Cornell, goodman Mascall, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles lewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman,
yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Cato
calleth them Aratores & optimus ciues rei publice, of whom also you may read more in the
booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common
wealth, of which said offices diverse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and
peculiar to the kings house. And they have their places and degrees, prescribed by an act
of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner insuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasurer (who is Supremus aerariij Anglici ques-
tor or Tribunus aerarius maximus) the lord President of the councell, and the lord Priuie
scale, being persons of the degree of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in
the parlement and in all assemblies or councell aboue all dukes, not being of the blond roiall,
Videlicet the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

And these six, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of
master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be
placed in all assemblies of councell, after the lord priuie scale, according to their degress
and estats: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue
all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue
all barons, and if he be a man of higher degress, he shall sit and be placed according
thereunto.

The rehearssall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their
creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.

No duke in
England.
Earles.
The Marquise of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Worcester.
The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Sussex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leicester.
The earle of Essex.
The earle of Lincoln.

Viscounts.
The viscount Montague.
The viscount Bindon.

Barons.
The lord of Abergueennie.
The lord Awdeleie.

The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the south.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scroope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windsore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The lord Sheffield.</th>
<th>The lord saint John of Bletso.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The lord Paget.</td>
<td>The lord of Buckhirst.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The lord Darcie of Chichester.</td>
<td>The lord Delaware.</td>
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<td>The lord Howard of Effingham.</td>
<td>The lord Burghleie.</td>
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<td>The lord North.</td>
<td>The lord Compton.</td>
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<td>The lord Chaundos.</td>
<td>The lord Chichester.</td>
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<td>The lord of Hunsdon.</td>
<td>The lord Norreis.</td>
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Bishops in their ancieniece, as they sat in parlement, in the fift of the Queenes maiesties reigne that now is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clergie.</th>
<th>Durham.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The archbishop of Canturburie.</td>
<td>The archbishop of Yorke.</td>
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<tr>
<td>London.</td>
<td>Winchester.</td>
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The rest had their places in senioritie of consecration.

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<tr>
<th>Chichester.</th>
<th>Bath and Welles.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Landaff.</td>
<td>Cowentrie and Lichfield.</td>
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And this for their placing in the parlement house. Howbeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie siteth in his provinciall assemble, he hath on his right hand the archbishop of Yorke, and next vnto him the bishop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of London: but if it fall out that the archbishop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his see, then the archbishop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sitting always as afore, that is to saie, as they are elders by consecration, which I thought good also to note out of an ancient president.

OF THE FOOD AND DIET OF THE ENGLISH.

CHAP. VI.

THE situation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches to be of somewhat greater force: therefore our bodies doo craue a little more ample nourishment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accustomed withall, whose digestive force is not altogether so vehement, because their internall heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (speciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garnished than those of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen since the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the wale vnto our countrie, our predecessors fed largelie vpon flesh and milke, whereof there was great abundance in this Ile, because they applied their cheefe studies vnto pasturage and feeding. After this maner also did our Welsh
Welsh Britons order themselves in their diet so long as they lived of themselues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the English they framed their appetites to live after our maner, so that at this daie there is very little difference betwene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewise they haue given themselves (of late yeres to speake of) vtto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for some respect nature dooth make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far exceeded in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuers of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Against this pampering of their carcasses dooth Hector Boetius in his description of the countrie verie sharpelie inveigh in the first chapter of that treatise. Henrie Wardlaw also bishop of S. Andrewe, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugality into excessive glutonie, to be brought out of England with James the first (who had bene long time prisoner there under the fourth & fift Henries, and at his returne caried diuers English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) dooth vehementlie exclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1463, before the three estates, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was prescntlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongst other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies scene in Scotland) were generallie so provided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eate of the same under the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did glie themselves vniversallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would ofte feed but once or twice at the most in two or three daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their boggis and marisces, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they used to eat a certein kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger above common expectation. In woods moreover they liued with hearbes and roots, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such provision at hand, then vsed they to crepe into the water or said moorish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remained a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and bene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eate either goose, hare, or hene, because of a certeine superstition opinion which they had conceived of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious observation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thenceforward also vnto our daies, and even in this season wherein we live, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euery man to eate vpoo what souer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of catell may be the better increased, & that abundance of fish which the sea yeeldeth, more generallie receied. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preservation of the nauie, and maintenance of convenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soueter this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so decre as in my time, and woot to be accounted of as one of the chiefe stacies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilst such as are more wealthie, doe eate vpon the flesh of all kinds of catell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookies are for the most part musically headed Frenchmen and strangers) doo most exceed, sith there is no daie in manner that passeth over their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conic, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicacies wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taste of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to doo, but ech one feedeth vpnone that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reseruued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whom it is drawn vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whom it descendeth againe even to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the spedeable suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meanes to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to sustaine his body withall. But as this large feeding is not scene in their gests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times unlooked for) and thereto retaine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisit expeditious for them to be somewhat plentiful in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie provisions is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessels if they be of the degee of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved, and afterward sent downe to their serving men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their resuerion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receeue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guests are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to waite vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guests doo feed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentionned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or thre score persons fed in those hals, to the great relieve of such poore suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is usuallie filled in pots, gobleets, jugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all forme, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds wherof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the leaswise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldeome set on the table, but each one as necessarie vrgeth, callith for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he delivereth the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this devise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athyns, in conservacion of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or nere the tencer, diuere would at all times be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so avoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitors with filling of their bols. Neuertheless in the noble mens hals, this order is not vned, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or esquire of great revenues. It is a world to see in these our daies, wherein gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those metals (because of the plente) do now commonlie choose rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and bơere, than anie of those metals or stone wherein before time we haue bene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of man commonlie that it most coueteth things difficult to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne nere to Venice situat on the Adriaticke sea) from whence the verie best are dailie to be had, and such as for beautie doo well nere match the chrestall
or the ancient Murrhina vasa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is scene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communaltie the like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will have glasse if they may, but sith the Venecian is somewhat too deere for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fire and burned stone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasses (beside that they brced much stricke toward such as have the charge of them) are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, because their pieces doo turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were once found, and one part herof mixed with hurt of molten glasse, it would induce such a metallicall toughnesse thereunto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such manner, yet it might peraduenture brench or batter it, neuerthelesse that inconuenience were quickele to be redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped?

The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure, ffeue, or sixe dishes, when they have but small resort, or peraduenture with one, or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their tables. And yet their semants haue their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at their masters boordes, & not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which everthelesse is often scene generallie in venison, lampbe, or some especiall dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peraduenture for sundrie causes incident to the feedeer is better so, than if it were warnne or hot. To be short, at such time as the merchants doo make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beside that they are often comparablie herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will seldome regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie killeth, but reeect the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also gelifies of all colours mixed with a varietie in the representation of sundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beasts, fish, foules and fruits, and thereunto marchpaine wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diverse hews and sundrie denominations, conserves of old fruits forren and home-bred, suckets, codiaca, marrilats, marchpaine, sugerbread, gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish deconfections, altogether seasoned with suger (which Plinie calleth Mel ex arundinibus, a deuise not common nor greatie vsed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) doo generallie beare the sweate, besides infinit devises of our owne not possible for me to remember. Of the potato and such veneryous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies to furnish vp our baukets, I speake not, wherein our Mures of no leesse force, and to be had about Crobie Rauenswaith, doo now begin to haue place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is obtained with most difficultie and cost, is commonlie taken for the most delicat, and thereupon each guest will soonest desire to feed. And as all estats doo exceed herin, I mane for strangenesse and number of costlie dishes, so these forget not to use the like excess in wine, in somuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we have none growing with vs but yearelie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun vpwards, notwithstanding the dailie restriections of the same brought ouer vs) whereof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither doo I mane this of small wines onlie, as Claricte, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thrtie kinds of Italian, Greecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Ronnie, Bastard Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie & Malmessee are not least of all accompted of, because of their strength and value. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means whereof in old time, the best was called theologium, because it was had from the cleragie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laithe would often send for bottells filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drinke nor be served of the worst, or
such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: anie the merchant would have thought that his soule should have gone strightwaie to the diewell, if he should have servd them with other than the best. Furthermore when these have had their course which nature yieldeth, sundrie sorts of artificiall stuffe, as ypoeras & wormwood wine must in like manner succeed in their turnes, beside stale ale and strong beere, which nevertheless beare the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so manie sorts and ages as it pleaseth the bruer to make them.

The beere that is vset at noble mens tables in their fixt and standing houses, is commonlie of a yeare old, or peraduenture of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is also brued in March and therefore called March beere, but for the household it is usuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one couting to have the same stale as he may, so that it be not sower, and his bread new as is possible so that it be not hot.

The artificer and husbandman make greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by, and have it quicksliest readie, except it be in London when the companies of every trade doo meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferior to the nobilitie. Their food also consisteth principallie in beefe and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to saie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c: whereof he findeth great store in the markets adoining, beside souce, brawe, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of sundrie sorts, cheese, butter, eggs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne provision, which is at the best hand, and commonlie kest charge. In feasting also this latter sort, I mean the husbandmen doo exceed after their maner: especiallie at bridales, purifications of women, and such od meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent, ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie with him as his wife & he doo consult vpou, but alwaies with this consideration, that the leefe frend shall haue the better provision. This also is commonlie scene at these banks, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing seeing bread, drink, sauce, housetroome, and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them doo suffer their inawes to go oft before their claves, and diverse of them by making good cheere doo hinder themselves and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well enough in these jennettings, and therfore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberal, & verie frendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtility, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferior sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as savoureth of scurrillitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clowes, who thinke themselves not to be merie & welcome, if their foolish veins in this behalfe be not so little restraine. This is moreouer to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie use against their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere so great, and themselves to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whom when their bellies be full they will not often store to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no publicke officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vset at the tables of the honorable and wiser sort, generallie over all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no commendation, for it belongeth to gasts neither to be muti nor loquaces) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie scene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surfitting and dronkenesse (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsed thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and country inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whom he is thought
to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surfetting and dronkenmesse, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than willfull following or delighting in those errors of set mind and purpose. It may be that divers of them living at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them having scarse enough of that, are soonest outtaken when they come vnto such bankeits, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greefe vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is done and past. If the frendes also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first daie of their comming, wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little roome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an "You are heartelie welcome" is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes have framed this saient in that behalfe, I mean vpon the interteinement of townsmens and Londoners after the dates of their abod in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis estq; secundus,
Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quotidianus.

The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yeldeth, neverthelesse the gentilite commonlie provide themselves sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilst their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforsed to content themselves with rice, or barley, yea and in time of deaht mane with bread made either of beans, pason, or otes, or of alltogether and some acornes amonge, of which scourg the poorest doo soonest tast, sith they are least able to provide themselves of better. I will not saie that this extremite is oft so well to be seen in time of plentie as of deaht, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in every place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each town and market without any just cause (except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to kepe vp the peces for their owne private gains and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driven to content himselfe with horse-corne, I meane, beans, peason, otes, tares, and lintels: and therefore is it a true prouerbe, and neiuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rice will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some catterpills there are that can saie so much alreadie.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, of the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine Primarius panis, wherof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliver commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushel with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie loaf weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue bene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named because the colour thereof resembleth the graine or yellowish wheat, being clean and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (usualie called gourges or polard) taken. The raule of a kind is of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grousse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more steightly wrought vp, is used in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cityes & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) and by a statute provided by king lohn in that behalfe. The raule of cheat theferefore is commonlie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gourges that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weighing eighteene ounces into the ouen and sixene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that euerie bushell of meale they
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Brown bread.

ad one lively two and twenty or three and twenty pound of water, washing also in some houses there come before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eye, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named brown bread of the colour, of which we have two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the flour are anie whie diminished, this Cekus called Auto-
piras panis, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no flour left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it Panem Cibrarium, and it is not onlie the woost and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for servants, slaverys, and the inferior kind of people to feed vp. Hereunto likewise, because it is drie and bricke in the working (for it will hardly be made vp handsomeley into loaves) some adde a portion of rice meal in our time, whereby the rough drinessse or drie roughlines thereof is somewhat qualified, & then it is named miscefin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diverse doo sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell some at the markets under the aforesaid name.

In champaigne countries much rice and barley bread is eaten, but especially where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betwene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barley: yet here and there I find of both sorts, specially in the north and about Kendal, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rice, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partie touched alreadie, is made of barley, water, and hops, sodden and mingled together by the industrie of our brurers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barley doe come vnto their hands, it sustineth great alteration, and is converted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarce a good malster) chieflie for that forraine writers have attempted to describe the same, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betwene themselves & their marke. In the meanie time beare with me, gentle reader (I bereeche thae) that lead thee from the description of the plentifull diet of our country, vnto the fond report of a servile trade, or rather from a table deliciatlie furnished, into a mustie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherefore I pracie thee be contented.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great towne, but in gentlemens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses, onelie, the winter halfe is thought most meet for that commodity: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow dooth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neverthelesse each one indenoures each to make it of the best barley, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or less quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and taking it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be ready to shooe at the root end, which malsters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to shooe in this manner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning everie daie foure or fife times) by the space of one and twentie daies in the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which oversight or hurt of the stubbe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commodity to the bruer. When it hath gone or beene turned so long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill covered with hair cloth, where they gie it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meanie while they turne it often, that it may be uniformelie dried. For the more, it be dried (yet must it be done with soft fire) the sweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which growth in the floore of the corne, and in processe
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process of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but even the verie rind or huske. The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it looke fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a piece of chalke, after you have bitten a kernell in sundre in the midst, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe together, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is bruised, beside that the drinke is higher of colour, it dooth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, because of the smoke. Such also as use both indifferentlie doo barke, clewe, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moisture that shald procure the furnse, and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied greene, they are in manner so prejudicial to the come, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruining whereof some grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in seethinge well the liquor that shall be put unto it, they add to excuse nine quarters of malt one of headcorne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes groond. But what have I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuerthelesse, sith I have taken occasion to speake of bruining, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it is the usuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid servante, who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

Having therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushele of wheate meale, and so much of otes small groond, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easie discerne the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softly into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill his second liquor be almost ready to boile. This done she letteth his mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leasste the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiveth by the stale and soft issue thereof, and by this time his second liquor in the furnace is ready to seeth, which is put also to the malt as the first woort also againe into the furnace whereunto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth together by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it geteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tarsnesse. But before she putteh his first woort into the furnace, or minglith it with the hops, she taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shuttet vp close, and sufereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she reserveth by it selfe vnto further use, as shall appeare herafter, calling it Brackwoort or Charwoort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the ec. By this time also his second woort is let runne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to coole, she returneth the middle woort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken again, when it begineth to boile and mashed the second time, whilst the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquor) and this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to coole by the first) she letteth it ruine, and then seetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she seeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserveth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serve therefore. Fainlie when she setteh his drinke togither, she addeth to hir brackwoort or charwoort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberryes finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir woort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she proceedeth in such.
Sometimes order as common bruise requireth. Some in steed of arras & bales add so much long pepper onelie, but in his opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggeshes of good beece, such (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am to live withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fourtie pounds a yeare Computatis computandis able to performe) may induce no deeper cut, the charges wherof growth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buic, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, servants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wareing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of beece or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgoe do not observe the time, and therefore speed thereafter in their success, and worthlie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaies determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it feeldeth uppon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguiished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our brurers observe verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they daille occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not, of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next unto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the same lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the ferrone and morish is the worst, and the clearest spring water next unto it. In this busines therfore the skilfull workeman dooth redeeme the quantitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer seene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beece well sodden in the bruising, and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or maluesie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknightes call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted thereto, that they will not ceasse from morow untill evem to visit the same, cleansing house after house, till they destile themselves, and either fall quite under the board, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eyes as halfe sleeping, till the furnace of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such flights also have the aleviues for the vierture of this drinke, that they will mixe it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so dooth he carriage off a drie drunken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Sussex, Kent, Worchester, and other steeds, where these sorts of fruitts doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vano the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Greekes did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delecte in. There is a kind of swish swash made also in Essex, and diverse other places, with bonicombes and water, which the homelie countrie vices, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as lose to be loose bodied at large, or a little cased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much fro the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. True lie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the hauie is wrong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but little labour and
and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countriemen, & somewhat more at large peradventure than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractusion, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be delievered, & my promise to my frend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath bene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakastes in the forenoon, beverages, or nuttions after dinner, and thereto rare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (as toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome whereof Athenaeus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twice at the most lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.) Now these od repasts thankbe God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gommandise of Canutus, ordined after their arriuall, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auriice: but in the end either waxing wearye of their owne frugallitie, or suffering the cocke of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often feeding they surmounted Canutus named the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes five or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and stategic sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontifical bankeets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuositie of fare, long siting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it poueth verie beneficall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies doe appeare, although it be a great expense of time, and worthie of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great meetings doe sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to evening prayer, and returne from thence to come time enough to supper. For my part I am persuaded that the purpose of the Normans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order or Danish custome in feeding once in the daie, and toward the evening, as I haue red and noted. And indeed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians, as may appeare by the words of Socrates, who said vnto the Atheniens, "Oriente sole consilium, occidentem conuivium est cogitandum," although a little something was allowed in the morning to young children which we now call breakaste. Plato called the Sicilians monsters, for that they used to eat twice in the daie. Among the Persians oneie the king dined when the summe was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their stomachs crazed it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite serue refuse not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet Ariusian note it as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16. that the Tyreniens had taken vp an ill custome to feed twice in a daie. Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne in all places, because they would haue their whole familie to go to meat together, and wherenvo they would appoint their guests to come at a certeine length of the shadow, to be perceied in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch saith) did feate before that time, he incurred a note of reprehension as if he had bene gluttonous and givn vnto the bellic, s. Sympos. 6. Their slaines in like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they sure soone after to go to meat. In the scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in Christes time, but taken as a thing latelie sprong vp, when pampering of the bellic began to take hold, occasioned by.idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunted Marius for that he gave himselfe to drinke before the
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That is at three of the clocke at after noone.

* ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Afterwards when gurnandise increased yet more amongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed vnto all nations under their subiection, it came to passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verse saith:

Sex horae tantum rebus tribuantur agendis,
Viure post illas, littera Zetha monet.

Whereunto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this scholio after his maner, saing that from morning vnto noone (which is six of the clocke after the unequall account) each one dooth trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being done, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Greke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is described; for those which point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with 

\[ \xi \eta \theta \iota \], and being joined yeeld \( \xi \eta \theta \iota \), which in English signifieth so much as liue, as if they should meane, eat that thou maist liue. But how Martial diviided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort, these verses following doo more euidentlie declare:

Prima salutantes, atque altera continet horas,
Exercet raocos tertia causidicos.
In quintam varias extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua palestris,
Imperat extractos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima est Eupheme meorum,
Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus ætherico laxetur Nectare Caesar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admittere iocos: gressu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia iouem.

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till glutonicke grew on and altered this good custome. I might here remember also their maner in pulling off their shoes when they sat downe to meat, whereof Martial saith:

Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarmug; liber, &c.

And Tullie also remembereth where he saith Seruum à pedibus ad te misi, which office grew of the said custome, as Seruus ad limina did of keeping the doore, though in most houses both these were commonlie one mans office, also Ad pocula of attending on the cup. But because the good writers of our time haue observed these phrases and such like with their causes and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall treatises, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students, doo ordinallie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to supper at fiue, or betwene fiue and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noone, and six at night especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the termne in our universities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a necelesse matter. I might here take occasion also to set downe the varietie used by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherein almost euerie nation had a seuerall fashion, some beginning of custome (as we doo in summer time) with saletes at supper, and some ending with lettuce, some making their entree with eggs, and shutting vp their tables with
with mulberries, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all sorts. Diverse (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet also) with butter and eggs upon fish dates. But whereas we commonlie begin with the most grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot thinking much to leave the best for his meniall servants maketh his entracte at the best, so that he is sure thewby to leave the worst. We use also our wines by degrees, so that the hottest commeth last to the table, but to stand vpon such toyes would spend much time, and turne to small profit, wherfore I will deal with other things more necessarie for this turne.

OF THEIR APPARELL AND ATTIRE.

CHAP. VII.

AN Englishman, indevouring sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platformes for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his discourse. But in the end (like an orator long without exercise) when he saw what a difficult piece of worke he had taken in hand, he gave ouer his travell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whom he gave a pair of sheares in the one hand, and a piece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked. Sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togethger, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngracious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of judgement, sith the phantasticall folke of our nation, even from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of appereell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie devised by the sickle headed tailors, who court to have seuerall tricks in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inveigh against this enormitie, then describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutability, that to date there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toyes are most fine and delectable, yet long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian slegues, the mandilion worn to Col le weston ward, and the short French breches make such a comelie venture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so dissolved, as are my country men of England. And as these fashions are diverse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiousitie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the fickleness and the folle that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed how adayse vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie suetes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherein to feed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poor workman beare away? and manie times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we pufte, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue or vnder the ears round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our variety of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some...
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some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a lean and straight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wessell becked, then much heare left on the checkes will make the owner looke big like a bowlden hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornells of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorn their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell, for which I saie most nations doo not valuelie deride vs, as also for that we doo scene to imitate all nations round about vs, wherein we be like to the Polyppus or Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doo now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who nevertheless are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoe) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewives onelie, is now become an habit for chaste and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant copdéeses on the breast full of iags & cuts, and sleeves of sundrie colours? their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plump round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdsee, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commendned? I have met with some of these trullkes in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almighty God hath given unto vs to relenc our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogether the grace of God into wantonnesse, for Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all exesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and wast them. I praine God that in this behalfe our saine be not like unto that of Sodoma and Gomorrah, whose errors were pride, exesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and cerneine other points which the prophet shuttreth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by unreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to maintaine the same. Neither was it ever merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some pretie furniture of velvet or furre, and a doubel of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other cornelie silke, without such cuts and grawish colours as are wore in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselves the gaiest men, when they have most diversities of legges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants doe least alter their attire, and therefore are most to becommended: for albeit that which they weare be very fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great piece of the ancient gratuitie appertaining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the younger sort of their wifes both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whom all kind of curiositie is to be found and scene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of heues dauided for the noone, wherewith to plese phrasmatical heads, as goatserd greene, pease porridge tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie galligascons, the diall in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them over thinkinge it sufficent to have saie thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can partiecularlie be spoken of anie constancie thereof.
OF THE HIGH COURT OF PARLEMENT; AND AUTHORITYE OF THE SAME.

CHAP. VIII.

IN speaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not need to remember ought here that is there touched: I will onclee speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemble, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne unto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time scene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanuiled or reformed, which commonlie is divided into two houses or parts, the higher or vpper house consisting of the noblelie, including all euene vnto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whom also the inferior members of the clergie are joined, albeit they sit in diverse places, and these haue to deale onclee in matters of religion, till it come that they joine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the three estates, that is, of the noblelie, clergie, and laicite, sildome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoever the people of Rome did in their Centuriats or Tribunitij comitijs, the same is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his advocate or attorneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie dais, before this assemble be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his noblelie particularie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriff of euerie countie; with commandement to choose two knights within eche of their counties, to give their advise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may choose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daye of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, doo attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after prayers made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The house it selfe is curiouslie furnished with tapisterie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meanes, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middest and a pretie distance from the prince, lie certaine sакkes stuffed with wool or hair, wheron the judges of the realme, the master of the roes, and secretaries of estate doo sit. Howbeit these judges have no voice in the house, but onclee shew what their opinion is of such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to doo: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the council, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by each man severallie, first for himselfe being present, then severallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, saie onclee; Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue already made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ourer
by name do choose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present unto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name dooth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceived of his choice vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh the requests vnto that honorable assembly, first that the house may (as in times past) enjoy his former liberties and privileges: Secondly, that the congregates may frankly show their minds upon such matters as are to come in question: thirdly, that if anie of the lower house doe give anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assembly, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assembly shall be thought convenient: fourthly, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might have free accessse and recourse vnto his majestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolved in the same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or mistake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor dooth answer as appertineth, and this is done on the first day, or peraduenture the second, if it could not be convenientlie performed in the first.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the upper house called the clerk of the parliament, whose office is to read the bills. For euerything that concerneth in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall think good; that doone they go to another, and so to the third, &c.: the instrument still holie or in part raced or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the upper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will have it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which doone, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vterance of these words, "Are ye contented that it be enacted or no?" the clerk writeth vnderneath "Soit balle aux commons," and so when they see time they send such bills approv'd to the commons by some of them that sit on the woolll sacks, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, doo vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir Thomas Smith dooth declare and set them downe, whose oneflower direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiring him with the like borrowage as he hath vse'd toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his traveull. "Master speaker, my lords of the vpper house have passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parliament such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they prais you therefore to consider & shew your advice vpon them." Which doone they goe their waye, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presenteth demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c.: which are solemnlie read, or their contents brevilly shewed and then debated vpon among them.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be scene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerkse, who readeth such bills as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they think meeet, either for the abrogation of old or making of newe lawes. All bills be thrise and on diverse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verry good order is use'd in the lower house, wherein he that will speaketh giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seen to move out of his place, and taketh his tale vnto the speaker, without reuersall of his name whose speeches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses...
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

courses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that day, so one man cannot speak twice to one bill in one day though he would change his opinion, but 'on the next he may speak againe, & yet but once as afores. No vile, seditious, varisuous or biting words are used in this assembly, yet if anie happen to escape and be utter'd, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assembly and custom in that behalfe. In the afternoon they sit not except upon some urgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to move or dissuade the fartherance or saie of anie bill, but his office is vp on the reading thereof brede to declare the contents. It anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, "Les commons ont assignust:" so if the lords agree upon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, "Les seignours ont assignust." If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betwene the upper and nether houses, by certaine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, whereupon if no small agreement by the more part can be obtained, the bill is dashed and rejected, or (as the saies is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can give his voice by proxie but in his owne person, and after the bill twice read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whereupon if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith; "So manie as will have this bill go forward saie Yeas." Hereupon so manie as allow of the thing crieth Yeas, the other No, & as the cri is more or losse on either side, so is the bill to state or else go forward. If the number of negatius and affirmatius voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part doo care away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part rejected, the bill is put to certaine committtis to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passe, or stath as the voices yeld thereto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses have agreed vnto them, and yet not holde for law till the prince have gien his assent. Vpon the last daie thersore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks given to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their pains, with promise of recompence as opportunitie & occasion shall serve therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act passe in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, "Le roy veult." If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them "Le roy aduisera." And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holde for law, and all imprinted except such as concern some private persons, which are onely exemplified under the seal of the parlement, as privilegges to his vs. And this is the summe of the manner after which our parlements in England are holde, without which no forfaiture of life, membre or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordained for the same before hand, is available or can take place amongst vs. And so much in manner out of the third chapter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: wherunto I will annex a table of the countis, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and dooth issue as followeth.
THE NAMES OF COUNTIES, CITIES, BOROUGHS, AND PORTS, SENDING KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, BURGESSSES, AND BARONS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

**Bedford.**
Knights.
The borough of Bedford.

**Buckingham.**
Knights.
The borough of Buckingham.
The borough of Aylesburie.

**Berkeshire.**
Knights.
The borough of New Windsore.
The borough of Reading.
The borough of Wallingford.
The borough of Abington.

**Cornwall.**
Knights.
The borough of Launceston alias Newport.
The borough of Lostwithiel.
The borough of Dunheuer.
The borough of Truro.
The borough of Bodmin.
The borough of Helston.
The borough of Saltash.
The borough of Camelford.
The borough of Portghsam alias Portlow.
The borough of Graunpount.
The borough of Eastlow.
The borough of Prurie.
The borough of Tregonie.
The borough of Trebcuma alias Bossinnie.
The borough of S. Ies.
The borough of Fowia.
The borough of Germaine.
The borough of Michell.
The borough of saint Maries.

**Cumberland.**
Knights.
The citie of Caerleill.

**Cambridge.**
Knights.
The borough of Cambridge.

**Chester.**
Knights.
The citie of Chester.

**Darbie.**
Knights.
The borough of Darbie.

**Devon.**
Knights.
The citie of Excester.
The borough of Totnes.
The borough of Plymouth.
The borough of Barnestable.
The borough of Plamton.
The borough of Pauestocke.
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines.

**Dorsetshire.**
Knights.
The borough of Poole.
The borough of Dorchester.
The borough of Linnne.
The borough of Melcombe.
The borough of Waremouth.
The borough of Bereport.
The borough of Shaftesburie.
The borough of Warham.

**Essex.**
Knights.
The borough of Colchester.
The borough of Maldon.

**Yorkshire.**
Knights.
The citie of Yorke.
The borough of Kingston upon Hull.
The borough of Navesborough.
The borough of Skardborough.
The Borough of Rippon.
The borough of Hudon.
The borough of Boroughbridge.
The borough of Thoske.
The borough of Aldeborough.
The borough of Beverlee.

**Glocestershire.**
Knights.
The citie of Glocester.
The borough of Cirencester.

**Huntingtonshire.**
Knights.
The borough of Huntingdon.
Hertfordshire.
Knights.
The borough of Saint Albans.

Herefordshire.
Knights.
The city of Hereford.
The borough of Lempster.

Kent.
Knights.
The city of Canterbury.
The borough of Maidstone.
The borough of Charing.

Lincoln.
Knights.
The city of Lincoln.
The borough of Boston.
The borough of Grantham.

Leicestershire.
Knights.
The borough of Leicester.

Lancashire.
Knights.
The borough of Lancaster.
The borough of Preston in Andernes.
The borough of Lancaster.
The borough of Wigan.
The borough of Clitheroe.

Middlesex.
Knights.
The city of London.
The city of Westminster.

Monmouth.
Knights.
The borough of Monmouth.

Northampton.
Knights.
The city of Northampton.
The borough of Barkley.
The borough of Higham Ferrers.

Nottingham.
Knights.
The borough of Nottingham.
The borough of Estreatford.

Norfolk.
Knights.
The city of Norwich.
The borough of Linne.
The borough of Great Linnet.
The borough of Thetford.
The borough of Castell Rising.

Northumberland.
Knights.
The borough of Newcastell upon Tweed.
The borough of Morpeth.
The borough of Berwick.

Oxford.
Knights.
The city of Oxford.
The borough of Bamburie.
The borough of Woodstock.

Rutland.

Surrey.
Knights.
The borough of Southwark.
The borough of Blechingleigh.
The borough of Rigate.
The borough of Guildford.
The borough of Gatton.

Stafford.
Knights.
The city of Lichfield.
The borough of Stratford.
The borough of Newcastell under Linne.
The borough of Tamworth.

Salop.
Knights.
The borough of Salop.
The borough of Bruges alias Bridgenorth.
The borough of Ludlow.
The borough of WenLOCK.

Southampton.
Knights.
The city of Winton.
The borough of Southamptont.
The borough of Portsmout.
The borough of Petesfield.
The borough of Stockebridge.
The borough of Christchurch.
**THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>County</th>
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**Sussex.**

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**Westmorland.**

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**Wilton.**

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**Warwike.**

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**Barons of the ports.**

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**Mountgomerie.**

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**Flint.**

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**Carneys.**

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**Glamorgan.**

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*The*
OF THE LAWES OF ENGLAND SINCE HIR FIRST INHABITATION.

CHAP. IX.

THAT Samothes or Dis gave the first lawes to the Celte (whose kingdom he erected about the fiftteenth of Nimbrote) the testimonie of Berosus is prooue sufficient. For he not onelie affirmed hym to publish the same in the foureth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirm. What his lawes were, it is now altogethor vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absoluutely denye, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolishe such as were in use before them.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had beeene torene with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine.

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whom his subjects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he proued such a prince, as after his death there was in maner no subject, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in governance, seuer administration of justice, and prouident framing of his waies and constitutions, for the government of his subjects. His people also, enouging to continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, so long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obtained the superioritie of the kingdom, the majestie of those lawes fell for a time into such decaie, that although "Non penitus ceclit, tunen potuit cecidine videri," as Leland saith, and the decrees themselves had vterlie perish'd in deces at the verie first brunt, had they not beene preserved in Wales, where they remained amongst the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the conuincing of the Normans, but even vntill the time of Edward the first, who obteining the soveraigne of that portion, indemoure verie earnestlie to extinguish those of Mulmutius, and to establishe his owne.

But as the Saxons at their first arrivaill did what they could to abolish the British lawes, so in processe of time they yielded a little to relent, & not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receive and imbrace the same, especiallie at such time as the said Saxon princes entered into amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that began to joine in matrimoine with the British ladies, as the British barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an especial statute and decre, wherof in another treatise I haue made mention at large. Hereof also it came to passe in the end, that they were contented to make a chosie, vol. 1. 2 Q and
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and insert no small numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by those of Athenelbert the great, surnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west Saxons, and diverse other yet extant to be scene. Such also was the laterward estimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulnutius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine) to be first expounded unto them, and in this perusall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might serve their turnes, they forthwith remade the same, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the best, but gathered together all such whatsoever the said Mulnutius had made: and then to the end they should lie no more in corners as forborne booke, and vndone to the learned of his kigndome, he caused them to be turned into the Saxon tongue, wherein they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither regarded the Brittish, nor cared for the Saxon statutes, they also at the first vterlie disliked of them, till at the last, when they had well weied that one kind of regimient is not convenient for all peoples, and that no stranger, being in a forren country newlie brought vnder obedience, could make such equall ordinances, as he might thereby governe his new common-wealth without some care & trouble: they fell in with such a desire to see by what rule the state of the land was governed in time of the Saxons, that haung perused the same, they not onelie commended their manner of regimient, but also admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant under the name of S. Edwards lawes, and used as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost intollerable burden of servitude which they had late laid upon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great number of the old Mulnutian lawes, whereof the most part are in vs to this daie as I said, albeit that we know not ceterne how to distinguish them from others, that are in strength amongst vs.

After Duwallon, the next lawgiver was Maris, whome Leland surnamed Proba; and after him John Bale also, who in his Centuries dooth justyce confesse himselfe to have benec holpen by the said Leland, as I my selfe doo likewise for manie things contained in this treatise. Shee was wife vnto Guteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands decease in the nonage of hir sonne, and seeing manie things daile to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kigndome, which hir subjectes when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I doo not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes of Mulnutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this excellendie well learned ladie (whome diverse commend also for hir great knowledge in the Greke tongue) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to passe that they were daile executed among his subjectes, afterward allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vs in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not dissect them also verie readily from the other.

The seconde alteration of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpass the vs of the chilf ordinanes vsed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Civilians of our contrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie received by all the generall regions of this land. Certes there are great numbers of these later, which yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the most part under the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beside these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people of middle England were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the second; as Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Herfordshire were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and intollerable. And as in these daies what soever the prince in publicke assembly commanded vpon the necessarie of his subjectes, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had appointed anie certaine place, wherevnto his people might reipaire at fixed times for justice, but caused them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper person they would often determine their causes, and so make shortest
shortest works, or else commit the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them away. Neither had they any house appointed to assemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we have now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund gaine laws at London & Lincoln, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodstock and Wanmetting, Athelstane in Excester, Greck-lade, Fenersham, & Thundersleie, Canatus at Winchester, &c: other in other places, whereof this may suffice.

Among other things also vsed in the time of the Saxons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it containeth not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I have faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuerthelesse, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and vew in that behalf. But what stand I hereupon?

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, wherof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare footed vpone certeine plough shoules red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoever did bear or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adjudged guiltie, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or struggling for life, he was forthwith acquitted as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie upon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arm vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to show the unlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England untill the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtleties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restraine) did extinguish it altogether as that lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: "Here beginneth the execution of justice, whereby the gilie or vngilie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and prayer, the priest being clad in all his holy vestures, sauing his vestinent, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saie, O all ye worke of God the Lord, and in Latine Boni die omnia opera, &c: he shall carie it solemnlie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words over the place where the fire is kinded, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueh: Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in co sanitatis, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimoniam, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudine legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui
spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo. In English: Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humiliatie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire. Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vol mundum) vt ab eo lume accendamus igne claritatis tuae. Et sicut igne illuminasti Mosen, ita nunc illuminum corda nostram, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam aeternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father Almighty, light everlasting, heare vs, Sith thou art the maker of all lights. Blesse O Lord this light, that is already sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightness. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserve to come to everlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the Pater noster, &c: then these words: Saluam fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c. That is, O Lord save thy servant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holy place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

"The prayer. Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni daemonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c. In English: Blesse we beseech thee O Lord, holy father, everlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holy name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holy ghost, and to the manifestacion of thy true judgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtilie removed, the manifest truth of thy true judgement may be revealed, by the same Lord Jesus, &c.

"After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holy water, and whilst it heareth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath received the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the manner.

The office of the masse.

"Justus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art just, &c.

The Praier.

"Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, qua pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quod meruit, iustitia tua praeeunte, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mercatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sins of thy servant, that being d-burdened from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benigneite, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued thy mericie preventing him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.


"In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrerens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum duces. Magister bone, quid faciam vt vitam aeternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicas bonum? &c. In those daies when Jesus went forth toward his iournie, and one meeting him in the waye running, and kneeling vnto him, asked him 8 saient:
saïeng: Good master what shall I doo that I may possessse eternall life? Jesus said vnto him; 
Whie callest thou me good? &c. Then followeth the secret, and so forth all of the rest of the masse. 
But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall use these words vnto him: Adiourte per patrem, & filum, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepi, & per sanctas reliquias quae in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerat, ut non pretium sibi modo communicare, neq; accedendo ad altare, si hoc facitis aut consensistis, &c. I aduire thee by the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost, by the true christendome which thou hast receiued, by the holy relics which are in this church, and by the baptism wherewith the priest hath regenerated the: that thou presume not by any maner of means to come about the altar, if thou hast donee or consented vnto this, whereof thou art accused, &c. Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, saïeng; Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesus Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie. This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a triall this day. The prayer: Perceipis Domine Deus noster sacris numeribus, supplicius depromptur, ut huius participatio sacramenti a propriis nos reatibus expedit, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c. Hauing receiued O Lord God these holy mysteries, we humbly beseech thee that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinesse, and in this thy servante set forth the trust. Then shall follow Kyrieeleon, the Letanie, and certeine Psalmses, and after all them Oremus: Let vs praye. Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendest, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldaorum quibusdam pereuntibus erusi, Deus qui rubrum ardere ante conspectum Mosis & minimem comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis plerisque sucessinis, tres pueros tuos illas eos educisti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodome inuolvens, Loth famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in adventu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infelixibus decrueisti: ostende nobis in hoc proutatis nostrae examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feroxem discernere infideles, ut a tecto eius cuius inquisitione agitur, conscius exterrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero peinitus illasius permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnaquam secreta effugiant, fidei nostrae tuam bonitate responde, & praesta ut quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absolutur ut innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. In English thus: O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy servante from the burning of the Chaldees, whilst other perished; O God which did persuade the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the three children from bodilie harme in the furnace of the Chaldees, whilst diuers were consumed; O God which by fire didst wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from peril; O God which by the shining of thy brightness at the conning of the holi ghost in likenesse of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beleued not: shew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discerne the faithfull from the vnafaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in same, &c. O God from whom no secrets are hidden, let thy goodnesse answer to our faith, and grant that who soever in this purgation, shall touch and bare this iron, either be tried an innocent, or revealed as an offendor, &c. After this the priest shall sprinkle the iron with holie water saïeng: The blessing of God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, be vpon this iron, to the revelation of the just judgement of God. And foorthwith let him that is accused bearre it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and sound, let him give thanks to God. And thus much of the firie Ordalia, whereunto that of the water hath so precise relation, that in setting foorth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine to deale amic further withall. 
Hitherto also (as I thinke) sufficiantlie of such lawes as were in vs before the conquest. Now it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue beene made and receiued since
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since the coming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of governance, and thereunto doo produce three score and fourse seuerall courts. But for asmuch as I am no lawyer, and therefore haue but little skill to proceed in the same accordinglie, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vsed in our daies, and so much as I have gathered by report and common hearsaie.

We have therefore in England sundrie lawes, and first of all the cuill, vsed in the chanleerie, admeraltie, and diverse other courts, in some of which, the seuerse rigor of justice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diverse things are thereby made casie and tolerable, which otherwise would appeare to be meerse injurie and extremetie.

We have also a great part of the Canon law dailie practised among vs, especially in cases of tithe, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be scene in the consistories of our bishops and higher courts of the two archbishops, where the exercise of the same is verie hotlie followed. The third sort of lawes that we have are our owne, & those alwaies so variable, & subject to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diverse judgements doo passe vpon one maner of case, whereby the saing of the poet,

"Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis;"

may verie well be applied vnto such, as being vrged with these words; In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doo answer nothing else, but that the judgement of our lawyers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regimen that we have therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, according to the triple maner of our trials and judgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelve men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vsed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the first and last rehearsed. But to returne to my purpose.

The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the most part holden at Westminster nere London, is the highest of all other, & consisteth of three seuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And there to is not summoned, but vpon vrgent occasion when the prince dooth see his time, and that by seuerall writs, dated commonlie full sixe weckes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the convocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occasion so require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the end to be confirmed by the prince, who commonlie resorted theither of custome, vpon the first and last daies of this court, there to understand what is done, and give his roiall consent to such statutes as he liketh of. Comming therefore theither into the higher house, and haung taken his thron, the speaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betwene the houses, as an indifferant mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the said thre estates, and then craneth the princes consent and finall confirmation to the same. The king haung heard the summe and principall points of each estatute brieflie recited vnto him, answereith in French with great deliberation vnto such as he liketh ("Il nous plait"), but to the rest "Il ne plait," whereby the latter are made void and frustrate. That also which his majestie liketh of, is hereby authorised, confirmed, & ever after holden for law, except it be repeated in anie the like assemblie. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the cleargie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of England hath two gentlemen or knighnts of greatest wisdome and reputation, chosen out of the bodie of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that for Wales one only is supposed sufficient in every countie, whereby the number aformentioned is made vp. There are likewise fourtie and sixe citize, 289 burgesses, and foureteene barons, so that the whole assemblie of the laite of the lower house, consisteth of fourteene thriate and nine persons, if the just number be supplied. Of the lawes here made likewise some are penall and restraine the common law, and some againe are found to enlargie the same. The one sort of these also
also are for the most part taken stricte according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiary after their intendment and meaning.

The Common law standeth uppon sundrie maximnes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo conteine such cases as by great studio and solemnne argument of the judges sound practised confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the course of most ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and thereto the deepest reach and foundations of reason, are ruled and adjudged for law. Certes these cases are otherwise called pleas or action, whereof there are two sorts, the one criminal and the other civil. The meanes and messengers also to determine those causes are our writs or briefes, whereof there are some original and some judicall. The parties plaintiff & defendant when they appeare proceeded (if the case doo so require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer, replication, rejoinder, and so by rebut, surrrebut to issue and trall if occasion so fall out, the one side affirmatiiue, the other negatiiue as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoveries are either by verdict and demoure, confession or Default, wherein if anie negligence or trespass hath bene committed, either in prouesse and forme, or in matter and judgement, the partie grieved may have a writ of error to vnndo the same, but not in the same court where the former judgement was gitten.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable customs used in some prouat countree, intende first to begin upon good and reasonable considerations, as gaull kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge retained, and no where else in England. It was at the first devised by the Romans, as appeareth by Cesar in his commentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebells Germaines, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth still in England) should have their fathers inheritance equallie divided amongst them. By this meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before time for the space of sixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the space of thirty yeares after this law made, their power did wax so feeble, and such discord fell out amongst themselves, that they were not able to maintaine warres with the Romans, nor raise anie just armie against them. For as a ricer running with one streame is swift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: so the lands and goods of the ancestors being dispersed amongst their issue males, of one strong there were raised sundrie weake, whereby the original or generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became infeebled and brought almost to nothing. "Vis vnita (saith the philosopher) fortior est eadem dispersa," and one good purse is better than manie cuill, and when euerie man is benefited alik, each one will seek to maintaine his private estate, and few take care to provide for publique welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the youngest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of manie countrees of this region: also the woman to have the third of hir husbands possessions, the husband that mariteth an heire to have such lands as mone by hir during his natural life, if he suruive hir, and hath a child by hir which hath bene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c.: of such like to be learned elsewhere, and sometimes frequented generally over all.

Prescription is a certeine custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than customarie law, as where onlie a parish or some priuie person dooth prescribe to have common, or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be payed after this or that manner, I meaneth otherwise than the common course and order of the law requireth, whereof let this suffice at this time, in seced of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should seem to enter farre into that whereof I have no skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to diverse persons?

There are also sundrie usuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word Terminus, wherein all controversies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. These are commonlie holden at London, except
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except upon some great occasion they be transferred to other places. At what times also
they are kept both for spiritual and temporall dealing, the table issuing shall casilie declare.
Finallie how well they are followed by syturs, the great wealth of lawyers without ane traunell
of mine can readilie expresse. For as after the conning of the Normans the nobiletie
had the start, and after them the clargie: so now all the wealth of the land dooth flow unto
our common lawiers, of whom some one hauing practised little aboue thirtene or fourtene
yeares is able to buie a purchase of so manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax
rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more viser & warie here-
after. It is not long, since a sergent at the law (whome I could name) was arrested upon
an extent, for three or four hundred pounds, and another standing by did greatlie maruell
that he could not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction of that dutie. The time
hath bene that our lawiers did sit in Powles vpon stooles against the pillers and walettes to get
clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in Lon-
don vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the lest. And one being demanded why he made
so much of his trauell, answered, that it was but folie for him to go so farre, when he was
assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late
of some vnlue, and to be sure of counsel at his time, he gat vnto two lawiers (whose names
I forbear to deliver) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein
his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, wher-
upon he staid for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former
gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe served him as be-
fore. In the end he met them both in the verie hallo doore, and after some timorous repre-
hension, of their vnconterous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or
fourre more vpon each of them, whereupon they promised peremptorialie to speake earnestlie
in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vttered de-
cicie: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand be-
fore the judge, he spake not aboue thrice or foure words; almost so soone vttered as a good
morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and
the care which his counsellours did scienie to take of his cause, then standing vpon the
hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men
can hace for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmuringes that are on all sides
vttered against their excesse taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should
extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is convenient for my purpose. Where-
fore it shall suffice to hace set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is even
enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except
they be dull and senselesse.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land
have erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the case
of poore men dwelling in those partes, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most con-
tentious) refuse to hauie his cause heard so nere home, but indeuoured rather to his vtt-
endoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there soonest to prevalie against his aduersarie,
thus his case he neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen doe exceed of all
that euer I heard, for you shall here and there have some one od poore David of them giuen
so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London,
though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to save their feet
from wearing) because he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make
such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will some-
times carie downe six or seuen writs with him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neigh-
bore, though the greatest quarrel be scarcele worth the fee that he hath paid for ane one of
them. But inough of this, least in revealing the superfuous Fellie of a few brablers in this
behalf, I bring no good will to my selue amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a
lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are daily abuse and vtterlie
vndoone,
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

vndoone, by sundrie varlets that go about the country, as promoters or brokers betwixt the petit foggers of the lawe, and the common people, one and to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reap commoditie, and the other spend and be put to travaile. But of all that ever I knew in Essex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Luddlow, alias Mason came in place, vnto whom in comparison they two were but children: for this last in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreme miserie (if beggerie be the vtttermost) that before he had the shawing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherwith to sustaine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfy that greedie rauenour, which still called upon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, even with care and penituences. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was never sheepe shorne in Maie, so neere clipped of his fleeces present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let away his land, because his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes containing their beginings and endings, as I have borrowed them from my friend John Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little above one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses employed vpon the same, should be no small cause of the staine and hinderance of the administration of justice in this land: but as it falleth out they prove great occasions and the staine of much contention. The reasons of these are soon to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeve dooth hold the elbow backe, and paine of travaile cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and fear of delaie dooth drive those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would live at strife, and quickelie be at odds. Some men desirous of gains would have the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would have the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the termes are rather too short than too long by one returne a piece: so if there were smaller rooms and Fowler waies vnto them, they would enforce manie to make pawses before they did rashly enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliver the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

A perfect rule to know the begining and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilarij terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuari (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelue of Februarie, it hath foure returns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Octabis Hilarij.</th>
<th>Crastino Purific.</th>
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Easter terme beginneth seuentene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath five returns.

|--------------|-------|----------------|

Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returns.

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<tr>
<td>Octabis Trinitatis.</td>
<td>Tres Trinitatis.</td>
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VOL. 1. 2 R
Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sandeale) and ending the eight and twentith of November, it hath eight returns.


Note also that the escheker, which is Fiscus aequalium publicum principis, openeth eight daisies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but four daisies before.

And thus much for our usuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, whereunto I think to good to adde the lawdais accustomedly holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and civill courts throughout the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarce the one halfe of the time if it be diligentie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being sowe in the meanse season, that the use of the popish calendar is so much retaine in the same, and not rather the usuall daisies of the moneth placed in their roomes, sith most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go away so easile, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to kepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith. | Simon & Lu. | Edmund. | Conception of
S. Edward. | All Soules. | Katharine. | the virgin

It is to be remembred that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoon. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for civill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where justice is ministred & execution done continually according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoon. And the selfe daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoon, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Queenes highness commissioners upon appeals is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.


Note that the fourf first daisies of this terme be certaine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept because the lawdaie of the other feast dooth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be observed in order, as they may be kept convenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seventh in order, yet it hath no certaine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter
Easter terme.

The fiftenth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege. S. Mark. Invention of the crosse.  

† In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftenth daie after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, doo come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fiftenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie sundae. Corpus Christi. Boniface bish.  

S. Swithin. S. Margaret. S. Anne.

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by mean of Whitsum tide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papisticall feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day aforesaid: which changeth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other law daies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought meet.

It is also generallie to be observed, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundae or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundae, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

OF PROVISION MADE FOR THE POORE.

CHAP. X.

THERE is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherein there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarie to be relieved by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to utter confusion. With vs the poore is commonly diuided into three sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is judged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded sooldier, the decayed householder, and the sick person visited with grievous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotor that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finally the rogue and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in Sunder, but runne too and fro over all the realme, cheefelie keeping the champaine soiles in summer to avoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

For the first two sorts, that is to make, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whom the word dooth bind vs to make some dailie provision: there is order taken through out euery parish in the realme, that weeklie collect
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ner coniure or aduare the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as judging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouthes of none than the rest, which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheele to have a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which having sound and perfect limes, doo yet notwithstanding sometyme counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diverse times in their apparell also they will be like serving men or laborors: ofteentimes they can plaine the mariners, and secke for ships which they never lost. But in fine, they are all theues and caterpillers in the common-wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but lice the sweat from the true laborers broues, & beare the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to maintaine their excessse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable maner.

It is not yet full thre'escore yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to judge, for they are now suppos'd of one sex and another, to amount vnto about 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they have deuised a language among themselves, which they name Cauting, but other pedlers French, a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuing, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke, a just reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman of late hath taken great pains to search out the secret practises of this vn-gratious rable. And among other things he seteth downe and describeth thre & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, whereby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

The severall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds.

1 Rufflers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild roges.
6 Priggers or pransers.
7 Palliards.

8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freshwater mariners, or whiplayers.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Tarkemen or patricoes.

Of women kind
1 Demanders for glimmer or fire.
2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autom mortes.
5 Walking mortes.

6 Doxes.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cooes.

The punishment that is ordain'd for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be maritall law, to be exercised upon them, as upon theues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enemies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pileries, murders, rapes, and stealings of young children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their limbs to make them pitiful in the sight of the people, I need not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordaineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committeth to prisoyn, and tried in the next assisses (whether they be of gale deluerie or sessions of

Thomas Harman.
of the peace) if he happen to be convicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adjudged to be greevouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right ear, with an hot iron of the compass of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment received for the same. And this judgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person woorth five pounds in the queenes books in goods, or twenty shillings in lands, or some rich householder to be allowed by the justices, will be bound in recognisance to retaine him in his service for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to have forsaken his said service, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other ear and set to service: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellow (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appearre. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gape about the countrie, using unlawfull games, practisers of physiognomy and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fencers, plaiers, minstrels, jugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our bearerswards are not excepted, and just cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarie, or for want of power to master their sauage beastes, beene occasion of the death and deoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is & haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearerswards in Germanie, whereof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queenes maisterie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it shall please the justices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twenty shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such provision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

OF SUNDRIE KINDS OF PUNISHMENTS APPOINTED FOR MALEFACTORS.

CHAP. XI.

IN cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capital crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offender is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vSED in other countries we haue no knowledge or use, and yet so few greevous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To use torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaies to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosing rather franklie to open our minds than to yeeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vSED in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons doo go so cheerefullie to their deaths, for our nation is fre, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as sir Thomas Smith saith lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vSED as villaines and slaves, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile tormentes. No, our gailers are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the revealing of his complices.

The greatest and most greevous punishment vSED in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hurdle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered alive, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire provided neere hand and within their owne sight, even for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespass
be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when
souer ane of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peers, that is to say, 
equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not upon them, but one of the lords of the par-
lement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads oncic, notwithstanding
that the sentence doo run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason,
fellonic, or anie other greuous crime not confessed, the partie accused dooth yield, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I have said) and his peers: if a gentleman,
by gentlemen: and an inferior, by God and by the courie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatie in use) and being condenome of fellonic, main-slaughter, &c: he is elssoons hanged by the neckes till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended maliece, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged allie in chaines neere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continued till his bones consume to nothing. We haue use neither of the whole nor of the barre, as in other countreies; but when wilfull main-slaughter is perpetrated, beside hänging, the offender hath his right hand commonlie striken off before or neere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led foorth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is derived of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and
wicked one, a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for euill euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word fellonie are manie greuous
criimes conuited, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes
liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors
An. 1. of Henrie the seventh. Rape or stealing of women & maides An. 3 of Henrie the
eight. Conspiration against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenthe. Embes-
ulling of goods committed by the master to the servant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An.
17. of Henrie the eight. Carieing of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the
eight. Sedonie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of haukes eggs An. 31.
of Henrie the eight. Conjurin, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 38. of Hen.
Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the sixt. Diminution of coine, all off-
enses within case of prumunire, embesulling of records, goods taken from dead men by
their servants, stealing of what souer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or
doing of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of dore by night, coun-
terfeiteors of coine, cedences, charters, and writings, & diverse other needlesse to be remem-
bred. If a woman poison her husband she is burned alife, if the servant kill his master he
is to be executed for petit treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in wa-
ter or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the acces-
saries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning
in the forehead with the letter P, the retailing of the trees growing vpon the grounds
of the offenders and losse of all his moveables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the
cutting of one or both cares from the head of the offender, as the vterance of seditious words
against the magistrate, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the cares,
carrie of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are
either boiled or skalded to death in lead or scething water. Hereinke are burned quicke,
harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and dooing of open penance in sheets, in
churches and market stedes are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some
either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offenders, so I
would wish adulterie and fornication to have some sharper law. For what great smart is it
to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose
gaine vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them over the Thames
betwene
between Lambeth and Westminster at the tail of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifyeth them which are condemned therto; but this is inflicted upon them by none other than the knight marshal, and that within the compass of his jurisdiction & limits onelie. Canan was the first that gave authority to the clearieg to punish whoredome, which at that time was more than common; whereby it appeared of what estimation marriage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holy estate were so greuouslylie rewarded. But afterward the clearieg dealt more favorably with them, shooting rather at the punishments of such priests and clercakes as were married, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie secularie was shewed, except upon such base men as had defiled their nuns. As in their therefore so in adulterie and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaves vnto those that received the iniurie, to sell and glue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would prove more bitter to them than halfe an horas hanging, or than standing in a shet, though the weather be never so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the pursse, wherein the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 60, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I have spoken more at large. Such as kill themselves are buried in the field with a stake driven through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but theues are hanged (as I said before) generally on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that who sooer dooth commit anie fallonie, and is taken with the same, or confess the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirteenth pence halfe pence, he is foorthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall usuallie vpon the tuesdayes, thursdayes, & saturdayes) or else vpon the same daie that he is so convicted, if market be then holden. The engine where-with the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and downe in a slot, rathe, or regall betweene two pieces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of foure yards in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawn vp to the top of the frame is there fastened by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe amonge the people, so that when the offender hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, curie man there present doeth either take hold of the rope (or puttheth forth his armie so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true justice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened dooth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offender be apprehended for an ox, oxen, sheepe, kine, horse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall have the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driven doo draw out the pin whereby the offender is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that country in this behalfe.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scoldes are ducked vpon cucking-stooleis in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignement are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a board, that lieth ouer their breast, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto
unto their wives and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Théneues that are saued by their bookees and cleargie, for the first offense, if they have stollen nothing else but oxen, sheepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high wai side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or dooeres, are burned in the left hand, vp on the brawne of the thome with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraie they to have beene arraigned of fellonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to have no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of sauing by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordainéd that law. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was devised to traine the inhabitors of this land to the loute of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie gowing themselves to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euem their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courage, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to avoid, whencesoever anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consuited vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admiralite, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue overwashed them. Finalie, such as hauing wals and banks néeere vnto the sea, and doo suffer the same to decaye (after convenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the country, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vp on them, as I haue heard reported.

And thus much in part of the administration of justice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not sildome seene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some man-slaughter and bloudic robberies are perpetratéd and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischēfe done in England than by robberies, the first by yoong shifting gentlemens, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to maintaine. Secondlie by seruingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them brēches, wherefore they are now and then constraine either to kēpe high waiers, and brake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to see and view which horses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard adventure it liath beene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselves in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings have beene bewraied. It is not long since one of this company was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie towneman, he vterred also more horses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable pe-niworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentelman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beleued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great mischēfe in all places where they become. For wheras the rich onelie suffer injurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or four hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth...
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it vpon the report of the bishop of Lexouia) in the geniture of king Edward the sixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his laws verie severelie against such idle persons, I meane great theuevs, petic theuevs and rogues, did hang vp threescore and twelve thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greastlie to have terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but scene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shawe hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theuevs and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well provided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slauherto or murther committed, the constable of the village whereunto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offender is harbored and found. It is also provided, that if any parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffreth the theefe (for the avoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I have knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to have escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for vnt of watch & gard, that theuevs have benec let passe, because the couetous and greedy parishioners would neither take the pains, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie benec made euon to the faces of some constables, they have said; “God restore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time.” And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

OF THE MANER OF BUILDING AND FURNITURE OF OUR HOUSES.

C H A P. XII.

THE greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onlie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communaltie (except here & there in the West countrie townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diverse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many radels, with stable and all offices vnder one rooffe, the like whereof almost is to be scéne in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in speaking of building to make a distinction betweene the plaine and wooddie soiles: for as in these, our houses are commonly strong and well timbered, so that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, six, or nine inches betwene stud and stud; so in the open and champaine countrie they are inforced for want of stuffe to use no studs at all, but onlie franke posts, raisins, beames, prickeposts, ground-sells, summers (or dormants) transoms, and such principalls, with here and there a griding, wherevnto they fasten their splints or radels, and then cast it all ouer with thicke claie to kepe out the wind, which otherwise would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made
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the Spaniards in quëene Maries daies to woonder, but chëeflie when they saw what large diet was vse in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: "These English" (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and dart, but they faire commonlie so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such course cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princlie habitationes and palaces. In like sort as euerie countrie house is thus appareled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they cover them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be neere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of these the first dooth particip verie much with the nature of our chalke, the second is called lome, but the third etsoones changeth colour so soone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent Asbestos or white lime, made in most places, wherewith being quenched we strike ouer our claie workes and stone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houses: otherwise in steed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones and shells of osters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being converted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eschew water whereby it is dissoluted, and neuerthelesse desire oile wherewith it is easilie mixed, as I haue seene by experience. Within their doores also such as are of abilitie doo oft make their flores and parget of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plastering likewise of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laye first a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with sapaths for falling downe) and finallie cover all with the aforesaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stuffe it selfe, is laied on so euen and smoothlie, as nothing in my judgment can be done with more exactnesse. The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seene with oke of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stooones we haue not hitherto vseid them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and neede shall require. This also hath bene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene (for example in most streets of London) that many of our greatest houses have outwardlie bene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreover it is come to passe, that the fronts of our streets have not bene so uniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the vtsides of their mansions and dwellings have oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth conforme. Of old time our countrie houses in steed of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifs of oke in chekerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding vseid some glasse also since the time of Benedict Biscop the moonke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land) did make panels of horne in steed of glasse, & fix them in woodden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, because

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glasce is come to be so plentiful, and within a very little so good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obscure mention of the specular stone also to have beene found and applied to this use in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certaine. Neuerthelesse certeine it is that antiquity used it before glasse was known, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember even at this present, although it be directlie beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & neree to the foot of mount Carmell there is a moore or marris, wherout riseth a brooke called sometime Belus, and falleth into the sea neree to Ptolemais. This river was fondlie ascribed vnto Baall, and also honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Israel. It came to passe also as a certaine merchant sailed that way laden with Nitrum, the passengers went to land for to repose themselves, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessell. Being also on the shore they kindled a fire, and made provision for their dinner, but because they wanted treuets or stones whereon to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great pieces of Nitrum with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the gravel that lay vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the compaine saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and foorthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historic may well be true: for I read of glasse in lob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceived by writers. Now to turne againe to our windows. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be scene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine chrystall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, whereof also some fragments have beene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that oneie the clearest glasse is most esteeme: for we have diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreover the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogether by streets, & joining one to another, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor bruehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so furre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meenie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have beene and are worthlie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are coundrie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their rooms large and commodie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as provision may best be made: but so magnificient and statelye, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match in our daies with somehonours of princes in old time. So that if evere curious building did florish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruvius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo. Neuerthelesse, their estimation more than their greodie and servile coetousnesse, joined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be rejected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.
The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euern to passing delicacy: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue any thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vesseill, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupboards, to the summe of times of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth growe to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemens, merchants, and some other wealtlie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great provision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all over: so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euyn unto the inferior artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their jointed beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to impioye it well) dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my judge, but to shew that I do rejouie rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilst I behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most exesse prices, & what commoditie so ever is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communelie by such as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtain & attiche such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimneyes lateely erected, whereas in their younge daies there were not above two or three, if so manie in most yplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwayes excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but eeu one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meate.

The second is the great (although not generallie) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats covered onelie with a shete vnnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnnder their heads in stead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven yeares after his mariage purchased a maters or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture lade soleme in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verey much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillows (said they) were thought meeet onelie for women in childbed. As for servants, if they had anie shete aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to kepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canna of the pallet, and rasched their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vesseill, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie finde four pieces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be named) they were scarce able to liue and pay their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horse, or more, although they paid but fourie pounds at the uttermost by the yeare. Such also was their pouerietie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had bene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his purses, and therein a noble or seue shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold because it was not so readie
readie payment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie like like that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improued to ffortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date treé thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeres rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie courer-lids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozzen of spoone to furnish vp the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne cleere, for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeres, it is often sceene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he reueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeres before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuerson, and so defeat him out right) that it shall never trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of housekeeping whereby the poore haue bene relieued) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grievous vnto them, to wit, the inhasinge of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie devising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines, driving them also for euery trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is maintaineid) to the end they may fleese them yet more, which is a lamentable thing. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the lawes, now perfectlie practised almost by euery christian, and so commonlie that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was "Sors pro sorte," that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called "Vsura," we challenge "Feenus," that is commoditie of soilie, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine "Vsura, Ex sextante;" thrie, to wit "Ex quadrante;" then to foure, to wit "Ex triente;" then to f Five, which is "Ex quincunce;" then to six, called "Ex semisie," &c: as the accompt of the "Assis" ariseth, and comming at the last vnto "Vsura ex asse," it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it "Centesima," for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. See Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Athenaeus lib. 13. in fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praiie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take "Ceniti pro cento," for they are no better worthie as I doo judge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation gien of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they sceeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, so that if the leassee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paié no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull covenants. I am sorie to report it, much more greuued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorrowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themselves become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheep-masters, woodmen, and "denique quid non," thereby to enrich themselves, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leaving the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feele arms, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.
AS in old time we read that there were eight and twenty flamines and archflamines in the south part of this Isle, and so manie great cities under their jurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also under the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spiritual cases have the charge and oversight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopricks & archbishopricks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Countrrie, and Bath and Welles, do seeme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twenty: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier cite and see of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can have relation but vnto one see, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop dooth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue beene of exceeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decayed, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are marvellously altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a very few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as Stiromagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland supposeth (wherin they went by Colchester) to London, Notiomagus that lieth betwene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the some of Samothes, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland: and not "A profunditate," onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disprooved in dicoure cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to have stood somewhere about Chester; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, judgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we doo now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished tooke their denomination of this prince, so there are diuerse causes, which movue me to conjecture, that Salisburie dooth rather take the first name of Sarron the some of the said Magus, than of Caesar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers doo imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburie of the maine, from whence some Saxons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikely, sith before the comming of the Saxons, the king of the Sueissenenses had a great part of this Iland in subjection, as Caesar saith; and in another place that such of Belgique as stable ouer hither from the maine, builded and called dicoure cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himself dooth wittnesse. But sith conjectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans judgement, I will not stand now vpon the prove of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new conjectures vnto old, in such wise to detine the heads of my readers about these trilles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As soon after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiply from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with his convenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, doo still remayne in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enemie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserved vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but
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<td>Londinium or Longidinium.</td>
<td>Cair Gwair.</td>
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<td>Augusta of the legion Au - gusta that sojourned there, when the Romans ruled here.</td>
<td>Cair Vmber.</td>
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<td>Cair Gwaerton.</td>
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<td>Vrouicium or Yurewic.</td>
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<td>Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.</td>
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<td>Duroruerno alias Duraru - enno.</td>
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<td>Cair Colden.</td>
<td>Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans.</td>
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<td>planted there by the Ro - mans.</td>
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<td>Coloniae of the colonie.</td>
<td>Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.</td>
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<td>planted there by the Ro - mans.</td>
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<td>Camulodunum.</td>
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<td>6 Warwicke had some time 9 parish churches.</td>
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<td>7 Chester vpon</td>
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<td>Vske was a famous vrnuersitie in the time of Arthur.</td>
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<td>8 Carleill.</td>
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<td>9 S. Albanes.</td>
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<td>13 Bath.</td>
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The cause of the increase of villages.

* Cair Segent stood vpon the Thame, not farre from Reding.

The Romans, but chiefelie after the comming of the Saxons, and after them the Normans, whenuerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especial place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, observine euene their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Leonitius placed York in Scotland de eclipibus.

A legion contained sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.
13 Bath.  
{Cair Badon.  
{Therne.  
{Aguere solis.  

14 Shaftesbury.  
{Cair Paladour.  
{Septonia.  
{Wigornia.  
{Cair Gworangon.  
{Brangonia.  
{Cair Trangon.  
{Woorkeester.  

15 Worcester.  
{Cair Key or Kair Kis.  
{Cair Chic.  
{Cair Odernant Badon.  
{Oder.  
{Venta Belgarum.  
{Brightstow.  
{Durobreuis.  
{corruptulie  
{Durobreuis.  
{Rofcester.  
{Dubobrus.  
{Durobruis.  

16 Chichester.  
{Cair Grew.  
{Cair Oderrant Badon.  
{Cair Chic.  
{Cair Peris.  
{Cair Porcis.  

18 Rochester.  
{Cair Maridunum.  
{Cair Merdine.  
{Maridunum.  
{Cair Marlin.  
{Cair Fridhin.  
{Cair Glowy.  
{Cair Glow.  
{Claudiocestria.  
{Cair Beir.  
{Cair Leir.  
{Cair Likion.  
{Wirall, teste. Matth. West.  
{Granfabri.  
{Cair Graunt.  
{Cair Vrnach, peraduen- 
ture Burgh castell.  
{Cair Cucurat.  
{Cair Draiton, now a 
slender village.  
{Cair Celennon.  
{Cair Megwaid.  

As for Cair Dorne (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon shire, but now vnknowne, sith it was twise rased to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are in these daies not extant to be scene. And in like sort I am ignorant where most of them stood, that are noted with the star. I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid over and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the same goeth, and finallie destroyed by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood vpon the banks of the river Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the west, and was sometime march betweene the Britons and the Picts, and likewise the Picts and the Scots; nevertheless, the castell (as I heare) dooth yet remaine, and hath bene since well reparied by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dumbritton, so that it is not an hard matter by these few words to find where Alcluid stood. I could here, if leisure serued, and hast of the printer not require dispatch, deluer the ancient names of sundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time past was called Stadstfard, and threfore (as I gesse) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be desirous to see more of them, let him resort to Houden in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.

It should scene when these ancient cities flourished, that the same town, which we now call saint Albons, did most of all excell; but cheefely in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, because it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the most part of the land was also in those daies. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whose writings I have thought good to note a few things, whereby the maestie of this ancient citie may appare into posteritie, and the former estate of Verlancester not lie altogether vol. i.  

2 T
(as it hath doone hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulness, through the negligence of such as might have deserved better of their successors, by leaving the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his historic makest mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miserable distressed, "Eadem clades" (sith he) "municipio Verolanum fuit." And here upon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Ciar municip, as I before have noted. Ptolome speaking of it, dooth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus makest it one and twenty Italian miles from London, placing Sullonaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is evident, that Sullonaca stood nere to Barnet, if it were not the very same. Of the old compasse of the wailes of Verolanium there is now small knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the cite it selfe you shall partlie understand by that which followeth at hand, after I have told you for your better intelligence what "Municipium Romanorum" is: for there is great difference betwene that and "Colonia Romanorum," sith "Colonia alio traductur a ciuitate Roma," but "Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem veniunt, suae; iuribus & legibus viunt:" moreover their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they live in the stedfast friendship and protection of the Romans, as did somme the Cercetes who were the first people which ever obtained that privilidge. The British Verolanians therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the wares deserved great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gave vnto them the whole freedeome of Romans, whereby they were made Municipeces, and became more fre in truth than their Colonies could be. To conclude therefore, Municipium is a cite incirfranced and indued with Romane priviliges, without anie alteration of his former inhabitants or priviliges; whereas a Colonie is a company sent from Rome into anie other region or province, to possesse either a cite newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence his former citizens have beene expell'd and driven out. Now to proceed.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being desirous to enlarge that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of Verolanium (which now was ouerthrown by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by anie curious pieces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, pecoes of antike worke, thresholds, doore frames, and sundrie other pieces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, verie convenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of marble, touch, and alabaster, beside manie curious deuises of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himselfe an happie man, and his successe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found sundrie pillers of brasse, and sockets of latton, alabaster and touch, all which he laid aside by great heaps, determining in the end (I saie) to hie the foundation of a new abbatie, but God so prevented his determination, that death toke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him succeeded one Eadmerus, who followed the dooings of Eldred to the vertmost: and therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioniers to search yet further, within the old wailes of Verolanium, where they not onlie found infinite other pieces of excellent workmanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuerse idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitionall and religiounse adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie covered, all which ornaments Eadmerus toke awaie, and not onlie converted them to other use in his building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could doo no seruice. He toke vp also sundrie curious pots, tugs, and crusses of stone and wood most artificialle wrought and carned, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine household stufes, as if the whole furniture of the cite had beene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he toke vp diuerse pots of gold, silver, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof
whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downwards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Massingham in Norfolk, of six or eight gallons a piece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coins of the old Britons and Romane emperors. All which vessels the said abbat brake into pieces, and melting the mettall, he reserved it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one contained the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdom of saint Albane, both of them written in old Britishe letters, which either because no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, saving that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much have I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens have beene found since that time, and diverse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no where else beene scene in anie ruines within the compass of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stule.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citty, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Verlume (afterward called Vere and the Mure) did and dooth so still (whatsoever Gildas talketh herof, whose books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proove to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuier be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher then it was in old time; yet it keepeth in manner the old course, and runneth betweene the old citty that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are medow beneath the abbacie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuier ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforesaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened ofentimes vpon Lempet shels, peeces of rustie anchors, and keees of great vessels, whereupon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not understanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, wherof there was one adjoyning to the north side of the citty, which late then (as some men thinke) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old walls standing in that place, which appeared to have bene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be scene running along by the old chappell hard by in manner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth clean without the limits of the old, and that the bridge wherof the historic of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth force me to conjecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corrupte " Stagnum enaximum" for " Stagnum maximum") at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Olfa in his time did recepe no small commodite. It continued also vtil till the time of Alefric the seuenthe abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessive charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (saving that he reserved a channell for the riuier to haue his usual course, which he held vp with high bankeis) because there was alwaies contention betweene the mooneks and the kings servants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoote.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but enclis in one street, which yet is called Fishpole street, wherof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as seek to yeld to an inconueniencie, than that their Gildas should seeme to mistake this riuier.

Hauing thus digressed to give some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their
true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishopricks, sith euerte see hath such prerogatius given vnto it, as to beare the name of a cite, & to vse Regale its within his owne limits. Which privilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>London</th>
<th>Norwich</th>
<th>Bath</th>
<th>Oxford</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yorke</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Lichfield</td>
<td>Peterborow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canturbrie.</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>Bristow.</td>
<td>Landaffe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester.</td>
<td>Glocester.</td>
<td>Rochester.</td>
<td>S. Davidis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairell.</td>
<td>Hereford.</td>
<td>Chester.</td>
<td>Bangor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham.</td>
<td>Salisburie.</td>
<td>Chichester.</td>
<td>S. Asaph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elie.</td>
<td>Excester.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall issue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologic he published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diverse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glassenburie, Abbandon, Rannese, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelve churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well more at their first comming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they have gone so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the monke of Chester tellethe of generall surreie made in the fourth, sixteenth, & nineteenth of the regne of William Conquerour, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrownne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knyghtes fees, whereof the cleargie hold 28015. He addeth moreover that there were diverse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompence of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it seemeth by an undershiriff of Nottinghame, I finde, even in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knyghtes fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he dooth scene to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find above 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the grecole desire of such as would live alone and onelie to themselves. And herof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeh) was called Ilecatompolis, because it contained an hundred cities, but now it is so vunfurnished that it may harde be called Tripolis. Dio- dorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decied in processe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not above 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not vire readily be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the same goeth) there haue beene two and siffie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconvenience hath grown altogether to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.
But to leave this lamentable discourse of so notable and grievous an inconvenience, growing (as I said) by intruding and joining of house to house, and lying land to land, whereby the inhabitants of many places of our country are devoured and eaten up, and their houses either altogether pulled down or suffered to decay by little and little, although sometimes a poor man peradventure doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repair it, suffereth it to fall downe, & therto thinketh himselfe very friendly dealt withall, if he may have an acre of ground assigned unto him whereon to keele a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsnipes, carrots, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liue as by their principall food, sith they can doe no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselves in the mean time with bread made of otes or barley: a poore estate God wor! Howbeit what care our great intrurers? But in divers places where rich men dwelt sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and sheds for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may see in castell Hedingham, and divers other places. But to proceed.

It is so, that our soil be divided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie uniformely builded in euerie towne together with streets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peraduenture more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often above fortie, fiftie, or thrее score households, and two or three hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part notwithstanding are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or three, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired servants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leeland) which are not so favourable when they have gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the use of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogether, saing that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, therby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men see not that they themselves hereby doo laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors neckes. For sith the prince dooth commyttlie loose nothing of his duties accustomed to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and bare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saing: I am charged alreadie with a light horse, I am to answer in this sort and after that manner. And it is not yet altogether out of knowledge, that where the king had seven pounds thirtenee shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman having three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households doe bare all the afore-aid payment, or else Leeland is deceived in his Commentaries lib. 13. Latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his travel over this Ie. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number compleine of the increase of pouertie, laiceng the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was never so full, &c: but few men doe see the verie root from whence it dooth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they flourished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for overthrowing of five and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of three score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if need required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue beene in this land: but ither it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend
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command sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiall monkes, for that they were authors of mane goodlie borowes and endowes, nere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their crouious minds one wale in inharing their revenues, and carnall intent an other, appeard herin too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great wickednesse, and made those endowes little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where munries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthineses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to have set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to glue over my purpose: yet by these few that issue you shall easilie see what order I would have used according to the shires, if I might have brought it to passe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shires</th>
<th>Market townes</th>
<th>Parishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London within the wall</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surie</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntingdon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkeshire</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norffolke</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolke</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OF CASTELS AND HOLDS.

CHAP. XIV.

IT hath bene of longe time a question in controversie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels nere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Nevertheles it seemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogether vnusefull. This also is apparent by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they have bene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of Old Salisbury I speake not, of Anwerp I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer case to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adjoining, thereby to hinder them what and wherein they may. For my part I never read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capittoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of utter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well govern. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a breeder of tyrants. Pythus king of Epire being received also on a time into Athens,
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Athens, among other courtesies shewed unto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gave them great thanks for the freundlie entertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentleness. Cœtænius in his commonwealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appeareth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what have I to deal whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we have of them, which I will performe so far as shall be needfull?

There have been in times past great store of castels and places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, mane by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so many as them listed upon their owne demesnes, hoping thereby that they would have imploied their use to his advantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than used in his defense, he repent ed all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease King Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconsiderations which his predecessor had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Cerises he thought it better to hazard the meeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to live in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euery light occasion conceived, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesac manie of those proceedings, which he and his successors from time to time intended. Hereupon therefore he caused more than an hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrown, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restricte. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained have decayed, partie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partie of themselves, or by conversion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being removed: so that at this present, there are very few or no castels at all maintaine within England, saving onely vpon the coasts and marches of the country for the better keeping baacke of the forren enimie, when sooner he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that ever reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outwaite enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builted sundrie out of the ground. For having shaken off the more than seruiile yoke of popish tyranny, and espieing that the emperor was offended for his diuorce from queene Catharine his aunt, and thereto understanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and married his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more justic to suspect than saffie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small speed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockhouses, castels, and platformes vpon diverse frontiers of his realme, but chieflye the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualitative the concurred grudges of his aduersaries, and vterlie put off their hastie purpose of invasion. But would to God he had cast his eye toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done! albeit there be none so fit and likeable places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much breviet for my purpose at this present. For I need not to make anie long discourse of castels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone walls, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he maie transtaze his ground, choose his plot, and use the benefit of some shine, wind and weather, to his best advantage & commoditie. Isocrates also saith that towres, walles, bulworkes, soldiers,
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

and plentie of armour, are not the best keepers of kingdomes; but freends, loute of subjects, & obedience vnto martiaall discipline, which they want that shew themselues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that go of Bestion castell, how it shall save all England on a daie, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fift yeare of his regnie:

If I were in my castell of Bungie,
Upon the water of Waueneic,
I wold not set a button by the king of Cockneic,

I repute them but as toiles, the first mère vacie, the second fondie vstered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and have bene spoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now grown out of memorie, and with small lesse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungie was overthrown by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he overthrew the walles and castell of Leicester, also the castels of Treske and Malear, appertaining to Roger Mowbrale, and that of Frengham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sorte take occasion to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we have great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe over to talke of any such needlesse discourses. This neuertheless concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one mère vnto Cambrige now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may easie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be scene in the edge of Shropeshire about two miles from Colme, betwixt two rivers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewic otherwise named Themis, whereunto there is no accesse but at one place. The Welshmen call it Cair Carador, and they are of the opinion, that Caractus king of the Sillures was overcome there by Ostorus, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda quene of the Brigants for succour, who betrayed him to the Romans, as you may see in Tacitus.

OF PALACES BELONGING TO THE PRINCE.

CHAP. XV.

IT lieth not in me to set downe exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie description of his graces court, Sith my calling is and hath bene such, as that I have scarcely presumed to pepe in at his gates, much lesse then haue I adventured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behaviour is to be scene within them. Yet thus much will I savie generally of all the houses and honours pertaining to his majestie, that they are builded either of square stone or brick, or else of both. And thervnto although their capacitie and huggenesse be not so monstrous, as the like of diverse forren princes are to be scene in the mane, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conuenience of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, retaine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workemanship used in this land: but such as he erected after his owne devise (for he was nothing inferior in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Lutician the iugur) doo represent another maner of patience, which as they are supposed to excel all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall presedent vnto those that doe come alter, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did never better
better flourish in England than in his time. And yet that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eye like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp excell in both, and therefore may justiclie be preferred farre above all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserved to his maesties onelie use at pleasure are these: for of such as are given away I speake not, neither of those that are vterlie decayed, as Bainards castell in London built in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whose wife Inga built the priorie of little Donemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c. yet I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose vere ruines I have no certein knowledge. Of such I saie therfore as I erst mentioned, we have first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the Archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wooslee, and finallie enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By cast of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but converted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerset place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerset) had liued, I doubt not but it should have beene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelic death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it proceeded the state of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and thereunto a place for the safekeeping of offenders, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to soiuore in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his abode there, and thereunto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approched nere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehousse in that tract of ground in our times. S. James sometime a monrie, was built also by the same prince. Hir grace hath also Oteland, Asridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enueld, Eltham, Langley, Richmond built by Henrie the fift, Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Wooslee, and finished by his father) and thereunto Woodstocke, erected by king Henrie the first, in which the queenes maestie delighteth greatlie to soiuore, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiviue, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

For strength Windlcsor or Winsor is supposed to be the cheife, a castell built in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aruragus, as it is thought, and repaired by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours have bestowed exceeeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the queenes maestie now living, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornament and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safeguard. Such also hath bene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings have not onelie bene interred there, but also made it the cheife house of assemble, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificient and statelie.

Greenewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocestor, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the six, and called Plesance. Afterwards it was greatlie enlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a monerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was also converted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was

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builted
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

built by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreover diverse other. But what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queenes majestie hath? sith all is hers, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons injured by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till shee returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

The court of England, which necessarie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the intertention of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall thereunto, much lesse one excelling it in anie manner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceived of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such grave councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendence vpon the queenes majestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costliness of attire, there seemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is very difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent voine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conversations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Greke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and means, whereby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and avoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holy scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong, whilst the youngest sort in the meanie time applie their lutes, citharnes, pricke-songs, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are fre from attendance vpon the queenes majestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort, also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the orname and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe over such maner of dealing, lest I should scene to glauer, and currie favoure with some of them. Nevertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cunning in somthing whereby they keepe themselves occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supple the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their cheefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the cleare of the kitchen, who seeth (by a tricke taken vp of lat) to giue in a bréfe rehersall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole service in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, because such are commonlie
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

monlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finally describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie licuries, and thereunto the great plenty of gold and silver plate, the seuerall pieces whereof are commonlie so great and masse, and the quantitie thereof so abundandlie sueruing all the householde, that (as I suppose) Cyriar, Ceres, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now living & once againe put to his choice, I thiuke he could ask no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seen and used. But I passe ouer to make such needless discourses, resoluing my scele, that euene in this also, as in all the rest, the exceding mercie and louing kindynes of God dooth wonderfullie appere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euene for that cause are likened vnto hell by diverse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle "Ad aulicium quodam," saith thus: "An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi daemonum habitatio est, qui ilic suis artibus humana licet effigie regnant, atque vbi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, & quicquid vspiam est perdere ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemetie, quicquid effetnae superbia, & rapacia avaricie, quicquid obscene libidinis, faciliissime impudicitiae, quicquid nefande impietatis, & morum pessimorum, totum ilic accruatur cumulatissime, vbi stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, vbi fastus & tumor, ira, liuet, fidaque cupido cum socij etiam imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procelle virtutumque omni inenarrabile naufragium, &c." In such great princes courts (I saie) it is a world to see what lewd behauiour is vscd among diverse of those that resor vnto the same, and what whoredome, swearing, ribaldrie, atheisme, dicing, carding, carousins, drunkenesse, glutonie, quarelling, and such like inconueniences dso dailie take hold, and sometimes euene among those, in whose estates the like behauiour is least convenient (whereby there talke is verified which say that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes sauing vertue, which in such places dooth languish and dailie vade away) all which enormities are either vterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeauour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that seldome are anie of these things apparentlie seen here, without due reprehension, and such severe correction as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to idlesesse, and prevent sundrie transgressions, otherwise like to be committed and doone, such order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bibe, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike scoole of the vniuersities, where manie giue care to one that reade, than into a princes palace, if you conferre the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good beginnings! which if they would, then should manie grievous offenses (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restrinmed, which now dso reigneth excedinglie, in most noble and gentlemen houses, whereof they see no paterne within hir graces gates.

I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of sueruing men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall licuries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleues, whereby it is known to whom they apperteine. I could also set downe what a godlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which being filled with them dooth yeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the peecocks tailie in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diversitie of pleasant figures. But I passe ouer the reheasall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seek to be more curious in these points than I profess to be.

The discipline of armes peace also that is maintaine within a certeine compass of the
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferior to that we see daily practised in the best governed holds & fortresses. And such is the severe punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercy, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to loose their right hands at a stroke, and that in very solemn maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deal with other matters.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is convicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offender vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, dooth provide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the searing irons are to be made readie against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also dooth the sergeant or chiefe farrou attend with those irons, whose office is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he shall be readie by searing to use the same. The groome of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vinegar and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offender be bound vp and fullie dressed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the sergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and scare the stumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the said partie after the execution done, and the stumpe seared, as the sergeant of the werie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cooke to hie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finally the maister cooke or his deputie with a sharpe dressing knife, which he delivereth at the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed thereunto. And this is the maner of punishment ordained for those that strike within the princes palace, or limits of the same. Which should first have beene executed on sir Edmund Knect, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further service of the king in his warres, and willingly yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offender, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince. The like privileje almost is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of punishment great difference doo appeare. For he that braketh or quarrellith in either of them, is by and by suspended "Ab ingressu ecclesie," vntill he be absoluted: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or faileth violent hands vpon anie whom so euer. But if he happen to smite with stiffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arraignment, beside excommunication, he is sure to lose one of his cares without all hope of release. But if he be such a one as hath beene twice condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none cares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared deep into his flesh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barrator and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he desire to be absoluted. To strike a clarke also (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offender not to be absoluted but by the prince or his especiall cominission. Such also is the generall estate of the excommunicate in euerie respect, that he can yeeld no testimonie in anie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargaine or sale that he maketh is available in law, neither anie of his acts whatsoever pleadsable, whereby he lieth as an outlaw & a man altogether out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.
OF ARMOUR AND MUNITION.

CHAP. XVI.

HOW well or how stronglie our countrie hath beeene furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make rehersall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of quen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leave some manifest notice. Upon the first I need not stand, for few will deny it. For the second I have heard, that when one of the greatest pestes of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnlie vterre in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, because it wanted armor, his words were then not so rashlie vterred, as they were politikellie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gracious quene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentelie called to remembrance, and such speedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconueniencie, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enemies could get vnderstanding of anie such provision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceyed by Spaniards vterlie cut off, who of open frends being now become our secret enimies, and therefore watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie, did therewith change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might have beeene of such sharp and cruel warres. Thus a Spanish word vterred by one man at one time, owerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the cheeffe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we have in maner generallie gien ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed doe practise to shoot compass for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were wont to doe at euery time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutgers deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tails and crie; Shoote English, and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that served king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should have beeene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should have turned about to see who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vterlie decayed among vs one waie, so our countrie men wax skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small pieces, the caliever, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall uses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine rixets, shirts of maille, laces quilted and covered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not his convenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euery towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is always readie to be had and worn within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finalie to see those that are inrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth three or foure soldieth, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their vorie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enimie to find vs vnprouised. As
As for able men for service, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowly taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left unlisted and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the queenes majestic hath in her storehouses, it lieth not in me to yield account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should never recover the store of ordinance there left and lost; that same is at this time proved false, sith even some of the same persons do now confess, that this land was never better furnished with these things in any kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth five hundred pounds, and his widenesse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poisseth cleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fifteene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath four inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath four thousand pounds, and five inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seaven thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seaven inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easy to come by the weight of every shot, how many scores it doth flee at point blanke, how much powder is to be had to the same, & finally how manie inches in height each bullet ought to carry.

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I might here take just occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it need? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be drawn to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poisseted about two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also have scene a part) they are so well furnished, that within some one barons custodie I have scene three
three score or a hundred corslets at once, beside calivers, hand-guns, bowes, sheffes of
arrows, pikes, blis, polaxes, flakkes, touchboxes, targetts, &c: the verry sight whereof appalled
my courage. What would the wearing of some of them doo then (trow you) if I should be
informed to vse one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such,
as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leisure to haue
them in a readines, and therefore both high and howe in England.

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long
blacke gowne to doo with glistening armour? what sound acquaintance can there be-
twixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that
wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuerthelesse will I addde of things at home, that
seldome shall you see anie of my countriemen aboue eighteene or twentie yeeres old to go
without a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesses or
magistrates of anie cide, who in appearence are most exempt from brabbling and contention.
Our nobilitie wear commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as dooth euerie common
seruing man also that followeth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we haue in like
sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwayes about them, wherewith in
euerie drunken frie they are known to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also
are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrye, whereby eche one
pretendeth to haue the more advantage of his enemie. But as manie orders haue bene taken
for the intollerable length of these weapons; so I see as yet small redresse: but where the
cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue
staves which diuersce that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some
are twelve or thirteene foote long, beside the pike of twelve inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be theanches and robbers, or at the leasstwise scarce true men
which bear them; so by reason of this and the like suspicianous weapons, the honest trauller
is now infored to ride with a case of dags at his sadle bow, or with some pretie short snapper,
whereby he may deal with them further off in his owne defense before he come within the
danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or
some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who commonlie weareth none at all, unlesse
it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Seldome also are they or anie other waifaring men
robbed without the consent of the chamberlice, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie,
who felinge at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by
taking them downe frome their sadles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses,
do by and by give intimation to some one or other attendant dailye in the yard or house, or
dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the price be worth the following or no. If it
be for their turne, then the gentleman peradventure is asked which waie he trauelleth, and
whether it please him to haue another ghost to bear him companie at supper, who rideth
the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of
his acquaintance, the chaite is halfe wrought. And ofte it is seene that the new ghost
shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and keepe him from suspicicion.
Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either goe befoare
and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, whereby they will be sure, if he
ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of
such shrews or close booted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and
which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when
seruing men and unthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie
spending in such wise whatsoever they have wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharpie set
vpon their chevalues, be trussed vp in a Tilburne tippet, which happeneth unto them com-
monlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appereth that some sort of youth will
oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

I might
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in Essedis or wagons; but this I also passe over, noting nevertheless out of Properius, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, Arethusa ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 8.

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sciricus hostis equo,
Hibernique Getae, pictóque Britannia curru,
Vstus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

OF THE NAUIE OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVII.

THERE is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I consider their swift building, or great number of ships which some one kingdom or region possessed at one instant; it greeve me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet such a nauie was to be scene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twenty tall ships bare leafe & saile within fiue and furtie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and scene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in sixe weekes: which unto them that are ignorant of things doth scene to be false, and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirniss on the sea the Romans lost seaven hundred vessels, which bare eche of them fiue rows of ores on a side, and the Carthaginenses fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogether correspondent to our ships and gailies made in these daies: yet the capacite of most of them did not onlie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremcs onlie contained so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seaven rows of ores walking on a side? But least I should scene to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: give me leave (I beseech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present nauie in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and unpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and mounds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which eche meane vessell (as apperceth by Herodot) was able to receive two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them three hundred. These were called triremes, and were indeede gailies that had three rows of ores on euerie side; for the word Nauis is indifferentlie applied so well to the gailie as ship, as to the conversant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gailies of foure rows, fiue rows, six, seaven, eight, nine, twelve, ye afifteen rows of ores on a side; judge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gailies with two rows called biremcs: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Amonocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were devised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremcs by Nesichthon of Salamina; the gailie of six rows by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Nesigton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelve; Ptolomeus Soter of fifteen; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphion of fiftie: all which above foure were none other (in mine opinion) than v几位lie carts, and more serving for pleasure and to gaze vpont, than
than anie use in the wars for which they should be devised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, containing 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foroure thousand ores. forour hundred mariners, and three thousand soildiers, so that in the said vessell were saten thousand and foroure hundred persons: a report incredibely, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must needs confess therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacity: nevertheless if you regard the forme, and the assurance from peril of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and brooke the seas: as might be seen by the great Henriq, the hugest vessell that ever England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of olde like vnto ours in mould and manner of building above the water (for of low galleys in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingreded more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The nauie of England may be divided into three sortes, of which the one seruieth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their living by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are maintaied within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fleete, I think good to speake of those that belongeth vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to vere manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the queenes majestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to brooke so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continente as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst them selues is daile confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swifnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Greke word Amiras a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras “in Basilio Macedone & Basilio Porphyriogenito,” though other fetch it from Ad mare the lateine words, another sort from Amyras the Saracen magistrate, or from some French derivation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them over. The queenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or ffeue and twentie great ships, which liie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside threee galleys, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The names of so manie ships belonging to hir majestie as I could come by at this present.

| Philip and Marie. | Lion. | Handmaid. | Falcon. |

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the yoong daies of the world, and long since framed themselves to erect euerie yere a citie in some one place or other of their kingdoms (and no small wonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharsus)
Tharsus in one daie) so hir grace dooth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certaintie, so it shall suffice to have said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they should all be druen to service at one instant (which God forbid) she should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable companie, beside the supplie of other vessels appertaining to hir subjects to furnish vp hir voyaige.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of whom he hereafter as their turns doo come about, I will not let to leave some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallyes: the Spede well, the Triec right, and the Blacke gallye, with the sight whereof and rest of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to saie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I saie) sith by their meane this hir coastes are kept in quiet, and sundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwise would invade vs. The number of those that serve for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whose vse is dailie scene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to mee ytterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 125 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnnder 100 and above fortie 650: holes 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deluer the just account, sith they are hardlie to come by. Of these also there are some of the quenes majesties subjects that haue two or three, some foure or six, and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppose for modestie sake, hath bene knoune long since to haue had sixeene or seuentene, and emploied them whole to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voyages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their dailie successe there: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men shall understand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailie employed vpon our nauie, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not woorthe one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we thinke then of the greater, but especiallye of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessell is woorthe two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often told me? It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so employed to be nothing profitable to the quenes coffers: as a good husband said once when he hard there should be provision made for armor, wishing the quenes monie to be rather laid out to some spedieuer returne of gaine vnto hir grace, because the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peradventure he thought. But if as by store of armor for the defense of the countrey, he had likewise understond what the good kepping of the sea, is the safegard of our land, he would have altered his censure, and soone given ouer his judgement. For in times past, when our nation made small account of navigation, how soon did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the Danes inuade this land? whose crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were een against their wils, to prooude for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were ofteentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commendied. For in a short processe of time after the conquest of this land, and good consideration had for the well kepping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the countrey, than the maintenance of a strong nauie, which they spedifie provided, maintaineed, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, wherewith before their times this land was never acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I doo not read that we had anie ships at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with hulke hides, like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betwenee them. Of the same also Solinus speakeoth, so far as I remember: neverthelesse it may be gathered by his words, how the upper parts of them aboue the water onelie were
were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did use to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were done or not, I do not read.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had some ships also, but as their number and mould was little and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that ever throughlie began to know this necessitie of a nauie, and use the service thereof in the defense of his country. After him also other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: endeavoured more and more to store themselves at the full with ships of all quantities, but chiefly Edgar, for he provided a nauie of 1600 alias 3600 saile, which he divided into four parts, and sent them to abide upon four sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same from pirats. Next unto him (and worthy to be remembred) is Etheldred, who made a law, that everie man holding 310 hides, should find a ship furnished to serve him in the wares. Howbeit, and as I said before, when all their nauie was at the greatest, it was not comparable for force and sure building to that which afterward the Normans providied; neither of that the Normans anie thing like to the same that is to be seen now in these our daies. For the journees also of our ships, you shall understand, that a well builded vessell will run or saile commoditie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weke, or peraduenture some will go 2200 leagues in sixe wekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if their lading be readie against they come thither, there will be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weakes from Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This also I understand by report of some travellers, that if anie of our vessells happen to make a voyage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth between the north tropike and the equator, after they have once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Baraneda in Spaine) they will be there in thirteene or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight wekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safeitie and quietnesse in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

OF FAIRES AND MARKETS.

CHAP. XVIII.

THERE are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of provision for household is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cometh to passe that no buier shall make anie great iournye in the pursueance of his necessitie: no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commoditie, except it be to seeke for the highest prices, which commoditie are neere vnto great cities, where round and speediest vterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue bene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intreated in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrates for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so careful in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bee. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commoditie that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but eche one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one evident cause of dearness and scarcitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to see in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market, with
with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whom the law of nations doo command, for that he indeuoureth to live by anie lawfull meanes, is driven awaie, and no more to come there upon some round penaltie, by vertue of their privileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in liet of the same, there is such heaide ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such ssecke it out, is commonlie called hufcap, the mad dog, father whorsome, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods providence into a troubled conscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, even as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus, sucke their shee woole or sheepehards wife Lupa, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & little wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great prejudice of the town and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilteh no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: because bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne doo not onlie buie vp all, but give aboue the price, to be served of great quantites. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse tyme poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, because one wheat often sowne without change of seed, will soone decreaie and be converted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldome) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither dooth the fox vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surprize, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doe any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will give him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserve him for an other yere. How manie of the like providers stumble vpon blind creeces at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so doone and yet doo vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemens house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, because he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often dooth also vpon the like deceit, because grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; Forsooth here was one even now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I give you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twenty seme more in the weeke daie to such an inne or sollar where I late my corne, I will haue it and give you pence or more in euerie bushell for six weeke day of payment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labouerer cannot make his provision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now a daies sell by the bushell,
bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the butler will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will doe in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, because he prouiderh aligether to serve the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greecie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must give two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market cruazed, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne out vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but needs must joine other provision withal, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but also manie of our adversaries and countriemen the papists are abundantlie relieved (as the report goth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine ears as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for neede of monie, being readie per-aduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Henceforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horse-load at the most, therby to be scene to kepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere, but it will be deeerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be little worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certaine superstitious observations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doe vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to judge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Mattheues daie, and for wheat as it is sold in seede time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flee southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toyes, as by laieng twelve corne vpon the hot hearth for the twelve moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselves to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Hereupon also will they thresh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth unthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deffinit to see mustie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can kepe it no longer. But as they are enforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somewhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldom ingendred thereby among the poore sort that of necessitie must buie the same, whereby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will scene to have but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the hand, and stacke it vp of new in lesse roome, to the end it may not onlie scene lesse in quantitie, but also glue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barn, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plenty in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some frends house, against an other or the third date, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be deerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell then they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would one open their cies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also, to see how most places of the realme are pestered with pursuours, who take vp egs, butter, chese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wives to sell the same in another, or to
pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we
may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonable sold, and thervnto the crosses suffi-
cientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen have so much
increased, and since they trawell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter
faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is aug-
mented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market towere, & fewer
of these butter buyers were stirring, our butter was sarclie worth eightenee pence the
gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps five shillings. Whereby
also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage
alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessive:
for one of them doo commonlie use to out bid another. And whilst our countre commodi-
ties are commonlie bought and sold at our private houses, I never looke to see this enormitie
redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is enoug, & more peraduenture than I shall be well
thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespass. This moreover is to be ha-
mented, that one generall measure is not in se throughout all England, but euerie market
towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to
resort vnto the same. Such also is the courtesounesse of manie clearkses of the market, that
in taking view of measures, they will alwaies so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall
be either too big or too little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the
first: so that what by their mending at one time and emparing the same at another, the
countrie is greatlie charged, and few lust measures to be had in anie sted. It is oft found
likewise, that diverse vncenscious dealers have one measure to sell by, & another to buie
withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were very
good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one
quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order,
and fewer causes of contention be muced in this land. Of the complaint of such poore
tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very
hardlie. For besides that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one
through the inquietie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receivers
thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Whereby some
peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my
lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to loose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper
in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and
no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs inde-
 noureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the-recarriage
of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gave some intimation:
wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else
the baille, or clearke of the said market to make sale therof according to his discretion,
without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am persuaded
that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each
one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, fouretene,
or twenty miles from home to sell his corne, where he dooth find the highest price, and
therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be
farre better secured than at this present they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie
viewed immediatlie after harvest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some ap-
pointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should have much more plentiful of corne in our
towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seen: because each one hideth and hoordeth what he
may vpon purpose either that it will be deere, or that he shall have some proue venie by
bodgers, who doo accustomedlie so deale, that the sea dooth load awake no small part thereof
into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and
and more likele yet to be, except some remelie be found. But what doo I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of badgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as felling the harme in that I am a buier, nevertheless I speake generallie in each of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our provision made commonlie for all the weeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes with one weekelic market at the least, so there are verie few of them that have not one or two faires or more within the compass of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemasses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their recital) I haue set downe, according to the names of the markets wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borrowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

OF PARKES AND WARRENS.

CHAP. XIX.

IN euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, weanere to the number of two hundred for his daily provision of that flesh apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimomies lieng in or nere vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the just number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept. As for warrenes of conies, I judge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blace skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaille the prices of their naked carcasses, and this is the onelie cause whie the graie are lesse esteeemed. Nere vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the yong rabbits, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such speedie vterance of rabbets and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safe-keeping of the fallow deere from ranging about the countrie. Nowbeit in times past diuerse haue been fensed in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow deere into this land, as some conjecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be seene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is doubted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not. Plinie deemeth them to be wild, Martial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, "Imbelles damae quid nisi praeda sumus?" And so in time past the like controversy was about beces, which the lawyers call "Feras," tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit. But Plinie attempting to decide the quarel calleth them "Medias inter feras & placidas aues." But whither am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or five miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Werby it is to be scene what
what store of ground is employed vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie glie awaye their flesh, never taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fee and parts of the deere gluen vnto the keeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or five shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, yambles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than half, which in my judgement is scarcele equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but maintained onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient lady, which maketh a great gaine by selling yeerelie hir husbands venison to the cooks (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to see hir butter solde) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, even of the poorest peecants of the coutrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to feele his oxen, shape, and lambs, whether they be reade for the butcher or not, or to sell his woel vnto the clothier, or to kepe a tan-house, or.deal with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or grainers; for which such, if there be onelie may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselves to husbandrie. And even the same enormitie tooke place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whom some one had two or three ships going vpon the sea, prettening provision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhabite and restraine them. Liwae also tellett of another law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no senator, or he that had been father to anie senator should possesse anie ship or vessell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphors, which was supposed sufficient for the careage and recariage of such necessities as should apperteyne vnto his house: sith further trading with merchandizes and commoditie dooth declare but a base and countous mind, not algorther void of envie, that anie man should line but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would have it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must needs proue in time the confusion of that coutrie wherein such enormitie are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compass of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell scene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serve the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desieres to intala those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let daileie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons wherypon manie townships now and then doe lie, affirming that we have alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soon doo nothing profit the coutrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vter vndoeing (they saie) of the common wealth.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to have our coutrie conuerted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowdys of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to devour, some men may conceyve, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be lookt for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presentlie giue a ghesse at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumsance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which seemeth verie much if it be not dulie considered of.

King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constrained to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of soldiers here at home, perceyving (as it is indeed) that such supplies are often times more hurtlefull than proftable vnto those that intervete them, as may cheeffie be scene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger,
Vortiger, and no small number of others. He would oft marvel in private talk, how that when seven or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or forty thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100,000 against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaye, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by taking house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were converted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The avarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were ready to rebel with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Pruileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature dooth permit all men to live in their best maner, and whatsoever trade they be exercised in, there commeth some pruilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, whereby they must needs shift scie, and setke into other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this last I can give also in booke, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men strive which of them should doe it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to prooue that England was never lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either doonne, or into the lords hands, or brought and united together by other men: it will soone appeare, that in some one manour seuenteen, eighteene, or twentie houses are shrunkte. I know what I saine by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cottage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either vterlie decayed, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saine somewhat: but then I should sware yet further from my purpose, whereunto I now returne.

Wee had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whilst they liued in the meane time upon the spoil of their revenues, and daile thowtke townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenane of their vennie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelicke enough, that contained not at the least eight or ten hidelands, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue beene alwaies calld in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to maintaine an honest yeoman.

King Iohn travelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre upon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his retourne overthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the ababts and prelates of the clargie. For hearing (as he travelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the chiefe decaye of men, and of village in the land, he sware with an oath that he would not suffer wild beasts to feed upon the fat of his soil, and see the people perish for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuered his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoil the corne and grass of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impoverish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were alive in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parkes in England than in all Europe (ouver which he travelled in his owne
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OF WOODLANDS.

...
or Don is for an hill or hille soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation likeyth me better, and the highest part of the town is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word *sipping*, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied thereunto, sith the whole town beganeth as it were upon the sides of two hills, wherof the lesser runneth quite through the midst of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the use of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trces, as may be seenne in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to prooue by the booke of forest law, that the whole countie of Lancasser hath likewise beene forest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that who soever did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an care; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his perees at Woodstocke, whereupon great trouble issued vnder king Iohn and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lienc as it were raked vp in the embes of oblivion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peraduenture some lawiers have no knowledge) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceive, is in manie places vnpertect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breathe of law, which he made in the first yeare of his regigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; “Ic will that elc one,” &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such vnerie as he by hunting can take either in the plains or in the woods, within his owne ffe or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my vnerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpone paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yere of his regigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine as I find it word for word, and which I would gladly haue turned into English, if it might have sounded to anie benefit of the vnskillfull and vulnecard.

**Incipiant constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.**

I. *Læ sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condito & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Anglie ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnia delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.*

1. “Sint tam deinceps quattuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent salvas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei provinciæ constituti, ad iustitiam distribuèdam, via cum poena merita & materiae forrestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Dani per totum regnum meum Anglie, quos quattuor primarios forrestæ appellantes censerasmus.

2. “Sint sub quolibet horum, quattuor ex mediocrisbus hominibus (quos Angli Lespogend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum vineris suscipiant.


4. “Sub
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4. "Sub horum iterum quilibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli
dicunt, bi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum surrulta opera subilibunt.
5. "Si talis minimus serunus fuerit, tam cito quim in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto,
onmisq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manuscelebimus.
6. "Habeat etiam quilibet minutorum quilibet anno de nostra wara, quam Michni
Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque
lanceas, vnum cuspident, vnum scutum, & ducendos solidos argent.
7. "Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnum lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos
argent.

8. "Minutorum quilibet, vnum * lanceam, vnum accubalism, & 15 solidos argent.
9. "Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minimi, immunes, liber, & quieti ab
omniae prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quem Hundred laghe Angli
dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warsco Angli dicunt, & forincesis querebis.
10. "Sint mediocrium & minutorum cause, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quam
quaterium per prouidam sapientia & rationem primarius indicat & decise: primarius
vem eremnue & se fuerint (ne scelus aliquid remanent inultum) nosmet in ino nostra regali
puninnum.

11. "Habeat bi quatuor vnum regalem potestatem (sala semper nobis nostra presentia)
quaterq; in anno generales forestae demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisonsationes, quas
Mucbelnunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumiam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, canti-
que ad tripexus iudicium, quod Angli Ongangfordell dicunt. Ita sum autem acquiratur ilhul
iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat tripexus iudicium,
tum tripexus iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatam admittatur, nisi vbi nuda
veritas nequit alter investigari.

12. "Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat
fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipse
met iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliqoud iuramentum.

13. "Si adsus vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, &
talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primum calumiam, qualem * nullus
Anglus indicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quosque vadat ad iudie-
cium ferri & aequ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longe venienti * sibi ipsi
nocet, si aliquod iudicium indicauerint.
14. "Quieting; coram primarios homines meos forestae in false testimonio steterit & victus
fuerit, non sit dignus impositurum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam
perdidit, & pro culpa solut regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halsehang, alias Halsehang.
15. "Si quis vir aliquan primarijs forestae meo intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem
& omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.
17. "Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui
ipsus, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & solut regi primario quafraginta solidos.
18. "Si pacem quis freget, ante mediocres forestae, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet
regi decem solidos.
19. "Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percussert, emendetur prout interfectedi ferre
regalis nihil emendandi solet.
20. "Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, peenas iuuit secundum modum & genus
deficit.
21. "Pacna & forisfaction non vna cadem; erit liberalis (quern Dani Faldeman vocant) &
iliberalis: dominii & secui: noti & ignoci: nec vna cadem; erit causarum tum ciuili tums
criminalium, serarum forestae, & ferarum regialium: viridis & veneris tractatio; nam crimen
veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immorit creature num atibatur: viridis verò (fractioe chacee
nostre: regalis excepta) ita pusillium & exiguum est, quid vix ea respect nostra constitutoi:
qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestae reus.

22. "Si
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22. "Si liber aliquid feram forestræ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue praehabita voluntate, ita ut cursu celeri cogatur ferar anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si serius caret corio.

23. "Si vero harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sìque pretìi sui reus contra regem.

24. "Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vacuum annum, alter per duos caret libertate naturali: si verò serius, pro vdegate habeatur, quem Angli Friendlesman vocant.

25. "Si verò occiderit, ammitt liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis caret libertate, si serius vita.

26. "Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restatunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.


28. "Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quod si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ."

29. "Si quis verò ilicem aut arbore aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, praeter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis.

30. "Volo ut omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chæcæ tamen: & deuent omnes meam, vbicunque habere voluerò.

31. "Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds appellant. Liberati verò, dum genuiscisci eorum facia fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut sine genuiscissione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra sepsa forestæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfacti & decem solidos regi.

32. "Velteres verò quos Langeman appellant, quia manifeste constat in ijs nihil esse periculis, cuiibet licebit sine genuiscissione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundt vocant.

33. "Quodsi case inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiqu; vagatur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quodsi intra sepsa forestæ reperiatur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quod secundum legem Werinorum. J. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.

34. "Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tune emendet secundum pretium hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regales morsa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis."

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forest, verie barbarously translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie sort or title.
AFTER such time as Calis was weone from the French, and that our counriemen had learned to trade into diverse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and thereupon not onlie left off their former painfullnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gave themselves to live in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with us, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieing that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, foorthwith imploied their endeavours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it not to be madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enemies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to estéeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irkome contemp of things nere hand, for that they are common and plentiful, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no value, and had euerie trifle and tole in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemn estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waxen old, after which they have bene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but Sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall scene & be convenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore under the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written already elsewhere sufficientlie, which commodite (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath bene verie plentiful in this land, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue scene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing here in this land: which I impute not vnto the soilie, but the negligence of my counriemen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yeerelie out of the ground, of seed, haue bene verie plentiful in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourti til the latter end of Henrie the seuenthe, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was little or no use of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposd as food more meete for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their use is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I mean, melons, pom-pions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirrets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as delectie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their provision yeerelie for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither doo they now staje with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but adventure further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the veragenes, mushrooms, &c: as if nature had ordaineid all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischieous operation the Lord in some measure hath gien and provided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentiful in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuived, where ar anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them? onelie poleys are accounted to be their greatest charge. But Sith men haue learned of late to sow asheen keies in ashyards by themselves, that inconuenience in short time
time will be redressed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this land, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuited, and offereth it selfe to prooue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gave ourselves to idlenesse, were glad to have them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfull is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth Turrena sydera, sauing:

“ Pingit & in varios terrestria sydéra flores,”

and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbs sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dungbils and liistowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpheth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these dailies, that they presume to doe in maner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Isles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doo not grow for vs, because that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous saumours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, because they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and service. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also doo begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost acquaint them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions neerer hand: insomuch that I haue seene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within fortie yeeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of just complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoever is needfull and most convenient for them that dwell there-in. How doo men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found &knowne to bee so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbs, if they be used accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in sundrie other, as the Salsa parilla, Mochoacan, &c: but I forbear so to doo, because I couet to be brevие. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yeld and give vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And even so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecaries onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home dooth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet, whose force if we knew, & could apply them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behooueth. Alas what haue we to doo with such Arabian & Grecian stuffie as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another cline? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they male by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is folli; and to vse forren wares
wared when our owne maie serve the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and
magnifice above measure the use of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie
of all: for it savoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore woorthie
of reproch.
Among the Indians, who have the most present cures for earlie disease, of their owne
nation, there is small regard of compound medicines, & lesse of forren drugs, because they
neither know them nor can use them, but worke woordes euene with their owne simples.
With them also the difference of the clime dooth shew his full effect. For whereas they will
heale one another in short time with application of one simple, & c: if a Spaniard or English
man stand in need of their helpe, they are driven to have a longer space in their cures, and
now and then also to use some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces
unto them are thorowlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men
that never sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And
even so did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuer to deal in his cures of sundrie diseases,
wherewith he not onelie vped such simples as were to be had in his owne countrey, but also
examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in
all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of
those most learnedlie, as would easilie be seene, if those his bookes were extant. For the
space also of 600 yeeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so
that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.
In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby
their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreme follie, lib. 22.
cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: "Non placet remedii tam longe nascentia, non
eunm obes vgnamur, immo ne illis quidem, aliquas non venderent; si placet eiam super-
sitionis gratia emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare,
vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis sui tandem pudeat." For my part I doubt not, if the
use of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the
vertues of our simples here at home would have bene far better knowne, and so well vnto
vs, as those of India are to the practioners of those partes, and thereunto be found more
profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euene those
which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile because of their abundance,
are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit:
sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull,
and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected
withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who
not onelie indeuer to search out the use of such simples as our soile doeth yeeld and bring
forth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vp purpose so to acquaint them with our
clime, that they in time through some alteration received from the nature of the earth,
maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this devise, is Carolus Clusius,
the noble herbarist, whose industriue hath woonderefullly stirred them vp vnto this good act.
For albeit that Matthioli, Rembert, Lobell, and other have traveuled verie farre in this behalfe,
yet none hath come nere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true
descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man
were in England but one seven yeeres, he would recreate a number of herbes growing with
vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue any knowledge. And euene
like thanks be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutrurture
and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall
not onlie be laid at hand and preserued, but also their forms be made more familiar to be dis-
cerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue beene.
And euene as it fareth with our gardens, so dooth it with our orchards, which were never
furnished with so good fruit, nor with such variestie as at this present. For beside that we
have
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have most delicate apples, plumes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c: and those of sundrie sorts, planted within forse yeeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old tres are nothing woorth: so have we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, corne-trees in noble mens orchards. I have scene capers, oranges, and lemons, and heard of wild olues growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation under their clime more plentifullie induced with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glory! and not as instruments and provocations vnto further desire and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits doe turne vnto thrones and briers vnto vs for our amonst and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We have in like sort such workemen as are not onlie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one tree bringeth forth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of divers colours and taste, dainting as it were with nature and his course, as if his whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowe sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, bercuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the savoure of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diverse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to convert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the tres, with other things belonging to their preservation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians doe commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me dooth seeme right strange. And even so doo our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserv'd from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yerelelie taken vp, and either reserved in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in saffe. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them doo now and then kepe them moist, it is a world to see; insumuch that the apothecaries shops maie scene to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naye the kitchin if selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that even the verie dishwater is not without some use amongst our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to be remembered, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to have such an equall judge, as by certain knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would give the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie over all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old exceeded. Pluippie and other speake of a rose that had three score leaves growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beleued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit such a one was to be scene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should have been but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndeone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole Area thereof little above 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath bene my good luck in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are vere nere three hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuale to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other appertaining to diverse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not seeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

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OF WATERS GENERALLIE.

C H A P. XXI.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost anie one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as dieres of the maine are said to be indued withall. Virgiullus writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water semeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diverse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found in amne Licesio, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose banke a man shall hardlie miss to find some traueller or other sleeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor. Neeere also vnto Ephesus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineier, and therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbs of choise, dooth colour wool, with such a glosse, that the die thereof contendeth with scarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydimus in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so bateth himselfe therein, shall find great easie of the gowt that runneth ouer all his joints. In one of the fortunate isles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of which bringeth inmoderate laughter to him: that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a soueraigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as hane beholden it. At Susis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his teeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beast drinke, he forthwith casteth hoofe, hair, and horns, if he have anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap doo light thereon so fast as birdline, by means wherof verie manie doo perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will never be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caietanus dooth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maite be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluus wealth, and inconstancie of living and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all nature, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: have strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like wherof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholeie to the blessing of God, who hath ordained nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for our nation. We have therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neertheless as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diverse turne ash, some other elme, and oken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present whereupon to rest for a certenite. Yet I read of diverse welles, wherevnto our old writers ascribet either wonderfull vertuues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twice a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies seuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should seeme that the head of the spring is mouucable. But alas I doo not easie beleue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is neer to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir channell as it were a gulfe, and yet is never full: but when the sea goeth
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goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are overflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They ad also, that if all the people of the country stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake, in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should have no power to go from thence, but navgre their resistance be drowne into that gulfe and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconvenience though they stood never so neere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrey. But whie should I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Chou! dooth make in his description of Pilots lake, "In monte Pilati in Gallia," or Boccatus of the Scaphigilo in the Appenine hils, or Fœlix Mallsius of Pilats lake "In monte fracto" (where Iacobi de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam doo also make mention) sith I take them for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such frioulous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselves: and so manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craving pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonial had bene of force vnto forgianessse and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partly in Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of his owne gods nor liking of the auguries) dooth write in his first De legibus (except my memorie faile me) "aspersione aque labem tolli corpoream, & customian corporis præstari," which maketh me to thinc further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diverse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baies to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall sufficce to have touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue no hurtfull welles, no not vnto our sheepe, though it please Cardan to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I else where haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Wal- den, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it lootheth the bodie of him that drinkest thereof in vere gentle maner, and beside that is vere delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles neere London, of which the one is vere excellent water, the other will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

OF WOODS AND MARISHES.

CHAP. XXII.

IT should seeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes bene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decayed in both, and in such wise that a man shall ofte ride ten or twentie miles in eoch of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be neere vnto townes, gentlemen houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hazels, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoyance of the same. This scarsitie at the first grew (as it is thought)
thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we understand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compass therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattell, doo make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we have sundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrir grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, state vpright, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yeeld their rootes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far unlike to that plentie, which our ancestors have scene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of messuages and mansions almost in euerie place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of sallow, willow, plumentree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated whole vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & navigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to kepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now have we manie chimneys and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neverake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to kepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Of the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workmen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of devise in the frames now made, that they farre passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Wherby the common sayenge is likewise in these daies verified in our mansion houses, which carst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to see moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and having a delectable veine in spending of their graines by that trade, dux dailye imagine new devices of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding also of their worke, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they restraine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are never idle, their purses never shut, nor their bookes of account never made perfect.

"Destructus, edificant, mutant quadrata rotundis" saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchetts in such a builders braine, he would thinke his head to have euen enough of those affairs onelie, & therefore judge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters,
workemasters, that they have beside this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandise, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or fallie no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so mane sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in apperance can seldom shift well or thrive in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We have manic woods, forrests, and parks, which cherish treses abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are maintaied of purpose for the building and provision of such owners as doo possesse the same. Howbeit as euerie soile dooth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hasell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, sorfe, quicke aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, whereof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as most meet for building and the nauie, whereby it is reserved. This tree bringeth fouorth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell néeere vnto the aforesaid places doo cherish and bring vp innumerable heards of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow deere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance dooth prooue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these eggs which these latter doo bring fouorth (beside blackenesse in color and bitternesse of tast) have not seldomly beene found to breed diuerse diseasese vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners have great vs in dressing of leather, and which they buie yarelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft sene: but it shall not need at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and upper lethering may have their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinarie slights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it seemeth outwardly to be verie thicke & well doone: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it dooth prooue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neverthelesse we have good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cometh to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gains to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute in law against the offendours is somwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceived, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and rewards to winke at things past, and when they have once ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large dispensations vnto him that shall ask the same, thereby to doo what him listeth in his trade for an yarelie pension, whereby the bribour now growth to some certeine reuennes, & the tanner to so great libertie that his usher is much worse than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifext illusion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the softest, and far more spalt and bricklie than the hedge oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the finest for joiners craft: for oftentimes haue I sene of their workes made of that oke so fine and faire, as most of the wainscot that is brought hither out of Danske, for our wainscot is not made in England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deal with out okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they haue hoped, because the ab or juice will not so sooner be removed and cleane drawne out, which some attribute to want of time in the salt water. Nevertheliesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer so much hath beene spent in a hundred years before, as is in ten yeares of our time; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcel of ground, be it neuer so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp a new after his owne devise. But wherewith will this curiousitie come?

Of clime we haue great store in eueric high waie and elsewhere, yet haue I not sene thereof.
thereof anie togeth in woods or forrests, but where they haue beene first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne willes. Yet haue I known great woods of beech and haseell in manie places, especiallie in Barkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where they are greatlie cherished, & converted to sundrie vses by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex nere Harwich are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but manie timber, great ordinance, and bectels: and such thereto is their natural qualitie, that being used in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatsoever parcell else of this land, without cuphlar, shaking, or cleaving, as I find.

Ash conneth vp curie where of it selfe, and with enerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not without the plane, the vgh, the sorfe, the chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like. And although that we enioy them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we sufficient of them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especiallie of vgh; as may be scene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and some steeus of Kent also, as I haue beeene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doo not altogether want, especiallie the firre, whereof we have some store in Chatleic moore in Darbshire, Shropshire, Andernesse, and a moss nere Manchester, not far from Leicesters house: although that in time past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part of the coast betweene Chester and the Solme were well stored. As for the frankincense and pine, they haue beene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want them altogether: for except they grew naturalie, and not by force, I see no cause while they should be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We have also the aspe, whereof our fletchers make their arrows. The severall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c. Also the alder, whose barke is not unprofitable to die blacke withall, and therefor much vsed by our countrie wive in colouring their knitt hosen. I might here take occasion to speake of the great sales yeeralie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin desroyed within these few yeares: but I glue ouer to travell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go so fast to deceie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue done and are like to doe in this, sometimes for increase of sheepwalks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowyne a well burnished gentleman * that hath borne threescore at once in one pair of galgascons to shew his strength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fannie bote, broome, turtle, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, hasaacks, flags, straw, sedge, reed, rush, and also seacle will be good merchandize euin in the citie of London, whereunto some of them euin now haue gotten readie passage, and taken vp their innes in the greatest merchants parlours. A man would thynke that our laws were able enough to make sufficient provision for the redresse of this error & enormitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our countrienemen, that as manie laws are made, so they will kepe none; or if they be vrged to make answer, they will rather seeke some crooked construction of them to the increase of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themselves to be guided by the same for a common-wealth and profit to their countie. So that in the end whatsoever the law saith we wil haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the travell of the nobilitie & counsellors as it were derided, the common wealth impoverished, & a few onelie enriched by this peruerse dealing. Thus manie thousand persons doo suffer hinderance by this their levv behaviour. Hereby the wholesome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magistrate in consultation about the common wealth vterlie neglected. I would wish that I might lyue no longer than to see four things in this land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the church: the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countiues, and hinderance of their owne: the

* This gentleman caught such an heats with this sore losse that he was faine to go to Rome for physicke, yet it could not save his life, but he must needs die homewards.
holding of faires and markets vpon the sundae to be abolished and referred to the wednes-
daiies: and that euerie man, in whatsoever part of the champaine soilie enioieth fortie acres
of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme,
might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, beech, and sufficient
provision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue
too long, and so long, that I should either be weareie of the world, or the world of me; and
yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerio-
trifie sufiiceth to lade infinit acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for the taking downe of
houses, a small fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take exa-
ample of the Romans, who in restraint of superfluous grasing, made an exact limitation,
how manie head of cattell eche estate might keepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice
for that and other purposes. Neither was wood euuer better cherished or mansion houses
maintained, than by their lawes and statute. Such also was their care in the maintenance of
navigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yéerelie to view and
looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnecessary faults for the
satisfaction of the priuate owner, and his couetous mind might prooe a prejudice vnto the
common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stufte for the furniture of their manie. Certes
the like heretof is yet obsurred in Venice. Read also I praiie you what Suetonius writeth of
the consuls of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancs Martius dedicated toward
the maintenance of the common manie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto
another end. But what doe I praiie to speake of these, Sith my purpose is onlie to talke of
our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some
countries are already driven to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report:
within these fortie yeeres we shall have little great timber growing above fortie yeeres old;
for it is commonlie seen that those yong staddles which we leue standing at one & twentie
yeeres fall, are usuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and
serve for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue manie in England, though not now so many as some
of the old Roman writers doo specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the
seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe
of the yeere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and nere to great rivers, to small
commodity in the winter part, as common experience dooth teach. Yet this I find of manie
moores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and sundrie of them well re-
plenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example heretof, we may
see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe
is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauemine, and Merioneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire,
where great store of firre hath grown in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this
daise into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the
verie creunge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter) if
they happen to smite vpon anie firre trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or other
blocks, they note the place, and about harvest time, when the ground is at the driest, they
come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applic them to their uses.
The like doe they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within
7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noi-es
floud: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow even in the places where
they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lloegres
and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerhowne vpon
sundrie occasions, was left lying in some places still on the ground, and in processes of time
became to be quite ouergrown with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sad-
nenese, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plente
of water commeth betwene the newe loose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen
away
awai by ditching and draines (a thing soone doone if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might soone leave a drie sole to the great luerce and advantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was sometime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that imironed the same: but now the commoditie is vterly decicled there, so that if Lud were alie againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogether about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Memsmith and Orcoit, that is, the woodie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be scene in those places, let him that hath beeene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath beeene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deal with the same.

OF BATHS AND HOT WELLES.

CHAP. XXIII.

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentiful full maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestly appeareth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halsewell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is nere vnto Buxton, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixtene miles from Manchester, or Markechesteerford, and twenty from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be scene: of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if five quartes of running water were added thereunto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Hereupon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatilie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer with all lesse greevous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengtheninge the affeectled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersinge annoxious oppilations, and qualiuing of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) procedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I understannde by diuerse glouers which haue beeene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasent nor vsuaure in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plente of water without anie notable diminution of the spring is daille carried into sundrie parties of the realme, & drounke by such as haue need to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothesome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clensed daille as the other is, whereby it becometh the wholesomer. Manie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palise, dinnesse of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and greene wounds;
so that I suppose there was never anie compound medicine of greater and more spredicke force in these behalves, than the vsce of this simple liquor is to such as doo frequent it. The said water hath a naturall propertie also following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or sticke of ashe, oke, &c: doo fall into the same, within a short space, such store of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserved, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneys of a man, as I haue scene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet sustained anie manner of imprisonment through the coldness of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whituntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to goe home and seeke for helpe by surgerie: finally finding the paine well asswaged, & the wound faire closed, he departed, and misliking his usuall medicines, he oftoones came againe, and so often indeed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this means also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding case also, gate out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fullie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more spedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallice to be considered of. The first place of baths or medicinable wells is at a hamlet called Newton, a little from saint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) saint Needs, which is ten or twelve miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dumnesse of sight. Verie manie also doo make their repaire vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, because their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Nowere went so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these wells, and those neere Rugbie, both places being discouerced in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about Ratcliffe neere London, even at the same season. But sith rumors are now spred almost of euerie spring, & vaine tale flie about in maner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these alredie mentioned haue here-tofore bin knowne & remembred also, though confusedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in processe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turbolles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enemies, whereby their manifold benefit hath woonderfullie beene missed.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in Summersetshire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be scene and vsed. At the first it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at Malmesbury, which the Saxons named Yingleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Therme, other Aquae solis, or Scamannia, or Acmanes, but now it hight generallie Bath in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquitiees ingrained in stone, to be scene in the wals thereof; and first of all betweene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue scene of Antius the Romane. The second betweene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so dooth this. Thridlie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreover two naked images,
whereof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrie antique heads, with ruf[ed] haires, a greicheound running, and at his taille certeine Romane letters, but so defaced that no man luming can read them at this present. There is moreover the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these between the south and the west gates, as I have said before.

Now, betweene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are evident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath "Cupidines & labrasce intercurrentes," and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie flourished both above and beneath. Finally (saying that I saw afterward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a toome or burial, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, "Vixit annos x:x:;" but so defuselie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterward in those wallis, in their necessarie reparations. But whatsoever the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that Bladud first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kindle the sulphurous veins, of purpose to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occasion the springs thereabout did in processe of time become hot & not unprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later Pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the cheefe goddessse and gouernesse of these waters, because of the neerenesse of her temple vnto the same. Solumis addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so soone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That these baths or waters are derived from such, the marchasites, which the Grecians call Pyritus, per antonomasiam (for being smit with the iron, it yeldeth more sparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserve the name aboue the rest) and besides these other stones mixed with some copper, and dailie found vpon the mountaines thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrary. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent divine, supposeth that these springs doo draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt water, because he found an obscure likelihood of the same, even in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could never till his dieng daie be induced to beleue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euery side with great hills, out of the which come so many springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euery house is served with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettal being the more plentiful and lesse of value vnto them, because it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the four gate, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolved, and their founders, if place did serve therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselves, wherof in the title of this chapter I protested to intreat.

There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, wherof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with lepsis, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is very temperate and pleasant, having cleuen or twelve arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand under, when rainie dooth ought annoie them.

The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compass within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches,
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bones; but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tolerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and joine to S. Thomas hospital, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house neere vnto these common baths, onlie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, doo resort thinner indifferentlie, but not in such lascious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reneale, and homestie performe. There went a sluce out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was derived out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vued for baths, but now I doo not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a depe blew, and reeketh much after the maner of a seething pot, commonlie yeelding somewhat a sulphurous taste, and verie vplasent souar. The water also that runneth from the two small bathes, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three bathes a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certaine times all entrances into them is utterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie ferventlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while sustine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased doo leaque in each of them, wherfore we doo forbeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more greyciouslie affected than we came vnto the cite, which is in deed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the keyper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leau) free passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

What cost of late bath beene bestowed vpon these baths by dierse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious pieces of workmanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie provision made for such poorte as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilst they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remane there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that cite for all degress. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth giue these his good gifts freeli, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to intertaine them) dooth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither doo drinke othes of that medicable liquor: but then I should excede the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath briellie yet happilie begun,
begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I do not know of manie that have traveilled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much less of anie that hath revealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort unto the same.

OF ANTIQUITIES FOUND.

CHAP. XXIV.

HAUING taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselves, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland maie in some cases more manifestlie appear. For such was their possession of this Iland on this side of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their subjection, but all the whole countrie from east to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no region void of their governaunce: notwithstanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Luid and Cimbaliane to reigne and rule amongst them, though vnder a certaine tribute, as else-where I have declared. The chiefe cause that vrgeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them together, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraiture of euerie emperour ingraven in the same: also the faces of Pompei, Crassus, the seven kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuere other, which I haue provided ready for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of sundrie philosophers, and kings of this Iland, since the time of Edward the Confessor. Whereof although presentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendship at the leastwise procured for monie shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hitherto, so the charges to be employed upon these bracen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone prove to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, sith by this means I have reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister store of examples ready to be vsed in my function, as occasion shall move me. But to proceed with my purpose.

Before the coming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Caesar confesseth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certaine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I saie) to haue the certaine view of anie of these, so after the coming of the Romans, they enforced vs to abandon our owne, and receive such imperall monies or coinas, as for the payment of their legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them. What coinas the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and silver, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like steele, almost of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coinas, albeit that it still represent an image of our captivitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yeeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue alreadie made mention in the description of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the coinas in making proffers and holes to breed in, have scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coinas haue bene gathered there: wherefore I shall not need here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the most part of all these antiquities, to be found within
within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and towns decayed, or in inclosed borowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is daily confirmed. What store hath beene scene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that sojourned there, & likewise in York named also Victix, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (because of the beautie and fine building of the same) I my selfe can parliue witnesse, that haue scene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius, Adrian, Trajan, Vespasian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredeschester (now decayed) Rochester, then called Durobreuin, Winchester, and diverse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I doe passe over in silence. Onlie the chief of all and where most are found in deed, is nere vnto Carleon and Caigwent in Southwales, about Kenchester, three miles above Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaster, Brandon, Dodington, where a spurre and piece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eights his daies, besides much of the said Roman coin, Binche, Camale, Lacocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Dorchester, Warwike, and Chester, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It seemeth that Ancaster hath beene a great thing, for manie square & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same. And amongst these, one Vresbie or Rosebie, a plouman, did ere vp not long since a stone like a trough, cowered with another stone, wherein was great poison of the aforesaid coins. The like also was scene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eights his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleston, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coin, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie frettet with pearle, and set with all kind of costlie stones: he tooke vp also chaines much like vnto beads of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might ghesse anie certeinite by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he presented to queene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a fewe ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though so defaced with mouldinesse, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into pieces, much lesse read them by reason of their blindnesse.

In the beginning of the same kings daies also at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arm- ing girdle, harnessed with pure gold, and a great massie pomell with a crosse hilt for a sword of the same mettal, beside studs and harnesse for spurs, and the huge long spurs of like stiffe, whereof one doctor Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boroughs or burtes, whereof I spake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherein the Romane souldiers did use to lie when they kept in the open fields as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie accesse vnto their adversaries, if anie outrage were wrought or rebellion moued against them. And as these were the usuall aboards for those able legions that served dailie in the wars, so had they other certeine habitation for the old and forworne souldiers, whereby diverse cities grew in time to be replenished with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colchester, Chester, and such other, of which, Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddesse of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth "Aram sempiterne dominationis," a perpetuall monument of that our British seruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with stone walls, and so large in compass that some did conteine thristle, fourtie, three score, or eightie acres of ground within their limits: they had also diverse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a fewe remaine to be scene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Essex, nere to the limits of Cambridgeshire, which I have often viewed, and wherein the compass of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be scene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hills. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Euloburg, now S. Neots, or S. Neels, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Denier, Ric,
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Chap. XXV.

The Saxon coin before the conquest is in manner vterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of siluer in those daies did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of King Henrie the eight, who first brought it to thre shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuere waies oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine Solidus, so I read more manifestie of another which is the 45 part of a pound, and this also curant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp a lust pound, fiue penies went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to proced with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine siluer; so queene Marie his successour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie conomous in England, by reason of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

After hir deceas the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and now our most gratious queene, souereigne and princesse, did finish the matter whole; vterly abolishing the use of copper and brassen coine, and confinuing the same to guns and great ordinaunce, she restored sundrie coines of fine siluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe penie, peeces of two penie, of thre penie, of foure penie (called the great) of six penie usuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelve penie, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of King Edward the third, or bëene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his deceas, without anie abasing or diminution of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfe or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be scene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the peec of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of peeces of fortye shillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu

of
of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisite that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finess of the mettal began to be very much abated, & is not likely to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath beene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferior to the coin and currant gold of other nations, where each one dooth couet chiefly to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie seen in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they daile make in those kinds of our coin. Our picees now currant are of ten shillings, five shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe sovereigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters of sovereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be nie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarselie acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any store of gold.

The first currant shilling or siluer picees of twelve pence stamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & those of five shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the sixt: but the od picees aboue remembred under the great by our high and miglitie princesse quene Elizabeth, the name of the great, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discouer the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest picees of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and woot to beare a double crosse with a crest, in such sort that the monie might easilie be broken, either into haffes or quarts: by which shift onelie the people came by small monies, as siluer penies and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the Portugue, a pice very solemnlie kept of diuere, & yet oft times abused with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, as the soules tournois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke dooth two shillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and such often times brought ouer, but nevertheless exchanged as bullion, according to their fineness and weight, and afterward converted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramstele, S. Edmundsburie, Cantuaria, Glasneburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplifications of the grants whereof are yet to be seen in writing, especially that of Peterborow under the confirmation of pope Eugenius; whereunto it appeareth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselves best with the owersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuere of their own, although they afterward permitted some for small picees of siluer vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuere mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie thought and pursed, but not without great gaine to such as dare withall. There is also coinage of ten golden yearelie at two severall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west country: which at the first hearing I supposed to haue bene of monie of the said mettal, and granted by privilege from some prince vnto the towns of Hailstone,
Hailestone, Trurie, and Lostwithiel. Howbeit, upon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office only erected for the prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinary customs of that metal; and such blocks of tin as have passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especial stamp, whereby it is known that the custom due for the same hath ordinarily been answered. It should seem (and in my opinion is very like) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone upon Thames (sometimes a right noble city and place where the Saxon kings were usually crowned) was the chief place of their coinage for this province. For in earring of the ground about that town in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of many good buildings that have beene ripped vp by plowes, and diverse coins of brasse, siluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Woolseie, one such huge pot was discovered full as it were of new siluer lately coined; another with plates of siluer ready to be coined; and the third with chains of siluer and such broken stuffe ready (as it should appeare) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my conjecture. Of coins currant before the coming of the Romans I have elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, and the Britons used brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certain proportion, in stead of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough pieces of brasse and iron in stead of coin, wherewith they purchased their wines.
THE

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OF CATTELL KEPT FOR PROFIT.

CHAP. I.

THERE is no kind of tame cattell usuallie to be seen in these parts of the world, wherof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horsses, oxen, sheepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be proued with ease. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horsses more decent and pleasant in passe, kine more commodious for the pale, sheepe more profitable for woot, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with us in England? But to speke of them peculiariie, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yeede of milke, wherof we make our butter & cheese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horses or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they seeme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for in other countries, to wit, in that they bring fourth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gains also gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is enhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to daie more and more, if ground arise to be yet deyer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of one of a cow in Warwickshire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studlie, which in six yeeres had sixtene calves; that is, four at once in three calvings and twice twins, which vnto manie may seeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are not to be found in anie country of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and sweetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romane writers have preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our grasiers are now grown to be so cunning, that if they doo but se an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will give a ghesse at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he burreth, how the butcher may lye by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such grasiers also are reported to ride with veluite coats, and chaines of gold
about them: and in their absence their wines will not let to supply those turns with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthe by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buiter will: but in yong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the steere and heigher, sith the finer beefe is the lightest, whereas the flesh of bulls and old kine, &c: is of sadder substance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the scale. Their horses also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in any other places, except those which are to be scene among the Pouns, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yong, mane grasier will oftentimes annoint their budding horses, or tender tips with houie, which mollifie the natural hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatness. Certes, it is not strange in England, to see oxen whose horses have the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themselves thereto so tall, as the heigh of a man of meane and indiffernt stature is scarce equall vnto them. Nevertheless it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, because they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yeerelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they doe in other countries.

Our horses moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatness as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their passe, it is hard to saye where their like are to be had. Our land dooth yeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers: and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserved for the cart, or appointed to bear such burdens as are convenient for them. Our cart or plough horses (for we use them indifferntlie) are commonlie so strong that five or six of them (at the most) will draw thre thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourme, although it be not a load of common use, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie foot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or fiftie quarters of wheate, experience daily teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it commeth to passe, that when the queenes maister dooth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vnsualie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horses, appointed out of the countries adjoyning, whereby his cariage is conduetelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient use of somers and sumpter horses is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Such as sreue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now grome to be verie dere among vs, especiallie if they he well coloured, justiclie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling passe. For our countriemen, seeking their ease in euery corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualitie, but chielie in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in manner peculliar vnto horses of our soile, and not hurtful to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned passe dooth yeeld comfortable sound as he traveleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater decept vset anie where than among our horseekeepers, horsescersors, and hostlers: for such is the subtil knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for privat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceived by some false tricker or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horses and colts is bought and sold,
and whereunto such as have need resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie provision of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wollpit, Harborough, and diverse other. But as most drovers are very diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too so levied in abusing such as buie them. For they have a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneye of the market, to drive them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelve houres, which being done they turne them all over the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes doe fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horses as are dailie brought out vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scottish nag, because that further speche of them concerneth not within the compass of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) King Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had very good successe with them, till the officers waxing weareie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. SirNicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horses in England, and written of the maner of their production: it would to God his compass of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherein the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 20000 mares and 2000 stallions, as Strabo doth remember Lib. 16. But to leaue this, let vs see what may be said of sheepe.

Our sheepe are very excellent, sith for sweetnesse of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our woolles to be preferred before those of Mileisia and other places, that if Jason had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would (withall) have gone to Colchis to looke for anie there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable to the spiders web. What foolish are our countrymen, in that they seeke to berece themselves of this commoditie, by practising dulle how to transfer the same to other nations, in carrying ouer their rams & ewes to breed & increase among them? The first example hereof was gien under Edward the fourth, who not understanding the botome of the suite of sundrie traitorous merchants, that sought a present gaine with the perpetual hinderance of their courtrie, licenced them to carie ouer certene numbers of them into Spaine, who having licence but for a few shipped very manie: a thing commonlie practised in other commoditie also, whereby the prince and his land are not sellenome times defrauded. But such is our nature, and so blind are we in deed, that we see no inconvenience before we feele it: and for a present gaine we regard not what damage may inue into our posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trisse which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far excedeth that value. In time past the use of this commoditie consiste (for the most part) in cloth and woosteds: but now by meanes of strangers-succoured here from domestical persecution, the same hath beene impioled vnto sundrie other uses, as mockadoes, bales, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue receaup no small commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgiue know it, and dailie experience notwithstanding the sharpenesse of our lawses to the contrary dooth yet confirm it: that although our rams & weathers doo go thither from vs neuer so well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they cast there their heads, and from thenceforward they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherishe in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diverse townes, whereof some are wholly converted to their feeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fleece, such necessity in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their doong and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is never an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great sheepe masters of whom some one snuch
man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yeld the finer fleece, as Virgil (following Varro) well espied Georg. S. where he saith:

"Si tibi lanicum cura, primum aspera sylum,
Lappaque tribulique absint, fugae pabula heta."

Neuerthelesse the sheepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the mensels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are now and then great losers by the same: but after the calamity is over, if they can recover and kepe their new stecks sound for seauen ycares together, the former losse will easilie be recompened with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our sheepe, howbeit this is but his conjecture: for we know that our sheepe are infected by going to the water, and take the same as a sure and certaine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their flowers and lights being alredie destempered through excessive heat, which inforceth them the rather to seekke vnto the water. Certoes there is no parcell of the maine, wherein a man shall generallie find more fine and wholesome water than in England; and therefore it is impossible that our sheepe should decale by tasting of the same. Wherefore the hinderance by rot is rather to be ascribed to the vnsseasonable & moisture of the weather in summer, also their licking in of mildewes, gossamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke grasse, full of superfluous juice: but speciallie (I saie) to ouer moist weather, whereby the continuall raine persing into their hollow solches, sokeeth forthwith into their flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also infected their first shew of sickenes is their desire to drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them "Causa agritudinis," but "Signum morbi," what so euer Cardan doo main-teine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no small babes) which are growne to be so good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be cleere fine worth twenty pounds in comen and indifferent yeares, if the milke of five sheepe be dailie added to the same. But as I wrote not how true this surmise is, because it is no part of my trade, so I am sure hereof, that some housewives can and doo ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the choose of so manie kine, whereby their cheese dooth the longer abide moist, and eatheth more brickle and mellow than otherwise it would.

Goats we have plenties, and of sundrie colours in the west parts of England; especiallie in and towards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by whome the owners doo reape no small advantage: some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse steeds for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chese, and bodies of their young kids are judged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and neere. Certoes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth oppilations and stopings of the liver, and losseth the bellye. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the cow: and thirdlie that of the ewe: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulsome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are vsed vnto it no man will gladlie yeld to liue and fedd withall.

As for swine, there is no place that hath greater store, nor more wholesome in eathing, than are these here in England, which neuerthelesse doo neuer anie good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to have it of more continuance. Land we make some though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither haue we such vse thereof as is to be scene in France and other countries, sith we doo either bake our meat with sweet suet of beefe or mutton, and best all our meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattest to bast it selfe by leisure. In champainie countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them together by his noise and eerie, and leadeth them forth to feed abroad in the fieldes. In some places also women doo scowre and wet their cloths with their dongs, as other...
other doo with hemlocks and netles: but such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than such as are scowred with the reffuse sope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie sauor.

Of our tame bore we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not usuallie knowne to strangers (as I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters and French cooks, at the losse of Calis (where they found great store of this provision almost in euerie house) have attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broide, & frys the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I have heard moreover, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send over an hogshead of brawne readie sowed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposed it to be fish, reserved it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with very great frugality. Thereto he so well liked of the provision it selle, that he wrote ever verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompence for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to have beene flesh, he would not have touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A friend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spain, hauing certeine lewes at his table, did set brawne before them, wherof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those partes: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hidde them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oile, and some by other means, till (as they supposed) they had clenched their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great piece of servicie at the table, from November untill Februarie be ended; but chesifie in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other; and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malmesie, bastard, or muscadell, is usuallie dronke after it, where either of them are convenientlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselves with their owne drinkinge, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indeed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especiallie in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne use above three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat, till his fat be hardene sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, salted, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowe onedie, and is commonlie reserved for the serving man and hind, except it please the owner to have anie part thereof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut of, they are first drawne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowed in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in steed of the wild bore, and true it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby prooue the better. But hereof enough, and therefore to come againe into our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the shoulders are named shilds, onedie the ribs retaine the former denomination, so that these aforesaid peeces deserve the name of brawne: the bowels of the beast are commonlie cast awaie because of their ranknesse, and so were likewise his stones; till a foolish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who have now found the means to dresse them also with great cost for a delicite dish, and bring them to the board as a servicie among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the provocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiousitie is not a little reveale. When the bore is thus cut out, ech pece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier peeces, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron together, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a brused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to coode: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or beere mingled with verjuice and salt thereto till it be covered, and so let it lie (now and then alteringe and chang-
ing the sowings drinke least it should wax sourre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the wate. Some use to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and seeth them, and sowse the whole, as they doo that of the bore; and in my judgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawne thus much; and so much may seem sufficient.

OF WILD AND TAME FOULES.

CHAP. II.

ORDER requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie divide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation under the sunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Iland dooth bring foorth, and much more would heue, if those of the higher soilie might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of croustous foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Iohns daies, insomuch that going in progressse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherefore being at Bristow in the Christmas insuing, he restraine all manner of hawking or taking of wild-foule through-out England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the biter, the wild & tame swan, the bustard, the herron, curlew, snipe, wildgoose, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plauer of both sorts, lapwing, teal, wigeon, mallard, sheldrake, shouder, pewet, seamen, barnacle, quaile (who onlie with man are subject to the falling sickenesse) the note, the olic or oile, the dunbird, woodcocke, parvrick and peasan, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are vterlie vn-known, and much more the taste of their flesh, wherewith I was never acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their seuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie should seeme at anie time furnish. But of all these the production of none is more marvellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the same neerer home, and not onlie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but even in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much unlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunite serueth, and the circumstances doo minister occasion) in the Thames mouth, I doo not thinke that manie will beleue me: yet such a thing hath there bene scene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing neere vnto the shore, from whENCE when their time came, they fell downe, either into the salt water and liued, or vpon the drye land and perished, as Pena the French herbarian hath also noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue scene here by experience, I haue alreadie so touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it should be but time spent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the description of Man or Manaw for more of these barnacles, as also in the eleuenth chapter of the description of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you shall in some respect be satisfied in the generation of these foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and such like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the sea, as if all the foule of our coutrie could not suffice to satisfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are such (for the most part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geese, ducks, peacockes of Iude, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reason of their multitudes, and number of houses dailie erected for their increase (which the bowres of the coutrie call in scorne almes houses, and dens of theuees, and such like) whereof
wherof there is great plente in everie farmers yard. They are kept there also to be sold either for reade monie in the open markets, or else to be spent at home in good companie amongst their neighbors without reprehension or fines. Neither are we so miserable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the especiall grace of God, and liberie of our princes) as to dine or sup with a quarter of a hen, or to make so great a repast with a cockes combe, as they doe in some other countries: but if occasion serue, the whole carasses of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and such like doo oft go to wracke, beside beaste, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at everie feast are taken for necessarie dishes amongst the communallie of England.

The gelding of cockes, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practise brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indish peacocks is a newer devise: and certeinlie not vsed amisse, sith the rakenenesse of that bird is very much abated thereby, and the strong taste of the flesh in sundrie wise amended. If I should say that ganders grow also to be gelded, I suppose that some will laugh me to scorne, neither haue I tested at anie time of such a foule so servued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vsed in the countrie, where their geese are driven to the field like heards of cattell by a gooscheard, a toie also no lesse to be maruellled at than the other. For as it is rare to haere of a gelded gander, so is it strange to me to see or haere of geese to be led to the field like sheepe: yet so it is, & their gooscheard carrieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goslings togither, the noise whereof commeth no sooner to their ears, than they fall to galging, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will pheepe vnder the doores, and neither leave creaking and galging till they be let out vnto him to ouetake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this sort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept so much for their bodies as for their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke soiles their doong dooth so qualifie the batableness of the soile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and sundrie other diseases, although some of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produceth by the industrie of man, as betwene the feant cocke and doonghill hen, or betwene the feant and the ringdooe, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but sith I haue no more knowledge of these, than what I haue gotten by mine care, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan speaking of the second sort, dooth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewise intreacht of other foules which we repute vniclean, as raunces, crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, falcon, raintailles, starlings, woodspikes, woodnawes, raunces, &c: but sith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture most of all in England (by reason of our negligence) I shall not need to spend anie time in the rehearssall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cherished of purpose to catch vp the wooremes that breede in our soiles (as Polydor supposed) sith there are no vplandish townes but haue (or should haue) nets of their owne in store to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parliament are likewise made for their utter destruction, as also the spoile of other rauncious foules huntfull to pultrice, conies, lambs, and kids, whose valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a devise brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the destruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermine, as with them also for the rootage out of their wild beasts, sauing that they spared their greatest beares, especiallie the white, whose skins are by custome & privilege reserved to cover those planchers whereupon their priests doo stand at Mass: least he should take some vnkind cold in such a long piece of worke: and happe is the man that may preuide them for him, for he shall haue pardon enough for that so religious an act, to last if he will till doomes day doo approach; and manie thousands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that these noisome creatures are nourished amongst vs to devoure our wooremes, which doo not abound much more in England
England than elsewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that some looke for a discourse also of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blacke-birds, mausies, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larkes, titts, kingsfishers, buntings, turtles white or grinie, linets, bullfinches, goldfinches, washtailles, chericrackers, yellownamers, selfares, &c: but I should then spend more time vpone them than is convenient. Neither will I speake of our costlie and curious auiaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and observation of their natures: but I cease also to go anie further in these things, hauing (as I thinke) said enough alreadie of these that I haue named.

OF FISH VSUALLIE TAKEN UPON OUR COASTS.

CHAP. III.

I HAUEN in my description of waters, as occasion hath served, intreated of the names of some of the seuerall fishes which are commonlie to bee found in our riuers. Neuerthelesse as euerie water hath a sundrie mixture, and therefore is not stored with euerie kind: so there is almost no house, euem of the meaneest bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reseruation of water vnstored with some of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, celes, or such like as will liue and breed togethier. Certes it is not possible for me to deliver the names of all such kinds of fishes as our riuers are found to beare: yet least I should scene injurious to the reader, in not deliering so manie of them as haue beene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they doo come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middest of September to the middest of November, and are very plentiful in our greatest riuers, as their young store are not to be touched from mid April vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graille, powt, cheuin, pike, goodgeon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimpes, creuises, lampreies, and such like, whose preservation is provided for by verie sharpe lawes, not oneie in our riuers, but also in rashes or lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coutesing to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more prejudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and cele, which commonlie deuoure such fish as frie and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuerthelesse the pike is freend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his rieur and fat vnto the butier, for the better vterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that present, he laieth the same againe into the proper place, and sowing vp the wound, he restorith him to the pond where tenches are, who never cease to sucke and liche his greued place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him ready to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riever fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tiales, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageth receueth diverse names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a jacker, from a jacker to a pickereell, from a pickereell to a pike, and last of all to a lucre; also that a salmon is the first yeare a gruelin, and commonlie so big as an herring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort unneccesarie.

I might fullie tell you, how that in fennie riuers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the grasse downwards, vpone the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of celes, it would scene a wonder; and yet it is beleued with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a living creature. But sith the certeinie of these things is rather prooved by few than the certeinie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time.
time. Nevertheless this is generallie observed in the maintenance of fries so well in rivers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we use to throw in faggots made of willow and sallow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserved and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fish, of which the carpe also will feed upon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some use in every sitt or sequent yeare to let their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed upon; and afterwards store them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finalie, when they have spawned, they draw out the breeders, leaving not aboue foure or six behind, even in the greatest ponds, by means whereof the rest doo prosper the better; and this observation is most used in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I mean so well in ponds as rivers, and also in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but cliaie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer unto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it commeth to passe that none, or at the leastwise vere few of them are to be had at all times. Nevertheless, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentiful: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthy rivers, which naturallie annoile them. In December therefore and January we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rocher, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muskles, &c. In April and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Iulie, with conger. In August and September, with haddock and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most usuall, and wherewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enterprise more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often seen, to the end I may not altogether passe ouer this chapter without the rehersall of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find five sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dorrerie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaitis, maidens, kingsons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sossed, & eaten here at home, whilst the lesser be fried or buttered: soone after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrification. Vnder the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumpes, an eglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dressed: the white (an old waite or servitor in the court) the rocher, sea breame, pilre, lake, sea trowt, gumard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Vnder this kind also are all the great fish continent, as the seal, the dolphin, the porpoeise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoever is round of bodie be it never so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eees, garfish, and such other of that forme. Finalie, of the legged kind we haue not mane, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the Polybus called in English the lobstar, craffish or creuts, and the crab. As for the little craneshey are not taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh rivers in banks, and vnder stones, where they keepe themselves in most secret maner, and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceite even the skilfull takers of them, except they
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vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique, doubted whether these lob-
stars be fish or not; and in the end conclude them to grow of the puration of the water
as dooth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of
digestion. But heerof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken alow our coasts: but
sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are usuallie gotten, or so manie of them
oneie as I can well rehearse upon certaine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to for-
bear the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellie sort, we haue plentie of oisters,
whose value in old time for their sweetenesse was not unknoune in Rome (although Mutianus
as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and these we haue in
like maner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We
haue in like sort no small store of greatwhelkes, scallops and percewinkles, and each of them
brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our oysters
are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to saie, Maie, Iune,
Julie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie
eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our
sea fish as a man in maner vterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much
haue I yeelded to doo, hoping hercafter to saie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if
it shall please God that I may live and haue leisure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so
make vp a perfect piece of worke, of that which as you now see is verie slenderlie attempted
and begun.

OF SAUSAGE BEASTS AND VERMINES.

CHAP. IV.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of
noisome beasts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & such like, by means whereof our
countrimen may trauell in safetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the most part abroad in
the field without any herdman or keeper.

This is cheefelie spoken of the south and southwest parts of the Iland. For wheras we
that dwell on this side of the Twed, may safelie boast of our securiue in this behalfe: yet
cannot the Scots doe the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they have greevous
woolfes and cruel foxes, beside some other of like disposition continuaue consuerue among
them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no small damage unto the inha-
biteres of those quarters. The happie and fortunate want of these beasts in England is univer-
sallie ascriued to the politike governement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole coun-
trie might once be clensed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welshmen (who
were then pestered with these raenious creatures above measure) to paye him a yearelie tribute
of woolfes skinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine
number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & pursue them ouer all
quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doe report. Some there be which write how Lud-
wall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of thre hundred woolfes, whose
carcases being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeshire, and that by
meanes thereof within the compass and terme of foure yeares, none of those noisome creatures
were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time also we read not that
anie woolf hath beene scene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our
countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuere brought ouer from beyond the seas for greedie-
nesse of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gasing and gaping of our people vpon them,
who couet oft to see them being strange beasts in their eies, and sildome knowne (as I haue
said) in England.

Lions
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Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and those with maines of no lesse force than they of Mauritania were sometimes reported to be; but how and when they were destroyed as yet I doo not read. They had in like sort no lesse plentie of wilde and cruel buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by pursure either on horssebacke or foot in armor; notwithstanding that manie times they were dangerouslie assailed by them. But both these saugge creatures are now not heard of, or at the least wise the later scarslie known in the south parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwise the generation of those & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of set purpose replenish the country with them for his pleasure and pastime in hunting, I can in no wise believe.

Of foxes we haue some but no great store, and also badgers in our sandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, broome, and plentie of shrubs are to shrowd them in, when they be from their borrows, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwise in claye, which we call the cleggie mould, we seldome heare of anie, because the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to draw and make their borroves depee. Certes if I may frelicie saie what I thinke, I suppose that these two kinds (I mean foxes and badgers) are rather preserved by gentlemen to hunt and haue pastime withall at their owne pleasures, than otherwise suffered to live, as not able to be destroyed because of their great numbers. For such is the scanttie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be scene in other countries, and so earnestlie are the inhabitans bent to root them out, that except it had bëene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwise haue bëene chosen, but that they should have bëene ytterlie destroyed by manie yeares agone.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polecat, the minuter, the weasell, store, fulmart, squirril, fitchew, and such like, which Cardan includeth under the word Mustela: also of the otter, and Likewise of the beuer, whose hinder feet and talle onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the talle of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monesterous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or shere thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is gien to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nests, wherein their bodies lie drye aboue the water, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their tali may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said tali are a delicate dish, and their stones of such medicinable force, that (as Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their Attraictive force, proceeeding from a vehement sature wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, cheefely about Babascham, from whence they and their driedcodec are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remember, as the first sorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Tefie in Wales) is not wanting or to seeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doe thislie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow deere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselves they are not offensive at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie prejudicial, and therfore justlie reprooued of many; as are in like sort our huge flockes of sheepe, wherein the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, wooll, and felles never the better cheape.
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cheape. The younge males which our fallow deere doo bring forth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fayne, the second a pookor, the third a seerell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fift yéere old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéere is not so certaine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceived in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie solde will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yéereke meen and cast their horns: yet in fighting they never break off where they doo grife or meew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red deere, I find that the younge male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spae, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the sixt an hart, and so forth unto his death. And with him in degree of venerie are accounted the hore, bore, and wolffe. The fallow deere as buckes and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne adventure, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) doo make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow deere is the next, then the roe, whereof we have indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that seelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doe use. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are pastimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoever Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tasting of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than his horses feet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting oneie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appeare by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an od or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth unto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Hereunto beside that which we read of the usuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, wolffe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdaining (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowardly, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, lindsay, oounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise upon him: but choycely he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiesight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to hazard his flesh and skin against the trees, to sharpen his teeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so neere together, that the one (if nee neede) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horsebacke or on foot, as occasion served, much like the younger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue bene about Blackleie neere Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said alreadie.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a meere scolerie to pursue anie fallow deere with hounds or grænouns, but supposed himselfe alwayes to haue doone a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trouell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vpshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polynestor Milesius, of whom it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake
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ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beleue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swiftlie after like game, that as he passed over the sad, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agoe, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie pastime. In diverse forren countries they cause their red and fallow deere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to have bene scene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat cheese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemen house, whose wife of purpose kept a doerie of the same. As for the plowing with vres (which I suppose to be villikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be scene in England. Wherefore I will omit to sake anie more of wild and saunge beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to have spoken alreadie sufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the judgement of the curious.

OF HAWKES AND RAUENOUS FOULES.

CHAP. V.

I CAN not make (as yet) anie just report how manie sorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsuallie had among vs are disclosed with in this land, I thinke it more eaisie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we have the egle, common experience dooth coudidentlie confirme, and diverse of our rockes whereon they breede, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aerie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Bren, sometime builded by Brennus, as our writers doo remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccesible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth upon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle breeded everie yeare. This also is notable in the overthrow of his nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so prouide to be leue downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with his sharpe talons though his apparell were newer so good. The common people call this foule an ern, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and ern doo shew anie difference of sexe, I, I meanne betwene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And neere to the places where they breede, the commons complaine of great harne to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yoong lambe or kid into their neat, therewith to feed their yoong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diversitie of kind betwene the eagle and the ern, till I perceived that our nation vse the word ernie in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner: and the lanneret: the terrs: and the gosshawke: the muschet and the sparshawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie some (though verie few) marlions. And these are all the hawkes that I doo heare as yet to be bred within this land. Howbeit as these are not wanting with vs, so are they not verie plentiful: wherefore such as delite in hawking doo make their childe puruesance & prousion for the same out of Danske, Germanie, and the Eastcountries, from whence we have them in great abundance, and at excesseive prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and usuallie brought to the markets as chicknes, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doo the aforesaid
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aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparrowhe preijeth not vpon the foule in the morning that she taketh ouer even, but as loth to have doule beneft by one seele foule, dooth let it go to make some shift for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the sparrowhe is enemie to yong children, as is also the ape; but of the peecoke she is marvellouslie afraid & so appalled, that all courage & stomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the sight thereof. But to pro-
ceed with the rest. Of other rauenous birds we have also verie great plentie, as the bussard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & such as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yong bréeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes have learned also the wáie: and so much are our rauens gven to this kind of spoyle, that some idle and curious heads of seé purpose have manned, reêaimed, and vsed them in steed of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some doo imagine that the raun should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I fréelle surcease to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their sides vnder their wings better covered with thicke downe (wherewith also their gorge or a part of their brest vnder their throte is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vsed which portraiture there is no member of the raun (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we have none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they goe generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pyrargus or griepe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue sene the carre crowes, so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue vsed to soare ouer great rüers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And even at this present the aforesaid rüer is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospraies which brescia wyth vs in parks and woods, wherby the këepers of the same doo reapę in bréeding time no small commodie: for so soone almost as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, doo neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the këepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not bëene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I hear that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a goose wherewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This nouertheles is certeine that both aline and dead, yeu even hir verie olie is a deadliest terrour to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause wherefore I should describe the cormorant amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chieflie about the lë of Elie, where they are taken for the night raunen, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not conuenient, let vs now see what may be said of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realne and countrie.

OF VENEMOUS BEASTS.

CHAP. VI.

If I should go about to make anie long discourse of venemous beasts or wormes bred in England, I should attempt more than occasion it selfe would readlie offer, sith we haue verie few wormes, but no beasts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. First of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon toong called an atter) which some men doo not rashlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be so, then
then is it not the viper author of the death of hir " parents, as some histories affirm: and thereto Encelides a late writer in his " De re metallica," lib. 3. cap. 23. where he make mention of a she adder which he saw in Sala, whose wombe (as he saith) was eaten out after a like fashion, hir yonges lieng by hir in the sunne shine, as if they had bee earth worms. Nevertheless as he nameth them " Vipers," so he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the same serpent which his countri- men to this daie call Ein atter, as I have also noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am persuaded that the slaughtre of their parents is either not true at all, or not awaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well provided to inhibit their superfluous increase by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am I led hereinto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yonge aliene, and therefore is called in Latine " Vipera quasi viuipara:" but of hir owne death he dooth not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testified also by other in other words, & to the like sense, that " Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non omnium animalia parit." And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philostratus " De vita Appollonij," how he saw a viper licking hir yong. I did see an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sleeping on a moue-hill, out of whose mouth came eleven yong adders of twelve or thirtene inches in length a piece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espyed me. So soone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whom I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indeed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like rustie iron or iron graie: but such as be verie old resemble a ruddle blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maye they cast their old skins (wherby as it is thought their age reneweth) so their stinging bringeth death without present remedie be at hand, the wounded never ceasing to swell, neither the venem to worke till the skin of the one breaketh, and the other ascend vpward to the hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the juice of dragons (in Latine called " Dracunculus minor") be speedily ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else some other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaine and overcom the venem of the same. The length of them is most commonlie two foot and somewhat more, but seldome dooth it extend vnto two foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monstorous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and scene sometimes to surmount a yard, or three foot, although their poison be nothing so griefeous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees, and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the summer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon some hilleocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and highest grounds, where sometimes (though seldome) a speckled stone called Echites, in Dutch " Ein atter steen," is gotten out of their dried carcasses, which diuers report to be good against their poison. As for our snakes, which in Latine are properlie named " Angues," they commonlie are seenie in moores, fens, somew what wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders commonlie are found, so doe frogs abound where snakes doe keepe their residence. We haue also the sloworne, which is blacke and graieshe of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby conceived that she was not so called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Nevertheless we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also doe call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow worms, and they are knowne easilie by their more or lesse varietie of striped colours, drawen long wales from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venom deadlie. This also is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of greater
greater quantity than either our adder or our snake; but as these are not ordinarie and of
be scene, so I mean not to intreat of them among our common annoyances. Neither have
we the scorpion, a plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and whose poison (as Apol-
lodorus saith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neapolitane spider, whose poison bringeth
death, except musike be at hand. Wherfore I suppose our country to be the more happie
(I meane in part) for that it is void of these two grievous annoyances, wherewith other nations
are plagued.
We have also efts, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts, whereof
to sale anie more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well knowne; and no region to
my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall not be amisse
a little to touch them also) we have none that can doe hurt or hinderance naturallie unto anie:
for whether they be cut wasted, or whole bodied, they are void of poison and all venemous
inclusion. The cut or girt (wasted for so I English the word insecta) are the hornets,
waspes, bees, and such like, whereof we have great store, and of which an opinion is con-
ceived, that the first doo breed of the corruption of dead horses, the second of peares and
apples corrupted, and the last of kine and oxen: which may be true, especiallie the first and
latter in some parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as also in the second, sith
we have neuer waspes, but when our fruit beginneth to wax ripe. In deed Virgil and others
speek of a generation of bees, by killing or smoothing of a brused bullocke or calf,
and laing his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in his hide in a close house for a certeine season;
but how true it is hitherto I have not tried. Yet sure I am of this, that no one living crea-
ture corrupteth without the production of another; as we may see by our selues, whose flesh
dooth alter into lice; and also in shewe for excessive numbers of flesh flies, if they be suf-
fured to lie unburied or vacuete by the dogs and swines, who often and happlie prevent such
needleles generations.
As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas some ancient writers affirme
it to be a commoditie wanting in our land, it is now found to be nothing so. In old time
peraduenture we had none in deed, but in my daies there is such plentie of them in maner
uerie where, that in some uplandish townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hines
of them, although the said hines are not so huge as those of the east countrie, but far lesse,
as not able to contenie above one bushell of corne, or five pecks at the most. Plinie (a man
that of set purpose deliteth to write of woonders) speaking of honie noteth that in the north
regions the hines in his time were of such quantitie, that some one combe contained eight foot
in length, & yet (as it should scene) he spake not of the greatest. For in Podolia, which
is now subject to the king of Poland, their hines are so great, and combes so abundant, that
huge bores ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can
recooper & find the means to come out.
Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best, because it is harder, better wrought,
and cleinier vesseled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the sea, where they stampe
and streine their combs, bees, and yong blowings altogether into the stuffe, as I have bene
informed. In use also of medicine our physicians and apothecaries eschew the forren, espe-
ciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reason of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the
same, as some write, and choose the home made: not onely by reason of our soile, which
hath no lesse plentie of wild thyme growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and
mauth the best stuffe; as also for that it breedeeth (being gotten in haruest time) lesse cholers,
and which is oftentimes (as I have scene by experience) so white as sugar, and corned as if it
were salt. Our hunes are made commonlie of rie straw, and waddled about with bramble
quarters: but some make the same of wicker, and cast them over with cliae. Wée cherish
none in trees, but set our hines somewhere on the warmest side of the house, providing that
they may stand drie and without danger both of the mouse and moth. This furthermore is
to be noted, that whereas in vessels of oile, that which is nearest the top is counted the finest,
and of wine that in the middest: so of honie the best which is heauiest and moistest is
always
always next the bottom, and cuernmore casteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose grounds and leexe doo generallie settle downwarde. And thus much as by the waie of our bees and English hone.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be abundandtie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we beetles, horseflies, turdbugs or borres (called in Latine Secarbei) the locust or the grashopper (which to me doo seeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did Domitian sometime, and an other prince yet living, who delited so much to see the iollie combats betwixt a stout flye file and an old spider, that dierse men haue had great rewards gien them for their painfull prouision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some parasites also in the time of the aforesaid emperor, (when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and yet would see in appearance to gratifie his fantastical head with some shew of dutifull demenour) could devise to set their lord on worke, by letting a flesh flye priuile into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set apart) and never ceased till he had caught him into his fingers: whereupon aforesaid the proverbe, "Ne musca quidem," yttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered, "Ne musca quidem," whereby he noted his follie. There are some cockescombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men transregionate, which make account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is scene betwene them, if either of them be lustie and courageous in his kind. One also hath made a booke of the spider and the file, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if those iollie fellows in sted of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great injurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the cost to set afooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by dierse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flye, and affirmre verie constantlie, that they saw none other creature than the grashopper, during the time of that annoiace, which was said to come to them from the Meotides. In most of our translations also of the bible, the word Locusta is Englished a grashopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwise Iohn the Baptist would never haue liued with them in the wildernes. In Barbarie, Numidia, and sundrie other places of Afirica, as they haue beene, so are they eaten to this daie powdered in barells, and therefore the people of those parts are called Acedophagi: nevertheless they shorten the life of the eaters by the production at the last of an irkesome and filthyie disease. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin Cicala, he hath some likeliehood, but not verie great, with the grashopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this case. Finallie Matthiolus, and so manie as describe the locust, doo set downe none other forme than that of our grashopper, which maketh me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locust and grashopper are one.
OF OUR ENGLISH DOGS AND THEIR QUALITIES.

CHAP. VII.

THERE is no country that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellency, and diversity of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now alie, he would not send to Epyro, as an ornament to his country, and piece of husbandrie for his common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose with Molossian and Lacoonian dogs, as he did the same also with sheepe out of Attica and Miletum, goates from Seyro and Naxus, swine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise unto Gesner "De canibus Anglicis," bringeth them all into three sorts: that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the homelie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the curish kind meet for many toies. For my part I can say no more of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefore I will here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries I have not to deal with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a delicate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other woonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captuiritie, mawgre the resistance of his adversaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10. "De animalibus," Aristotle, &c: who write marvelous of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatness in oxen, and some also for smalnesse vnto the little field mouse. Neither doe I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did sometime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenses of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewareith his flight by pursue. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the formost excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quickie espieng, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulness. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called Sagaces by a generall name, not onelie because of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their felawees most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to harke and follow such a dog, and they eftsoones obeie so soon as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called harriers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the woofle (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polecate, lopstart, wesell, conie, &c: the second hight a terrier, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloodhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to pursue a thiefe or beast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gaschound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnesse, and stature, commended by Bratius in his "De venatione," and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but above all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

& magna spectandi mole Britannii,

also by Nemetianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he saith:

Duiua Britannia nütuit
Ve loces nostrìq; orbis venatibus aptos,
of which sort also some be smooth, of sundry colours, and some shake haired: the sixt a
liener, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seventh a tumbler: and the eight a
thèsef, whose offices (I mean of the latter two) incline one to deceive, wherein they are
oft so skillful, that few men would thinke so mischievous a wit to remaine in such silly
creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting,
he commeth next to such as serve the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts.
One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the
water: and of these this is commonlie most usuall for the net or traine, the other for the
hawke, as he dooth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they have no peculiar names
assigned to them generallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall ap-
pointment he is allotted to hunt or serve, for which consideration some be named dogs for
the feasant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Howbeit the common name for
all is spaniell (saith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought
hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort
of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is)
the fistinghound, and those are called Melitei, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were
brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and nere
to satisfy the nice delicacie of dainty danes, and wanton womens willes: instruments of foltie
to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from
more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport,
a silly poore shift to shun their irkesome idlenes. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller
they be (and thereto if they have an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are
accepted, the more pleasure also they provoke, as meet plaifellowes for misting mistresses to
beare in their bosoms, to kepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with sleepe in
bed, and nourish with meat at board, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like
young Dianes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for curseness
with finenesse hath no fellowship, but fattenesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhead enough.
That plausible proverbe therefore vereified sometime vpon a tyrant, namelelie that he lode his
son better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more
in their dogs, that are deprived of all possibilitie of reason, than they doe in children that are
capable of wisedome & judgement. Yea, they oft feele them of the best, where the poore
mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the woorst. But the former abuse peraduen-
ture reigneth where there hath bee long want of issue, else where barrenesse is the best
blossome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne issue
are not ready to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weeke
stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palse to fede
the dallie smell and savoure of a fox. But how truelelie this is affirmed let the learned judge:
onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to have said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the
gentle kind.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepheards curs, or mastiffes. The first are so com-
mon, that it needeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping
the heard togethier (either when they graze or go before the sheepearde) that it should be but
in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leave this curre vnto his owne
kind, and go in hand with the mastiffie, tie dog, or banddog, so called because manie of
them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the date time, for dooing hurt abroad, which
is an hauge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little
swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie
Archadian or Corsican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more
cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind
of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their
stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell
and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without any

collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (having for the safeguard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, priarie coate) whereby they become the more fierce and cruel vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that enerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should devour their carcasses after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therefore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to devour them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great difficulicie after a while restraine from falling vpnto the luing. But whither am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saw that of mastiffies, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some doo both barke and bite, but the cruellest doo either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word mase and thiefe (or master thiefe if you will) because they often stound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principal causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all beleefe, and the fast hold which they take with their teeth exceedeth all credit: for three of them against a beare, foure against a lion are sufficient to trie mastries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goth, commanded all such curreys to be hanged, because they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souerigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, because he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saing that it was not meet for anie subject to offer such wrong vnto his Lord and soueraine, where in he had a further meaning. But if King Henrie the seauenth had lived in our time, what would he have done to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a leopard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador vnto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he tooke his advantage being let loose vnto them, and finallie drave them into such exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and yard, are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaise with them at their pleasures. Diverse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosoever of his householde, that if a stranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreme mischefe if their furie be not prevented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who seeing Consigne the queene to imbrace and kisse her husband as they walked togethier in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauger his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them moreover will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giving ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flye vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie hauve assaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saisem them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and love towards their maisters than horses; as may appeare even by the confidence that Masinissa repesed in them, in so much that mistrusting his householde servaunts he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of lesse force than the Molossian race, brought from Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to have orignall from the branen dog that Vulcan made,
made, and gane to Jupiter, who also delivered the same to Europa, she to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Julius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5.: neither unequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his master long time from slaughter, till at the last he was removed by policie, and the tyrant killed sleeping: the storie goth thus. Thebe the wife of the said Phereus and her three brethren conspired the death of her husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilst they should execute their purpose. Neuerthelesse, when they came to the bed where he laie sleeping, they waxed faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she her selfe would wake her husband, and give him warning of his enimies, or at the least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind mete for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickerard curre is one. Some men call them warners, because they are good for nothing else but to barke and give warning when anie bodie dooth stirre or lie in wait about the house in the night season. Certes it is vnpossible to describe these curs in anie order, because they have no anie one kind proper vnto themselues, but are a confused company mixt of all the rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits, whose office is not unknowne to anie. And as these are onelie reserved for this purpose, so in manie places our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers have of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great wheeleys out of deepe wels, going much like vnto those which are framed for our turne spits, as is to be seene at Roistone, where this feat is often practised. Besides these also we have sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, because of their sawcinessse and quarrelling. Moreover they bite verie sore, and bune candles exceedingly, as doo the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no more of them, because they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, when that a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparellled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilast her husband was under the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to and eat them vp euery one, supposing her selfe to haue beene at a iollie banket, and shewing verie pleasant gesture when her husband came vp againe vnto hir.

The last kind of toiesh curs are named Daneros, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taugh & exercised to danse in measure at the musicall sound of an instrument, as at the stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie tricks by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailies in their teeth, to saw and beg for meat, to take a manes cap from those head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogishe masters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motteie, and coloured short wasted jackets are for the like vagabonds, who secke no better living, than that which they may get by fond pastime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betwixt a bitch and a woelife, and called Lyciscars: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscaus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their sault bitches often in woods, that they might be joined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we vterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it hapneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoever he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner tare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps.

Certes he regardeth neither woelife, beare, nor lion, and thersore may well be compared with those
those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (as procreated as it is thought between a mastiff and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seen betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betweene shee woolies and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them dooth not concern my purpose, more then the confusion of Cardans tale, "De subiti." lib. 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs doo become woolies, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolies; but nature lieth set a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is vnpossible that his assertion can be sound.

OF OUR SAFFRON, AND THE DRESSING THEREOF.

CHAP. VIII.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina recketh among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Attolia, Sicilia or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that groweth about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburgh, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Gloucester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better then that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commodite is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not clouse as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance "Inter bulbosa," as Orchis, hyacinthus orientalis, and Statyrion. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogether so brackle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheith the root is lile & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time dooth come to take them vp, they have no roots at all, but so continue vntill September that they doo grow againe: and before the chiuie be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neate may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were hauie or stuble, some also will wroote for them in vere eager maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the flowers be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our sines. Sometimes our cattell will feed vp on the same; neuerthelesse, if it be bitten whilst it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokes are carefull to kepe it from such annoiunce vntil it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell soonest tast thereof: for vntill that time the juice thereof is bitter. In euere flower we find commonlie three chiuie, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted flowers I speake not; yet is it found, that two flowers grow together, which bring forth five chiuie, so that alwaies there is an od chiuie and od yellow, though three or foure flowers should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Greke Crocos, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) Castor, Cynomorphus, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borow the name which we give therunto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert dooth bare witness. The cause wherefore it was called Crocos was this (as the poets feigne) speciallie those from whom Galen hath borowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke "De medicamentis secundum loca," where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocos to be the first that used this commodite.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocos went to plie at coats in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe. Mercuries coat happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby
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whereby he received a wound that yer long killed him altogether, to the great discomfort of his friends. Finally, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chive as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adjudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gave it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c.: differ verie much from Ouid's Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chive, while it remaineth whole & vnbruised, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and converted into vse, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what have we to doo with fables?

The heads of saffron are raised in Iulie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scoer'd from their rosse or filth, and scoered from such heads as are ingrend of them since the last setting, are interred againe in Iulie and August by ranks or rowses, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth little fillets and small roots like into a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the flour when as his time dooth come to rise.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the flour beginneth to appeere of a whitish blew, fesse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selve in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotis of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the midst thereof three chives verie red and pleasant to behold. These flouries are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them towelke or flitter. And the chives being picked from the flouries, these are throwne into the doonghill; the other dried vpon litle kalles couered with streined canuasses vpon a soft fire: whereby, and by the weight that is laid vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried dooth yeeld twenty pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is commonlie about twenty shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so much as he shall be thereby a looser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre dooth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sixtie pence, the taking of愉悦e load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of愉悦e quarter of heads six pence, and so much for cleansing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for愉悦e acre, thirtie load of doong which is woorth six pence the load to be laid on the first yeere, for the setting three and twenty shillings and foure pence, for the paring fue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paise ten pounds for the same, yet shall he sustaine no damage, if warme weather and open season doe happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that愉悦e acre a keth twenty quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which containe eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeeres that ground will serue well, and without compost for barlie by the space of eightie or twenty yeeres together, as experience dooth conforme. The heads also of愉悦e acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great advantage, and it will flourie eight or ten daisies togeither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest five pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chive waxeth smaller, as six at the last will doo no more but yeeld one of the dried, by reason of the chive which is now verie lean and hungrie. After twenty yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crookers doo carefullie observe.

The heads are raised愉悦e third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yeere after they be set they yeeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chive, & best
best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to child, that is, to yeald out of some partes of them diverse other headlets, whereby it hath bene seene, that some one head hath bene increased (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or five, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause whereby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I have not knowne some bushels or a coome of them to be valued much above two shillings eight pence, except in some yeeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them vp.

In Norfolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seven yeeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie fakers use to mix it with scraped brazel or with the flour of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is some bewrayed both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plenty of saffron about twentie yeeres past, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaine the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelve miles abroad into the countrie, whilst the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the keeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saying that he did shite saffron therewith to chace the market. But as they shewed themselves no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vulturine maltrousness, & gave them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers have now the least store, and most of them are either worn out of occupieng, or remaine scarce able to maineine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decayed about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeeres, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sixeene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint Ianes tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden: so after August they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decease. And I know it by experience, in that I have caried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they have remained there vnset by the space of fortie daies and more: yet some of them have brought forth two or three floures a piece, and some floures three or five chieues, to the great admiration of such as have gathered the same, and not bene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men doe vse an observation a little before the comming vp of the flour, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to judge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they see as it were manie small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie trueth, at the cleaving of ech head, a man shall discern the saffron by the colour, and see where abouts the chieue will issue out of the root. Warme darke nights, sweet dews, fat grounds (cheddie the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold drie and keep the floure, or else shrinke vp the chieue. And thus much have I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degree, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein eues twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit used in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle greasse, to make the woorest saffron hate so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewrayed, either by a quantite thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof between
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between the fore finger and the thumb; or thirdly, by the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will bewaie the forgery by the swarinesse of the chieue, which otherwise would excell it, and thereunto being sound, remaine crisp, brickle, and drye: and finalie, if it be holden nere the face, will strike a certaine biting heat vpon the skin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the skillfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoever breuitie I listed. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold use that it hath in the kitchen and pastrie, also in our cakes at bridals, and thanksgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicines which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liver, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onlie keppeth a man from droonkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tiske and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it staieth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh away the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be sowed in paper bags verie thin, and laied vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitable laied vnto all inflammations, painefull apesthumes, and the stingles; and dooth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicines as are beneficall vnto the eares: it is of great use also in ripening of botes and all swellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it shall please you to drinke the root thereof with maluose, it will maruellouslie prouoke vrinte, dissolue and expell grauell, and yeeld no small ease to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finalie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfpenny, is deadly poison; as Dioscorides dooth affirme: and droonke in wine (sainth Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. "De honesta voluptate," dooth hast on droonkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like droonken men, & yet otherwise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this, if a man doe but open and ransake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants doe when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sick (I meane for two hoours space) their noses and eies in like sort will yeeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their drieight, which is woonderfullie clarified by this means: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselues as women doe when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which dooth in some measure (but not for altogether) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In steed of this some doo vse the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this land in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horse so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire; if they were carefull of it. I heare of some also to be cherished alreadie in Glocestershire, and certaine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chieue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie: then would it no doubt have proued more beneficall to our land than our cloth or wooll. But alas! so idle are we, and heretofore so much given to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodities. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will enforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from

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vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in
Abru zo, where they have an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred
than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agreeth with ours it shall appear e hereafter.

OF QUARRIES OF STONE FOR BUILDING.

CHAP. IX.

QUARRIES with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall,
& of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie
profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated
to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishops manours, and holds
onlie; but now that scrupulous observation is altogether infringed, and building with stone
so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are sup-
posed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance
of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are
to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names.
Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath
so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarrries apt and meet
for piles of longest continuance, yet we as losthome of this abundance, or not liking of the
plentie, doe commonlie leave these natural gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and
take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is
dailie consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the
poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders have from time to time, following our naturall vice in misliking of our owne
commodities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteeme the same
stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following
the same veine, doe couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on
the one side, and our skilfull masons on the other (whose judgement is nothing inferior to
those of other countries) doe affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and cer-
taine other places, there are some quarrries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to
the outlandish gret. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the
greatest part of the square stone whereof was brought thither out of the north. Some
commend the veine of white free stone, slate, and mære stone, which is betweene Pentowen,
and the blacke head in Cornwall, for verie fine stiffe. Other doo speake much of the
quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and paving stone of Burbecke. For toph
stone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dreslie, diuerse mislike not of the veins of
hard stone that are at Oxford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at Manchester, &
Prestburie in Glocestershire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh
well of the hard stone in Clee hill in Shropshire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, We-
den, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries now, and good enough
in England, sufficient for vs to build withall, if the peevish contempt of our owne commod-
dities, and declations to enrich other countries, did not catch such foolish hold vpon vs. It
is also verified (as anie other waie) that all nations have rather need of England, than Eng-
land of anie other. And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our works. Now if
you have regard to their ornament, how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine
marble are there to be had in England? But chiefly one in Staffordshire, an other neere to
the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothall (longing to the lord Chandois) the fift
at Eglestone, which is of backe marble, spotted with grue or white spots, the sixt not farre
from Durham. Of white marble also we haue store, and so faire as the Marpesian of Paris
Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the most excellent? sith these which I
have
haue named alredie are not altogether of the best, nor scarsellie of anie value in comparison of those, whose places of growth are vttlerie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble spotted with grene is none of the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and also in Westminster, where some pecées thereof are yet to be scene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not serve, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bee had, as about saint Davids of Wales; also neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fve miles from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there are diuerse other quaries hercelf beyond the Trent, as in Yorkshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose names at this time are out of my remembrance. What should I talle of the plaister of Axholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie places of Lincolne and Darbishires, wherewith they blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold commonly but after twelve pence the load, we judge it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without great use for plaister of paris, and is the mine of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like planks or tables, and vnder the same is an exceedinge hard stone vere profitable for building, as hath often times bêene proued. This is also to be marked further of our plaister white and grate, that not contented with the same, as God by the quarris dooth send and yeeld it fourth, we haue now deuised to cast it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and fashion we list, even as alabaster it selfe: and with such stuffe sundrie houses in Yorkshire are furnished of late. But of what continuance this deuise is like to prove, the time to come shall easilie bewaie. In the meane time sir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that six men in six moneths shall trauell in that trade to see greater profit to the owner, than twelve men in six yeares could before this tricke was invented.

If neither alabaster nor marble dooth suffice, we haue the touchstone, called in Latine \textit{Lydins lapis}, shining as glasse, either to match in sockets with our pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaster or touch with sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not also these mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stufte for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our owne but other mens do most of all delite vs; & for desire of neweltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and weoles, for halfe penie cockhorses for children, dogs of wax or of chéese, two penie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, geeaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkesoalds, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape just mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for milstones, that are to be had in diuerse places of our countri as in Anglesie, Kent, also at Queene hope of blew greet, of no lesse value than the Colaine, yea than the French stones: our gredstones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those parties, but oneie water, as the Italians and Naxians doo with their: whereas they that grow in Cilicie must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or else they make no edge. These also are diuided either into the hard greet, as the commone that shoamakers vsse, or the soft greet called bones, to be had among the barbaris, and those either blacke or white, and the rub or drickel stone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their sithes.

In like maner slate of sundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wee must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paied their townes for want of the like in England: or as sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherewith he paied the Burre. But as he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workmanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will saie, how that sockefish is light loding, and therefore they did balasse their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keppe them from turning ouer in their so tedious a voyag.
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

And thus much briefely of our quarries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the workmen haue found strange things inclosed, I meane livelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones, and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c; whereby you shall read more in the chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amsterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. "De rebus metallicis," and Goropius in Niloscopio, pag. 297, &c. Sometimes also they find precious stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie squared by nature, and much like unto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workmen in the world had consulted about the performance of that workemanship. I know that these reports vnto some will seeme incredible, and therefore I stand the longer vpon them; nevertheless omitting to speake particularlie of such things as happen amongst vs, and rather seeking to confirme the same by the like in other countries, I will deliver a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better appeare. For in the middest of a stone not long since found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was scene Caput panisci inclosed therein, very perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones that are & haue beene found in the Spanish Bassis? But this is most maruellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius dooth tell of a peircch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then * committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernel is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignion, wherein a man had bene buried, which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men woondered how it was possible for the same to live and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue scene stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose crests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as precious stones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, deo affirme, and wilfullie maintaine against such as hold the contrarie.

OF SUNDRIE MINERALS.

CHAP. X.

WITH how great benefits this land of ours hath bene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readie confesse, and yeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euere wase, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or cruade by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could see to vse it, & be thankfull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loose to enrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commoditie: and one trifling tole not worthe the carriage, coming (as the proverbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea is more worthe with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They have also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they have also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenly abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being worthe our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth
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vs to give ouer our industrious, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obtaine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little esteemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward give twelve pence for the talle. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indueor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in his old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo stature and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise utterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We have in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We have also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subject hath bene of late egregiously abused, and euen almost with barbarous incuillite) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vs sometime amongst the Asians & Romans, & wheroof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceived when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we have also the natural cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous gleebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocola, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petroleum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they dugg out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the western part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath detoured the greatest part of Cornwall and Devonshire on either side: and it dooth appeare yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeres to speke of scarselie a brooke or draine of one fathom water betwene them, if so much, as by those euidences appeareth, and are yet to be scene in the hands of the lord and chieflie owner of those Iles. But to proced.

Of colemines we have such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realm of England: and so must they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherisshed then it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appeare alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other feweall, except it be turtle and hussocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths doo worke their iron with charcoale. I think that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we have pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in maine places the inhabitors doo compeste their soile, and which dooth benefit their land in ample manner for manie yeres to come. We haue salt-peter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Coldington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worthe five shillings thirtie yeres agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vunthankfull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed vpon vs, whereby he sheweth himselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto.
vs, which contrariwise returne vnto him in lieu of humility and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, meere contempt of his will, pride, excesse, atheisme, and no lesse than Jewish ingratitude.

OF METTALS TO BE HAD IN OUR LAND.

CHAP. XI.

ALL mettals receive their beginning of quicksilver and sulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And such is the purpose of nature in their generations: that she tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, nevertheless she sildeme reacheth vnto that hir end, because of the unequall mixture and proportion of these two in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse, dooth shew it selfe in the mettall that is produced. First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and quicksilver being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingrossed and fixed, becommeth gold, which Encelius dooth call the sunne and right heire of nature: but if it swarue but a little (saith he) in the commixtion and other circumstances, then dooth it product siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold his brother, which among mettall is worthie called the cheefe. Contrariwise, the substances of the aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse digested and fixed in the entrails of the earth, whereby the radicall moisture becommeth combustible and not of force to innue heat and hammer, dooth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiquite, although that in these daies there are diverse other, whereof neither they nor our alchemists had euer anie knowledge. Of these thersfor which are reputed among the third sort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I intreac of them, and with such breuite as may serve the turne, and yet not altogether omit to saie somewhat of gold and siluer also, because I find by good experience how it was not sade of old time without great reason, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a man regard such necessityes as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie so much as ours: sith we doo want none that are convenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not vvoid of some, neither likewise of siluer: whatsoever Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16. in whose time they were not found, "Britannici belli exitus (saith he) expectatur, constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse vllum in illa insula, neque vlam spem praedex nisi ex mancipij, ex quibus nulles puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare." And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these (as some other countries doo yeeld) yet haue my rich countrmen store inough of both in their purses, where in time past they were woon to haue least, because the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, images, shrines and apparell of the preists consumed the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Of late my countrmen haue found out I wot not what voyaige into the west Indies, from whence they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie is enriched: but of all that euer adventured into those parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake whose successe 1582 hath far past eden his owne expectation. One John Frobisher in like maner attempting to secke out a shorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable sea and kingdom of Cathie, happened 1577 vpon certaine hands by the wais, wherein great plenty of much gold appeard, and so much that some letted not to giue out for certeinie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew made him so desirous also of like successe, that he left off his former voyaige, & returned home to bring news of such things as he had seen. But when after another voyaige it was found to
be but drosse, he gaue ouer both the enterprises, and now keepest home without anie desire at all to seeke into farre countries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there scene and to be had, that if it had beene perfect, might haue furnished all the world with abundance of that mettall; the ironie also was short and performed in foure or five moneths, which was a notable encouragement. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marsilis from hence, as Dio-ndrus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Devonshire (& else-where in the north) the other in Darbishire, Were-dale, and sundrie places of this land; whereby my countre-ien doo rape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the use of pewter ouelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for service here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto such exquist cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious, exquisit, and arithallie forged. Such furniture of household of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of vessell, is sold vsuallie by the garnish, which dooth conteine twelve platterts, twelve dishes, twelve saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion, or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at six or seuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisit diligence veed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue bene also informed that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie pounds of kette brasse to a thousand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tingleasse; but as too much of this dooth make the stuffe brickle, so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that dooth buie and purchase the same. But to proceed.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinaire making (I saie flat, because dishes and platterts in my lande begin to be made depe as basons, and are indeed more convenient both for savce, broth, and keping the meat warmer) is esteemed almost so preiuous, as the like number of vessells that are made of fine siluer, and in manner no lesse desired amongst the great estats, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glasses of our English tin, howbeit our workmen were not then so exquisit in that feate as the Brundusiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie hightlie were those glasses esteemed of till siluer came generalie in place, which in the end brought the tin into such contempt, that in manner cuerie dishwasher refused to looke in other than siluer glasses for the attiring of his head. Howbeit the making of siluer glasses had bene in use before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deviseed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Caesar into this land.

There were mines of lead sometimes also in Wales, which induced so long till the people had consumed all their wood by metling of the same (as they did also at Comeristwith six miles from Stradluer) and I suppose that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he speakeoth) was to be found in those parts, in the seuenteenth of his thirtie fourth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie swart of the earth, and daille gotten in such plentie, that the Romans made a restraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much should yereelie be wrought and transported ouer the sea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling neere Comeristwith (as Leland saith) had made so tame, that it would daille flye and follow him to his workes and other places where sooner he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his purse and girdle by him, as men commonly doe that address themselves to applie their businesse earnestlie, and he himsele also had vse from time to time before. The crow likewise was verie busie flittering about him, and
and so much molested him, that he waxed angry with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be short, in the end the crow hastily caught vp his girdle and pursesse, and made awoe withall so fast as his wings could carrie him. 

Hereupon the poore man falling into great aгонie (for he feared to lose peradventure all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, cursing and menacing that he should lose his life if ever he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was saue, for he had not beene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellows. If I should take upon me to discourse and search out the cause of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I should peradventure set my selfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I persuaded, that the crow was Gods instrument herein, whereby the life of this poore laborer was preserueth.

The was doone also in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a shoemaker of Dutch land in his shop or stowe: who seeing the same to sit upon the pearch among his shoone, verie heauilie and drousie, said vnto the bird: What aileth my lacke, whie art thou sad and penitue? The crow hearing his mister speake after this sort vnto him, answered (or else the diuell within him) out of the psalter: 'Cognitaui dies antiquos & eternos in mente habui.' But whither am I digressd, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had caste in hand.

Iron.

Iron is found in manie places, as in Sussex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walshall, as also in Shropshire, but cheéllie in the woods betwixt Beluos and Willlocke or Wieberie neere Manchester, and elsewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerse doo bring forth so fine and good stuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the sea, beside the mimit gains to the owners, if we would so accept it, or bestow a little more cost in the refining of it. It is also of such toughnesse, that it yeeldeth to the making of claricord wire in some places of the realme. Neuerthelesse, it was better cheape with vs when strangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to use it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we have once found the meanes to shut out forresmen from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expense and waste of wood, as dooth the making of our pots and table vessel of glasse, wherein is much losse sithe it is so quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) easie to be made tougher, if our alchumists could once finde the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would induce a metallicall toughnesse vnto it, whereby it should abide the hammer.

Copper.

Copper is latelie not found, but rather restored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue bene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as strangers haue most commonly the governance of our mines, so they hitherto make small gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit dooth verie hardlie counterwaile the charges; whereat wise men doo not a little maruell, considering the abundance which that mine dooth seme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countrieman noteoth sundrie great likelihoods of natural copper mines to be eastwards, as betwene Dudman and Trewardth in the sea clifffes, beside other places, wereof diuerse are noted here and there in sundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it shall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchasie, I speake not of it, sith it is not incident to my purpose. In Dorsetshire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

As for our steele, it is not so good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like tale use in both, that is to saye, thirte gads to the sheffe, and twelue shelles to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our spoones and some salts are commonic made, and preferred before our pewter with some, albeit in truth it be much subject to corruption, putrification, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet some ignorant persons affirme it to be a mettall more natural, and the verie same which Encelius calleth Plumbum cinereum, the Germans, wisemute, nithan, & counterfeite, adding, that where it groweth, siluer can not be farre off. Neuerthelesse it is knowne to be a mixture of
of brasse, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is used in pewter. But alas I am persuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchemists of our time did ever hear of it, albeit that the name thereof doo seeme to come out of their forge. For the common sort indeed doo call it alchimie, an vnwholsome mettall (God wot) and woorthie to be banished and driven out of the land. And thus I conclude with this discourse, as having no more to saie of the mettals of my countrie, except I should talke of brasse, bell mettall, and such as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but saie that there is some brasse found also in England, but so small is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be esteemed or accounted of.

OF PRETIOUS STONES.

CHAP. XII.

THE old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine Gagates: wherevnto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as usualie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doo make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatsoever it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in manriage: certeine it is that even to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbishire and about Barwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toyes are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants daily from the maine. But as these men are drowne with the common errour conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the judgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countrie wherevnto. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

Nascitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium facunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, levis & leuissimus idem,
Vicinas paleas rhabit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vuctus oluo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as it were a kind thereof: but as I regard not their judgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a cite and riner in Silicia, where it growth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitum, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they have great use of it in druing awaye of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glazed the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what fitt should enter thereby. The writers also diuide this stone into fite kinds, of which the one is in colour like unto lion tawnie, another straked with white vines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garded with dwiner colours, among which some are like drops of bloud (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreover, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowne; in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Caesar to adventure hither, after he had scene the quantities and heard of our plente of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hoong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Cerites they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto...
of diverse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired because of their smallnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie with church worke, as copies, vestments, albes, tunicles, altar clothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthlie abolished; ypon which our countrimen superstitioneously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops mitres, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of peartles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, "in ipso fine," speaketh of our peartles and their generation, but he preferreth greatie those of Persia before them, which to me dooth seeme inequallie doone. But as the British geat or orient peartle were in old time esteemed above those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans revealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Actites (in English called the ernstone, but for erne some pronouceth eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calcodoni, the porphyrite, the christall, and those other which we call calaminares and specularies, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white corall, nothing inferior to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreatheth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones daily found in chittes and rocks (beside the lead stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else doe make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discouer vs from the searching and secking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more fre e vterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gains amongst such as haue no skill.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then it is not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall piece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardin also hath it in his "De substantiis" if not, I haue read more lies then this, as one for example out of Cato, who saith, that a cup of juyie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessells of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betweene wine and our juie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all manner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the juie of Greece or Italie may haue such a proprietie; but why should not the juie then of France somewhat participat wchall in the like effect, which growtheth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French juie, wherefore I can not beleeve it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribes vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe over those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snails and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hills in Glocestershire, which have naturall such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibility to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skilfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perchers and carpes much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselves are no stones but rather shells or gristles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am utterlie ignorant of the generation of peartles) be good pearle in deed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of
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of which diverse hauve holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferior to
great reason in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as
are brought from the esterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesch, stale
stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too delicate
amongst vs when low dooth bind vs to use it. See more for the generation of pearls in the
description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe.
They are called orient, because of the cleerennesse, which resembleth the colour of the
cleere arie before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of
August, a little before which time the sweetnesse of the dew is most convenient for that kind
of fish, which dooth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto
a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their
substances of better value, as lapidaries doe giue out.

OF SALT MADE IN ENGLAND.

CHAP. XIII.

THERE are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written
abundantlie in his comentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English
as he wrote them, because he seemeth to have had diligent consideration of the same, without
adding anye thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie dooth enforce me for
the meere aie of the reader, in the understanding of his mind. Directing therefore his
journeye from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell over England, he saith
thus: From Worcester I road to the Wich by inclosed soyle, having meetlie good corne
ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a six miles off, Wich standeth somewhat in
a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of
euerie brooke through out all his English treatises) of a pretie riuere which not far beneath
the Wich is calleth Salope brooke. The beaute of the towne in maner standeth in one street,
yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine
street, and once in the wecke an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is some-
what foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much carie through the streets,
which are verie ill paied or rather not paied at all. The great advancement also hereof is
by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgesses
be poore generallie, because gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it
into their hands, whilst the poore burgesses yield vnto all the labour. There are at this
present time three hundred salters, and three salt springs in the towne of Wich, whereof the
principall is within a butshote of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuere that there commeth
downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yeilding of salt liquor, as both the other.
Some saie (or rather faile) that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich
bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of
the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture
for the zeale which the Wich men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their coun-
triman, they used of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the year) to hang this
salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue sundrie games, drinkings, and foolish
revels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein
the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other
two salt springs be on the left side of the riuere a pretie waie lower than the first, and (as I
found) at the verie end of the towne. At these also be diverse furnaces to make salt, but the
profit and plente of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest.
I asked of a salter how manie furnaces they had at all the three springs, and he numbred
them to eightene score, that is, threie hundred and sixtie, saying how euerie one of them

paid
paid yearelie six shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties given vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and thereupon they give a fee farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring there abouts, by the means of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appeareth, as dooth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. Me thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serve, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Wich than three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an other quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be without anie vse, sith the Wich men have such a privilege, that they alone in those quarters shall have the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easie turned to euerie mans house, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go over the river for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They seeth also their salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt some in cases of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or three but verie little salt springs at Dertwich, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

Of late also a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a piece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & countent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the commoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by six moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to maintaine the price of salt, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principal reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firinge. The lacke of wood also is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they used to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupiings, those wooned springs are now decayed, and they be inforced to seke their wood so far as Worcester towne, and all the parts about Brenisgrawe, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearelie to be spent at these fornaces? and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easy to be cleft, and handsomelie riven in pieces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the just rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of salt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth five or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne use. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baine salt in some part of our country. But sith that booke is delivered againe to the owner, the tractation of baine salt can not be framed in anie order, because my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baine as white are wrought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Essex and else where, out of the salt water betwene Wire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finalie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiell salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.
CHAPTER XIV.

AS Labra is As or Assis to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our acconpt of the parts of time, we take the day consisting of four and twenty hours, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keep our reckoning: for of the hour (to sake the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I doo not see anie great difference used in the observation of time & hir parts, betwene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I shall not neede to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appeere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearsall thereof, and that in so briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniforme & observed over all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which contenteth 1/60 part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the fourte and twentieth part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which dooth begin at midnight, and is observed continuallie by clockes, dialles, and astronomicall instruments of all sorts. The artificial variety of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparabell therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone, neither of the value of mettall, whereof they have bene made, as gold, silver, &c: and almost no abbeie or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the wate) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later contenteth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, whereof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also ibid. vers. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 c 45, Luke 23 c 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, wheras the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Jews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians, at the sun rising (ech of them acconpting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Vmbers, Hetrurians, and Astronomers at high noone, and so reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to speake more properlie, imitating the Roman manner used in the church there of long time, choose the verie point of midnight; from whence we acconpt twelue equall houres vnto middaie insuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforesaid point, according to these verses:

Mane diem Graeca gens incipit astra sequentes
In medio lucis ludaeis vespere sancta,
Incoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre acconpt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to sake, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of three vnequall houres
houres a péce, which others séeeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumnne, and winter, in like curious manner) and wherof I read these verses:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horae,
Thae rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indeed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of forren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concurre also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regimen of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses doo import, and are indeed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinisimas,
Vis cholerae medias lucis sex vendicat horas.
Datisque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tanseter hath giuen them foorth in his prelections:

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis
Est dominans cholerae, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,
Posthac phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing; whereas the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as Vesper or Vesperingo, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vsch the word Hesper the evening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. Crepusculum the twilight (which some call Prima fiur, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. Concubium the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. Intempestum, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sleepe. Gallicinium, the cocks crowing. Conticinium, when the cocks have left crowing. Matutinum, the breach of the daie, and Diluculum sine aurora, the ruddie, orange, golden or shining colour, scene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the evening, as Matutinum is to the twilight.

Other there are which doo reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equal parts. Of which the first beginneth at evening called the first watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and so foorth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entrench, which is called the morning watch, because it concurreth parlicie with the darke night, and parlicie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet so old as that of the watch, wherof we shall read abundantly in the scriptures, which was devised first among soldiours for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like wherof
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is almost used among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great heed and some solemnitie. Hereunto the word *hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yeare, as the foure and twentieth part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I upon these things to let my purpose state? To proceed therefore.

Of natural daies is the *weeke* compacted, which consisteth of sevenne of them, the *fridie* being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, because it is either the fairest or foulest of the seven: albeit that I cannot glesse of anie reason why they should so imagine. The first of these entrench with *mondaie*, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest upon the *sundaie*, which is the seaveneth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Jews begin their *weeke* upon our *saturday* at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the *sundaie*, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Jews make our last daie the first of their weeke, so the Turks make the Jewish sabbath the beginning of their *hebdoma*: because Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead upon the *fridie*, and so he was indeed, except their Alcharon deceever them. The Jews doe reckon their daies by their distance from their sabbath, so that the first daie of their *weeke* is the first daie of the sabbath, and so forth unto the sixt. The Latins and Egyptians accorded their daies after the sevenne planets, choosing the same for the denominator of the daies, that entrench his regiment with the first unequall hour of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not whollie retaine with vs, so the use of the same is not yet altogether abolishe, as may appeare by our *sunday*, *mondaie*, and *saturday*. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the weeke *Thetudach*, the third *Woden*, *Othin*, Othon, or *Edon*, or *Wodensdach*. Also of Thor they named the foure daie *Thorsdach*, and of *Frea* wife to *Woden* the fifth was called *Freadach*. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I think) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Jupiter, by *Woden*, Mercurie, by Frea (or *Frigga* as Saxo calleth hir) Venus, and finalie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Jupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologue. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loved one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had sevenne sonses by Woden: the first, father to *Wecea*, of whom descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. *Fethelgeta* was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. *Baldaie* the fourth, parent to the kings of Breccia or Northumberland. *Weepsdach* the fifth, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the sixt race of the east Angell race, & *Nascod* originall burseant of the kings of Essex. As for the kings of Sussex, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments doe expresse. But to proceed.

As certaine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we retained for a long time the number of daies or of *feries* from the sabbath, after the manner of the Jews, I mean unto the service after the Romane use was abolishe, which custome was first received (as some thinke) by pope *Sylvestre*, though other saie by *Constantine*; albeit another sort doo affirme, that Sylvestre caused the sundaie oncle to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest.

In like maner of weeke our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one containing eight and twentie daies, or foure weeke, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not the yeare by the yeare of the moone, as the Jews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians doe now: neither anie parcel thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they have neither weeks, moneth, nor yeare, but only a generall account of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure weeks oncle, and not of hir usuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minutes. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuer thelesse

*Trientus in education.*
Thelesse in pleas and sutes is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full resolution in eight and twenty daies or foure weeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherein she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of some accompted not the, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which made them to such a large accompt of their antiquitie and original. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I have generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender.

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncertaine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoever it fell out. But after Iulius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of eruerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaiered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same be but small, and their order retained onelie in our calenders, for the better understanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authors doo remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you see) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusal of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called Calendar, which in time of paganisme were consecrate to luno, and sacrifice made to that goddesse on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morow after each of them were called Dies atrae, blacke daies, as were also dierse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or mishap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceived of euill successe likelee to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called Dies Aegyptiaci. Wherby it appeareth that this peevish estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we doo note our holie and festiual daies with red letters in our calenders, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if anie good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would so-lennelie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioised.

The word Calendar (in Grecye Neomonia) is derived of Calo, to call: for vpon the first day of eruerie moneth, the priest use to call the people of the citie and countrie together in Calabria, for so the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calends to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betweene that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as seventeenth daies, sixtene daies, fourtene daies,  &c: as the Grecyes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called Calendar, dedicated to luno, who thereof was also called Calendaris. At the first also the fasts or feast daies were knowne by none other meane vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or six in eruerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called Nones quasi Nundine. In them also were neither holiedaies more than is at this present (except the day of
the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his business, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or sixt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called Noner, of the word Non, "quia in ijsdem dij non coluntur." For as Ouid saith, "Nonarum tutela deo caret," or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because Nundina dea was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that Nundina dea (a goddesse far younger than the name of Noner) tooke hir name of the nones, wherein it was a custome among the Romans, "Lustrare infantes ac nomina maribus impone," as they did with their maid children upon the eight: but howsoever this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherein the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Ithurscan word, Iduare, to diuide: and before that Cesar altered the calendar, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middest. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agree to the yeere of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, because he would not alter the celebration of their vsuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies upon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middest, sometime by two or three daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conuete their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides doo the calends follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the moone dooth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mysterie, if you can say so manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expressed dooth betoken, as for 16 calends so manie daies before the next conjunction, &c: (as is above remembred.) Of these calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuign:

Ianus & Augustus denas nouemq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse November
Ter senas retinet, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius epta decemq;

In English thus:

December Iune and August month
full nineteen calends have,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twice nine they doo desire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October Maie and Iulie hot
but sesenteene doo require.

In like maner doo the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
six nones I hight,
The rest but foure, and as for ides
they keepe still eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq; Nouemq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At si bisextus fuerit superadditur vnus.
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Thirtie daies hath November,
April, June, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the rest thirtie and one,
but in the leape you must ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the moone for observation of certeine moveable feasts, yet it is reducible to that of the sunne, which in our civill dealings is chieflie had in vse. Herein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for most of our records bear date the 25 of March, and our calenders the first of Januarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceived. Our sundrie offices also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which brecedure great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one original (and that to be the first of Januarie) I doo not think but that there would be more certeinite, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other offices in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell neerest to the enterance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Jewes in civill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calecut begin their yeare somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most Happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Osorius dooth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleventh calends of September, they haue solemnne plazes, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencilli, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yeare also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirm that we make our account from the calends or first of Januarie, and from the middest of the night which is Limes betwene that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the case of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which containeth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwayes reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherein the Olimpiads were restored. And forsoomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 565 leape yeares in the period, so that 1460 Julian yeeres doo conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minutes, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation trule found out should be ouerpassed, might be observed and called Amonus magnus Elizabethae, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and souereigne princesse now reigning amongst us.

I might here saie somewhat also of the prime and bire altercation, which is risen higher by fayne daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Caesar: and in seaven thousand yeares some writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But for somuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the date of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more therof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue bene at the counsell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolisht the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the eapct, applieing it vnto such generall vse, as death now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also yer this time bene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworn and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it dooth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is scene higher toward the beginning of March than Caesars calender now extant dooth yeild vnto by seauen daies. For as in Caesars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either vpon or about the sixteenth or seventeenth of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntil the fine and twentieth of that moneth in their dials or by cie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must needs fall out to be about the twentieth or one & twentieth of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Above the yeare we have no more parts of time, that care anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as Seculum or Ξαυμ dooth in Latine; neither is it needful to remember that some of my countrimen doo reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapter withall, you shall have a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scottish maner, which I haue borrowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

The present names.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday.</th>
<th>Wednesday.</th>
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<th>Sunday, or the Lords daie.</th>
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<td>Tuesday.</td>
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The old Saxon names.

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<th>Monday.</th>
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<td>Thursday.</td>
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The Scottish usage.

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<th>Monday.</th>
<th>Wednesday.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tuesday.</td>
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OF OUR PRINCIPALL FAIRES AND MARKETS.

CHAP. XV.

I HAUE heretofore said sufficiencie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne observation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must needs confesse) be scarce comparable to Louwe faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pederis trash: wherefore it were no losse if diverse of them were abolisshed. Neither doo I see wherewithall this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corrupcion of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must needs repaire vnto them, whereby they ofte spend not oncie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbath in great vanitie and riot. But such hath bene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolisshed, and a further insight into things grown into the minds of magistrates, these old errors may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the common wealth of our country anie thing diminished. In the meane time, take this table here insuing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I cannot, or at the least wise care not to come by the names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft prejudicall to such as

3 G 2
dwell néeere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that resort unto the same.

**Faires in Januarie.**

The sixt day being Twelwe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentieth being saint Paules day, at Bristow, at Grauesend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkshire, where is kept a faire curie wednesday from Christmasse vnto June.

**Faires in Februarie.**

The first day at Bromleie. The second at Lin, at Bath, at Maidstone, at Bickleswoorth, at Budwoorth. The fourteenth at Feuersham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfield, at Tamwoorth, at Roistou, at Excester, at Abington, at Cicester. The four and twentieth at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkesburie.

**Faires in March.**

On the twelth day, at Stamford, Sappesford, and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornwall. The fiit sunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Salisburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wisbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday euene, at Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northampton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcastell. And all the ladie daies at Huntingdon. And at Saffron Walden on midlent-sunday.

**Faires in Aprill.**

The fiit day at Wallingford. The seventh at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleswoorth, at Belmswoorth. On monday after, at Euesham in Worcestershire. On tuesday in Easter weeke at Northleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third sunday after Easter, at Louth. The two and twentieth at Stafford. On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Tamworth, at Ampdhill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at saint Pombes in Cornwall. On saint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Essex. The six and twentieth at Tunderden in Kent.

**Faires in Maie.**


**Faires in Junie.**

The ninth day at Maidstone. The xi, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Maxfield, & Holt. The seventeenth at Hadstocke. The twentieth thrie at Shrewsburie, at saint Albans. The twentith fourth day, at Horsham, at Bedell, at Stracktoste, at saint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge,

Faires in July.


Faires in August.


Faires in September.

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Woolfrit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluuer, at Gisborough both the ladie daies, at Partenie. The three ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkshire, at Chalton, at Vceter. On Holiroode day, at Richmond in Yorkshire, at Rippond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Bershleie, at Waltham abbeie, at Wotton under hedge, at Smalding, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Marlborough, at Bedford, at Croduen, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Malton, at saint Iues, at Shrewesburie, at Lancham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Braentrie, at Ballocke, at Katharine hill beside Gilford, at Douer, at Eastrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horisse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermouth, at Ashborne, at Hadleie, at Maldein an horisse faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The sixth day at saint Faiths beside Norwich, at Maidstone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Storford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiston, at Grauesend, at Windsor, at Marshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes eeuen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Vpane, at Thirist, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton upon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friswides in Oxford, at Tisdale, at Middlewick, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokesleie. The twentie third, at Preston, at Bikesworth, at Ritchdale, at
at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all saints euen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in November.


Faires in December.

On the fift day, at Pluckeleie. On the sixt, at Cased, at Hedningham, at Spallding, at Excester, at Snooke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheshire. The seventh day at Sandhurst. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Malpas in Cheshire. The twentie ninth, at Cantiburie, and at Salisburie.

OF OUR INNES AND THOROWFAIRES.

CHAP. XVI.

THOSE townes that we call thorowfaire have great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receuie of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house dooth challenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his gosts, but cleane otherwise, sith euery man may vs his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other service himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapiserie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the gost. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath bene lodged since they came from the landress, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he loose oughts whilst he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for trauellers than in the greatest ins of England. Their horses in like sort are walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostelers or hired servants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who in hope of extraor dinary reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward apperance in this their function and calling. Herein nevertheless are manie of them blameworthie, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them; but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certeis I beleue not that chapmen or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiseth silie in his hand to felle the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the
The ghost hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberlaine that looketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more conveniently some where else, whereby he geteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to such od ghosts as hant the house and are of his confederacie, to the vter vndoing of monie an honest yeoman as he journeth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part dooth marke his behauour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their coming to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft bewraie themselves. For albeit their monie be safe for the time that it is in his hands (for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the host can make no warrantise of the same, sith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house: and there cannot be a surer token vnto such as prie and watch for those booties, than to see anie ghost deliuer his capcase in such maner. In all our innes we have plentie of ale, bêere, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacite of some of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred persons, and their horses at ease, & thereto with a verie short warning make such prouision for their diet, as to him that is unacquainted withall may seeme to be incredible. Howbeit all in England there are no worse inns than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I have heard of in anie forren countrey, if all circumstances be dulia considered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpose. I will here set downe a table of the best thorowfaires and townes of greatest tranell of England, in some of which there are twelve or sixtene such innes at the least, as I before did speake of. And it is a world to see how each owner of them contendeth with other for goodnesse of interteinement of their ghosts, as about finesse & change of linen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, service at the table, costliness of plate, strength of drinke, variete of wines, or well vsing of horses. Finallie there is not so much omitted among them as the gorgiousnes of their verie signes at their doores, wherein some do consume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but so vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue some outward token of the inne keepers welth, but also to procure good ghosts to the frequenting of their houses in hope there to be well vsed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I shall not need to speake.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Walsingham to London</th>
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<td>From Walsingham to Picknam</td>
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The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and so to London.

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<th>From Barwike to Belford</th>
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<tr>
<td>From Waltham to London</td>
<td>12. miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from Carnaruan to Chester, and so to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Carnaruan to Conwaie</th>
<th>24. miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Conwaie to Denbigh</td>
<td>12. miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Denbigh to London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Denbigh to Flint</th>
<th>12 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Flint to Chester</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Chester to Wich</td>
<td>14 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Wich to Stone</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Stone to Lichfield</td>
<td>16 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Lichfield to Colssil</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colssil to Countrie</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so from Countrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaster, and so to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Cockermouth to Kiswike</th>
<th>6 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Kiswike to Grocener</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Grocener to Kendale</td>
<td>14 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Kendale to Burton</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Burton to Lancaster</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Lancaster to Preston</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Preston to Wigan</td>
<td>14 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Wigan to Warington</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Warington to Newcastell</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Newcastell to Lichfield</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Lichfield to Countrie</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Countrie to Daintrie</td>
<td>14 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Daintrie to Tocester</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Tocester to Stonistratford</td>
<td>6 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Stonistratford to Brichill</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Brichill to Dunstable</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Dunstable to saint Albons</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From saint Albons to Barnet</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Barnet to London</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from Yarmouth to Colchester, and so to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Yarmouth to Becclis</th>
<th>8 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Becclis to Blibour</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Blibour to Snapbridge</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Snapbridge to Woodbridge</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Woodbridge to Ipswich</td>
<td>5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Ipswich to Colcher</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colcher to Eastford</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Eastford to Chelmesford</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Chelmesford to Brentwood</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Brentwood to London</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from Douer to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Douer to Canturbirc</th>
<th>12 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Canturbirc to Sittingborne</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Sittingborne to Rochester</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Rochester to Grauesend</td>
<td>5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Grauesend to Datford</td>
<td>6 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Datford to London</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from saint Burien in Cornwall to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From S. Burien to the Mount</th>
<th>20 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the Mount to Thurie</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From saint Thurie to Bodman</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Bodman to Launstone</td>
<td>20 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Launstone to Ocomton</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Ocomton to Crokehorneuell</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Crokehorneuell to Excoiter</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Excoiter to Honiton</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Honiton to Chard</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Chard to Crokehorne</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Crokehorne to Shirborne</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Shirborne to Shaftsburie</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Shaftsburie to Salisburie</td>
<td>18 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Salisburie to Andoeur</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Andoeur to Basingstocke</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Basingstocke to Hartfoerd</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hartford to Bagshot</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Bagshot to Stanes</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Stanes to London</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from Bristowe to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Bristowe to Maxfield</th>
<th>10 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Maxfield to Chipnam</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Chipnam to Marleborough</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Marleborough to Hungerford</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hungerford to Newburie</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Newburie to Reading</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Reading to Maidenhead</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Maidenhead to Colbrooke</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colbrooke to London</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The waie from saint Davids to London.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From saint Davids to Axford</th>
<th>20 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Axford to Carmarden</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Carmarden to Newton</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Newton to Lanburie</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Lanburie to Brechnooke</td>
<td>16 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Brechnooke to Hae</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hae to Harford</td>
<td>14 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Harford to Roso</td>
<td>9 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Roso to Glocester</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Glocester to Cicester</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Cicester to Farington</td>
<td>16 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Farington to Habington</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Habington to Dorchester</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Dorchester to Henleic</td>
<td>12 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Henleic to Maidenhead</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Maidenhead to Colbrooke</td>
<td>7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colbrooke to London</td>
<td>15 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Of thoroughfares from Dover to Cambridge.

From Dover to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Rochester 20.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend 5.miles
From Grauesend over the Thames to Hornedon 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmsford 12.miles
From Chelmsford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Thaxted 5.miles
From Thaxted to Radwinter 8.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.
From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Vxbidge or Colbrooke 15.miles
From Vxbidge to Baceansfield 7.miles
From Baceansfield to east Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford 5.miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie 6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford 4.miles

From London to Cambridge.
From London to Edmonton 6.miles
From Edmonton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon 5.miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

Or thus better weie.
From London to Hoddesdon 17.miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

OF CERTEINE WAIES IN SCOTLAND,
OUT OF REGINALD WOLFLIS HIS
ANNOTATIONS.

From Barwije to Edendorow.
From Barwije to Chirneside 10.miles
From Chirneside to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles

From Seaton to Aberladie or Muskeibrow 8.miles
From thence to Edendorow 8.miles

From Edendorow to Barwije another waie.
From Edendorow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Vrskldon 6.miles
From Vrskldon to Driburg 5.miles
From Driburg to Carlon 6.miles
From Carlon to Barwije 14.miles

From Edendorow to Dunbrittaine westward.
From Edendorow to Kerkeliton 6.miles
From Kerkeliton to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke over Forth 6.miles
From thence to Strieluin upon Forth 6.miles
From Strieluin to Dunbrittaine 24.miles

From Strieluin to Kinghorne eastward.
From Strieluin to Downe in Menketh 3.miles
From Downe to Campskennell 3.miles
From Campskennell to Alwive upon Forth 4.miles
From Alwvie to Culrose on Fille 10.miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne upon Forth 3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.
From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fille 2.miles
From Dissard to Cowper 8.miles
From Cowper to S. Andrews 14.miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth 6.miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.
From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abeie 4.miles
From thence to Londore abeie 4.miles
From Londore to S. Iohns towne 12.miles
From S. Iohns to Schone 5.miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taeie 15.miles
From Abernithie to Dunde 15.miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Muros 24.miles
From Muros to Aberdon 20.miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20.miles
From thence to the river of Spai 30.miles.
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30.miles
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward. From Dunfrèes to the Feric of Cre 40 miles
From Carleill over the Feric against From thence to Wigton 3 miles
Redkirke 4 miles
From thence to Whitherne 12 miles
From Carleill over the Ferie against Redkirke 4 miles
From thence to Dunfrèes 20 miles

Hitherto of the common wais of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thorowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may have further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I have noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I have scene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confess the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

ITER BRITANNIARUM.

A GESSORIACO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCI.

A Limite, id est, a vallo Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Britannia</th>
<th>A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vindomora m. p. ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viconia * m. p. xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cataractoni m. p. xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isurium m. p. xxiiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eburacum legio vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derentione m. p. vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delgouitia m. p. xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prætorio m. p. xxv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|           | Vinovia Vinonium                  |
|           | Darington.                        |
|           | Aldborow aliás Topelisse.         |
|           | Victrix m. p. xvii                |
|           | York.                            |
|           | Tedaster.                        |
|           | Trentbridge.                     |
|           | Tudford.                         |

Item a Vallo ad portum Ritupis m. p. 481, 491, sic,

|           | Ablato Bulgio * castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 aliàs à Blato |
|           | Lugu-vallo * m. p. xii           |
|           | Voedra m. p. xiii                |
|           | Brouonacis * m. p. xiii          |
|           | Verteis m. p. xxx, 15            |
|           | Lautiris m. p. xiii              |
|           | Cataractone * m. p. xxii         |
|           | Isuriam * m. p. xxiiii           |
|           | Eburacum * m. p. xviii           |
|           | Calcaria * m. p. ix              |
|           | Camboduno m. p. xx               |
|           | Mammuncio * m. p. xviii          |
|           | Condane m. p. xviii              |
|           | Deua legio xiii, cl. m. p. xx    |
|           | Bonio * m. p. x                  |
|           | Mediolano m. p. xx               |
|           | Rutunio m. p. xii                |
|           | Vrio Conio * m. p. x             |
|           | Vxacona m. p. xi                 |
|           | Penno-Crucio m. p. xii           |
|           | Etoceto m. p. xii                |
|           | Mandues Sedo m. p. xvii          |
|           | Venonis m. p. xxii               |

|           | Brauniacis.                      |
|           | Caturractonium. Darington.       |
|           | Isoriam. Aldborow aliás Topelisse.|
|           | Eboracum. York.                  |
|           | Cacaria.                         |
|           | Manucio                          |
|           | Bonió                            |
|           | Viroconium. Shrewesburie prop.   |

Bennauenta
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Bennautena * m. p. xvii
Lactorodo * m. p. xii
Magianto * m. p. xvii. 12
Duro-Cobrius m. p. xii
Vero-Lamio m. p. xii
Sullomacis * m. p. ix
Longidinio m. p. xii
Nouoliago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobruis m. p. v
Duroeleo m. p. xvi. 8
Duro-Verno * m. p. xii
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii

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Dubobrus * m. p. xxvii
Durobruis Durobruis. Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25
Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiii
Dover hauen.

Item a Londinio ad portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii
Bochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25
Canturburie.
Ad portum * Lemanis m. p. xvi
Limning hauen.

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Colonia m. p. xxviii.
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25.
Icianos m. p. xxviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Duroliponte m. p. xxxv
Durobruias m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiii
Dano m. p. xx
Lege-Olio * m. p. xvi
Logetium
Eburaco m. p. xxvii
Isubrigantum * m. p. xvi
Isurium Brigantum
Cataarcoti m. p. xxviii
Leuatri * m. p. xviii
Leuatrix
Verteris m. p. xiii
Brocouo * m. p. xx
Brocouicum
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxxv, 22

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Verolami m. p. xx
Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
Magiounio * m. p. xii
{ Maginto
Lactodore m. p. xvi
Magis
Isanna Vantia * m. p. xii
Isanna varia
Tripontio m. p. xii
Isanna vattia
Venonis m. p. ix
Isanna varia
3 H 2

Rata
THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

Ratis m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem * m. p. vii
Croco Calana * m. p. vii
Lindo m. p. xii

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Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Gelleua * Atrebatum m. p. xxii 
Pontibus m. p. xxii [Geming. ] 
Londinio m. p. xxii

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Duono m. p. xvi
Ageclo * m. p. xxii
Lindo m. p. xiii
Croco Calana m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xiii
Verometo * m. p. xii
Ratis m. p. xii
Vennonis m. p. xii
Bannauanto m. p. xix
Magio Vinio m. p. xxviii
Durocobrius m. p. xii
Verolamo m. p. xii
Sullomaca m. p. ix
Londinio m. p. xii

* Item a Venta Icinorum Londinio m. p. 128 sic :

Sitomago m. p. xxxi
Combretoio * m. p. xxxii
Ad Ansam m. p. xv
Camoloduno m. p. vi
Canonio m. p. ix
Caeraromago m. p. xii
Durolito m. p. xvi
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* Item a Glamova Mediolano m. p. 150 sic :

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Alone * m. p. xii
Galacum * m. p. xix
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Mancunio * m. p. xviii
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* Item a Segoncio Deuam m. p. 74 sic :

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THE DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND.

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Deua m. p. xxxii

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Sorioduni m. p. ix
Vindogludia m. p. xiii, 15
Durnouaria m. p. viii
Muriduno m. p. xxxvi
Scadum Nunniorum * m. p. xv, 12 Iscadum
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Bomio m. p. xv
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Burrio m. p. ix
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Blestio m. p. xi
Ariconio m. p. xi
Cleuo m. p. xv
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*Item alio Itinere ab Isca Calleua m. p. 103 sic:* 

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Abone m. p. ix
Traiectus m. p. ix
Aquis Solis m. p. vi
Verlucione m. p. xv
Cunetione m. p. xx
Spinis m. p. xv
Calleua m. p. xv

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Vindomi m. p. xv
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Brige m. p. xi
Soriodoni m. p. viii
Vindocladia m. p. xii
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Moriduno m. p. xxxvi
Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. xv

FINIS.
THE
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND,
FROM
THE TIME THAT IT WAS FIRST INHABITED,
UNTIL
THE TIME THAT IT WAS LAST CONQUERED:
WHEREIN THE SUNDRIE ALTERATIONS OF THE STATE UNDER FORREN PEOPLE IS DECLARED;
AND OTHER MANIFOLD OBSERVATIONS REMEMBERED:

BY RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

NOW NEWLIE READ OVER, AND DILIGENTLY DIGESTED INTO BOOKES AND CHAPTERS,
WITH THEIR SEVERAL ARGUMENTS PREFIXED, CONTAINING AN ABRIDGEMENT
OF THE WHOLE HISTORIE, FOR THE HELPE OF THE READERS
JUDGMENT AND MEMORIE:

WITH TWO TABLES OF PARTICULARS,
THE ONE SERVING THE DESCRIPTION, THE OTHER THE HISTORIE:

BY ABRAHAM FLEMING.

LAUS HISTORIE EX I. LELANDO.

MUND SOL NTHFREO PRIESTAT FULCHERIMUS ORBI,
HISTORIA HUMANI VSQVIS ROC TRIBUIT.
TO

THE READERS STUDIOUS IN HISTORIES.

The order observed in the description of Britaine, by reason of the necessarie division thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein contained, seemed (in my judgement) so convenient a course devised by the writer, as I was easilie induced thereby to digest the historie of England immediatlie following into the like method: so that as in the one, so likewise in the other, by summarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as also by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the said historie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is discoursed and discussed in the same.

Wherein (sith histories are said to be the registers of memorie, and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, speciallie historicall, are advisedlie to marke (among other points) the seuerall and successiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abstract, but that the same is sufficientlie handled in the first booke and fourth chapter of the description of Britaine; whereto if the seventh chapter of the same booke be also annexed, there is little or no defect at all in that case wherof justlie to make complaint.

Wherfore by remitting the readers to those, I recappe this advantage, namelie a discharge of a forethought & purposed labour, which as to reduce into some plausible forme was a worke both of time, paine and studie: so seeming valikelie to be comprised in few words (being a matter of necessarie and important observation) occasion of tediousnes is to and fro avoided; speciallie to the reader, who is further to be advertised, that the computations of yeaeres here and there expressed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whense they were derived and drawne, is not so absolute (in some mens opinion) as it might haue bee: howbeit justifiable by their originals.
Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the use of bookes may not be abridged) such diligent care shall be had, that in whatsoever the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there shall want no will to use the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euery common capacite, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages so many hundred yeares receiued, out of uncersteinties to raise certeinties, and to reconcile writers dissenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpossible, so is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is against reason, so to undertake more than may commendable be atchiued, were fowle follie.

ABRAHAM FLEMING.
THE FIRST BOOKE
OF THE
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Who inhabited this land before the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three sones, among whom the whole earth was divided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befall.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

WHAT manner of people did first inhabithe this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance beene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yit is not certainly knowne; neither can it be decided frō whence the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diversitie in judgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sithe the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euie the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie scriptures) I wish not any man to leaue to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sithe I doo but onlie shew other mens conjectures, grounded nevertheless vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeinie, or rather none at all.

To fetch therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it semeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and joyned without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vnertainties) I lave to be discussed of by the learned: howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I have thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may semoe to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

First therefore John Bale our countryman, who in his time greatlie traualled in the search of such antiquitie, dooth probable conjecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the floud, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiply vpon the unuersall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inventede of themselves, such loosenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and unuerseal floud, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onlie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almightie God was preserved from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and reparie the new generation of man of vpon earth.
THE FIRST BOOKE OF

After the flood (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the same Annius gathereth by the account of Moses in the 160. yeares after the flood, Noah divided the earth among his three sons; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Africa; and to his third sonne Laphet was allotted all Europa, with all the isles thereto belonging, wherein among other was contained this our Isle of Britaine, with the other isles thereto pertaining.

Laphet the third son of Noah, of some called Lapetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrew, Greekke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obtained the kingdom of Spaine. Gomer had dominion over the Italians, and (as Berosus and divers other authors agree) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which contained in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but especially those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britania. Thus was this Isle inhabited and peopled within 200 yeeres after the flood by the children of Laphet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie prooued by Annius, writing vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he wrieth, that of the offspring of Laphet, the Ises of the Gentiles (werof Britaine is one) were sorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the division of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath these words: " Cuius priscis temporibus pueri forent homines in Arabia & Chaldæa, post linguarum divisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, quidam conscenderunt ad partes maioris continentis, alii porro profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quæsiti, nec præterdesierunt terram vbiq; occupare, quin etiam Britannos in Arcois climabitus accesserint, &c." That is: "When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chalda, it came to passe, that after the division of teongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiply, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: divers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither said they to replenish the earth as they went, till they came unto the Ises of Britaine, living under the north pole." Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had beene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgill was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confess, that the Isle of Britaine had receiued inhabitants forthwith after the flood.

Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Drus, and Bardus, five kings succeeding each other in regiment over the Celts and Samotheas, and how manie hundred yeares the Celts inhabited this Isle.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

SAMOTHIES the sixt begotten some of Laphet called by Moses, Mesech, by others Dis, received for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lying betweene the river of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdom of Celtica over his people called Celtae. Which name Bale affirmeth to have bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the isle of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Isle. He is reported by Berosus to have excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to have imparted the same among his people.
people; namely, the understanding of the sundrie courses of the stars, the order of inferior things, with many other matters incident to the morall and politike government of mans life: and to have delivered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Greeks (according to the opinion of Archilochoeus) devised & derived the Grecce characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Josephus doo constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Greeks and other nations receiv'd their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saieth Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skillful both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie given to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the land it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that ever it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arrivaull of Albion.

Magus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica, by whom (as Berosus writeth) there were manie towneis builded among the Celts, which by the wisse of Annius did bear the addition of their founder Magus: of which towneis diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueror of the world and searchor of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Nionagus, and Noouomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to have stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Nionagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale dooth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowned ouer all the world, that he would have the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to derive the name of their diuines called Magi from him. In deé Rarusiuus Textor, and sir Iohn Price affirme, that in the daies of Phinie, the Britons were so expert in art mageike, that they might be thought to haue first delievered the same to the Persians. What the name of Magus importeth, and of what profession the Magi were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briefie, after this maner:

Ille penes Perseas Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Persepoli facti ista Magos prudentia triplex.

The Persians terme him Magus, that
de course of starres dooth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man dooth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then dooth growe.

Sarron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein (as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restrain the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuillitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: "There are (saieth he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they have in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make mine sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are neerest unto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose advise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace."

Druus, whom Seneca calleth Dryus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended
mended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the beginning and name of the philosophers called Druides, whose Caesar and all other ancient Græcke and Latine writers doe affirme to have had their beginning in Britaine, and to have bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolved therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ille of Anglesey (as Humphrey Llloyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages many things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Phinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Caesar saith) the charge of common & private sacrifices, the discussing of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmineth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreaderlesse of death. Tullius writeth, that partie by tokens, and partie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and everlasting God. All these things they had written in the Grecke toong, insomuch that Wolc. Lazius (upon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Græcke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And hereupon it commeth also to passe, that the British toong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Græcke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembering of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abominable (as some have written) and dissolved in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolisht here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospel of Christ by the preaching of Fugatus and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

BARDUS

BARDUS the some of Drus succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the first king ever the Celtes and Samothcans, amongst whom he was highlie renowned (as appeareth by Berosus) for invention of dities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and master Bale, that Caesar found some of them here at his arraual in this Ille, and reported that they had also their first beginning in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nomius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir Iohn Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient captains, and to drawe the pedigrees and genealogies of such as were living. They would frame pleasant dities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemn feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to joine in battell, and that any of them had fortunated to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimes as the friends) would have holden their hands, given care vnto them, and ceased from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas bellôq; peremptas,
Landus in longum vates dimititus avum,
Plurima securi fudistas carmina Bardi:

And you o poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of souls of dreaderlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

Because
Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vmbabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Orontius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalestine, and the two Merlius, Melkin, Elskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Islo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the winnes of Humfrey Llloyd, there is an Iland neere vnto Wales, called Insula Bardorum, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

Thus farre the governement of the Celts in this Ile.

AN APPENDIX TO THE FORMER CHAPTER.

After Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the stricte ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselves to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subjection of the giant Albion, the same of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streicted the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samoathes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agrreeth also with the scripture, the saigne of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arrival of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Caesar and Tacitus seeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would have them to come in (a Gods name) from Langedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Langedoc named Albic. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

But that the authorities aforesaid are sufficient to prove the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onlie the neerinesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals doo fullie conforme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celitike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, because the Celitke tongue is long sildens growne whole out of vse. Howbeit some such Celitke words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceived to agree with the Welsh toong, being the uncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In deed Pausianias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horse Marc: and by that name doo the Welshmen call a horses to this day: and the word Trimarc in Pausianias, signifieth in the Celitke toong, three horses.

Thus it appeareth by the authorize of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion binde here the space of 310 yeares or thereabouts. And finallie it is likelee, that aswell the progenie as the speach of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, even vnto this day.
Of the giant Albion, of his comming into this Iland, divers opinions why it was called Albion: why Albion and Bergion were slaine by Hercules: of Danaus end of his 50 daughters.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

NEPTUNUS called by Moses (as some take it) Nepthuim, the sixt sonne of Osiris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appoyned him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean sea: wherefore he furnished himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more redie passage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full nauie; & so by continuell exercise he became so skilfull, and therewith so mightie upon the waters (as Higinus & Pictorinius doe write) that he was not onelie called the king, but also estemned the god of the seas. He had to wife a lady called Amphitrilia, who was also honored as goddesse of the seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euery one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the same vnder his subiection. And hereupon it resteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light shippes were first inuented in the British seas, and that the same were covered round with the hides of beasts, for defending them from the surges and waues of the water.

This Albion being put by his father in possession of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great resistance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer to the practise of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and through use of effeminate pleasures, wherevnto they had giuen themselves ouer, they were become now vnapt to withstand the force of their enimes: and so (by the testimonie of Nicholas Perottus, Rigmanus Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llloyd, with diuers other, both foraine & home-writers) this Iland was first called by the name of Albion, having at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Iaphet vnto the accursed race of Cham.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt stature and higheenesse, naturallie incident to the first age (which Berosus also scemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in deed they exceeded the usuall stature of men now in those daies) but also for that they tooke the name of the soile where they were borne: for Gigantes signifieth the sons of the earth: the Aborigines, or (as Cesar calleth them) Indigenae; that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Thus some thinke; but verdie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that there haue beene men of far greater stature than are now to be found, is sufficiencie prooved by the huge bones of those that haue beene found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine ye shall find it sufficiencie declared.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their cousing Hercules Lybicvs haung finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to passe through Gallia into Italie, against their brother Lestrigo that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Nepeune; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their powers together, passed oute into Gallia, to stoppe the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to vanquish and destroye those tyrants the sons of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thralldome.

The
called Albion.

The cause that moved Hercules thus to pursue upon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greatest part of them had conspired together and slain his father Osiris, notwithstanding that they were nephues to the same Osiris, as sons to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his slaughter, they divided his carcasse also amongst them, so that each of them got a piece in token of reioising at their murdorous atchieued enterprise.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth Laabin) proclaumed warres against them all in revenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Triphon and Busiris in Egypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterprise atchieued, he led his armie towards italie, and by the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion having united their powers together, were readie to receive him with battell: and so nere to the mouth of the river called Rhusone, in Latine Rhodanus, they met & fought. At the first there was a right terrible and cruel conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of vter losse of that battell, specially for that his men had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood still and were not otherwise occupied, to stoope downe, and to gather vp stones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they bestowed so freemie vpon their enemies, that in the end hee obtained the victorie, and did not only put his adversaries to flight, but also slue Albion there in the field, together with his brother Bergion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowess of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruel & vnmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliveringe the oppressed from the heauie yoke of miserable thralldome, in euerie place where he came.

And by the order of this battell wee maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faile in their writings, that Jupiter holpe his sonne Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Moreover, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we have said) after the name of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Osiris, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44. yeres, till finally he was slaine in maner afore remembred by his yncle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroied his enemies, hee passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonale kind of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the cite Alexia in Burgonhie, nowe called Alize. Moreover, by Lilius Giraldis in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the same Hercules came over hither into Britaine. And this dooth Giraldis write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) have so written themselves, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confesseth in the 5. dialog of his histories of poets) he hath scene. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called Promontorum Herculei, as in Ptolomei ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called ancientlie by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie doe not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it appertineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the secret mysteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it tooke that name of the forsaid Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & proced with the historie.
THE FIRST BOOKE OF

When Albion chiefest capteine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (sithens as before is said, that age brought forth far greater men than are now living) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gignes, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is derived, is a Græke word, and signifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-ceders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessours, they would name him Terrœflius, The sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poëts faine to have sought to make battel against heaven are called the sones of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of every countrie were of the Grækes called Gignes, or Gegines, and of the Latines Aborigines, and Indigene, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life unto the arrivall of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Dioclesian the king of Assyria, whereas in deed they have bene deceived, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Dioclesianus: and by the same meanes have diuers words and names bene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written woraks. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselves about, considering the same hath bin already found by sundrie authors ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, John Harding, John Rouse of Warwike, and others, speciallie by the helpe of David Pencair a Britishe historie, who recite the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose devised, and brought in place of Dioclesianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arrived in this Ile) the authorite of Nennius a Briton writer may be auoched, who wrote about 900 years past, and maketh mention of the arrivall of such ladies.

To be short, the historic is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers have) of Neptune and Libies (whome Isis after the death of Apis maried) had issue two sones: the first Danaus, called also Armeus; and Aegyptus called also Rameses: these two were kings among the Aegyptians, Danaus the elder of the two, having in his rule the upper region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wives 50 daughters, with whom his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sones being also 50 in number, might match. But Danaus having knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to fle his country, and so prepared a nauie, imbarke himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Gelon (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driving him out of his country, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argines that had conceiued an hatred towards Gelon, and a great liking towards Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reignied there before him, that the Grækes in remembrance of him were after called Danae.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdain for that he and his sones were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sones with a great armie to make warre against their vncl, gioning them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obtainted his daughters in mariage. The young gentlemen according to their fathers commendament, being arrived in Greece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrainted
strained to give unto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to joine with them in marriage, and so they were. But as the proverbe saith, "In trust appeared treacherie." For on the first night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their banquets and pastimes were once brought into a sound sleepe, ech of them should slay her husband, menacing them with death unless they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeyed the will of their father, Hypermnestra onely excepted, with whom prevailed more the love of kinred and wedlocke, than the fear of his fathers displeasure: for shee alone spared the life of her husband Lyceus, waking him out of his sleepe, and warning him to depart and flee into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practises revealed to him by his wife, followed his advice, and so escaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement, sauing onely Hypermnestra, he caused hir to be brought forth into judgement, for disobeying him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argues, & discharged. Howbeit his father kept hir in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeyed his pleasure in slaying their first husbands, long it was yer he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their blood not wiped out of mind. Neuertheselie, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no ronnitures, and euerie sueter should take his choise without respect to the age or stature, or abiitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Howbeit when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he devised a game of running, ordering therewith, that whosoeuer got the best price should have the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should choose next to the first; and so foorth, ech one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was married to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

But now to returne vnto Lyceus, whome his wife Hypermnestra preserved, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heighth beaconwise, accordingly as she had requested him to doo at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards tooke name of him, and was called Lynea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to understand the whole circumstance of the trecherous cruellie vsed by his vnkle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vnkles handes. Wherevpon at time convenient he was furnished foorth with men and ships by his father, for the speedie revenge of that heinous, vnnatural and most disoleall murder, in which enterprise he sped him foorth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vnkle Danaus, set his wife Hypermnestra at lifierie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argues.

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sett for, whome he thought not worthie to live, because of the cruell murther which they had commited on his brethren: but yet for that they were his widows sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarke and left to the mercy of the sea, by hap were brought to the coasts of this Il: then called Albion, where they tooke land, and in seeking to provide themselves of victuals by pursuite of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and saigne giants mentioned.
THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND. This land called Albion.

tioned before, whome our historiens for their beastlie kind of life doo call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satisfie the motions of their sensuall lust) joine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peradventure ye wil thinke that I have forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the ladies arriuall here, because I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whome this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalf. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of those ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any man be desirous to know all their names, we have thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Ide, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Euippe, 6 Demodites, 7 Hyale, 8 Trite, 9 Damone, 10 Hippothoe, 11 Mirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Vrania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hypareta, 18 Chrysothemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Sca, 23 Glancippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyxena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Monuste, 31 Amimone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaone, 34 Polyebe, 35 Helicie, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildece, 39 Hero, 40 Europemone, 41 Crito-media, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermnesstra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danua: howbeit, which they were that should arrive in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to understand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concernning the name of this Ile, which undoubtedly was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue said) or by some other occasion.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange adventure of their arriuall here, as it may seeme to manie & (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I haue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shal move him; sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquite, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likelie conjectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agree with those authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an assured prove that this Ile was inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theoplihus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the comming hither of Osiris, as well as in the other partes of the world: and likewise of Vlysses his being here, who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was ancientlie called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words dooth record.

Vpon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliever unto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to have bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith haue but shewed the conjectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuerthelesse, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothes, Magus, Sarren, Drus, and Bardus, doe relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries doe reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to prooue the same by a speciall treatise latefull published at Rome.
THE SECOND BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Of Brute and his descent, how he slue his father in hunting, his banishment, his letter to king Pandrasus, against whom he wagheth battell, taketh him prisoner, and concludes peace upon conditions.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

HITHERTO have we spoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although some will needs have it, that he was the first which inhabited the same with his people descended of the Troians, some few giants onelie excepted whom he utterlie destroyed, and left not one of them alive through the whole Ile. But as we shall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, so may we assuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of those which Albion the giant had placed here, or some other kind of people whom he did subdue, and so reigned as well ouer them as ouer those which he brought with him.

This Brutus, or Brytus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the sounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geoffrey of Monmouth translated dooth affirm) was the sonne of Silius, the sonne of Ascanius, the sonne of Aeneas the Trojan, begotten of his wife Creusa, & borne in Troie, before the citie was destroyed. But as other doo take it, the author of that booke (whatsoever he was) and such other as follow him, are deceived onelie in this point, mistaking the matter, in that Posthumus the sonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers decease in Italie) was called Ascanius, who had issue a sonne named Iulius, who (as these other doo conjecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of those people, which being descended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from those Troians that escaped with life, when that roiall citie was destroyed by the Greekes, got possession of this woorthie and most famous Ile.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniversall historie, speaking of Aeneas and his offspring kings in Italie, scemeth to agrée, where he saith: “Silius (the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in love with a niece of his mother Lauinia, and by her had a sonne, of whom she died in travell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forest slue his father vnwares, and thereupon for feare of his grandfather Silius Posthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of such as followed him, passing through divers seas, at length he arrived in the Ile of Britaine.”

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Iulius was sonne to Ascanius the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus called also Ascanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further stand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yeeres, so that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the forrests and chases, he fortuned (either by mislapse, or by Gods providence) to strike his father
father with an arrow, in shooting at a dæere, of which wound he also died. His grandfather (whether the same was Posthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great misfortune that had chanc'd to his sonne Siluius, lived not long after, but died for верие griefe and sorrow (as is supposed) which he conceived thereof. And the young gentleman, immediately after he had slain his father (in manner before allledged) was banish'd his country, and thereupon got him into Grecia, where travelling the country, he lighted by chance among some of the Troian offspring, and associating himselfe with them, grew by means of the lineage (whereof he was descended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chieflie by reason there were yet dierers of the Troian race, and that of great authority in that country. For Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles, having no issue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by her had three sones, Moisssus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in those places and countries, and their offspring likewise: whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no friendship. For even at his first comming thither, diers of the Troians that remained in servitude, being desirous of libertie, by flocks resorted vnto him. And amongst other, Assaracus was one, whom Brutus intertained, receiving at his hands the possession of sundrie forts and places of defense, before that the king of those partes could have understanding or knowledge of any such thing. Herewith also such as were ready to make the adventure with him, repaired to him on each side, whereupon he first plac'd garisons in those towns which had been thus deliver'd vnto him, and afterwards with Assaracus and the residue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains nere adjoining. And thus being made strong with such assistance, by consultation had with them that were of most authority about him, wrote vnto the king of that country called Pandrasus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandrasus, as I find it set downe in Galliade Monumeetensis.

"Brute leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandrasus king of the Grecians, sendeth greeting. Because it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people descend'd of the noble lineage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they have withdrewne themselves within the close court of the woods. For they have chosen rather (after the manner of wild beasts) to live on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue under the yoke of servile thraldome. But if this their doing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalf to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitying their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they have got into their possession: if not so, yet give them licence to depart forth of this country into some other parts."

The sight of these letters, and request in them contended, made Pandrasus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppress them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatium, & marching toward the woods where he thought to have found his enemies, he was suddenlie assaulted by Brute, who with three thousand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enemies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were vterlie discomfited, & sought by flight to save themselves in passing a riuer nere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandrasus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fle'eing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them together, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing awaileth, for the Troians, prea-
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

ing vpon him, tooke him prisoner, sue and scattred his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

This doone, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souliours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was received with unspakeable joy for this prosperous attained enterprise. But although this cuit successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandrasus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to seeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe together that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Spyaratinum, where he thought to have found Brute inclosed together with the prisoners, and therefore he shewed his whole endeuour by hard siege and fierce assaults to force them within to yeeld.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waxe scant within, so that there was no way but to yeeld, if present succour came not to remove the siege: wherevpon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enemies in open field, he ment to give them a camisado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that insuring a prisoner (named Anacletus whom he had taken in the last battell) to serve his turne, by constraining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conscience sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enemies vpon the advantage, that he did not onely ouerthrowe their whole power, but also tooke Pandrasus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

First, that Pandrasus should give his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in marriaige, with a competent summe of gold and silver for hir dowrie.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people should have licence to depart the countrie, to seeke adventiuers whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impecchment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all these conditions (because they touched not the prerogative of his kingdome) Pandrasus did willinglie agree, and likewise performed.

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**Brute and his wife Innogen arrive in Leogitia, they ask counsell of an oracle where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with a remnant of Troians on the coasts where the shooting downe of the Pyreniue hills into the sea.**

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

All things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and wether servinge the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarke, and hoising vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arrived at Leogitia (in some old written bookes of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, spake in this maner as here followeth:

Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestris apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per astheeros,
Inferrnasq; domos, terrestria iura resolvit,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certum sedem qua te venerabor in aevum,
Qua tibi virginitis templi dicabo chorus.

These
These verses (as Ponticus Virumnius and others also doo gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled Cambreidos, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule
the woods and forrests greene,
And chasest foming boares
that flee thine awfull sight,
Thou that maist passe aloft
in aire skies so sheene,
And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Discover earthlie states,
direct our course aright,
And shew where we shall dwell,
according to thy will,
In seates of sure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that shall sound
thy laud with voices shrill.

After this prayer and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and custome, Brute abiding his answer, fell asleepe: in which sleepe appeared to him the said goddesse vttering this answer in the verses following expressed.

Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, vndiq; clausa mari,
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, namq; tibi sedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, & ipsis
Totius terrae substrus orbis erit.

Brute, farre by-west beyond the Gal-
like land is found,
An ile which with the ocean seas
inclosed is about,
Where giants dwelt sometime,
but now is desart ground,
Most meet where thou maist plant
thy selfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with speed,
for there thou shalt find out
An euerduring seat,
and Troie shall rise anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
shall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world shall whole subdew.

After he awaked out of sleepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he first doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true vision, the goddes having spoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon calling such of his companie vnto him as he thought requisite in such a case, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumstances, whereat they greatlie reioising, caused mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they cast wine, milke, and other liquors,
liquors, with divers gums and spices of most sweet smell and saour, as in the pagan religion was accustomed. Which observances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned straightwayes to their ships, and as soon as the wind served, passed forward on their journey with great joy and gladness, as men put in comfort to find out the wished seats for their firme and sure habitations. From hence therefore they cast about, and making westward, first arrived in Africa; and after keeping on their course, they passed the straits of Gibraltar; and coasting along the shore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewise descended of the Trojan progenie, on the coasts were where the Pyrenean hills shoot down to the sea, whereof the same sea by good reason (as some suppose) was named in those daies _Marc Pyrenæum_, although hitherto by fault of writers & copyers of the British historic received, in this place _Marc Tyrrhenum_, was slightlie put downe in stead of _Pyrenæum_.

The offspring of those Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did meet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their captivity light Corinuus, a man of great modestie and approved wisedome, and thereto of incomparable strength and boldnesse.

...Brute and the said Troians with their compeine Corineus doe associat, they take landing within the dominion of king Goffarius, he raiseth an armie against Brute and his power, but is disconffited. of the citie of Tours: Brutes arrivall in this land with his companie.

**THE THIRD CHAPTER.**

AFTER that Brute and the said Troians, by conference interchangeably had, understood one another estates, and how they were descended from one countrie and progenie, they visited themselves together, greatlie rejoyning that they were so fortunate met: and hoising vp their sailes, directed their course forward still, till they arrived within the mouth of the river of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they took land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, surnamed Pictus, by reason he was descended of the people Agathyris, otherwise named Picts, because they used to paint their faces and bodies, in somuch that the richer a man was amongst them, the more cost he bestowed in painting himself; and commonlie the hair of their head was red, or (as probable writers say) of skie colour. Herodotus calleth them _κυρωνίας_ κεντρον, because they did wear much gold about them. They used their wises in common, and because they are all supposed to be brethren, there is no strife nor discord among them. Of these Agathyris, it is recorded by the said Herodotus, that they refused to succour the Scythians against Darius, giving this reason of their refusal; because they would not make warre against him who had done them no wrong. And of this people dooth the poet make mention, saieing,

_Cretæq; Dryopészq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyris._

To paint their faces not for amablenesse, but for terriblesse, the Britons in old time used, and that with a kind of herbe like unto plantine. In which respect I see no reason why they also should not be called Picts, as well the Agathyris; seeing the denomination sprang of a vaine custome in them both. And here by the way, sithes we have touched this follie in two severall people, let it not scene tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plente of precious stones, wherewith they adorn themselves in this manner; namely, in certain hollow places which they make in their flesh, they inclose and riuet in precious stones, and that as well in their forheads as their cheekes, to none other purpose, than the Agathyris in the vse of their painting.

The countrie of Poictou (as some hold) where the said Goffarius reigned, tooke name of this people: & likewise a part of this our Ile of Britaine now containeth within Scotland, _vol. 1._
which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elsewhere both in this historic of England, and also of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpose.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was advertised of the landing of these strangers within his country, he at first cernwine of his people to understand what they meant by their coming a land within his dominion, without licence or leave of him obtained. They that were thus sent, came by chance to a place where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ships into a forest where the sea side, to kill some venison for their sustenance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let drive an arrow at Corineus: but he avoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in revenge of that injurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled thereupon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obtained a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowess of Corineus.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sure for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in divers provinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made havoc in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plenty of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a cite named Turonium, that is, Tours.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaine battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both partes: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of adversaries (even thirtie times as manie as the Troions) were constraine to retire into their campes, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compel them to yeld themselves vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, devised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campes, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in cort with the morning that Brute should come forth and give a charge vpon the enemie, wherewith Corineus should breake forth and assault the Galles on the backes.

This policie was put in practice, and tooke such effect as the devisers themselves wished: for the Galles being sharpie assaile on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they tooke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did overtake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed marvellous prove of his manhood. Of him (as some have written) the foresaid cite of Tours tooke the name, and was called Turonium, because the said Turinus was there buried.

Andrew Thevet affirmeth the contrarie, and maintaineth that one Taurus the nephew of Hamiball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of feising their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obtained so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to rejoice, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers daily decayed, and his enemies still increased, and grew stronger: whereupon resting doubtfull what to doo, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to seeke the Ille that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he tooke it, and as it proved. For whilst the greater part of his armie was yet left alie, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his naue, and lading his ships with exceeding
great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the country, he took the sea again.

After a few days sailing they landed at the haven now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2859, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliverance of the Israelites from the captivity of Babylon 397, almost ended; in the 18 yeare of the riigne of Tincas king of Babylon, 12 of Melanthius king of Athens, before the building of Rome 268, which was before the nativity of our Saviour Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reign of Alexander the great 783.

Brute discouereth the commodities of this land, mightie giants withstand him. Gogmagog and Corineus wreste together at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the citie of Trinounct now termed London, calleth this Iland by the name of Britaine, and diuide it into three parts among his three sons.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers doo record) he searched the country from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus travelled to discern the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountered by diuers strong and mighty giants, whom he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whom Brute caused Corineus to wreste at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they strove to claspe, and the one to overthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the upper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant deed, and other the like services first and last achieved, Brute gave vnto Corineus the whole country of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroyed such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground hig on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration seems to be most pleasant and convenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holomesse of aire, goodness of soile, plentie of woods, and commodity of the riuer, serving as well to bring in as to carry out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and use of them that should inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arriuall, which he named (saith Gal. Mon.) Trinounct, or (as Hum. Llloyd saith) Tronewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his subiection, he by the advise of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britions after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meanwele while also he had by his wife, iii. sones, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew neere, to the first he betooke the government of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Lancastria, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he appointed
applied the country of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, divided from
Loegria by the river of Seurene. To his third sonne Albanact he delivered all the north
part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which
portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had divided
the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had governed the same by the
space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arrivall (as Harison noteth) and was
buried at Troinount or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now
grown out of memorie.

Of Madan the eldest sonne of Brute, of Albanact his youngest sonne, and his death: of
Madan, Memricicus, Ebroune, Brute Greensheeld, Leill, Ludhuribras, Balbod, and
Leir, the nine rulers of Britaine successional after Brute.

THE FIFT CHAPITR.

LoCRINUS or Locrine the first begotten some of Brute began to reigne over the
country called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the country
that reached from the south sea unto the river of Humber. While this Locrinus governed
Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battall by
a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who invaded that part of Britaine, and
got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in revenge of their other
brothers death, and for the recoverie of the kingdom, gathered their powers together, and
comming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discom-
fited him in battall, and chased him so eagerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his
men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name
of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this daie.

Moreover in this battell against the Hunnes were three young damsels taken of excellent
beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certaine king of
Scythia. With this Estrild king Locrine fell so farre in love, notwithstanding a former con-
tract made betwixt him and the lady Guendoleena, daughter to Corineus duke of Cornwall,
that he meant yet with all speed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called vpon,
and in manner forced thereto by Corineus, hee changed his purpose, and married Guendo-
leena, keeping yeuerthelesse the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during
the life of Corineus his father in law.

Now after that Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forsooke Guendoloena, and
maried Estrild. Guendoloena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornwall
to hir friends and kinred, and there procurred them to make warre against the said Locrine
hir husband, in the which warres hee was slaine, and a battell fought neere to the river of
Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twenty yeares, & was buried by his father in
the citie of Troinount, leaving behind him a younge sonne (begotten of his wife Guendo-
leena) named Madan, as yet vnmaried to governe.

Guendoleena or Guendolene the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Corineus duke of
Cornwall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeeres sufficient to governe, was by
common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yeare of the world 2894, and
so having the administration in hir hands, she did right discreetlie vse hir selfe therein, to
the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gave
euer the rule and dominion to him, after she had governed by the space of fifteen yeares.

Madan the sonne of Locrine and Guendolene entred into the gouvemement of Britaine in
the 2909, of the world. There is little left in writing of his doinge, sauing that he used
great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the terme of
40. yeares,
40. yeares, he was deoure of wild beasts, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sones, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancaistre, now Duncastre, which retemeth still the later part of his name.

Mempricius the eldest sone of Madan began his reign over the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betwixt them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he lied in more tranquilitie and rest. Howbeit, being delivered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into slouth, and so into unlawful lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wives and daughters: and finallie became so beastlie, that he forsooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroyed of wild beasts, when he had reigned twenty yeares, leaving behind him a noble young sone named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Ebranke the sone of Mempricius began to rule over the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers doo of him record, one and twenty wines, on whom he begot 20. sones and 30. daughters, of which the eldest light Guales, or Gualca. These daughters he sent to Alba Sylius, which was the eleventh king of Italie, or the sixt king of the Latines, to the end they might be married to his noble men of the blood of Troians, because the Sabines refused to joine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that ever invadid France after Brute, and is commended as author and original builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdom, and elsewhere. His sones also vnder the conduct of Assaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, invaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that coutrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that coutrie, & there planted themselves. Our histories say, that Ebracius their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he buildid the cite of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He buildid also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Edinburgh of Adian one of their kings. The cite of Alclud was buildid likewise by him (as some write) now decayed. After which cities thus buildid, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of forty yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Brute Greeneshield, the sone of Ebranke, was made governor of this land in the yeare of the world 3003, Asa reigning in Luda, and Baasa in Israell. This prince bare alwayes in the field a greene shield, whereof he tooke his surname, and of him some foraine authors affirm, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subjection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonor and losse in his last voyage into that coutrie. Howbeit they say, that when he came into Henand, Brinchill a prince of that quarter gaine him also a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his coutrie. This I borrow out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie like to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie ouerlie after his owne name, and also a cite which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should reume by Strabo, lib. 4. that there was a noble cite of that name long before his time in the said coutrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered maner. More I find not of this foresaid Brute,

MEMPRICUS.
THE FOURTH RULER.
Fulman.
Manius is his name.
Cal. Mon.
Sloth engendered lecherie.
Mempricius is deoure of beasts.

EBRANKE.
THE FIRST RULER.
Ebranke had 21, where of his thirtie daughters sent into Italie.
Burgomass lib. 6.

Brute.
GREENESHEILD.
The citie of Caerbranke buildid.
Math. West.

Strabo lib. 1.
Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certaine time, his father yet livyng, and after his decease the tearme of twelve yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

Leill the sonne of Brute Greneshield, began to regne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was regning in Iuda, and Ambri in Israel. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerkell, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caereon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giante named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auscute this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his woorkes intituled "Polychronicon," saith in plaine wordes, that it is unknowen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it tooke the name of the soiourning thare of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not unlike that it might be first built by P. Ostorius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Ordouces that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Cheshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certaine places of defense, for the better harbORAGE of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his regne verie vpright, and desirous to see justice executed, and above all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vortues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was never able to appease. But leaving them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye have heard he had builded while he lived.

Lud or Ludhurbras the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his regne, hee sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the town of Kaerkyn now called Canterbury: also the town of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which town of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophesies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seen, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

Baldud the sonne of Ludhurbras began to rule over the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well scene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromanie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmesbury is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good conjecture we haue to thinke, never came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud tooke such pleasure in artificall prattices & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, hee tooke vpon him to flye in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Trionouant, and there was torne in peece after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Leir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruller over the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Israel reigned in Iuda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanour, governing his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now
now called Leicester, which standeth upon the river of Soce. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordelia, which daughters he greatly loved, but specially Cordelia the youngest before the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great years, & began to wax unwieldy through age, he thought to understand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre him whom he best loved, to the succession over the kingdom. Wherupon he first asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loved him: who calling her gods to record, protested that she “loved him more than her owne life, which by right and reason should be most duee vnto him.” With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of her how well she loved him: who answered (confirming her sayings with great othes) that she loved him more than toong could express, and farre above all other creatures of the world.”

Then called he his youngest daughter Cordelia before him, and asked of her what account she made of him, vnto whom she made this answer as followeth: “Knowing the great love and fatherlie zeal that you have alwayes borne towards me (for the which I make not answer you otherwise than I think, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I have loved you ever, and will continuallie (while I live) love you as my natural father. And if you would more understand of the love that I bear you, examine your selfe, that so much as you have, so much you are worth, and so much I love you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henнийus the duke of Cornwall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whom he willed and ordained that his land should be divided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatly should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordelia he reserved nothing.”

Neerthelesse it fortune that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beaute, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordelia, desired to have her in mariage, and sent over to her father, requiring that he might have her to wife: to whom answer was made, that he might have his daughter, but as for anie dower he could have none, for all was promised and assured to her other sisters aforesaid. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniell to receive anie thing by way of dower with Cordelia, tooke her to wife, onlie moued thereeto (I saie) for respect of his person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those ages, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yet the government of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and ref from him the governance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to live after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in process of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henнийus. But the greatest griefe that Leir tooke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being never so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one servaunt to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I marke saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vthered in time past, that being constrained of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seek some comfort of his youngest daughter Cordelia, whom before time he hated. The lady Cordelia hearing that he was arrived in poore estate, she first sent to him pruise a certene summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to receive a certene number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as appertained to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifulle, honorable, and louinglie receiued, both by his somne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordelia, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.
Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had bee
used by his other daughters, Aganippe caused a mightie armie to be put in a readiness,
and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe over into Britaine with Leir his
father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordellia
should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leave unto
hir, as the rightfull inheritor after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to
hir sisters or to their husbands in anie manner of wise.
Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordellia
with hir husband tooke the sea, and arraing in Britaine, fought with their enemies,
and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Hennius were slaine: and then
was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeeres,
and then died, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester
in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuwer of Sore beneath the towne.

The gynarchie of queene Cordellia, how she was vanquished, of hir imprisonment and
selfe-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and Margan nepehewes for gouernement,
and the blind end thereof.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

CORDEILLA the younigest daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and supreme gouernesse of
Britaine in the yeere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, Uzia then reigning
in Iuda, and Jeroboam ouer Israel. This Cordellia after hir fathers decease ruled the
land of Britaine right worthlie during the space of fiue yeeres, in which meane time hir
husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yeeres, hir two nepehewes Margan and
Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernement of a woman,
leuyed warre against hir, and destroyed a great part of the land, and finallie tooke hir priso-
ner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she tooke such grieue, being a woman of a
manlie courage, and despairing to recover libertie, there she shew hirselfe, when she had
reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yeeres.

CUNEDAGIUS AND MARGANUS nepehewes to Cordellia, having recovered the land out of hir
hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber
fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Camesse, and the other part lieng south and by-
weset, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yeere of the world 3170,
before the building of Rome 47, Uzia as then reigning in Iuda, and Jeroboam in Israel.
Afterwards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus past a two yeeres,
but thorough some seditious persons, Margan was persuaded to raise warre against Cunedag,
telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to
have the rule of the whole lye in his hand. Herevpon ouercame with pride, ambition, and
couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entering into the land of Cunedag, he burnet and de-
stroyed the countrie before him in miserable maner.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make,
and comning with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he shew a great
number of Margans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him
from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said
Margan gaue him eisosomes a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was
there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countrie tooke name of him,
being there slaine, and so is called to this day Glau Margan, which is to meane in our
English toung, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned
with his brother two yeeres, or thereabouts.

After the death of Margan, Cunedag the sonne of Hennius and Ragnie (middlemost
daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the 1
Of Ruallus, Gurgustius, Syzilius, Iago, and Kinimacus, rulers of Britaine by succession, and of the accidents coincident with their times.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

RIUALLUS, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yere of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Jeathan as then being king of Iuda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Ruall governed the Iland in great welth and prosperitie. In his time it rained blood by the space of three daies together; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisme and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Rualls reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdix a wizard, and a learned astrologian flourished and writ his prophecies, and Herene also.

GURGUSTIUS, the son of the before named Ruall, began to governe the Britaines in the yere after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Iuda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodan the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

SYZILLIUS, or after some writers SYLUIUS, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouvemance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manasses still reigning in Iuda. This Syzilliis in the English chronicle is named Secill. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

IAGO or IAGO, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Syzilliis, tooke upon him the gouvemment of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whose time the cite of Jerusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Iuda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 28 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

KINIMACUS or KINMARUS the sonne of Syzilliis as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gourne the land of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the jewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, one brother killeth another, the mother slaith her sonne, and how Britaine by civill warres (for lacke of issue legimate to the government) of a monachie became a pentachie: the end of Brites line.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

GORBODUG the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 38 of VOL. I. the
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the Jews captuifie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the termne of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leaving after him two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex with Porrex his brother begane joynelie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3478, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsooke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through contentiousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, procured by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, whereby Ferrex was constreined to flee into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole land. But his brother Porrex was ready to receive him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrex suruived. But Geoffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasteriensis writeth, that Porrex deuising waies to kill Ferrex, attchiued his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruived, the mother of them was so highlie offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom she most intierlie loued, that setting apart all motherlie affetion, she found the meanes to enter the chamber of him that suruived in the night season, and as she slept, she with the helpe of her maidens slue him, and cut him into small pieces, as the writers doo affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren, after they had reigned by the space of foure or fuye yeares.

After this followed a troublous season, full of cruell warre, and seditious discord, whereby in the end, and for the space of fievye yeares, the monarchie or sole gouernement of the Iland became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fivk kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornwall overcame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of most writers) tooke an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left alieue to succeede them in the kingdome. The names of these five kings are found in certeine old pedegrees: and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vndernamed are the most agreeable.

But of these five kings or dukes, the English chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornwall for most rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongst the Britains: but (as some say) it lasted for the space of 51 yeares, conjucturing so much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who saith, who it endured euon till the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Dunwallon, who began to governe from the time that Brute first entred Britaine, about the space of 703 three yeares.

Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the supputation and account of these yeares, insomuch that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to vary aboue three C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole historie: but whereas other have by diligent search tried out the continuance of certeine governors reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I have thought best to follow the same, leaving the credit thereof with the first authors.

THE PENTARCHIE.

1 Rudacus Wales.
2 Clotenus Cornwall.
3 Piner king of Loegria.
4 Staterus Albania.
5 Yewan Northumberland.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOKE.
Of Malmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundatious, with other his acts and deeds.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Now to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Malmucius Dunwallō, or as other saie Dunwallo Malmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth th'english chronicle and also Geoffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers decease began his reigne over the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deuellerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yeere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Malmucius Dunwallo is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthie prince. He builied within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a late, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I note not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Malmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builied the two townes Malmesburie and the Vies. He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Malmucius lawes, turned out of the British speeche into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statues. He moreover gave privileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, that whosoever fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what coutrie he would, with indemnite of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the four great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordained by the advise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnite to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in use: & because he was the first that bare a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or governors.

Amongst other of his ordinaire, he appointed weights and meaurees, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he denised sore and straight orders for the punishing of that. Finalie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yeeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant.
BRENNUS and Belinus began to reign jointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seuenth yeere of Artaxerxes surnamed Mnenon, the seuenth king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his governement Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall; and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seaven yeeres, after which time expired, Brennus counting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himsellie aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counsell of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsung or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his advise marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought convenient.

In the meane time, Brenne adveritised hereof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and soldierys of the Norwegians, with the which he tooke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, because of the yong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whom he had bene a sutor to his father Elsing of long time. When these two fleetes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a sore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke the ship wherein the new bride was conuerted, and then was she brought aboord the ship of Guilthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenly thereupon arose a sore tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish fleete, and put the king in danger to haue bene lost: but finallie within fiftie daies after, being druen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few such ships as were kept together with him.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, upon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arraill, caused him to be staied. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten together the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigg'd and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife wrongfullie ranshied by Guilthdacus, and also his lands injuriosly by him seised into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaine, but speedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incontred with his brother Beline neere vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruelle fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture did light so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead upon the ground.

Hereby Brenne being forced to sие, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seguins duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armoica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more trulie maie seeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the upper hand of his enemies, assembling his counsell at Caerbranke, now called York, tooke aduise what he should
should doo with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordainèd, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and under covenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doinge hommage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to pae him a yeerelie tribute. These covenants being agreed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his country. The tribute that he covenanted to pae, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for so much as the foure wais began by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called fouorth and assembled, whom he set in hand to pave the said wais with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should travell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require.

The first of these foure wais is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Totnesse in Cornwall, and so passing forth by Deuonshire, and Somerssetshire, by Tutherie, on Cotteswold, and then forward beside Countrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plains towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincoln. The second waise was named Watling strete, the which stretcheth ouerhawt the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Douer, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so forth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Tocester, and Wedon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so forth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a place called Cardigan, at the Irish sea. The third way was named Ermingstreet, which stretched out of the west northwest, vnto the east southeast, and begineth at Meneua, the which is in Saint Dawids land in west Wales, and so vnto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Hiknelstreete, which leadeth by Worcester, Winchcombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Yorke, and so forth vnto Tinhmouth. After he had caused these wais to be well and sufficiently raised and made, he confirmed vnto them all such priuileges as were granted by his father.

Brenns marrieth with the duke of Alobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they joine might & munition and have great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia oneie with 12 persons, because he was a goodlie gentleman, and seemed to understand what appertained to honour, grew shortlie into favoure with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his adversarie, and the whole circumstance of his mislaid, at length was so highlie cherished of the said Seginus, deliting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him dailie appearing, that he gau to him his daughter in mariage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedom: and if it happened him to leave anie heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, bereft from him by his brother.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yeere after died. And then after a certaine time, being knowne that the duches was not with child, all the lords of that countrye did hommage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and supreme gouernour,
THE THIRD BOOKE OF

THE state of the

governour, upon whom he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Shortlief after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same eftsoones came over into Britaine, to make new warre upon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himself ready to meete him: but as they were at point to have joined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned himselfe in all motherlie order, and most loving manner towards them both, they fell to an agreement, and were made friends or euer they parted asunder.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice together with their peeres and counsellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they tooke shipping and sailed over into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such maisters, that within a short time (as saith Geoffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanic, and brought it to their subjection. In the end they tooke Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

After they had passed the mountaine, & were entred into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clusium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enimies. Whereupon the Romans, considering with themselves that although they were not in anie league of societie with the Clusians, yet if they were overcome the danger of the next brunt were like to be theirs: with al spede they sent ambassadours to intret betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

They that were sent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romans. Whereunto answer was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clusians would be agreeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

The Romane ambassadours being offended with these wordes, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerwhart wordes, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The Romane ambassadours also to shew of what prouesse the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbiddeing such as came in an assaige about anie treatye of peace to take either one part or other) tooke weapon in hand, and joined themselves with the Clusians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to have the siege raised from Clusium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the delverie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserved. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadours were not ouelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the next yeare.

The Galles then became in such a rag. (because they saw ther was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, injurious wrongs, and deceitfull trames) that they turned all their force against them, marching straight towards Rome, and by the waie destroyed all that stood before them. The Romans advertised thereof, assemblid themselves together to the number of 40. thousand, and encountering with Beline and Brenne, neere to the river Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were shaine and quite discomityed.

The Galles could scarce beleue that they had got the victorie with so small ressistance: but when they perceived that the Romans were quite overthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the spoile, and made towards Rome it selie, where
such fear and terror was striken into the hearts of the people, that all men were in despaire
to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got
them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the
maintenance of the same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of
other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their
countrie if hap so befell.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entrying by the gate Collina, they
passed forth the right way vnto the market place, maruellng to see the houses of the poorer
sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore
being doubtfull of some deceitfull traine, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but
after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apperell’d in their rich robes, as
if they had bin in the senat, they reverence them as gods, so honorable was their port, grave-
nesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head
with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which injurye the Gall being
prouoked, slew Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun
with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were
slaine and cruelly murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or
difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome
taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof.
Besides this, the Galles attemptted in the night season to have entred the capitoll: and in
deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had acheived their purpose, if a sort of
ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were
asleepe: & so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled.

Camillus revok’d from exile, made dictator, and receiveth peremptorie authoritie, he over-
throweth the Galles in a pitch field, controversie betweene writers touching Brennus and
Belinus left undetermined: of divers foundations, erections and reparations done and
acheived by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burie ng.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

The Romans being thus put to their extreme shift, devised among themselves how to
revoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vnustle banished out of
the citie. In the end they did not once send for him home, but also created him dictator,
committing into his hands (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power over all men,
both of life and death. Camillus forsetfull of the injurie done to him, and mindfull of his
duty towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an
armie as the present time permitted.

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels)
compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the
Romans should redeem their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their
armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the delieuerie of the monie,
and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans name was preserved at that time from such
dishonor and ignominie as was like to have insued. For some of the covetous sort of
the Galles, not contented with the just weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into
the balance where the weights lay, thereby to have ouer weight: whereupon the Romans
refused to make paynement after that weight.

And thus whilst they were in alteration about this matter, the one importunate to have,
the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in
amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirm-
ing Camillus dis-
appointeth the
Galles of their
paynement.
ing that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meane magistrate. He gave a signe to the Galles to prepare themselves to battell, wherunto they lightlie agreed, and together they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie overcome, such as stood to the brunt were slain, and the rest by flight constrained to depart the citie. Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leaving them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoever the matter passed, thus much have we stepped from our purpose, to shew somewhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onely our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine dooth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other arme of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Llloyd and sir John Prise doo flattie denye the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that have recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is grown. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: wherevpon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through proofe of his woorthy prowess, attaine to such estimation amongst the people called Galli Senones, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountains into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe, leaving Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilst his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie woorthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decayed, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifying of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neere to the place where the river of Vskie falleth into Severne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wiske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable monuments are remaining there till this day, testifying the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also sith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Iulius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated into Menevia, (that is to say) saint David in Westwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albon.

This Beline also builded an hauen, with a gate ouer the same, within the citie of Troinuant now called London, in the summitie or highest part whereof afterwards was set a vessell of brasse, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceas was burnt, as the maner of burning in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell eastward from this gate (as some have written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline studieng dailie to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous worke, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother jointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.
Of Gurguintus, Guintolina, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding each other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

THE FIFTIETH CHAPTER.

GURGUINTUS the sonne of Beline began to reign over the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliverance of the Israelites out of captivity 164 compleat, which was about the 33 yeares of Artaxerxes Maenon, surnamed Magnus, the seventh king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Corinbatus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, which because the tribute granted by Guiltadig king of Denmarke in perpetuittie into the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constrained to grant eftsoones to continue the payment of the aforesaid tribute.

After he had thus atchieued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountered with a nauie of 30 ships beside the Iles of Orkennes. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Balenses or Basdenses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their souereigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authors) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Hibernenses, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordaine that the laws made by his ancestors should be dulle kept and observed. And thus administering justice to his subiects for the tyme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleoon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

GUINTOLINA or GUINTELLINUS the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yeare of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 399, and second yeare of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintoline was a wise prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisedome incomparable, as by his prudent gouernement and equall administration of justice after his husbands deceasea, during his sonnes minority, it most manifestlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintoline came to the gouernement of this kigndome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for having once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with justice, lawes and good orders, the British common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quiennesse thereof. But afore all things he viterbly remoued and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditious factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewhich, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.
THE THIRD BOOKE OF

Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elanius and his short regiment, of Morindus and his beastlie cruellie; all three immediatlie succeeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the exploits of the last.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

SICILIUS the sonne of Guintoline, being not past seven yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 450, & after the deliverance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the sixt after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the governance both of his realme and person committed to her charge.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in divers sciences, but chiefly being admitted to the governance of the realme, she studied to preserve the common wealth in good quiet and wholesome order, and therefore devised and established profitable and convenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preservation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the English toong, into the English Saxon speeche, and then were they called after that translation Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir sonne right politike; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowne and commendation. And when hir sonne came to lawfull age, she desistred vp the governance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some answeth but seven yeares, though other affirm the 15, which agreeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

KIMARUS.

KIMARUS the sonne of Kimarvs began to regne over the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 442, & in the first yeare of the 117. Olimpiad. This Kimarvs being a wild yong man, and given to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarce three yeares.

ELANIUS.

ELANIUS the sonne of Kimarvs, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3661, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliverance of the Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Selenciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees doo reckoon, which began in the 14, after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English Chronicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Danis; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

MORINDUS.

MORINDUS the bastard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliverance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which having dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanderes come into his handes, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yeeres. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chivalrie and martiall dоеings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could scarce be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although at times with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, libcrall and bounteous, and of a maruellous strength.

In his daies, a certaine king of the people called Moriani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre upon the inhabitants. But Morindus advertised
aduertised herof, assembled his Britains, came against the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and tooke a great number of them prisoners, whom to the satisfying of his cruell nature he caused to be slain even in his presence. Some of them were headed, some strangled, some panned, and some he caused to be slain quicke.

These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other people of the Galles or Germanies, and not as some esteeme them, Morauians, or Merhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Lhoyd hath vere well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be dulsie considered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would needs fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reign'd the terme of 8 yeeres, leaving behind him five sons, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigienius, or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Figenius, and Peredurus, the five sons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge, the restitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his deprevation, Elidurus three times admitted king, his death and place of interrevement.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

GORBONIANUS the first son of Morindus succeeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yeere of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeere of the 121. Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his government, and verie devout (according to such devotion as he had) towards the advancing of the religion of his gods: and thervpon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

He also built the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloved both of the rich and poor, for he honoured the rich, and relieved the poor in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessary for the wealthfull state of man, than had bene before in anie of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reign'd (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which have so written are deceived, in mistaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that means it might be that Gorbonian built only Grantham, and not Cambridge, namely because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The said Cantaber also obtaining licence of Gurguntius, built a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Canta, which he closed with walls, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so eu'n then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were ready to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whom or in what time soever it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines Caergrant, and by the Saxons Granchester.

This towne fell so to ruine by the inuasion of the Saxons, that at length it was in manner

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left desolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nere thereunto under the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigeberht and Felix a Burgundian, that was bishop of Dunwich, a schoole was erected, as in place convenient shall appeare.

**Archigallus.**

Archigallus, the second sonne of Morindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuere of the Israelites out of captuittie 255, and in the first yeare of Sothenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the English chronicle called Artoqall) followed not the steppes of his brother, but quying himselfe to dissention and strife, imagined causes against his nobles, that he might displaice them, and set such in their roome as were men of base birth, and of cuill conditions. Also he sought by vnlawfull meanes to bereave his wealthie subjects of their goods and riches, so to enrich himselfe and impouerish his people. For the which his inordinate dooings, his nobles conspired against him, and finallie deprived him of all his honor and kinglie dignite, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare.

Elidurus the third sonne of Morindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one consent of the Britaines chosen to reigne over them in his brothers stead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuere of the Israelites 256, & in the first yeare of Sothenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the English chronicle named Hesider, or Esoder, proved a most righteous prince, and doubting least he should doe otherwise than became him, if he did not otherwise take care for his brother Archigallus estate, a man might woonder what diligence he shewed in atruelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother restored to the crowne againe.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) nere vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thicknest of that wildernes, whom in most louing maner he secretlie conuened home to his house, being as then in the citie of Aldud, otherwise called Alciud. Shortlie after he feined himselfe sicke, and in all hast sent messengers about to assemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in such affectuous sort with wise and discreet words, that he got their good will to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eftsoones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

After this he assembled a counsell at Yorke, where he so vsed the matter with the commons, that in conclusion, when the said Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourable the space of three yeares, he resigned whole his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is said. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man shall reuolve in his mind what an inordinate desire remaineth amongst mortall men to atteine to the supreme souereinate of ruling, and to kepe the same when they haue it once in possession. He had well learned this lesson (as may appeare by his contention and resignation) namelie, that

> Nec abnuendum si dat imperium Deus,
> Nec appetendum,

otherwise he would not haue bene led with such an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him shewed thus toward his brother, he was surnamed the godlie and vertuous.

**When Archigallus was thus restored to the kingdome, and haung learned by due correction that he must turne the leafe, and take out a new lesson, by changing his former trade of liuing into another, if he would reigne in suerite: he became a new man, using himselfe uprightlie in the administration of justice, and behauing himselfe so woorthie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his subjects. And so continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed**
parted out of this world, after he had reigned this second time the space of ten years, and was buried at Yorke.

Eliuduris brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by consent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two younger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuioing the happie state of this woorthy prince, so highlie for his vertue and goode gouernance esteemed of the Britaines, of a grounded malice conspir'd against him, and assembling an armie, leau'd ware against him, and in a pitchit field tooke him prisoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept close prisoner, after he had reigned now this last time the space of one yeare.

Vigenius and Peredurus, the youngest sonses of Morindus, and brethren to Eliuduris, began to reigne jointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeares of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuery of the Israelites 296 compleat, and in the 12 yeares of Antigonus Gonatas, the sonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. These two brethren in the English chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. testifieth) diuided the reigne betwixt them, so that all the land from Humber westward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredur held. But other affirmes, that Pereduris onelie reigned, and held his brother Eliuduris in prison by his owne consent, forsomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

But Gal. Mon. saith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Pereduris seiz'd all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrieti and wisedome, that he was praised above all his brethren, so that Eliuduris was quite forgotten of the Britaines. But others write, that he was a verie tyrant, and vsed himselfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sickness, he finallie departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leaving no issue behind him to succeed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

Eliuduris then, as soone as his brother Pereduris was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliver'd out of prison, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vsed himselfe (as before) verie orderlie in ministering to all persons right and justice all the daies of his life, and lastlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after most concordance of writers) the tyme of foure yeares; and was buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digression, shewing the diversitie of writers in opinion, touching the computaation of yeares from the beginning of the British kings of this land downwards; since Gurguintus time, till the death of Eliuduris; and likewise till king Lud reigned in his royaltie, with the names of such kings as ruled betwixt the last yeare of Eliuduris, and the first of Lud.

The Eighth Chapter.

Here is to be noted, that even from the beginning of the British kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diversitie amongst writers, both touching the names, and also the times of their reigne, speciallie till they come to the death of the last mentioned king Eliuduris. Insomuch that Polydor Virgil in his historie of England, finding a manifest errore (as he taketh it) in these writers whom he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, unto the sackeing of Rome by Brennus, whome our histories affirm to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of those kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the same Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, least one errore should follow an other, and so of one errore making manie, he hath placed those kings which after other
writers should seeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunalalo and Molmucius, father to the said Beline and Brenne, and those five kings which strue for the gouernement after the deceasce of the two brethren, Ferrex and Porrex, putting Guintoline to succeed after the five kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Marta, during the minoritie of his sonne, then hir said sonne named Sicilius.

After him succeeded these whose names follow in order, Chimirius, Danius, Morindus, Gorbontamus, Archigallo, who being deposed, Eldurus was made king, and so continued till he restored the gouernement (as ye have heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Eldurus was esuones admitted, and within awhile againe deposed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceasses the third time restored. Then after his deceasce followed successiuele Veginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idunallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the second of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Vrianus and Eliud, after whom should follow Dunalalo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things doone, & the course of time should be observed, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to those kings that reigned before and after Dunalalo, according to those authors whom (as I said) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the same that was sonne to the said Dunalalo Molmucius, and brother to Beline.

But sith other have in better order brought out a perfect agreement in the account of yeares, and succession of those kings, which reigned and governed in this land before the sacking of Rome; and also another such as it is after the same, and before the Romans had acquit perfect knowledge thereof; we have thought good to follow them therein, leaving to euery man his libertie to judge as his knowledge shall serve him in a thing so doubtfull and uncerteine, by reason of variance amongst the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And even as there is great difference in writers since Gurguntius, till the deceasce of Eldurus, so is there as great or rather greater after his deceasce, speciallie till king Laid attaine the kingsdome. But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth doo write, there passed above 185 yeares betwixt the last yeare of Eldurus, and the beginning of king Laid his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as some writers have mentioned, whose names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are these immediatlie here named; Regnie the sonne of Gorbolian or Gorbionan, a worthie prince, who justlie and mercifullie governed his people; Margan the sonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewise, and guiding his subjects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the same Margan, but far unlike to him in manners, so that he was deposed in the sixt yeare of his reigne; Ydwallo sonne to Vigenius; Rimo the sonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the sonne of Eldurions; Catell that was buried at Winchester; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and most gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginitus, Eklad, and Androgeus; these three were sonsnes to Chericus, and reigned successiuele one after another; after them a sonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Dedacius, Clothinus, Gurquntius, alerinus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent musician; after him his brother Archemell; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samueil, Peniasell, Pir, Capoir; after him his sonne Gligwiel an uprighl dealing prince, and a good iusticiary; whom succeeded his sonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeeres, as the forsaied Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirmeth that he reigned 40 yeeres, and some againe say that he reigned but 7 moneths.

There is great diuersitie in writers touching the regines of these kings, and not onlie for the number of yeeres which they should continue in their regines but also in their names: so that to shew the diuersitie of all the writers, were but to small purpose, with the doings of the same kings were not great by report made thereof by any approved author. But it may suffice to advertise you, that by conferring the yeeres attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, since the comming of Brute, who should enter this land (as in the best writers is gathered) about the yeere before the building of Rome 2857, which was in the yeere after the creation of the world 2850 (as is said) with their time, there re-

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

The state of the
maineth 182 yeares to be dealt amongst these 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the said Beline & Lud, which Lud also began his reign after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yeares, and in the yere of the world 3895, as some that will seeme the presciss calculators doe gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue shewd) the order of succession in the British kings, in bringing diverse of those kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceded them so successively after Beline and Brenne, reherseth those that by his conjecture did by likelihood succeed, as thus. After the decease of Beline, his sonne Gurgintius, being the second of that name, succeeded in government of the land, and then these in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capex, Duinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archamallius, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samnulus, Penisellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Heliæ, who had issue, Lud, Cassibellane, and Neurius.

Of king Helie who gave the name to the Ile of Elice, of king Lud, and what memorable edifices he made, London sometimes called Luds town, his bountifullnes, and burial.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

HERE note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foresaid Helie the last of the said 33 kings, the Ile of Elice tooke the name, because that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluices, ditches & causies about that Ile, for commencie awake of the water, that els would sore have indamaged the countrie. There be that have maintained, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of eelse that are found in these waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is inured. But Humfrey Lhoyd holdeth, that it tooke name of this British word Helig, which signifieth willowes, wherewith those fennes abound.

After the decease of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3895, after the building of the citie of Rome 679, before the comning of Christ 72, and before the Romanes entred Britaine 19 yeeres. This Lud proved a right worthie prince, amending euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old citie and townes which were decayed: but speciallie he defiled most to beautifie and increase with buildings the citie of Troinoutant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diverse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so unto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronunciation of the word.

In the same citie also he ordained for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitationes were builded to receive them, and he himselfe caused building to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himself not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace Beside Paulus at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harrison supposeth it to have bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a fairer temple nere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paulus. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds town: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Beside the princelie dosings of this Lud touching the advancement of the common wealth by studies appertaining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, bountious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatlie beloved of all the Britaines. Finally, when he had reigned with great honour
honour for the space of 11 yeeres, he died, and was buried neere Ludgate, leaving after him two sons, Androgus and Theomancius of Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, Julius Cæsar sendeth Cains Votusenus to survey the coasts of this land, he being with his fleet at Calae, purposing to invade the country, his attempt is extermated and withstood by the Britains.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

CASSIBELLANE the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3903, after the building of Rome 692, and before the comming of Christ 58 complete. For sith the two sons of Lud were not of age able to governne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some have written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephews. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoever order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bountious, that his name spread farre and neere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing justice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britains made small account of his nephews, in comparison of the favour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane having respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephews were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honourable; assigning to Androgus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the country of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British histories, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yeeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1053.

But whether these governours (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the common wealth, or tyrants and usurpers of the government by force, it is vncertaine: for not one ancient writer of anie approved authoritie maketh anie remembrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar writeth, it anie and dooth appeare, that diuerse cities in his daies were governed of themselves, as hereafter it shall more plainlie appeare. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British historie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In deed both he and other Latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to aunche for certeine truth.

But what John Leland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiquities, you shall after hear as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atmchiued by the Britains to be ascrib'd to his countriemen the Scots, dreweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scottish countries. And what particular names souer eyther they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that genrall name (as he would persuade vs to beleue) saing that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 397 yeeres before the incarnation of our Saviour.

Neuerthelesse, how generall souer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall mention of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much adoe with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scottish men even then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doe vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Troians, with the contrarie deed not plainlie appeare, unless we shall leaue vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what acts were atmchiued, there remaineth more certyne record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our historie.
In this season that Cassibellane had roiall governement beere in Britaine, Caius Iulius Cesar being appointed by the senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consul, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assie the winninge of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that moved him to take in hand that enterprise, was for that he did vnderstand, that there dailie came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enemies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and discover the places, hauens, and entries apperteyning to that Ile.

Herevpon calling together such merchants as he knew to haue had trafficke thither with some trade of wares, he diligently inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be throughly satisfied in none of those things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view that might apperteyne to the use of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinse to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with speed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downewards towards Bullenois, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe ouer into Britaine.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an hauen called Ilius Portus (which some take to be Callice) and so the word importheth, an havbour as then able to receive a great number of ships. Vnto this hauen got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those especiallie which he had prouied and put in a readinesse the last yeare for the warres (against them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he causeth to be brought thither, there to lie till they should heare further. In the mean time (his indevoure being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repair to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of invasion.

Cesar in his commentaries agreeth not with our historiographers: for he wrieth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would invade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from divers cities of the Ile to offer themselves to be subjects to the Romans, and to deliver hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius governor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselves to the Romans. He makest no mention of Cassibellane, till the second iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cassibellane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capitaine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the British historie it is conteined, that Cesar required tribute of Cassibellane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to live in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to seeke to disquiet the Britains.
Caius Volusenus discovereth to Cesar his observations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquer it, the Britains defend their countrie against him, Cesar after consultation had changeh his landing place, the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to give backe, the courage of a Roman ensigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betwene both armies.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

Caius Volusenus within five daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallic, and declared what he had scene touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Britaine. Cesar having got together so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of soldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a convenient wind for his purpose, did embare himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giving order that the horsemen should take ship at an other place 8 miles above Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and covered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar meant verie shortlie to come against them, were assembled in armoure to resist him: and now being advertised of his approch to the land, they prepared themselves to withstand him.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staine till the other ships were come, and so he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marshals and chief capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would have done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast anchor was not meete for the landing of his people, sithe (from the height of the cliftes that closed on each side the narrow creeke into which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and darts, before they could set foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew alongst the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approched nere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all speed caused their horsemen and charëts or wagons, which Cesar calleth Lessed, out of the which in those daies they vse to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they saw Cesar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Cesar being thus prevented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he saw that he should haue much a doo. For as the Britains were in redinesse to resist him, so his great and huge ships could not come nere the shore, but were forced to kepe the depe, so that the Romane soldiers were put to verie hard shift; to wit, both to leap forth of their ships, and being pestered with their haue armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enemies, who knowing the flats and shelles, stood either vpon the drie ground, or else but a little waie in the shallow places of the water; and being not otherwise encumbered either with armour or weapon, but so as they might bestir themselves at will, they laid downe vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horsemen (being thereto incured) to enter the water the more easilie, so to annoy and distresse the Romans, who wanting experience in such kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themselves, nor to kepe order as they vseto doo on land: wherefore they fought nothing so lustily as they were wont to doo. Cesar perceiuing this, commanded the gallicies to depart from the great ships, and to row hard to the shore, that being placed ouer against the open sides of the Britains, they might with their shot of arrowes, darts, and slings, remove the Britains, and cause them to withdraw further off from the water side.
This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little astonied at the strange sight of those gallyes, for that they were driuen with ores, which cast they had not scene, and shrewdly were they galled also with the artillerie which the Romains discharged vpon them, so that they began to shrike and retire somewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the ensigne of the legion surnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe ensigne of the legion, when he saw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, first beseaching the gods that his enterprise might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he spake with a lowd voice these words to his fellowes that were about him; "Leape forth now euyn you woorthie soldiers (saith he) if you will not betraie your ensigne to the enimies: for surelie I will acquit my selfe according to my dutie both towards the common wealth, and my generall:" and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marchd with his ensigne straight vpon the enimies. The Romans douteing to lose their ensigne, which should haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ships so fast as they might, and followed their standard, so that there ensued a sore re-encounter: and that which troubled the Romans most, was because they could not keepe their order, neither find anie sure footing, nor yet follow euery man his owne ensigne, but to put themselves vnder that ensigne which he first met withall after their first comming forth of the ship.

The Britains that were inured with the selleues and shallow places of the water, when they saw the Romans thus disorderlie come out of their ships, ran vpon them with their horses, and fiercelie assailed them, and now and then a great multituide of the Britains would com-passe in and inclose some one companie of them: and other also from the most open places of the shore bestowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and so troubled them verie sore.

The Romans get to land on the English coast, the Britains send to Cesar for a treatie of peace, they stie the Romane ambassadour as prisoner, Cesar demandeth hostages of the Britains, the Romane naue is driuen divers waies in a great tempest, the British princes steale out of Casers campe and gather a fresh powre against the Romans, their two armies have a sharpe encounter.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

CAESAR perceiuing the maner of this fight, caused his men of warre to enter into boates and other small vessels, which he commanded to go to such places where most need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new supplies, at length the Romans got to land, and assembling together, they assailed the Britains a fresh, and so at last did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, because they wanted their horsemen which were yet behind, & through slacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing seemed onelie to disappoint the luckie fortune that was accustomed to follow Cesar in all his other enterprises.

The Britains after this flight were no sooner got together, but that with all speed they sent ambassadours vnto Cesar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuere hostages, and further to stand vnto that order that Cesar should take with them in anie reasonable sort. With these ambassadours came also Comius, whome Cesar (as you haue heard) had sent before into Britaine, whome notwithstanding that he was an ambassadour, and sent from Cesar with commision and instructions sufficientlie furnished, yet had they staid him as a prisoner. But now after the battel was ended, they set him at libertie, and sent him backe with their ambassadours, who excused the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had imprisoned him through lacke of understanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.
Cesar found great fault with their misdemenor, not onelie for imprisoning his ambassador, but also for that contrarie to their promise made by such as they had sent to him into Gallia to deliuer hostages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre; yet in the end he said he would pardon them, and not seeke anie further revenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hostages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promise that the residue should likewise be sent after, craving some respit for performance of the same, because they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Peace being thus established after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ships which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuoy the horsemen ouer, loosed from the further hauen with a soft wind. Which when they approached so nere the shore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Cesaras campe might see them, suddenly therarose so great a tempest, that none of them was able to kepe his course, so that they were not onelie divered in sunder (some being caried againe into Gallia, and some westward) but also the other ships that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were so pitifullie beaten, tossed and shaken, that a great number of them did not onelie lose their tackle, but also were caried by force of wind into the high sea; the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perish and to be quite lost. For the moone in the same night was at the full, & therefore caused a spring tide, which furthered the force of the tempest, to the greater perill of those ships and gailles that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of those ships were so bruised, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would serve to no vse of sailing. This was a great discomfort to the Romans that had brought ouer no provision to liue by in the winter season, nor saw anie hope how they should repasse againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the British princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiving how greatlie this mishap had discouraged the Romans, and again by the small circuit of their campe, gessing that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels sore oppressed them, they stale priuile away one after another out of the campe, purposing to assemble their powers againe, and to forestall the Romans from vittels, and so to drive the matter off till winter: which if they might doo (vanishing these or closing them from returning) they trusted that none of the Romans from thencefoorth would attempt esfsoones to come into Britaine. Cesar mistrusting their dealings, because they staid to deliuer the residue of their hostages, commanded vittels to be brought ouer of the parties adjoynynge, and not having other stuffe to repair his ships, he caused 12 of those that were vitterlie past recuperie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempest, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which some recuperie was percieued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in charrets, the Romans give a fresh sallie to the Britains and put them to flight, they sue to Cesar for peace; what kings and their powers were assistants to Cassibellane in the battell against Cesar, and the maner of both peoples encounters by the report of divers Chronologers.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

WHILEST these things were a dooing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the seventh, was sent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adjoynynge (as their custome was) no warre at that time being suspected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: those that warded before the campe, informed Cesar, that there appeared a dust greater than was accustomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Cesar judgynge therof what the matter might meane, commanded those bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and
and appointed other two bands to come into their rooms, and the residue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might see where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a doo to beare out the bruit: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them sore with arrows and darts on eoch side: for thens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains judged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore having lodged themselves within the woods in ambushes the night before; on the morrowe after when they saw the Romans dispersed here & there, and busie to cut downe the corn, they set vpone them on a sudden, and slaying some few of them, brought the residue out of order, compassing them about with their horsemens and charrets, so that they were in great distresse.

The maner of fight with these charrets was such, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the sides and skirts of the enimies host, and bestow their darts as they sate in those charrets, so that oftentimes with the braien of the horses, and craking noise of the charret wheeles they disordered their enimies, and after that they had wounded themselves in amongst the troops of horsemens, they would leap out of the charrets and fight on foot. In the meane time those that guided the charrets would withdraw them selues out of the battell, placing themselves so, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might easilie withdraw to their charrets, and mount vpone the same againe, by means whereof they were as readie to remove as the horsemens, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and so to supplie both duties in one. And those charretmen by exercise and custome were so cunning in their feat, that although their horses were put to run and gallop, yet could they stay them and hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were very stéape and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpone the cops, and stand vpone the beame, and conuoy themselves quicklie againe into the charret.

Cesar thus finding his people in great distresse and readie to be destroied, came in good time, and deliered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpou his approch with new succors, gane ouer to assaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliered out of the feare wherein they stood before his comning. Furthermore, Cesar considering the time servde not to assaile his enimies, kept his ground, and shortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While these things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the rest that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a sore season of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and staid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they sent messengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to gaine knowledge of the small number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great spoile to be gotten, and occasion to deliever themselves from further danger for euuer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Hereupon a great multitude both of horsemens and footmen of the Britains were spedilie got together, and approched the Romane campe.

Cesar although he saw that the same would come to passe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulse, they would easilie escape the danger with swiftnes of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horsemens (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was sent from Cesar as an ambassador unto the Britains) he placed his legions in ordere of battell before his campe, and so comming to joine with the Britains, they were not able to sustaine the violent impression of the armed men, and so fled. The Romans pursued them so farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and so slaying manie of them, & burning vp all their houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie whereupon, even the same day, they sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number duble to those that were agreed vpou at the first.

After
After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar because the moneth of September was well-neare halfe spent, and that winter hasted on (a season not meete for his weake and bruised ships to brooke the seas) determined not to staie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Thus writeth Cesar touching his first journie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydor calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitchit field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Beda also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocese of Terwine) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got together 80 saile of great ships and row gallies, wherewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grievous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his soldieryers, and almost all his horsemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his soldieryers in steedes to soiourne there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie moreover maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided Cassibellane in this first battell fought with Cesar, as Cridorius alias Ederus, king of Albiana, now called Scotland: Guiterus king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Dementia, at this day called Southwaless.

The same historie also maketh mention of one Bellinus that was generall of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Nenius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cersars sword fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar stroke at him. Androgeus also and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receivd at Cersars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Roman tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the needdes circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Again, the Scotch historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would invade them, there came from Cassibellane king of Britaine an ambassador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Cassibellane required aid against the common enimies the Romains, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of Cassibellane. At their comming to London, they were most ioyfullie receivd of Cassibellane, who at the same time had knowledge that the Romains were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Whereupon Cassibellane with all his whole puissance mightifullie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the Picts (which in that common cause had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward towards the place where he understood the enimies to be.

At their first approch togither, Cassibellane sent fourthe his horsemen and charetes called Esseda, by the which he thought to disorder the arme of the enimies. Twice they incountred togither with doubifull victorie. At length they joined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruel battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the Welshmen and Cornishmen, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bells hanging at their trappers and charetes, that the Romains astonied therewith, were more easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chase without order or arme, so that by reason the Romans kept themselves close together, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did scarce so much harme to the enimies as they themselves receivd. But yet they followed on still uppon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceivd them once withdrawne, did what he could to assemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to seke his revenge of the former daies disaduantage. But forsomuch as knowledge was given him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that many of them were past service, he doubted least such newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into despaire. Wherefore he determined
determined not to fight till time more conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keppeing his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing fourth, he shortlie drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortifiied for the purpose he lodged his host, and finallie without hope to achiuee anie other explicit available for that time, he tooke the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leaving behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conuie it ouer. "Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it here, that the diversitie of writers and their affections may the better appeare.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of Iulius Cesar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the saieg of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, wherein he reprochfullie and disdainfullie reprooued the dooings of Cesar in Britaine, saieing:

Territa questis ostendit terga Britannis.

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Cesar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arritveth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies encounter, why Cesar forbade the Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repairthe his nauie, the Britains choose Cassibellane their sheefe gouvernor, and skirmish afresh with their enemies, but have the repulse in the end.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

NOW will we returne to the sequele of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent over their hostages according to their covenant, which gaue occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not) have found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Therefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britaines under the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be prouided in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be ready riged six hundred ships, beside 28 gallyes. Herevpon hausing taken order for the government of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were driven backe, and could not as yet come to him.

After he had staid at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it servd his purpose, he tooke the sea, & hauing with him fve legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horsemen, he departed out of Calice hauing about sun setting with a soft southwest wind, directing his course forward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calle he was carried alongst with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appereth, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the stremme as the course of the tide changd, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discouered, and tried the last yeere to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was shewed heere to be great, who with continuall toile droue forth the heauie ships, to keepe course with the gallyes, & so at length they landed in Britaine about noone on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashiro: for as he learned by certeine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare striken into their harts, at the discouerring of such
such an huge number of ships, they forsooke the shore and got them vnto the mountains. There were in deed of vessels one and other, what with vittellers, & those which priuat men had prouided and furnished forth for their owne use, being joyned to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appearing in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to proced: Cesar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place convenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of foottmen, and three hundred horssemen: and anon after midnigth marched forth him-selfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and having made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enemies host, who sending downe their horssemen and charetes vnto the river side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horssemen, they were repelled, & tooke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had bene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entries were closed with trees which had bene cut downe for that purpose. Howbeit the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found means to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, drowe them out of the woods. But Cesar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, because the nature of the country was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the residue thereof bestowed in fortifying his campe.

The next day, as he had sent forth such as should have pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was grievouslie molested, and throwne vpon the shore, so that the cabels and tackle being broken and destroyed with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cesar calling backe those which he had sent forth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, tooke order for the repairing of those that were not vterlie destroyed, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compass in a plot of ground, that might serve both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safegard of the same. And because there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: wherefore he chose out wrights among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the governement of the countrie, to prouide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifying the campe for defense thereof, which done, he lefte those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to resist him, hauing their numbers huglie increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiellane or Cassibellane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situate nere to the sea coast, by the riuers of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassiellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moved with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onlie to him. Their horssemen and charetes skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adjoyninge: yet the Britains slue diuers of the Romans as they followed anie thing egerlie in the pursue.

Also
Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifying their campe, the Britains suddenlie issued out of the woods, and fiercelie assail'd those that warded before the campe, unto whose aid Cesar sent two of the chiefest cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a little distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discourag'd with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burst through their enimies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laborius Durus a tribune was slain. At length Cesar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in fight, and shrewdlie handled as it appeareth, the Britains in the end were put backe. Neuerthelesse, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune; for they quieted themselves afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, vntill such time as either by poliece or inequalitie of power they were vanquish'd; as you shall see after in the course of the historie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vterlie subdued, but not without much bloodshed and slaughter.

The Romans heauie armor their great hinderance, the maner of the Britains fighting in warre, their encounter with their enimies, their discomfiture, the worthie stratagems or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, the Troinonants submission to Cesar, and their sute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine of the Romans.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

IN all this maner of skirmishing and fight which chanced before the campe, even in the sight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reason of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensignes, except they would runne into danger of casting themselves awaie) were nothing mete to match with such kind of enimies: and as for their horsemen, they fought likewise in great hazard, because the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire, and when they had trained the Romane horsemen a little from their legions of footmen, they would leap out of their charretes and encounter with them on foot. And so the battell of horsemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they pursued or retired.

This also was the maner of the Britains: they fought not close togethers, but in sunder, and divided into companies one separated from another by a good distance, and had their troopes standing in places convenient, to the which they might retire, and so reliefe one another with sending new fresh men to supple the roomes of them that were hurt or weary. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they shewed themselves aloft on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Romane horsemen, but not so hotly as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Cesar had sent forth three legions of footmen and all his horsemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they suddenlie brake out on euerie side, and set upon the forragers. The Romans so far forth as they might, not breaking their arraies, nor going from their ensignes or guidons, gave the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that the horsemen hauing the legions of footmen at their backs, followed the Britains so long as they might haue the said legions in sight ready to succour them if need were: by reason whereof, they slue a great number of the Britains, not giving them pleasure to recouer themselves, nor to staie that they might haue time to get out of their charrettes. After this chasse and discomfiture, all such as were come from other parties to the aie of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains adventured to fight against Cesar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the rier of * Thames, determined to stop the enimies from passing the same, if by anie means they might: and whereas
whereas there was but one foord by the which they might come ouer, Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe stakes, not onlie in the midst of the water, but also at the coming foorth on that side where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the passage. Cesar learning by relation of prisoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to doo, marched foorth to the riuer side, where the foord was, by the which his armie might passe the same on foot though verie hardlie. At his coming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further side to imperche his passage, and how that the banke at the coming foorth of the water was pight full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the chanell of the riuer set with piles which were covered with the water.

These things yet staied not Cesar, who appointing his horsmen to passe on before, commanded the footemen to follow. The souldiers entring the water, waed through with such spedd and violence (nothing apperering of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were constrained to give place, being not able to sustaine the brunt of the Roman souldiers, and the legions of their footemen, and so abandoning the place betooke them to flight. Cassibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, sent waie the most part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thousand charretmen or wagoners, and still watched what waie the Romans tooke, coasting them euere as they marched, and kept somewhat aside within the court of woods, and other combersome places. And out of those quarters through which he vnderstood the Romans wold passe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horsemen did come abroad into the countrie to secke booties, he sent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and passages to skirmish with the same horsemen, so much to the disadvantage of the Romans, that they durst not strae farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cesar permit them (least they might haue bcene ytterlie distressed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footemen kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which some take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose citie was the best fensed of all those parties, and thought to be the same that now is called London, sent ambassadorvs vnto Cesar, offering to submit themselves vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further besought him to defend Mandubratius from the injuries of K. Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cesar into France, after that Cassibellane had slaine his father named Immanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and so now by their ambassadors the same Troinouants requested Cesar, not onlie to receive Mandubratius into his protection, but also to send him vnto them, that he might take the government and rule of their citie into his hands. Cesar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and graine for his armie, and therewith sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accomplished his commandements with all speed, sending both the appointed number of hostages, and also graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preserved from injury of the souldiers, the people called Cenimiagi, Segontiaci, Ancalitae, Bibroci, and Cassi, submitted themselves vnto Cesar, by whom he understood that the towne of Cassibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fensed with wooddes and marshes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other substance was withdrawne. The Britains in those daies (as Cesar wretteth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke combersome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vsed to get themselves for the avoiding of invasion.

Cesar with his legions of souldiers thersfore marched thither, and finding the place verie strong both by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a whyle, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place...
a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Romans taken by the Britains that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send into the foure kings of Kent for aid against Cesar's host, he offereth submission to Cesar, the Britains become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia with the remnant of his armie: the differing report of Cesar's commentaries and our historiographers touching these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloodshed and manslaughter upon a light occasion; Cesar taketh opportunity to get the conquest of the land by the division between Cassibellane and Androgens, the time of the Britains subjection to the Romans.

**THE XV. CHAPTER.**

NOW whilst these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Carullus, Taximagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling together their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certaine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safeguard of the nauie. They according to his appointment came suddenlie thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans tooke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chanceing one in the necke of an other, but namely most discourag'd, for that diuers cityes had yeelded vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadors by means of Romius of Arras vnto Cesar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cesar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yeerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbade and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or intramce Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good sucsesse about the midst of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conueie, were driuen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cesar was constrained to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good speed as he could have desired. He thought not good to leuie anie of his people behind him, knowing that if he should so doo, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remayne there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, sith he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in countinge the more, he might have come in perill to lose that which he had alreadie obtayned.

Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other authentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. But our histories farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowess beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by means that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trees.
piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuier, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. For joy of this second victorie (saith Galfrid) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two young gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of alliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell a discord about wrestling, and after multiplieing of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hirilda the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeied the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiving himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Iulius Cesar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Iulius Cesar joifull of this message, prepared his nauie, and with all speed with a mightie host embarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he received from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and joining with Androgeus, came into a vallie neere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselves in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and tooke themselves to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that fullie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slew them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being environed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seuen thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in covenanting to paise a yearelie tribute of thirteene thousand pounds. When Cesar had ordered his businesse as he thought convenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the displeasure of Cassibellane.

The reverend father Bede writing of this matter, saith thus: After that Cesar being returned into Gallia, had placed his souldiors abroad in the countrie to soorne for the winter season, he caused ships to be made ready, to the number of 600, with which repassing into Britaine, whilst he marched forth with a mightie armie against the enimies, his ships that lay at anchor being taken with a sore tempest, were either beaten one against another, or else cast vpon the flats and sands, and so broken; so that fortie of them were ytterlie perished, and the residue with great difficultie were repaired. The horsmen of the Romans at the first encounter were put to the worrse, and Labienus the tribune slaine. In the second conflicts he vanquished the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was passable by foord onelie in one place and not else, as the report goeth. On the further bank of that riuer, Cassibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitchet and set the banke, and almost all the foord vnder the water full of sharpe stakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be scene, and it scemeth to the beholders that euery of these stakes are as big a manes thigh, sticking fast in the botome of the riuer closed with lead. This being perceived of the Romans, and assailed, the Britains not able to sustaine the violent impression of the Roman legions, hid themselves in the woods, out of the which by often issues, they greedyouslie and manie times assailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane
meane time the strong citie of Troinouant with his duke Androgeus deliueringe fortie hostages, yelded vnto Cesar, whose example manic other cities following, allied themselves with the Romans, by whose information Cesar with sore sight tooke at length the towne of Cassibellane, situat betwixt two marches, fensed also with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Cesar returned into France, and bestowed his armie in places to soirone there for the winter season.

The Scottish writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the first time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refused to receive the aid of the Scottish men the second time, and so were vanquished, as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at length expressed. Thus much touching the war which Iulius Cesar made against the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie subiection was hardlie maintained for a season.

¶ Now her is to be noted, that Cesar did not vanquish all the Britains: for he came not amongst the northerne men, onlie discouering and subduing that part which lieth towards the French seas: so that six other of the Roman emperors did most earnestlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their subiection (which were ever redie to rebell so manic sundrie times) Cesar might seeme rather to haue shewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the possession of the same. This subiection, to the which he brought this Ille (what maner of one soever it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3918, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our savior 53, the first and second yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conquest made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this present yere of our Lord 1585, after Harisons account.

The state of Britaine when Cesar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diverse authors report the same in their booke: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be observed.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Iulius Cesar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Cassibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquished in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began first to regnie so that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as some haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no issue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he saw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is contained, that this Cassibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldest sonne to him: for otherwise as may be thought (saith he) Cesar hauing the upper hand, would haue displaced him from the gouernement, and set vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as sonne to the said Lud. But whatsoeuer our chronicles or the British histories report of this matter, it should appeare by that which Cesar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in those daies was not gouerned by one sole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were estates of themselves, so that the land was divided into sundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italian are in our time, where some cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in those daies here in this land were called kings, those had more large seigniories than the other, as Cassibellane, who was therefore called a king.

And though we doo admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeyned by him a monachrie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his posteritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the co-
ming of Cesar, through civil dissention, might happlie be broken, and diuided into parts,
and so remained not onelic in the time of this Cassibellane, but also long after, whilst they
liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finally they were subdued by the Saxons. In which
meane time, through the discord, negligence, or rather vnadvised rashnes of writers, hard
it is to judge what may be affirmed and receivd in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning
the succession of the kings that are saide to have reigned betwixt the dukes of Cassi-
bellane, and the counting of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namely Tacitus) report,
that the Britains in times past were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries,
were drawne so by princes to sundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common
jeopardie, scarcelie would two or three cities agreee togethers, and take weapon in hand with
one accord, so that while they fought by parts, the whole was overcome. And after this
sort they say that Britaine was brought into the forme of a province by the Romans, from
whom governers vnder the name of legats and procurators were sent that had the rule of it.

But yet the same authors make mention of some kings (as heerafter shall appeare) who
while the Romane emperors had the most part of the earth in subjection, reigned in Britaine.
The same witnesseth Gildas, saing: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: judges it
hath, but the same are wicked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the innocent people.
And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speakeith of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and elsewhere.
Cornelius Tacitus makeyth mention of Prasutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Brit-
aine: and luenal speakeith of Aruragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it
appeareth, that whether one or no, yet kings there were in Britaine, bearing rule vnder the
Romane emperors.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chief go-
vernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane senat receivig a yearelie tribute,
sent at ceretaine times (Ex officio) their emperors and lieutenants into this Isle, to repress the
rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the invasion of the enimies that went
about to invade it. And thus would these writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeyed their
king, till at length they were put beside the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in
the common historie of England, the succession of kings ought to be kept, so oft as it
chanceth in the same that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane em-
perors are placed in their steads, and another while their lieutenants, and are said to be created
kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and
that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by prescript of the senat or em-
pourers, administred the province.

This may suffice here to advertise you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go
forth in following our historie, as we haue done heretofore, sauing that where the Romane
histories write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it shall be shewed as
reason requireth, sith there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as those
that be authorised and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantisius, the yeame of yeares that he reigned, and where he was interred; of
Kymbeline, within the time of whose governement Christ Iesus our sauiour was borne, all
nations content to obie the Romane emperors and consequentlie Britaine, the customes
that the Britaines pate the Romans as Strabo reported

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the death of Cussibellane, Theomantisius or Tenantius the yoongest sonne of
Lud was made king of Britaine in the yeere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome
700,
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

under the Romans.

706, & before the comming of Christ 45. He is named also in one of the English chronicles Tornace: in the same chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geoffrey of Monmouth & others testeifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, because he knewe the Britains hated him for treason he had committed in aiding Iulius Cesar against Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the deceas of his father, in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Saviour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar, under whose he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Saviour of the world our Lord Jesus Christ the oneelie sonne of God was borne of a virgins, about the 23 yeares of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octavins Augustus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3965, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the cite of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuersall flood 2611, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israellits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arraile of Brute 1116, compleat. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbeline's reigne, some writers doo varie, but the best approced affirme, that he reigned 32 yeares and then died, & was buried at London, leaving behind him two sones, Guiderius and Arriragus.

But here is to be noted, that although our histories doo affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liied in quiet with the Romans, and continually to them paid the tributes which the Britains had contenanted with Iulius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Roman writers, that after Iulius Cesar's death, when Augustus had taken vp him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to pay that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit through earnest calling vpno to recover his right by such as were desirous to see the vttersmost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Iulius Cesar, which was about the thirtieth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made provision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpno his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we may saie, into these litter parts of France.

But here receiving advertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the country now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Saxons had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdued those rebels neere home, rather than to seeke new countries, and leave such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie invasion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the cide of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to passe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comuing into Gallia, when the Britains sent to him certaine ambassadours to treat with him of peace, he staid there to settle the state of things among the Galles, for that they were not in very good order. And having finished there, he went into Spaine, and so his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our saviour 25, about which time Augustus eftsoons made the third time to have made a voyage into Britaine, because they could not agree upon covenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had aforetime staid him, when (as before is said) he meant to have gone against the Britains: so euen now the Salassians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switzerland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by
by such rebellious sturrs as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iournie. But whether this controversie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britains and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, ever shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chieflie was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depruied of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselves like chyll men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almighty God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not only the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. “At this present (saith he) certaine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the empourer Augustus, haue offered in the capittoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which they paie for waues, either to be sent foorth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie yvourie vessels, sheeres, ouches, or carerings, and other concites made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to kepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous least they might be prouoked to rebellion.” Thus farre Strabo.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paye tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voyage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arrive on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselves.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

GUIDERIUS the first sonne of Kymbeline (of whom Harison saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuentene yeere after th' incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gave occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, deiring to paye them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas saith. Whereupon the empourer Caligula (as some thinke) tooke occasion to leauie a power, and as one vterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he sent not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subjection, but also to search out the vtermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Great provision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forren enimies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceased not dailye to looke for the commiting of the empourer, whom he meant to receiue with hard entertainment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequel: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yeere after the building of the citie, and marching foorth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they
they might looke ouer, and behold the cliftes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing upon with great admiration and wootonder.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraile upon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a redinesse to withstand his entrance. But entering into his galley, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a flight shot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gave the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as having none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he seemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore bleftlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines sustained in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable piece of service. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestlie haue of * a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and percieued how they refused to attribute divine honors vnto him, in recompence of so foolish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euery one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what adventures had chance in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had percieued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should have beene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowess, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & silver to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and divers also slaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same manie, of purpose to doo mischief, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the prese of people, much hurt was done by them yer they were percieued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voyaze of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturrre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitives as were fled from thence, were not againe restored when request was made for the same.

Dion Cassius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, persuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time against the Britains, so that one Aulus Plautius a senator, and as then pretor, was appointed to take the armie that soultourned in France then called Gallia, and to passe ouer with the same into Britaine. The souldiers hearing of this voyaze, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delayed he, till at length one Narcissus was sent from Claudius, as it were to appease the souldiers, & procure them to set forward. But when this Narcissus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cause of his comming, the souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia, as if they should have celebrated their feast daie so called.

When the souldiers apperellled in their maisters robes, represented the roome of their maisters, and were serued by them, as if they had bee their seruants, and thus at length constrained, through verie shame, they agreed to follow Plautius. Hereupon being embarked, he divided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriving in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ships suffered some impeachment in their passage by a contrarie wind that drewe them backe againe: but yet the mariners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather because there was scene a fierie learn to shoot out of the east towards the west, which way their course lay, made forwards againe with their ships, and landed without finding anie resistance. For the

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Britains looked not for their comming: wherefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and marishes, trusting that by lingering of time the Romans would be constreined to depart, as it had chanced in time past to Iulius Cesar aforesaid.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

THE FOURTH BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

The Britains discomfited, sore wounded, slaine, and disabled by Plautius and his power, Claudius the Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbeline: the king of Britaine, he bereaweth the Britains of their armoure, and by vertue of his conquest ouer part of the land is surnamed Britannicus.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Now Plautius had much ado to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and coverts; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Cataractus, and after Togodumnus the soones of Cymbellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. These therefore fleeing their waies, Plautius receiued part of the people called Bodumnii (which were subjectes unto them that were called Catueliani) into the obedience of the Romans: and so leaving there a garrison of souldiers, passed further till he came to a river which could not well be passed without a bridge: whereupon the Britains tooke small regard to defend the passage, as though they had beene sure enowh. But Plautius appointed a certaine number of Germans which he had there with him (being used to swim over rivers although neuer so swift) to get ouer, which they did, slaying and wounding the Britains horses, which were fastened to their wagons or chariots, so that the Britains were not able to don anie pcece of their accustomed service with the same.

Herewithall was Plauius Vespasianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus sent ouer that river, which being got to the further side, shewed a great number of the enimies. The residue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in which they fought so stoutly, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almost at point to be taken, did so handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were bestowed vpon him, although he was no consill.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, neere to the place where it
it falleth into the sea, and knowing the shallowes and firme places thereof, easlie passed over to the further side, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marish grounds, and so came to lose manie of their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the first that passed over the ricer to follow the Britains, partie by a bridge which lay within the countrie over the said riuer, and partie by swimming, and other such shift as they presentlie made.

The Britains havings lost one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing discouraged, but rather more eggerie set on revenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed garrisons in steeds where need required, to kepe those places which he had gotten, and with all sped sent advertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie urgent necessity should so mooue him. Claudius therefore havings all things before hand in a readiness, straightwaies upon the receiuing of the advertisement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Ostia, and from thence vnto Massilia, and so through France spoel his journies till he came to the side of the Ocean sea, and then imbarking himselfe with his people, passed over into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his coming neere the Thames side, where being joined, they passed the riere againe, fought with the Britains in a pitch field, and getting the victorie, tooke the towne of Camelodunum (which some count to be Colchester) being the chiefest cite apperteyning vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced also manie other people into his subjection, some by force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was against the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voyage. Moreover, Claudius take from the Britains their armor and wepons, and committs the government of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeare himselfe to subdue the residue.

Thus having brought under a part of Britaine, and having made his abode therin not past a sixtene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the sixt month after his setting forth from thence, gluing after his returne, to his sone, the surname of Britanicus. This ware he finished in maner as before is said, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, which fell in the yeere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Saviour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

The diverse opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partie conquest of this land by the Romans, the death of Galderius.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THERE be that write, how Claudius subdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie situate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accomplished either by Plautius, or some other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prouesse and valiant acts achieved in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the sone of Vespasian also wan no small praise for delivering his father out of danger in his time, being beset with a companie of Britains, which the said Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great slaughter. Beda following the authuritie of Suetonius, wrieth brede of this matter, and saith, that Claudius passing over into this ile, to the which neither before Julius Cesar, neither after him anie stranger durst come, within few daies receiued the most part of the countrie into his subjection without battell or bloodshed.

Gyldas also writing of this revoltong of the Britains, saith thus: "When information thereof was given to the senate, and that hast was made with a speedie armie to revenge
the same, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight valiantlie for the defense of the countrey, no square battell, no right wing, nor anie other provision appointed on the shore to be scene, but the backes of the Britains in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the sword through cold feare running through their bones, which stretched forth their hands to be bound like womanslie creatures; so that a common proverb followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so the Romans slaying manie of the rebels, reserving some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land should not lie altogether vittiled and desert, returned into Iutica out of that land which was void of wine and oilie, leaving some of their men there for governors to chastise the people, not so much with an armie of men, as with scoure and whip, and if the matter so required, to applie the naked sword unto their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what came either of brasse, siluer or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the image of the emperour.” Thus farre Gildas.

In the British historie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comminge aland at Porchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and guing battell to the Romans, put them to the woore, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apperrelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest preass of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armour, and other habiliments, and so as king continued the fight with such manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus pursued, and at length droue hym into the sea side, and there slue him yere he might take the hauen which was there at hand; so that the same tooke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of speach it was called Hampton, and so continueth unto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southampton. Thus have you heard how Guiderius or Guiderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chance (as some write) in the 28 yeere of his reign.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo encounter, a composition concerning marriage concluded betwene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Aruiragus the youngest son of Kymbeline, and brother to Guiderius (because the same Guiderius left no issue to succeed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Prasutagus, is also named Armiger in the English chronicle, by which chronicle (as apperceth) he bare himselfe right manfuillie against Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made against him: in so much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woome Porchester, and after came to besiege Winchester (in which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus assembling his power, was ready to come forth and giue Claudius battell: whereupon Claudius doubting the sequel of the thing, sent messengers unto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius should giue his daughter Genissa in marriage unto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge to hold his kingdom of the Romans.

Some write that Claudius in favour of the valiant provessse which he saw & found in Aruiragus,
Arviragus, honored not only him with the marriage of his daughter the said Genissa, but also to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was solemnized, he therefore called it Claudiaestria, after his name, the which in the British tongue was called before that Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunic, but now it is called Glouestere.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquished in battell by Arviragus, was compelled by the said Arviragus to give into him his said daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Arviragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius made scene to reprooue this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wives onely three daughters, that is to saye, Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused her to be cast downe at the doore of his wife Herculaniilla, whome he had forsaken by waie of divorcement: & that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Aueratus Silla, verie nobel young gentleman: and Octavia he matched with Nero his wifes son. Whereby it should appere, that this supposed marriage betwixt Arviragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

And here to speake my fande also what I thinke of this Arviragus, and other the kings (whome Gaius and such as haue followed him doe register in order, to succeed one after another) I will not deny but such persons there were, and the same happlie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they succeeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the same writers, it seemeth most unlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as weel Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that divers of these kings lued about one time, or in times greatele differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Arviragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitian time. For my part therefore, sith this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and utterlie reprooued, than either wiselie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming thereof vnto those that haue perhaps scene more than I haue, or more depeleie considered the thing, to trie out an undoubted truth: in the same time, I haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forRen writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilest the Romans governed there) we maie safelie gue most credit, doo we otherwise neuer so much content our selues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To proced yet with the historie as we find it by our writers set foorth: it is reported, that after the solemnization of this marriage, which was done with all honour that miight be deuised, Claudius sent certeine legions of souldiers foorth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

Arviragus denieth subiection to the Romani. Vespasian is sent to represe him and his power, the Romani host is kept backe from landing, queene Genissa pacifieth them after a sharpe conflict: & what the Romani writers say of Vespasian being in Britaine, the end of Arviragus.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THEN did king Arviragus ride about to view the state of his realme, repairing cities and townes decayed by the warre of the Romans, and saw his people gouerned with such justice and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into pride, so that he denied his subiection to
THE FOURTH BOOKE OF
The state of the Britains.

Joseph of Arimathia came into Britaine and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion, Britaine governed by Lieutenants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Oxfordshire, he vanquished the Welshmen, appeaseth the Yorkshiremen, and brideth the rage of the Sibres.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 52, Joseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as John Bate following the authoritye of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with divers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, converted many to the true belief, and baptised them in the wholesome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obtaining of the king a plot of
of ground where to inhabit, not past a four miles from Wells, and there with his followers began to lay the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or here thereunto) was afterward erected the abbey of Glastenbury.

Niccephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9 booke "De curandis Graecorum affectibus," sheweth that Paul being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner dooth Sophrornis the patriarch of Jerusalem witnesseth. Tertullian also made be a witness of the ancientness of the faith received here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subject unto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes death, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospel to the Britains, nor whether they were Græks or Latins.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season governed this land by lieutenant and treasurers, the which were called of legats and procurators, thereby to kepe the varie inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in manner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies having made invasion into the country of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him unacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be haste to march forth against them. But Ostorius understanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the country he shewed out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come together againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he tooke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the rivers of Auon & Seuern, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified neere to the same. But the Oxforshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplishe his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had joined in amite with the Romans. The countries adjoyning also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fenced with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not have anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certaine bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercy at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

In this battell, the same of Ostorius the lieutenant deserved the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Oxforshire men, divers of the Britains that stood doublfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonablie order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cantii, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which country he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuileie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsides of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and gieing them battell, vanquished them; and mying the victorie as reason moved him, he lead his
his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on either side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched nere into the sea side, which lieth out against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whomne forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

In the meantime, the people called Silures, being a very fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with any courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie soldierys to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Ostorious peopled a towne nere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old soldierys, there to inhabit with their wives and children, according to such maner as was used in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suetrie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The conjectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betweene Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserable to wracke, Caratacus is deliverd to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselves to their enimys.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

BUT now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable conjectures gathered vpon the advised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it may rather seeme to be some other towne, situate more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romane soldierys were planted there to be at hand, for the reperssing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nere the Welsh marshes.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caemelmaet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happylie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be done by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer scene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Wexford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing casilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneath all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester in deed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certemelie Colchester taketh the Iceni men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoever we shall take this place of Tacitus, it is evdent enough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius
in Scotland, or with Polybor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie he thought a plaine error.

But to leave each man to his owne judgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proced with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whom (trusting not onelie upon their owne manhood, but also upon the high prowess & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame above all other the princes of Britaine, adventured thereto by manie doubtfull adventures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had attchiued; but as he was in policie and advantage of place better proouded than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to have dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that displeased of the Romane government, he joined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vtermost hazard of battell.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were any easie passage to enter it vpon any side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riever without any certaine foord to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, having three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riveres, to wit, on the left hand with the riever called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac having thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recovered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be susteined. He rehersed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Iulius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudic thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wifes and children safe and undesiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, each one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to shrinke for feare of amie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This cheerefulnessse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riever before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afoire him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaille. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble proves. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest wills which their souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiving such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing undone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing adviselie considered which waises were hard and vnsupposable to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestlie bent to come with the enimie.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans covering themselves with their targets, came once close together, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie
roughlie couched together, and so came to joine with them at handblowes. The Britains being unarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on eche side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yeelded themselves. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person unto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuereed into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the manner how he and his allies were led captures by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius, whereby he and his obteine merce and pardon; the Britains undertake a new revenge against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

THE name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the provinces adJOINING, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yeeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilst he went about to prefere his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forthe as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that liet before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armur, riches, jewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For wheras they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vtered this speach as followeth.

"If there had bene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a captaine: neither should I haue thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of Joining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horses, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall looke to gouerne all men, it must needs follow that all men must be your slaves. If I had at the first yielded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene set forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should straight have bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witness for euery of your mercifull clementie."

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the emprese
empresse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the senat was called together, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie attiched by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Sipax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had vanquished.

Heerevpon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the cite of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or because the Romans (as though the warre had bene finished) looked negligentlie to themselves, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to revenge his quarrell. Heerevpon they incompassed the maister of the camp, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next towns and castels, the Romans had bene destroyed by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horsmen as were appointed to guard them. Heerevpon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horsmen, but neither could he staie the slieght by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staied, and at length the Romans obtained the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the daie was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enemies at some advantage in woods and bogs, as hap or force ministred occasion vpon malice conceived, or in hope of prey, sometimes by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forrice abroad vnaduisdelie, through courtousenesse of the capteins. This feat was attiched by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had vtted in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were destroyed and remoued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne over all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defense thereof vpon the enemies sword.

In the mean time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by little & little insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a province, which in part he accomplished.

There be some led by conjecture grounded vpon good advised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the cite of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those partes he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selle place, or in some other nere thererunto by waie of a colonie. And for so much (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enemies.

In deed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults or taurerns (which in that cite are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell.
castell. And verelie as Ranulf Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man scene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Cæsar loyn ardour demy, that is, The cite of legions vpon the water of Déc, proueth it sufficiëntlie enough.

But to return vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certaine cities guen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the dates of the remembrance of men living in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old receaved custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and deeds of the Roman emperours from C. Iulius Cesar (who chased Pompei out of Italic, and was the first that obtained the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succeeding him were called Cesars) to Octavian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easlie marke and observe. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, greedye of honour and renowne, and not vnaplue termed "Romani rerum dominii, &c."

**THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.**

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and lecherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius keepeth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what means their confines in this Ile were enlarged; the error of Hector Boeius and others touching the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains give the Romans a shamefull overthrow.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his room in Britaine, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Manlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the uttermost, that with the bruit thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the worst, and should not premaile, that then his excuse might seeme the more reasonable and woorthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had attache this victorie, and kept a foule stir over all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driven backe and repelled.

But herewth began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull captaine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruder of the people named lugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants or Yorkshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye have heard) had defiered Catarac into the Romans hands, thereby ministering matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure shewed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfy her wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with her husband, married Vellocaet, one of his esquires, to whom she gave her kingdome, and so dishonoured her selfe. Heerevpon insue cruel warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enimie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togetheter betwixt themselves, & the queene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and coens of Venutius, but her enimies nothingtherwith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against her, ceasst not to go forward with their purpose.
Manie of the Brigants disdaining to be subject unto a womans rule that had so reected hir husband, revolted vnto Venutius: but yet the quene sensuell lust mixed with crueltie, maintained the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the revolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enemies: which the Romans forseeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diverse enconteris with the enemies at the first, with doubtfull successse: but at length they prevailed, and so deluced the quene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were constraine still to maintaine warre.

About the same time, the legion also which Cesius Nasica led, got the upper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past inough renowned, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his captaine, so to staie and kéepe off the enimie. Certene castels and holds in diéed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had beene afore attempted by anie of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile somewhat enlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what successse the Britains maintained warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilst Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nounts, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countrie which the Scots haue now in possession, and were euene then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partie by the Scots, and partie by the Picts (as in the Scottish historie ye may see more at large) so that what notable feat souer was atchieuved by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsormuch as may be gathered by conjecture and presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited the historic Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nounts the countrie of Cumberlond.

But forsormuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were maintained by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and valiancie, ye may there read the same, and judge at your pleasure what people they were whom he so much praiseth: advertising you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expressed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had beene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it seme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Dominianus Nero succeeded him in gouvemement of the empire. In the seventh yeere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great onerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieuutenant A. Didius Gallius (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Aquius) could during the time of his rule doo no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beside the building of certeine castels (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Veraniums, beating and forreiseng the woods, could atchieu anie further enterprise, for he was by death prevented, so as he could not proced forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had ment to have followed, whose last words (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neroes mind, he wished to have liued but two yeeres longer, in which space he might have subdued provinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, sauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.
The government of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he invaded Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and scrutitude, and take advice by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enemies.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

But now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifulie furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior. This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assault the Ile of Anglesey, a country full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certaine brigantins with flat keëdes to serve for the ebbes and shallow shelves here and there, lieng vnsettable in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in these vessels, the horsemen following by the foords, and swimming when they came into the deepes, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell and huge number of armed men close together, rede to beat backe the Romans, and to staine them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running vp and downe as they had beene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a company of their priests or philosophers called Driuides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curseings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men beingnumed of their limbs and senses) they suffered themselves to be wounded and slaine like senseless creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one encouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they pressed forward under their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smouldered and burnt them to ashes.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garrisons of men of warre to keepe the people there in subjection. He also caused their woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice such as they tooke prisoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in disembarring them, to leame of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

But now in the mean time, whilst Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre togethers of their great and importable miseries, of their grievous state of scrutitude, of their injuries and wrongs, which they daily sustained: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his capteins and souldiers spilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiver (as we may call him) bereaving them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subjects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiver by force and reprochfull demeanours, pollning them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the covetous extortion and filthy concipiscence of these vnsettable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from us, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set fourth to serve in forrein partes, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our lives in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue beene transported ouer from hence to serve in other lands, if a
under the Romans.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

just account were taken thereof: The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onele with a riuere. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as just causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a coueteous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisifie their excessive lusts. They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some prooffe of the noble provesse that was euidently found in their woorthy ancestors, and not shrinke or quiaile in courage for the misaduenture that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwayes remaineth with those that seck to deliver themselves from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pitie of the poore Britains, who by their divine power did withhold the chiwe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other land. Let vs then (said they) take the oportunitie of time and good occasion offered, and forthwith proceed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is manfullie to adventure, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be bewraied and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken advise togerther, and wholie misliking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

A catalog of causes or greeuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shoewed what injuries they susteyned: of divers strange wonders and apperaitions; the chiwe cause of the Britains insurgering against the Romans, they admitt as well women as meu to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, his personage and maner of attire.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

THE Britains indeed were occasioned to doo as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefes and displeasures. For whereas Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiaragus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preserved from all injurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane capteines, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauid, the pears of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaus.

There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chieft persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile mainteyned that the same ought to be renuied againe. To this an other grieue was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sestercies, ech hundred being 500000 pounds starling, or thereabout, vpon great interest, he required the whole summe togethier by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to veurie. Also such old soldiers as were placed by waie of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, drove them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaves, and as though they had bene captive prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernement, was serued with presets, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and decoyre the goods of all men.

Moreover, such strange sights and woonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum,
Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir bache (as who should say she gave place as vanquished) to the enemies. Also in the hall where the courts of justice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certainlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone bache, there were scene on the sands the shapes & figures of mens bodies. Women also as ranished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes takest superstitiouslie in place of strange wonders signifieng things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prudence of God, despiesth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historic (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

But the Britains were chiefly moued to rebellion by the just complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vsncenefile she had beene used and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to zeake revenge of their injuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capitaine (for they in rule and government made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Essex men into rebellion, rose and assembled themselves together to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got togethier in one armie under the leading of the said Voadicia, or Bunduica (as some name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enemies, mounted vp into an high place raised vp of turfs & sods made for the nonce, out of the which she made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall personage, comelie shape, severe countenance, and sharpe voice, with hir long and yellow tresses of hearre reaching downe to hir thighs, hir braue and gorgeous apparell also caused the people to hauve hir in great reverence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie massie, and was clad in alose kerle of sundrie colours, and aloft therepon she had a thicke Irish mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir custome was) she bare a speare, to shew hirselfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of quene Voadicia full of prudence and spirit to the Britains, for their encouragement against the Romans, wherein she rippeth vp the vile scrutation and shamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted vpon them, with other matters verie motixe, both concerning themselves and their enimies, hir supputation and prayer for victorie.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

NOW Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) set forth with such maestie, that she greatlie incouraged the Britains: vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, she vtted this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

"I doo suppose (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but dooth well understand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thrallome and bondage. But if there haue bene amie of you so deceived with the Romane persuasions, that ye did not for a time see a difference betweene them, and judged whether of both is most to be desired:
desired: now I hope that haung tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your judgement, and by the harness alereidie taken, acknowledge your oversight, and forsake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue rashlie preferred an externall soureignetie before the customes and lawes of your owne countrey, you doe at this time (I doubt not) perfeiectly understand how much free poverie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto seruitude is annexed; and much wealth in respect of captuities vnder forren magistrates, wherepon slaucerie attendeth. For what thing (I beseech you) can there be so vile & grievous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans have bene acquainted with this Iland?

"Are we not all in manner bereaced of our riches & possessions? Doo not we (beside other things that we glue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcasses? How much better is it to be once afoot and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and false title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome? How much is it more commendable to lose our liues in defense of our countrey, than to carie about not so much as our heads toll free, but daylie oppressed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doo I remember and speake of these things, since they will not suffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he dooth well understand. Among other nations such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doo still liue, and all to increase their commoditie and gaine.

"If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we should come by anie) then are we left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our houses, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead. How shall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale so vncoerueticlie with vs: since there is no man that taketh so much as a wild beast, but at the first he will cherish it, and with some gentlenesse win it to familiaritie? But we ourselues (to saie the truth) are authors of our owne mischiefe, which suffered them at the first to set foot within our Iland, and did not by and by drue them backe as we did Cesar, or slue them with our swords when they were yet farre off, and that the adventuring hither was dangerous: as we did sometime to Augustus and Caligula.

"We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantite thereof maie well be Called a maaine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, dividying vs from other nations, so that we seeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: we, eu'en we (I saie) whose name hath bene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are now contempoed and troden vnnder foot, of them who studie nothings else but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my wellbeloved citizens, friendes, and kinsfolkes (for I think we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and have one name common to vs all) let vs now, eu'n now (I saie, because we haue not done it heretofore, and whilst the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) sticke together, and performe that thing which dooth pertine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but also freedome it selfe, and thereby leave our force and valiant acts for an example to our posteritie: for if we which have bene liberallie and in honest maner brought vp, should vterlie forget our pristinate felicitie; what may we hope for in those that shall succeed vs, and are like to be brought vp in miserie and thralldome?

"I doo not make reheasall of these things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to misake of this present estate of things (for well I know you abhorre it sufficentlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of those things that are likelie to fall hereafter (because you doo feare and see them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thanks and woorthy commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine so well to provide for things necessarie (thereby to helpe both me and...
and your selues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puissance.

"If you consider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their strength, they are no stronger than you: and all this dooth easilie appeare by the bassinets, habergeons, & greives wherewith you be armed; and also by the walls, ditches and trenches that you have made for your own defense, to keepe off their excursions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deal with vs at hand strokes, as our custome of the warres and martiall discipline dooth require. Wherefore we doo so farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more strong than stone walls, and one of our targets woorth all the armour that they doo beare vpon them: by meane whereof, if the victorie be ours, we shall soone make them captives: or if we lose the field, we shall easilie escape the danger.

"Furthermore, if after the flight we shall indoeour to mete anie where, we have the marishes here beneath to hide vs in, and the hills round about to keepe them off, so that by no meanes they shall have their purpose of vs, whereas they being overcharged with heaue armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we fle; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to their appointed places, where we maie take them as birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they can not induce hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunneshine, as we can doo.

"In their houses also and tents, they make much account of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad of the shadow, that anie of these doo faile them, they either die forthwith, or else in time they languish and consume: whereas to vs euere hearbe and root is meat, euere juice an oile, all water pleasant wine, and euere tree an house. Beside this, there is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet unfriendlie to succour vs at need; whereas to the Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and altogether dangerous, if they should stand in need: we can with ease swim ouer euere riuer both naked and clad, which they with their great ships are scarce able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good lucke let vs set vpon them couragiouslie, and teach them to understand, that since they are no better than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they indoeour to subdue the grehounds and the woolues." With which words the queene let an hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to give prognostication of hir succes, which comming well to passe, all the companie shoveted, and cried out vpon such as not long before had done such violence to so noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Voadicia calling them together againe, proceeded forward with hir prayer, which she made before them all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

"I give thée thanks O Adraste, and call vpon thee thow woman of women, which reignest not ouer the burthen-bearing Egyptian, as Nitocris; neither ouer their merchants, as dooth Semiramis, for these trifles we have learned latelie of the Romans: neither ouer the people of Rome, as a little heeretofore Messallina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie woman, as dooth appeare by hir voice, hir harpe, and hir womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a goddesse which governest the Britains, that have learned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men, but to lead their liues in the warres after the best manner: who also as they have all other things, so hauie they likewise their wines and children common, whereby the women have the like audacitie with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres than they.

"Therefore sithens I have obtained a kindome among such a mightie people, I beseech thée to grant them victorie, health, and libertie, against these contentious, wicked, and vn-satisfie men (if they maie be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate fare, hot wines, swee oiles, soft beds, fine musicke, and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogether giuen to contenousinesse and crueltie, as their doings doo declare. Let not I beseech thée, the Neronian or Domitian tyranie anie more precuaile vpon me, or (to saie truth) vpon thee,
Queen Voadicia marcheth against the Romans, to whom she giveth a shamefull and bloudie overthrow without anie motion of mercie, dредfull examples of the Britains crueltie indifferentlie executed without exception of age or sex.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

WHEN Voadicia had made an end of her praine, she set forward against her enimies, who at that time were destitute in deed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid unto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiver, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garrison of able men. Whereupon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientie furnished either with weapon or armour.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampie or ditch for defense, such as happilie were priuie to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yong able personages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defense of the citie: but even as they had bene in all suerite of peace, and fre from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane soldierys (stricken with sudden feare by this sudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themselves. Where being assieg'd by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was woonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euery mothers sonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victorie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie encounteringe with the same legion, gave the Romans the ouerthrow and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoe escaped with his horsemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saue himselfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiving what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius advertised of these dooings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with maruellous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopleed with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prooid of vittles: he was in great doubt at his coming thither, whether he might best staie there as in a place most convenient, or rather secke some other more easie to be defended. At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembering how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with the losing of one towne to save the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecoverable losse. And therewith nothing moued at the praine & teares of them which besought him of aid and succour, he departed, and those that would go with him he receiued into his armie, those that taried behind were oppressed by the enimies: and the like destruction happened to them of Verolanum, a towne in those daies of great fame, situate neere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now standeth.
The Britains leaving the castels and fortresses unassaulted, followed their gaine in spoiling of those places which were easie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, using their victorie with such crueltie, that they slue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thousand Romans, and such as tooke their part in the said places by the Britains thus soon and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowes, and such like, so earnestlie were they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and woorthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouthes, that they might scheue as if they sucked and fed on them, and some of their bodys they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes. All these things they did in great despite whilst they sacrificed in their temples, and made feasts, namelie in the wood consecrated to the honour of Andates, for so they called the goddess of victorie whom they worshipped most reverentlie.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a freshe power assaileth the Britains, whose armie consisted as well of women as men: quene Voadicia encourageth her souldiers, so dooth Suetonius his warriours, both armiies have a sharpe conflict, the Britains are discomfited and miserable slaie, the quene dieth, Penius Posthumus killet hir selfe, the Britains are persecuted with fire, sword, and famine, the grudge between Cassicinian and Suetonius, whom Polycleitus is sent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion surnamed the 14, and other bands of souldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thousand in the whole, whereupon (chieflie because vitelles began to faile him) he prepared to give battell to his enemies, and chose out a plot of ground verie strong within straites, and backed with a wood, so that the enimies could not assault his campe but on the front: yet by reason of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceived by their late prosperous successe, the Britains vnder the conduct of quene Voadicia adventureth to give battell, hauing their women there to be witnesses of the victorie, whom they placed in charretts at the vtttermost side of their field.

Voadicia, or Boudicia (for so we find hir written by some copies, and Bonuica also by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as she passed by the souldiers of each sundrie countrie, told them "it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but she was not now come Jooorth as one borne of such noble ancestors as she was descended from, to fight for hir kindegome and riches; but as one of the meaner sort, rather to defend hir lost libertie, and to reuenge hir selfe of the enimie, for their crueltie shewed in scourging hir like a vagabond, and shamefull deflouing of hir daughters: for the licentious lust of the Romans was so farre spread and increased, that they spared neither the bodies of old nor young, but were readie most shamefullie to abuse them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to satisfie their filthie concupiscence: but (saith she) the gods are at hand readie to take just reuenge."

"The legions that presumed to encounter with vs is slaine and beaten downe. The residue keepe them close within their holds, or else secke ways how to finde out of the countrie: they shall not be once able so much as to abide the noise and clamour of so manie thousands as we are here assembled, much lesse the force of our great puissance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (saind she) would wye and consider with your selves your huge numbers of men of warre, and the causes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would surely determine either
either in this battell to die with honour, or else to vanquish the enimie by plaine force, for so (quoth she) I being a woman am fullie resolved, as for you men ye maie (if ye list) live and be brought into bondage.”

“Neither did Suetonius cease to exhort his people: for though he trusted in their manhood, yet as he had divided his armie into three battells, so did he make unto each of them a several oration, willing them not to scare the shrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, sith there was among them more women than men, they haueing no skill in warrelike discipline, and heretofore being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith give place when they should see the sharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had so often beene put to flight. In manie legions (saith he) the number is small of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore should be the more, for that they being a small number should win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) bestow their weapons freelle, and with their swords and targets pressse forward upon their enimies, continuing the slaughter without regard to the spoile, they might assure themselves when the victorie was once achieved to have all at their pleasures.”

Such forwardness in the soldiours followed vpon this exhortation of the courageous generall, that euerie one prepared himselfe so readily to doe his dutie, and that with such a shew of skill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceived an assured hope of good lucke to follow, caused the trumpets to sound to the battell. The onset was given in the straits, greatlie to the advantage of the Romans, being but a handful in comparison to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was very sharpe and cruel, but in the end the Britains being a lot one to another (by reason of the narrownesse of the place) were not able to sustaine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, so that they were constreined to give backe, and so being disorderd were put to flight, and vitterlie discomfited.

There were slaine of the Britains that day few lesse than 80000 thousand *, as Tacitus writeth. For the straits being stopped with the charretts, stayed the flight of the Britains, so as they could not easilie escape: and the Romans were so set on revenge, that they spared neither man nor woman, so that manie were slaine in the battell, manie amongst the charretts, and a great number at the woods side, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken prisoners. Those that escaped, would have fought a new battell, but in the mean time Voclacia, or Bonuica deceased of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Cassius writeth, but other say that she poisoned hir selfe, and so died, because she would not come into the hands of her bloodthirstie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 800, and about the like number were grievouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

Penuius Posthumous master of the campe of the second legion, understanding the prosperous successe of the other Roman captains, because he had defrauded his legions of the like glorie, and had refused to obey the commandements of the generall, contrary to the use of warre, slue himselfe.

After this all the Roman armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a suplyie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie soldiours, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horsemen, by whose comming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie soldiours, and those bands and wings of horsemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilst euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the provision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselves to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Iulius Cassicianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He stucked

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not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succeed in the room of that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Hereupon one Polycleitus, which sometime had bee a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioneer to reconcile the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polycleitus bare was great, for he was furnish'd with no small traine that attended upon him, so that his presence seemed very dreadful to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were, to submit themselves to the order of such a one as had bee a bondlauke.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruragus reigned; the dissolute and loose government of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

IN place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had lately bee consull) appointed to have the governance of the armes in Britaine, which neither troubling the enemie, nor being of the enimie in anie wise troubled or praouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting anie notable enterprise.

AFTER Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compass them. And now began the people of the Ile to bear with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might easie excuse the slouthfulness of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreover, there rose dissention amongst their men of warre, which being us'd to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an upre against him, till at length humbling himselfe unto them further than became his estate, he governed by wraie of intreatie, or rather at their courteuse. And so was the commotion staid without bloodshed, the armie as it were hauing by covenant obtaineing to liue licentiouslie, and the capteine suertie to liue without danger to be murthered.

NEITHER Victius Volanus that succeeded Maximus whilst the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, using the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had used before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased favour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Vsepasianus had subdued his adversaries, and attained the imperial government, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent him the right noble capteins, with divers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by invading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last.

AFTER him succeeded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Iulius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Romane subjection by force of armes the people called Silures, striuing not
not one line against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

Thus may you perceive in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he governed rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not having so reduced the countrie into the forme of a province, but that the Britains bare rule in diverse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which nevertheless had their lieutenants and procuratours here, that bare the greatest rule under the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland under Marius the soue of Aruragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall alliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie over the Picts, his death and interrement.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Aruragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reign in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is fondlie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains in great prosperitie, honour and wealth.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts invaded this land, who are judged to be descended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinsmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruel kind of men and much given to the warres. This people with their ring-leader Roderike, or (as some name him) Londonike, entering the Ocean sea after the manner of rouers, arrived on the coasts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new seats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as some thinke) were also descended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it should not be for their profit to receiue so warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendship, and excusing the matter by the narrownesse of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentiful, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counselled them to go thither, promising unto them all the aid that might be.

The Picts more desirous of spoil than of rule or government without delaie returned to the sea, and sailed towards Britaine, where being arrived, they first invaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waste and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertised, with all speed he assembled his people, and made towards his enemies, and givynge them battell, obtained the victorie, so that Roderike was there slaine in the field, and his people vanquished.

Vnto those that escaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catnesse, being as then a countrie in manner desolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and setled themselves in those parts. And because the Britains disdainned to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they sent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to have wifes of their nation. The Scots agreed to their request, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull issue of the kings image to succeed in the kingdome of the Picts, then should they name one of the womans side to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and observed ever after amongst the Picts, so long as their kingdome endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the first of anie strangers that came into this land to inhabit as most writers affirm, although the Scottish chronicles aucthore the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our sauour. But the victorie which Marius obained

MARIUS.

Hector Boethius saith that this Marius was a Romane.

73.

Of these you may read more in pag. Math. West.
tained against their king Roderike, chanced in the yeere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius caused a stone to be erected in the same place where the battell was fought, in which stone was graven these words, Marij victoria. The English chronicle saith that this stone was set vp on Stanesmoore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Westmaria, now called Westmerland.

King Marius having thus subdued his enimies, and escaped the danger of their dreadful invasion, gaine his mind to the good gouvernement of his people, and the advancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the residue of his life in great tranquilitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as most writers say) 52, or 53 yeeres. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yeere of our Lord 78, and so reigned not five or six yeeres at the most. He was buried at Caerlell, leaving a sonne behind him called Coll.

Humfrey Lhoyd semeeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one person, whether mooved thereto by some catalog of kings which he saw, or otherwise, I cannot affirme: but speaking of the time when the Picts and Scots should first come to settle themselves in this land, he hath these words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Vespasianus time, about the yeere of the incarnation 78: at what time Meurig or Maw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales doo report, that a certaine kind of people living by piracie and raving on the sea, came forth of Sueden, or Norwae, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, wasting all the countrie with robbing and spoiling so farre as Caerlell, where he was vanquished in battell, and slaine by Muragus, with a great part of his people; the residue that escaped by flight, fled to their ships, and so conveyed themselves into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre have I thought good to shew of the foresaid Lhoyds booke, for that it seemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the historie of the Picts, which undoubtedly I think we were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather first placing themselves in the Iles of Orkney, made invasion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occasion was offered. In the British toong they are called Pightlyaid, that is Pightians, and so likewise were they called in the Scotch, and in their owne toong. Now will we shew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foresaid Marius his supposed reigne, as is found in the Roman histories.

Julius Agricola is deputed by Vespasian to govern Britaine, he invadeth the Ile of Anglesey, the habituans yeeld vp them selves, the commendable governement of Agricol, his worthie practices to trauaine the Britains to civilitie, his exploits fortunatelie attauched against diverse people, as the Irish, &c.

THE 16. CHAPTER.

AFTER Julius Frontinus, the emperor Vespasian sent Julius Agricola to succeed in the governement of Britaine, who comming over about the midst of summer, found the men of warre thorowout want of a lieutenant negligent enough, as those that looking for no trouble, thought themselves out of all danger, where the enimies neverthelesse watched vpon the next occasion to work some displeasure, and were readie on each hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordouices, that inhabited in the countrie of Cheshire, Lancashire and part of Shropshire, had lately before overthrownne, and in maner ytterlie destroied a wing of such horsemen as soiuourned in their parties, by reason whereof all the province was brought almost into an assured hope to recover libertie.

Agricola vpon his comming over, though summer was now halfe past, and that the soldiers lodging
lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more disposed to take rest, than to set forward into the field against the enimies, determined yet to resist the present danger: and therewith assembling the men of warre of the Romans, and such other aids as he might make, he invaded their countrie that had done this foresaid displeasure, and slew the most part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the steps of favourable fortune, and knowing that as the beginning proved, so would the whole sequel of his affairs by likelihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest whereof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for choosing out a pined number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the foords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe over on the sudden into the Ile, onlie with their horses, armor, and weapon: which enterprise they so spedilie, and with so good successe attainted, that the inhabitants much amazed with that dooing (which looked for a mane of ships to have transported over their enimies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got over into the Ile after such sort and maner.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories daily much increased, as of one that tooke pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchieue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessors had delighted, to shew the majesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pompes. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the uttermost, among them that judged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchieued, which with silence kept secret these his so worthlie dooings.

Moreover, perceiving the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficiencie taught by other mens example, that armor should little auaille where injuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he thought best to take away and remoue all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne household, yielding nothing to favor, but altogether in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to doo otherwise then reason moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpely punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deting alwaies in punishment, but of enimies in respect of the offender. Exactions and tributes he lesenred, qualifying the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wanoe his great praiise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was ever feared, and accounted worse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yeere.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, comming the good, and reforming the bad and vnruile. He himselfe to give example, tooke upon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to live in rest, but wasted their countrie with sudden invasions. And when he had sufficiencie chastiets them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceieue some hope of peace. By which means manye countrie which unto those dates had keeped themselves out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane power, but stood still in danger to be brought under more and more.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, unto a more ciuill sort and trade of huing, that changing their natural
fierceness and apt disposition to warre, they might through tasting pleasures be so incured therewith, that they should desire to live in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them pineifull, and holpe them publikely to build temples, common halls where plese of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such doings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driven to striue who should prevent ech other in ciuilitie. He also procured that noble mens somes should learnre the liberal arts, and praised the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, because they studied to acente to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the use of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselves to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselves to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readye provokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselves in bathtes, to use banketering, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courteous, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thralldom and servitude, namelie being too excesseued used.

In the third yeere of Agricola his governement in Britaine, he invaded the north partes thereof (unknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the country vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Wherevpon finding no great let or hinderance by the enemies, he builded certeine castels and fortresses, which he placed in such convenient steades, that they greatlie annoied his adversaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castels which he builded, either woon by force out of the Romans hands, or gien ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same being furnishd with competent numbers of men of warre, were safe and kept from the enemies, the which were daillie vexed by the often issues made fourth by the soldiers that lye thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enemies would recoore their losses sustained in summer by the winters advantarge, now they were put to the woore, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forresses sore vexed and disquieted: and therevpon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entries there, driving the enemies beyond the same waters, as it had beene into a new land.

In the fift summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arrive on the north coastes of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the river of Clide; and subdued such people as inhabited those further partes of Scotland, which till those daies had not beene discovered by the Romans. And because he thought it should serve well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed garrisons of soldiers in those partes, in hope verelie vpon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the more easie advancement of his purpose therein, he interteined with honourable provision one of the kings of Ireland, which by civill discord was expelle out of his countrie. In deede Agricola perceived, that with one legion of soldiers, and a small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he judged verie necessarie to be executed, for better keeping of the Britains in obedience, if they should see the jurisdiction of the Romans cuerie where extended, and the liberties of their neighbours suppressed.

In the sixteene summer of Agricola his governement, he proceeded in subduing the furthest partes of Scotland northwards, causing his mane to kepe course against him by the coast as he marched forth by land, so that the Britains perceiued how the secret haunts and creakes of their countries were now discovered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were sore troubled with
The danger also of them that were in the ships by sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests, and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoil'd their vessels very cruelly: but by the painful diligence of them that had beene brought vp and incur'd with continual travell and hardnesse, all those discommodities were overcome to their great rejoicing, when they met and fell in take of their passed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamp'd so by the shore, that those which kept the sea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then e'ch one would recount to others the adventures that had happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assault the Romans vpon advantage, bloudie battels fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine on both sides, the villanous dealing of certaine Dutch soldiars against their capteins and fellows in armes, the miserie that they were driven vnto by famine to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betwixt the Romans and Britains, with the losse of manie mans life, and effusion of much bloud.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

The Britains that inhabited in those daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiving in what danger they were to be utterlie subdued, assembled themselues together, in purpose to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being advertised, marched forth with his armie divided in three battels, so that the enemies doubting to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be most feele and weake, trusting by a canisado to distress the same: and first slaying the watch, they entred the campe, where the said legion lye, and finding the soldiars in great disorder, betwixt sleepe and feare, began the fight even within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent, and therefore with all speed hasted forth to come to the succours of his people, sending first his light horsmen, and certaine light armed footmen to assaile the enemies on their backs, and shortly after approached with his whole puissance, so that the Romane standards beginning to appeare in sight by the light of the daie that then began to spring, the Britains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, herculely pressed vpon them, so that even in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chased, so that if the mareshes and woods had not sau'd them from the pursuite of the Romans, there had beene an end made of the whole warre eu'n by that one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well as they might, and reposing the victorie to have chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane soldiers, but by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abash'd with that their present losse, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and thereupon they remou'd their wives and children into safe places, and then assembling the chiefest governours together, concluded a league amongst themselves, e'ch to aid other, confirming their articles with dooing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies was.)

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Germaine soldiars as had beene leu'd in Germaine & sent over into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and wond'rful act, in slaying their capteine, and such other of the Romane soldiars which were appointed to hau'e the training and leading of them, as officers and instructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinesses,
and became rovers on the coasts of Britaine, and incontrolling with durance of the Britains that were ready to defend their country from spoile, oftentimes they got the upper hand of them, and now and then they were chased away, insomuch that in the end they were brought to such extremities for want of victual, that they did eat such amongst them as were the weakest, and after, such as he lot touched, being indifferent cast amongst them; and so being caried about the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through want of skill to govern them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, first by the Suabeners, and shortly after by the Frizers, the which sold diverse of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true understanding of their adventures came certainlie to light.

In summer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mountaine of Granziben, where he understood that his enemies were incamped, to the number of 20 thousand and above, and daile there came to them more companie of the British youth, and such aged persons also as were lustie and in strength, able to wield weapon and beare armour. Amongst the capteins the chiepest was one Galgagus whom the Scotish chronicles name Gold. This man as chieftain and head capteine of all the Britains there assembled, made to them a pitiefull station, to encourage them to fight manfully, and likewise did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of them as wings. The Romane legions stood on their backs in stead of a bulwark. The Britains were imbatelled in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though they had risen on heigh one ranke above another. The midst of the field was covered with their charrets and horsemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, least his people should be assailest not onlie afront, but also upon euerie side the battells, he caused the ranks so to place themselves, as their battells might stretch farre further in breadth than otherwise the order of warre required: but hee tooke this to be a good remedie against such incommenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battells should haue hemmed them in on eie side.

This done, and haung conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts freellie on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skillfull practice, with broad swords and little round bucklers avoide and beat from them the arrows and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were neere hand oppressed therewith, because they came so thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola caused three cohorts of Hollanderes, & two of Lukeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their advantage, so to the Britains it was vere dangerous, that were to defend themselves with their mightie huge swords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swords were broad at the ends, and pointless, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanderes came to joine with them, they made fowle worke in slaying and wounding them in most horrible wise.

The horsemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horses, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands desireful to match their fellows in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanderes, and beat downe the Britains where they might approche to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise overpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whilst the British horsemen fled, their charrets joined themselves with their footmen, and restoring the battell, put the Romans in suche feare, that they were at
under the Romans.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

at a sudden stay: but the chariots being troubled with peace of enimies, & vnseekenesse of the ground, they could not worke their best to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horsemen, when echipone so encumbered other, that they had no roome to stirre themselves. The chariots oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horses, that being put in feare with the noise and stur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoever else they met withall.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to cast about, that they might set upon the backs of their enimies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would com to passe, had aforehand foresene the danger, and haung reserved foure wings of horsemen for such sudden chances, sent them forth against those Britains, the which horsemen with full random charging upon them as they rashlie came forwards, quicklie disorderd them and put them all to flight, and so that purpose deuised and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horsemen by their captains appointment traurersing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set upon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a greeuous & heauie sight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and tooke their enimies: and as they were aduised of other to slay those that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleiing, taking, and chasning, slaughter, spilling of bloud, scattering of weapons, grnting and groning of men and horses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & ready to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their advantage, namelie when they approchd neere to the woods, gathered themselves together, and set upon the Romans as they followed vnaduisdely, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their sueritie, insomuch that if Agricola had not provided remedy, and sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horssebecke to close in the enimies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would have followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashlie pursued upon the Britains; who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slipt awaie and tooke them to flight, ech one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not together in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were throughe the wearyd. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a captaine of one of the cohors or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horssebecke (through his owne too much youthfull couragi, and fierce vnruulines of his horsse) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there slaine.

The lamentable distresse and pitifull perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow,

Domitian enuieith Agricola the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie deprived of his deputship, and Cneus Trebellius surrogated in his roome.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

THE night insuing the foresaid ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great joy & gladnes for the victorie attinued. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled together, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dresse their hurts; other calling for their soones, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forsooke their houses.
houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and choosing forth places for their better refuge and safeguard, forthwith misliking of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diverse of them tooke counsell together what they were best to doo, one while they were in hope, another while they painted, as people cast into utter desaire: the beholding of their wives and children oftentimes moved them to attempt some new enterprise for the preservation of their country and liberties. And certeine it is that some of them slue their wives and children, as moued thereto with a certeine fond regard of pite to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thraldome.

The next day the certeine of the victorie more plainly was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on eche side, and such as were sent forth to discover the countrie into euerie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were avoided and withdrew a farre off.

When Agricola had thus overthrown his enemies in a pitchit field at the mountaine of Granziben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enemies: because the summer of this eight yeere of his gouvernement was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horrestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angius & Merne, and there intended to winter, and tooke hostages of the people for assurance of their loyallie and subjection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the nauie to saille about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commision in that point receiv'd, luckilie accomplished his enterprise, and brought the nauie about againe into an hauen called Trutulentis.

In this meane time, whiles Iulius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Vespasianus, and also his brother Titus that succeeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperour, who hearing of such prosperous successes as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioice for the thing well done, as he enuied to consider what glorie and renowne should redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceived should much darken the glasse of his fame, hauing a private person under him, who in woorthinesse of noble exploits attiuch'd, farre excelled his doouings.

To find remedy therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whilst Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obtained so manie victories, so much honor, and such plenty of spoiles and booties. Whereupon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to revoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deserued triumphs, but also with the lieutenanship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Aulius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliviered his province unto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and safeguard.
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Of Coillus the sonne of Marius, his education in Rome, how long he reigned: of Lucius his sonne and successor, what time he assumed the government of this land, he was an open professor of christian religion, he and his familie are baptised, Britaine received the faith, 3 archbishops, and 28 bishops at that time in this land, Westminster church and S. Peters in Cornwall built, divers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was received in this land.

THE 19. CHAPTER.

COILLUS. the sonne of Marius was after his fathers decease made king of Britaine, in the year of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not unprofitable, but applied himselfe to learning & service in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewise honored and loved them, so that he paid his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bounty, and verie liberal, whereby he obtained great love both of his nobles and commons. Some sale, that he made the towne of Colchester in Essex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Asclepiodotus was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should seeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the space of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leaung after him a sonne named Lucius, which succeeded in the kingdom.

Lucius the sonne of Coillus, whose surname (as saith William Harison) is not extant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritative of Peter Pictaupieni saith, although other writers seeme to disagree in that account, as by the same Fabian in the table before his booke partiele appeareth, wherevnto Matthaeus Westmonisteriensis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as successor to his father Coillus, which died the same yeare, being of great age yer the said Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4152 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comning of Cesar into Britaine, and 165 after Christ, whose accounts I follow in this treatise.

This Lucius is highlie renowned of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receieved the faith of Jesus Christ: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, even from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leaned to the fauoring of Christian religion, being moved with the manifest miracles which the Christians daily wrought in winnesse and prooffe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the dates of Joseph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men first taught the Britains the gospel of our Saviour, there remained amongst the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiving not onlie some of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to have submitted themselves to that profession, but also the emperour himselfe to begin to be fauorable to them that professed it, he tooke occasion by their good example to give eare more attentuic peace vnto the gospel, and at length sent vnto Eleutherius bishop of Rome two learned men of the British nation, Eliane and Medwine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptise them according to the rules of christian religion.

¶ The reuerend father John Lewell, sometime bishop of Salisbury, writeth in his * replie vnto Harings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme
and churches herefore, wrote his advice to Lucius in manner and forme following. "You have received in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye have both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the advise of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar."

Hereupon were sent from the said Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith removed the worshipping of idoles and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortal God. There were in those dais within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being removed) were instituted 28 bishops & three archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his see at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwiske in Glamorganshire. Vnto the archbishop of London was subject Cornwaille, and all the middle part of England, even vnto Humber. To the archbishop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the ricer of Humber vnto the farthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subject all Wales, within which countie as then were seven bishops, where now there are but foure. The ricer of Severn in those dais diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine parlie by the meanes of Ioseph of Arimathia (of whom ye haue heard before) & parlie by the wholesome instructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openlie recieued the gospell, and continued most stedfast in that profession, till the cruel furie of Dioeclesian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and utterlie destroyed.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminister, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then overgrown with thornes and bushes, and thereof tooke the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreover that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministrad the sacraments there to such as made resort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuestrie of saint Pauls at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornhill, it should seeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornhill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison anno mundi 4174) dooth lie a scruple. Sure Cornell might some be mistaken for Thorney, speciallie in such old records, as time, age, & cuilt handling have oftentimes defaced.

But howsoever the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius rejoising much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and understanding of the true God, that they needed not to be deceived any longer with the craftie temptations and fained miracles of wicked spirits, he abolisied all prophane worships of false gods, and converted all such temples as had beene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the use of christian religion: and thus studyed outlie how to advance the glorie of the immortal God, and the knowledge of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldly triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloodshed of manie a guiltlesse person, he left his kingdome; though not infranged with broder dominion than he received it, yet greatie augmented and inrichted with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be esteemed than all the rest) adorned with Christes religion, and perfecctlie inrichted with his most holy word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelve yeares. Againse, some testify that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Moreover here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane bishop, the same chacned in the daces of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was joined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seuan yeare
after the death of Lucius Aelius, Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as by some chronologies is ease to be collected. For Eleutherius began to govern the see of Rome in the yere 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chroniclers of our time, and governed fifteen yeares and thirteene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Glocester in the yere of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agree that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publicke consent openlie receyved and professid in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelue yeere of his reigne, and in the yere of our Lord 177. Other judge that it came to passe in the eight yeere of his regiment, and in the yere of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yere of the Lord 179. Naucierus saith, that this happened about the yere of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herforda suppose, that it was in the yere of our Lord 169, and in the ninetene yere of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the six yere of the emperor Commodus.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his decease the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fifteen yeres (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirneth, that the contention betwixt them remained fifteen yeres, though Harding affirneth but foure yeres. And this much of the Britains, and their kings Coelus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namele those that inhabited beyond Tweed) partie being weakened of their former strength, and partie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliverid to the Romains, remained in peace certene yeres.

The Britains after the decease of Lucius (who died without issue) rebell against the Romans, the emperor Adrian comming in his owne person into Britaine appeaseth the brique, they go to recover their libertie against the Romans, but are supprest by Lollia the Romane lieutenant; the vigilantnesse or wakefulnesse of Marcellus, and his policie to kepe the souldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certene meane gentle-men of Perennis appointing doo falselie accuse him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his souldiers.

THE XXTH. CHAPETER.

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenent Cneus Trebellius that succeeded Iulius Agricola, could not foresee all things so precise that but the souldiers waxing vnruile by reason of long rest, fell at variance among themselves, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but disquieted the Britains beyond measure. Wherefore the Britains perceiving themselves sore oppressed with intolerable bondage, and that the same increasid, they conspried together, vpon hope to recover libertie, and to defend their country by all meanes possible, and herewith they tooke weapon in hand against the Romans, and boldlie assailed them; but this they did yet warilie, and so, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon necessitie, according to the maner of their country. Hereupon diuers slautheres were committed on both parties, and all the country was now ready to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was advertised from Trebellius the lieutenent, with all conuenient speed he passed over into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vsing great humanitie towards the inhabitans; and making small account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either because of the barrennesse thereof, or for that by reason of the nature of the country he
he thought it would be hard to be kept under subjection, he devised to divide it from the residue of Britain, and so caused a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine unto the water of Eske, which wall contained in length 50 miles.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane soouldiers, and repining to be kept under the bond of servitude, essoones went about to recover libertie againe. Whereof advertisement being given, the emperor Pius Antonius sent over Lollius Vibicus as lieutenant into Britain, who by sundrie battell striken, constreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and causing those that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further eile from the confines of the Romane province, raised another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be supposed, for the more sueritie of the Romane subiects against the inursion of the enemies. But yet Lollius did not so make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains shortly after attempted afresh, either to reduce their state into libertie, or to bring the same into further danger.

Whereupon Marcus Antonius that succeeded Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola to succeed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which castile overcame and subdued all his enemies. After this there chanced some trouble in the daies of the emperor Comodus the son of Marcus Antonius and his successor in the emperior: for the Britains that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the same, and spoiled a great part of the country, against whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being come fourth, gave them battell: but both he and the Romane soouldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and slain.

With which newes Comodus being sore amazed, sent against the Britains one Vippius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vsed the same kind of diet that the common soouldiers did vsc. He was a capteine much watchfull, as one contented with weye little sleepe, and desirous to have his soouldiers also vigilant and carefull to kepe sure watch in the nighte season. Euerie evening he would write twelve tables, such as they vsed to make on the lind tree, and delivering them to one of his seruants, appointed him to beare them at severall hours of the nighte to sundrie soouldiers, whereby supposing that their generall was still watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to sleepe.

And although of nature he could well absteine from sleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vsed a maruellous spare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himselfe too much with bread, he would eat none but such as was brought to him from Rome, so that more than necessitie compelled him he could not eat, by reason that the stalenesse tooke awake the pleasant tast thereof, and lesse prouoked his appetit. He was a maruellous contemner of monie, so that bribes might not moue him to doe otherwise than dutie required. This Marcellus being of such disposition, sore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great losses: through fame wherof, Comodus enuieng his renowne was after in mind to make him away, but yet spared him for a further purpose, and suffered him to depart.

After he was removed from the gouernement of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian soouldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Comodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond substituting of such petie officers to ouersee and ouerrule the people, was to them an occasion of hartgrudge, and to him a meane of finall mischeffe: both which it is likelee he might have avoided, had he bcene presidend in his depatition. For the soouldiers in the same armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of base degree, in respect of those that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable personages, as senators, and of the consular dignitie, they fell at square among themselves, and about fiftie hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint against Perhennis: for whatsoever was amisse, the blame was still laid to him. They passed foorth without impeachement.
peachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himselfe came forth to understand what they meant by this their comming in such sort from the place where they were appointed to serue. Their answer was, that they were come to informe him of the treason which Perhennis had desuised to his destruction, that he might make his son emperour. To the which accusation when Commodus too lightlie gave ear, & belieued it to be true, namelie, through the setting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridied him from doing divers unlawful acts, which he went about upon a wilfull mind (without all reason and modesty) to practise; the matter was so handled in the end, that Perhennis was delivered to the souldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and presentlie put him to a pitfull death.

Pertinax is sent as lieutenant into Britaine, he is in danger to be slaine of the souldiers, he rideth himselfe of that perilous office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fightheth against Seuerus and his power were to Liones, Seuerus is slaine in a conflict against the Piets, Geta and Bassianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is slaine, the other ruleth.

THE XXI. CHAPTER.

Now will we saie somewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to send some sufficient capitaine of autoritie thither: and therefore was one Pertinax that had bene consul and ruler over fourre severall consular provinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man most meet for such a charge, and also to satisfie his credit, for that he had bene discharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and sent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to have bene slaine by a mutine raised by one of the legions: for he was stricken downe, and left for dead among the slaine carcasses. But he worthilie revenged himselfe of this injury. At length, having chastised the rebels, and brought the Ile into metelete good quiet, he sued and obtained to be discharged of that roome, because as he alleged, the souldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting such as offended the lawes of armes.

Then was Clodius Albinus appointed to have the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whose destruction when Seuerus the emperour sought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore choosing foorth a great power of Britains, with the same ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, so that neere to the cite of Lions they joined in battell and fought right sore, in so much that Seuerus was at point to have receiued the ouerthrow by the high provwesse and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus lost the field, and was slaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to governe Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being sent thither by Seuerus for that purpose before. And such was the state of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which season, because that king Lucius was dead, and had left no issue to succeed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongst themselves, and so continued till the comming of Seuerus, whose the Britich chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of succession in bloud, as descended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Iulius Cesar, as before ye haue heard.

This Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the years of our Lord 207, and governed the same 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that
that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrey on this side Durham, he raised an host of Britains and Romans, with the which he marchd towards his enemies: and meeting with the said Fulgentius in a place nere unto Yorke, in the end after some fight Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land for the space almost of five yeares, as before is said, and was after buried at Yorke, leaving behind him two sonsnes, the one named Geta, and the other Bassianus. This Bassianus being borne of a British woman, succeeded his father in the governement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would have had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more faavour to him because he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains movd with the like respect, held with Bassianus. And therupon warre was raised betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was slaine, and Bassianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and so continued king, till at length he was slaine by one Carausius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well esteemed. In somuch that obtaining of the sent of Rome the keeping of the coasts of Britaine, that he might defend the same from the malice of strangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of souldiers and speciallie of Britains, to whom he promised that if they would make him king, he would clerelie deluer them from the oppression of the Roman seruitude. Whereupon the Britains rebelling against Bassianus, joined themselves to Carausius, who by their support vanquished and slue the said Bassianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as some affirme) 30 yeares.

Thus farre out of the English and British writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you shall hear in the next chapter what the approved historiographers, Grækes and Latines, writing of these matters, have recorded.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour Seuerus, he arriveth in Britaine with a mightie power to suppressse the rebellious Britains, the emperours polithe provision for his souldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitye of the Britains, their nimbinesse, the painting of their bodies with diverse colours, their furniture, their great sufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diverse conflicts betwixt the Romans and the Britains, their subtile trains to deceive their enemies, the Romans pitifullie distressed, Seuerus constraineoth the Galatians to conclude a league with him; he falleth sicke, his owne seeme practiseth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and slue all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and sepulchre: Bassianus ambitiously usurped the whole regiment, he killed his brother Geta, and is slaine himselfe by one of his owne souldiers.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

THE emperour Seuerus receiuing aduentist from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & wasted the countrey with roads and forries, so that it was needful to have the prince himselfe to come thither with a great power to resit the enimies, he of an ambitious mind rejoised not a little for those newes, because he saw occasion offered to advance his renowne and fame with increase of new victories now in the west, after so manie triumphs purchased and got by him in the east and north parts of the world. Hereupon though he was of great age, yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessary, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that beside his feeblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He tooke with him his two
two sons, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, upon purpose as was thought, to avoid occasions of such inconvenience as he perceived might grow by discord and enmity between them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance; which to bring to passe, he perceived there should want no means whilst they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were daily there frequented; and therefore he caused them to attend him in his journey into Britaine, that they might learn to live soberly, and after the manner of men of warre.

Seuerus being thus on his journey towards Britaine, stayed not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him foorth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assault his enemies, and to pursue the warre against them to the uttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arrival of the emperor, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadors to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus deifying time for answer, as he that was desirous to attempt some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserve the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coveted, still was busie to prepare all things necessary for the warre; and namely, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay over the bogs and mareshes, so that his soldiers might have place to stand upon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enemies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of bogs & maresh ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which maresh grounds the enemies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the use of wearing clothes, but ware hoopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Moreover they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diverse sorts and with sundrie shapes and fignures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they used not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be scene, which they esteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giben much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloodshed, using none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a jauline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpiece or habergeon, they esteemed not, because they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe over anie maresh, or be druen to swim anie waters, or fife to the bogs.

Moreover, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so used and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diverse daies together: and in the woods they would live upon roots and barks of trees. Also they used to prepare for themselves a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiv'd but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinken themselves satisfied, and feele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subject vnto the Romans, the other was governed of themselves, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and understanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, provided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne soldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subject to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched foorth, and entred into the comines of the enemies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there ensued diverse contests and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enemies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approach, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie.
readie to returne and assaile their enemies vpon euerie occasion of advantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing solely troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no spectacul end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, in places convenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same away, being distant from the residue of the arme a good space, they would fall vpon them and distress them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoyed with the unwellosomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straine abroad, they were snapped up by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so feeble that they could not through want of strength keep pace with their fellows as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellows, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enemies. Hereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Severus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vtermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subject to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) Muroe. But first he forced the other, whom he of the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliver vnto him their armour and weapons.

In the meane time, the emperour Severus being worn with age fell sicke, so that he was constrained to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enemies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the soldiery and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he daily looked) he might have their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sicknesse longer time than he would have wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilst Antoninus thus neglectfullie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were lately joined in league with the emperour, but the other also which were subjectes to the Romane empire. Severus took such displeasure, that he called together the soldiery, and commanded them to invade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might meet within anie place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, caedineque cruentam,
Non festus granida mater quam gessit in alio
Horrendam effugiat cadem.

But while he was thus disquited with the rebellion of the Britains, and the dissoall practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not unknowne, (for the wicked soule had by diuers attempts discovered his traitorious and unnaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sicknesse, he wasted awaie, and departeth this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had governed the emperie by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeares, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & waies of those people, against whom Severus held warre here in Britaine, it maye be conjectured, that they were the Scots, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incursions and rodes wasted and destroyed the borders of those countries which were subject to the Romans. To kepe them backe therefore and to represse their invasions, Severus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east

sea
sea to the west, containing in length 252 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turf and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deep trench or ditch, and also fortified with diverse towers and turrets built & erected upon the same wall or rampire so nere together, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning guine from one to another upon the first descriing of the enimies.

Severus being departed out of this life in the yeare of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine have vsurped the whole government into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the soldiers: but when he perceived that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalf, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whom he took order for the burkall of his father. And first his badie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conveyed to Rome by the two brethren and the empress Iulia, who was mother to Geta the younger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all means possible sought to maintaine loewe and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first tooke vpon them to rule the empire equallie together. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finallie vpon desire to have the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaying him euin in his mothers lap, and so possessed the government alone, till at length he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne soldiers, as he was about to vsurpe his points to doo the office of nature, after he had reigne the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods judgment, prouing that he which had shed mans bloud, should also die by the sword.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gane the Picts, and wherewith his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornwall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the contous practise of Carausius the usurper.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

CARAUSIUS a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquish'd & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and rulere over them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carausius either to have the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historic is conteined, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gave to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which joine to England on the east marshes, as Mers, Louthian, and others.

But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Severus, and after that the death of Severus, and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the batell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts tooke part with Bassianus, and at length betrayed him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtle practises as he used, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and vter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitoroues part they had those south countries of Scotland gien vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottish writers it should appeare, that these Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britain, now called Scotland. But whatsoeter they were, truth it is (as the British histories
ALECTUS in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius tooke vpon him the rule and government of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did use great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conpired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogether out of their countrey, they procure one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornwall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Wherepon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gane battell to the Britains, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the greatest number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alectus himselfe was slaine, the residue of the Romans that were left alive, retired backe into the citie with a captaine of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themselves within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornwall, began his reigne over the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 292. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the same, and slue the forenamed Liuius Gallus neere vnto a brooke, which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same brooke: by reason whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus brooke. And at this present the strete where the same brooke did run, is called Wallbrooke. Then after Asclepiodotus had overcome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred justice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the euill. Till at length, through slanderous tongues of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coiull or Collus, that was governour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoever the matter was, there ensued such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and meeting in the field, they fought a sore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geoffrey of Monmouth and our common chronicles written of Carausius, Alectus, and Asclepiodotus, which governed here in Britaine.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane histories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect these words. "About the same time Carausius, the which being borne of most base of spRING, attinched to high honour and dignitie by order of renowned chiuialrie & service in the warres, receivd charge at Bolein, to keepe the seas quiet amongst the coasts of Britaine, France, and Flandres, and other countreys thereabouts, because the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons sore troubled those seas. Carausius taking oftimes manic of the enimies, neither restored the goods to them of the countrey from whome the enimies had bereft the same, nor yet sent anie part therof to the emperorus, but kept the whole to his owne use. Wherypon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enimies to passe by him, till they had taken some prises, that in their returne with the same he might encounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtle practise he was thought greatly to have inriched him selfe) Maximianus that was fellow in governement of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining
remaining then in Gallia, and advertised of these doings, commanded that Carausius should be slaine, but he having warning thereof rebelled, and vsurping the imperall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all war-like knowledge) when warres had beene attempted and followed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enjoyed the possession of Britaine by the space of seven yeres, & then was slaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yeres, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus governor of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some precinct and jurisdiction pertaining to the Roman empire. And so was Britaine recovered by the forestall Asclepiodotus about ten yeres after that Carausius had first vsurped the government there, and about the yère of our Lord 300, as Polydor judgeth, wherein he varieeth much from Fabian and others.

But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Maximianus dooth report of this matter, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

The substance of that which is written touching Britaine in a panegyricke oration ascribed to Mamertinus, which he set forth in praise of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neverthelesse both the emperors are praised; and likewise (as ye may perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperors, to assist them by the name of Caesar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

"A.L.I. the compass of the earth (most victorious emperor) being now recovered through your noble prowesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Roman empire had before extended, but also the enimies borders being subdued, when Almaine had beene so often vanquished, and Sarmatia so often restraine & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitfull reproch of so mighty an empire and government over the whole greued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not stick to confesse, and to vs it seemed the more intolerable, because it onlie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowne and glorie. And verifie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the loose to be esteemed small to the common wealth of a land so plentiful full of corne, so abundant with store of pastures, so flowing with veins of metall, so garnisht with revenues rising of customs and tributes, so environed with harbours, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, witt that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre; so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie bene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land; besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Picts and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gave place to the Roman puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voyage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed over the Ocean sea.

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"But
"But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his wares: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Roman soldiers was woon, and brought to take part with the enimie, and divers bands of strangers that were also soldiers were shut vp in the ships to serve also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to enrich themselves by the spoile of the provinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischievous practise.

"And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the faine of a greenous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in euery mans care, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long suufferance of their wicked practices without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had beene for feare of them, whereas the disadvantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to defere our victorie: neither did they beleue that the warre was put off for a time by advice and counsel, but rather to be omitted through despaire of dooing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouvernement into his hands.

"This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so groome in time to a stubborne stiffnesse, and so well proouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiallyl majestie against that enimie, euery man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchieued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseen) it was proouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your majestie: for you of your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchesafe to advance the comming of your diuine excellencie by the nearest way that might be, which to you was not vnowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terror of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontiere: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteralled anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncertaine of his owne dooing and void of counsel, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

"Here commeth to mind how pleasant and casefull the good lucke of those princes in governing the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surrenayes appointed them of such nations as their capteines did vanquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renomee of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and success of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserved the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) have bene not onlie the appointer fourth how all this voyage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demaended, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiallyl rule and dignitie, but also you have bene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselves, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchieued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irrevocable desire into their hearts that were ready to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the river of Saine, insomuch that when the capteines of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried
cried to have the sailes hoised vp, and signe given to lanch foorth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serve their turne.

"But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vpnto the sea, were the same never so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What doo we doubt? what mean we to staie? He is now loosed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in proefe, let vs venter through anie dangers of sea whatsoever. What is there that we may stand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceive them: for as by report of them selues we doo vnderstand, at that selue time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enemies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their adversaries, and lurking as it were in wait, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceived, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

"But now as concerning that the same unuanschable army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, streightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships; what movued them so to doo, except the admonitions of your divine motion? Or what other reason persuaded them to reserve no furthearance for their flight, if need were, nor to feare the doubfull chances of war, nor (as the proverbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obtained? There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onedie consideration of your unspeakable fortunate successe comming from the heavenes aboue. For whatsoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicite of the capteine generall.

"That same ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed? Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (most invincible emperour) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteinas, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither so euer he fled, the power of your divine majestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuere. But he fleeing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he overcome, of your armes was he oppressd.

"To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still looking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to doo, he hasted forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperour) your felicite yeeldeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchieued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onlie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least wise apparked in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haires, but now with gashes of wounds and bloud all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch forth or draw in their maimed lims and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the thecues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life time

...
time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarce was he couered with one piece of apparel whereby he might be knowne, so neere were his words true, vtted at the hour of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not have it understood how he was slain.

" This verelie (most inuincible emperour) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods over all the enemies whomse you assaulted, but namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through missing their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they sate downe right in eveh part of the same citie, what multitude sooner remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoild the citie) to have got awaie by flight. But now being thus shaine by your souldiers, the subjects of your province were both preserved from further danger, and tooke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruel enemies. O what a mani-fold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vttelie destroyed, & by which maunc other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse.

"Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glory of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that seemed as present to threaten all provinces, and might have spred abroad and burst out in a flame, even so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane guls doo reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would have advanced it selfe else where, if it might haue beene assured of means to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mountaine, nor river, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euon so as the ships, although we had your martiall proves and prosperous fortune redie to releace vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

"For that incredible boldnesse and vnvoorthe good hap of a few silie captuies of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conuiceng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, ariuing vpon divers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an haunt towne in times past highlie renowned for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streights of Gibralterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate succees of their rash presupumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accessse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vs of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

"Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suerte: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations even vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioyfull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioiose so muche the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furthernent of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by scamen is calmed, vpon the entering into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had gien harbour to so long a mischief, is euidentlie knowne to have tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therefore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse,
came forth and offered themselves to your presence, with their wives and children, re-
eruing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eyes, as on one descended downe to
them from heaven) but also even the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought
your divine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were
readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous
were they of you.

"Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioiful, sith after their
miserable captiuitie so manie yeeres continued, after so long abusing of their wives, and
filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length
made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and govern-
ment: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the re-
port of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceived the tokens of all vertues, in
your face grauiite, in your cies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your
words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse
they signified on high. To you they bound themselves by vow, to you they bound their
children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and ofspring.

"We trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall
gods with most earnest suppiication and heartie praiere, that your children and their children,
and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicat unto you, and to
those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we
wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioyers of that felicitie which now we our
selues enjoy? The Romane common wealth dooth now comprehend in one conjunction of
peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times have belonged to the Romans, and that huge power
which with too great a burden was shrooneke downe, and riven in sunder, is now brought
to ioint againe in the assured ioint of the imperiall government. For there is no part of
the earth nor region under heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or sub-
dued by force of armies, or at the lestwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other
thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should move men thereto, that might
be obtained? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouerced
by you, what those nations which are more adjoininge to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient
to your commandements? There is no occasion that may move you to passe further, ex-
cept the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours
(most invincible princes) which are accounted woorthie of you, and thereof commeth it,
that you may equallie provide for euerie one, sith you have the whole in your majesties
hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperor Diolesian) by your com-
mandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither,
as afterward (most excellent emperor Maximian) by your appoyntment, the Frankeners
at length brought to a pleasant suiciation, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled
and mantued the vacant fields of the Neruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now
by your victories (invincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens,
Beauois, Trois, and Langres, begynnest to flourishe with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yen
moreover that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I have a peculiar
cause to reioice, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie
& diverse artificers, of whom those provinces were full, and now by their workmanship
the same citie riseth vp by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings
and temples, so that now it acounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to
Rome, is againe to his restored, when she hath you escoones for his founder. I have said
(invincible emperor) almost more than I have beene able, & not so much as I ought, that
I may have most just cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter
to speake: and thus I cease."
What is to be observed and noted out of the panegyrique oration of Mamertinus afore remembered, with necessarie collections out of other Antiquaries.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

NOW let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Dioclesian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind foorth with to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subjection of such princes as maintained their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got together, furnished with all things necessarie, & manie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Frankeners were chief, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowned for their puissance by sea, neere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rouers comparable to them.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleete that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane subjects inhabiting amongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe so wealthie and profitable a land into the obedience of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliver the people of Gallia subject to the Romans, from danger of being daily spoiled by those rouers that were maintained here in Britaine, he provided with all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and rigging them in sundry places, tooke order for their setting forward to his most advantage for the easie attchiuing of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of capteines with their fleetes from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meenes Alectus that had vsurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour over the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet understanding of the nauie that was made ready in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be conjectured, to intercept that fleete, as it should come foorth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he faie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigg'd on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no express mention either of Alectus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is evident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his capteines governed the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chiefeine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we doo find in Eutropius.

Hicere is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conuied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaye, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the invasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henand, held a castell there, which was called Broctaimons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Mons, retaientine the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Nor couer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfray Llyod hath very well noted in his booke intituled "Fragmenta historiae Britannicae," Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration dooth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

The
The state of this land under bloudie Dioclesian the persecuting tyrant, of Alban the first that suffered martyrdom in Britaine, what miracles were wrought at his death, whereas Lichfield tooke the name; of Coelus earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was married to Constantin the emperor, as some authors suppose.

THE XXVI. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Britaine was thus recovered by the Romans, Dioclesian and Maximian ruling the empire, the land tasted of the crueltie that Dioclesian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yeeres. Amongst other, one Alban, a citizen of Werlamchester, a towne now bearing his name, was the first that suffered here in Britaine in this persecution, being converted to the faith by the zealous christian Amphibalus, whom he received into his house: insomuch that when there came sergeantes to secke for the same Amphibalus, the foresaid Alban to preserve Amphibalus out of danger, presented himselfe in the apparell of the said Amphibalus, & so being apprehended in his stead, was brought before the judge and examined: and for that he refused to doo sacrifice to the false gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer against the towne of Werlamchester aforesaid where afterwards was builded a church and monasterie in remembrance of his martyrdom, insomuch that the towne there restored, after that Werlamchester was destroyed, tooke name of him, and so is vnto this day called saint Albons.

It is reported by writers, that divers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, insomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was converted, and refusing to doo that office, suffered also with him: but he that tooke vpon him to doo it, reioised nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, together with the head of that holi man which he had then cut off. There were also martyred about the same time two constant witnesses of Christ his religion, Aaron and Iulius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiske. Moreover, a great number of Christians which were assembled togetherr to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were slaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne tooke name, as you would say, The field of dead corpses.

To be briefe, this persecution was so great and greeuous, and thereto so vniversall, that in maner the Christian religion was thereby destroyed. The faithfull people were slaine, their books burnt, and churches ouerthrown. It is recorded that in one moneths space in divers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for professing the christian faith in the daies of that tyrant Dioclesian and his fellow Maximian.

Coelus earle of Colchester began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coeill ruled the land for a certeine time, so as the Britains were well content with his government, and lived the longer in rest from invasion of the Romans, because they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpose, appointed one Constantius to passe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Constantius put Coelus in such dread, that immediatlie vpon his arraill Coelus sent to him an amissant, and concluded a peace with him, covenanting to pay the accustomed tribute, & gave to Constantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coel died, when he had reigned (as some write) 27 yeeres, or (as other have) but 13 yeeres.

But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but assuredly such a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he married vnto Constantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leave that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole course of the liues, as well of the father and the sonne Constantius and Constantine,
Constantine, as likewise of the mother Helen, be considerate marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greece and Latin the same may be gathered, I feare least such doubt may rise in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Constantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth.) But forsomuch as I meane not to step from the course of our countrie writers in such points, where the receivd opinion may sceme to warrant the credit of the historie, I will with other admit both the mother and sonne to be Britains in the whole discourse of the historie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue said.

A further discourse of the forenamed Constantius and Helen, his regiment over this Island, his behaviour and talk to his sonne and counsellors as he lay on his death-bed, a devise that he put in practise to understand what true Christians he had in his court, his commendable vertues, that the Britains in his time intraced the christian faith is proven.

THE XXVII. CHAPTER.

CONSTANTIUS a senator of Rome began to regne over the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 306, as our histories report. This Constantius (as before ye have heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foresaid king Coel, of whom he begat a sonne named Constantinus, which after was emperour, and for his woorthie doings surnamed Constantine the great. S. Ambrose following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and some againe write, that she was concubine to Constantius, and not his wife. But whatsoever she was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane histories, that Constantius being the daughters sonne of one Crispus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raised by the Britains, and there (as some write) married the foresaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yeet [after] he was constreined to forsake, and to marry Theodora the daughter in law of Hercules Maximianus, by whom he had six sonnes, and finallie was created emperour, together with the said Galerius Maximianus, at what time Dioclesianus and his fellow Hercules Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committted the same vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, so that to Constantius the regions of Italia, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were assigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Grecia, and all the east parts. But Constantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leave Italia and Affrike, supposing his charge to be great enoogh to have the gouvemement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius saith.)

But as touching his regne over the Britains, we haue not to say further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouvemement in the empire, it is to be considered, that first he was admitted to rule as an assistant to Maximian under the title of Cesar: and so from that time if you shall account his regne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or lesse, according to the diversitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we shall reckon his regne from the time onelie that Dioclesian and Maximian resigned their title vnto the empire, we shall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betwixt the slaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Constantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and 6 moneths, not onelie those eight yeeres, but also some space of time before maie be ascribed vnto Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this last time (for he had bene here afore, as it well appereoth) Asclepiodotus governing as legat, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not saide to regne absolutelie, till Dioclesian and Maximian resigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Constantius, at length he fell sicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yeere of our Lord 306.

This
This is not to be forgotten, that whilst he lay on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partly touched) he required him with all joy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other soones & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne upon his soones head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him selfe the office of an herald, and withall spake these words vnto his said soone, and to his counsellours there about him:  

"Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant; I have heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne soone, and one whom in earth I leave to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the teares of the Christians, and revenge the cruellie exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in stead of most felicite."

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue and godlinesse in Christ, which Christ he vnderstoode should continue with his soone Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. That devise also is woorthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to understand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had bee first a persecuter, and after was converted, it was a matter ease to persuade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the politicke which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called together all his officers and servants, feining himselfe to choose out such as would doe sacrifice to diuels, and that those onlie should remaine with him and keepe their office, and the rest that refused so to doe, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Hereupon all the courtiers diuided themselves into companies: and when some offered willinglie to doe sacrifice, and other some boldlie refused: the emperour marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so readie to dishonour the living God, accounting them as treaure to his divine majestie, and not woorthie to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the profession of the christian faith, he greatlie commended, as men woorthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they should be as chief counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdom, esteeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a grave prince, sober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euere free from couetous desire of great riches: insomuch that when he should make anie great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borrow plate and silver vessell to serve his taine, and to furnish his cupbord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruces & euarden vessells. He was woont to have this saieing in his mouth, that better it was that the subiects should have store of monie and riches, than the prince to kepe it close in his treasurie, where it serued to no use. By such courteous dealing the provinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse. He was a verie wise and politicke prince in the ordering of all weightlie matters, and verie skillfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Romane empire in great steed, and was therefore highlie beloved of the soldierys, insomuch that inmediatlie after his deceasse, they proclaimed his soone Constantine emperour.

That the christian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this season, it mae appare, in that Hilarius bishop of Poictiers writhe to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus dooth affirme. For the Britains after they had received the faith, defended the same even with the shedding of their bloud, as Amphibiasus, who in this Constantine dates being apprehended, suffered at Redburne neere to Werlemanchester, about 15 yeares after the martyrdome of his host S. Albane.
Constantine created emperor in Britaine, he is sollicited to take upon him the regiment of those countries that his father governed, he is requested to subdue Maxentius the usurping tyrant, Maximianus his father secketh to depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maximianus the father & his sonne Maximus, Fausta the daughter of Maximi- anus & wife to Constantine detecteth tir therewith to his husband, Maximianus is strangd at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is slaine, the empresse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

THE XXVIII. CHAPTER.

CONSTANTINE being the son of the forenamed Constantius, begot of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reign in the yeere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of her in Britaine (as our writers doo affirme) and created certenlie emperor in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his native countrey partaker of his high glorie and renowne, which by his great prowes, politike wisedome, woorthie government, and other his princely qualities most abundantlie planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insomuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happilie brought to passe and attiued, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilst this Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had been a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but yong, fled from thence, and with all post hast returned to his father into Britaine, killing or howling by the waie all such horsew as were appointed to stand at innes readie for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should have beene overtaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his father sore vexed with sicke, whereof shortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were about him, incouraged to take upon him as emperor: and namede one Eroclus king of the Almaines, which had accompanied his father thither, assisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed emperor, he tooke upon him the rule of those countries which his father had in government, that is to saie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other provinces here in the west: and ruling the same with great equitie and wisdome, he greatly wan the favour of the people, insomuch that the fame of his politike government and courteous dealing being spread abroad, when Maxentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull usurping & abusing the same, was grown into the hatred of the Romans and other Italiens, Constantine was earnestlie by them requested to come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the state of things there.

This Maxentius was some to Hercules Maximianus, and Constantine had married Fausta the daughter of the said Maximianus. Now so it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his sonne Maxentius had taken the rule upon him, sought means to have deposed him, and to have resumed and taken eftsoones into his owne hands the government of the empire. But soliciting Dioclesian to doo the like, he was much reprooued of him for his unreasonable and ambitious purpose: so that when he perceived that neither Dioclesian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they having alreadie established his sonne, began to devise waies how to assure the state more stronglie to his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in law Constantine was minded to come into Italie against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, insomuch that it was judged by this which followed, that Hercules Maximianus did but for a colour scheme to mislike that which his said son Maxentius
tius had done, to the end he might the sooner accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Constantine out of the way.

Whereupon (as it were) fleeing out of Itacie, he came to Constantine, who as then having appointed lieutenants under him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all joy and honour that might be, receiv'd his father in law: the which being earnestlie bent to compass his purpose, made his daughter Fausta prime thereto: which ladie (either for scare least the concealing thereof might turne his heart to displeasure, either else for the entire love which she bare to her husband) revealed her fathers wicked purpose. Whereupon whilst Constantine went about to be revenged of such a traitorous practise, Hercules fled to Marsiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Maxentius into Itacie. But yer he could get awaie from them, he was strangled by commandement of his sonne in law Constantine, and so ended his life, which he had spottet with manie cruel acts, as well in persecuting the professors of the christian name, as others.

In this meanie time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to assist him in governaunce of the empire, proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selse time Constantine governed France, and the west parts of the empire, Maxentius held Itacie, Afrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewise had beene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But shortly after, the emperour Constantine joined in league with Licinius, and gave to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more suerte of faithfull friendship to indure betwixt them. He sent him also against Maximianus who governning in the east part of the empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he shortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Constantine after this was called into Itacie, to deliver the Romans and Italians from the tyranny of Maxentius, which occasion so offered, Constantine gladlie accepting, passed into Itacie, and after certeine victories got against Maxentius, at length shew him.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre against Licinius, that had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he finallie made warre against his brother in law the said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the woore, and at length conning into the hands of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constantine by this meanes got the whole empire under his rule and subjection. He was a great fauourer of the Christian religion, insomuch that to advance the same, he tooke order for the conuertiung of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, into the seruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded also, that none should be admetted to serve as a solldier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet to haue rule of any country or armie. He also ordain'd, the week Before Easter, and that which follow'd to be kept as holie, and no person to doe anie bodefull woorks during the same.

He was much councel'd by that noble and most vertuous ladie his mother, the empress Helen, who being a godlie and devout woman, did what in her laie, to move him to the setting forth of Gods honour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie instructed. Some writers alledged, that she being at Jerusalem, made diligent search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much ado: for the infidels had stopped it vp, and covered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft upon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where young women vsed to sing songs in honour of that vnchast goddess. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrown, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleansed, so that at length the sepulchre appeard, and fast by were found there buried in the earth three crosses and the nails. But the crosse whereupon our Saviour was crucified, was knowne by the title written upon it, though almost worn with use. In letters of Hebrew, Grecke, and Latine: the inscription was this, Jesus Nazarens rex Judaeorum. It was also perceived which was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trule I can not tell) that should be wrought thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof she was heal'd. It was also said, that a dead man
man was raised from death to life, his body onlie being touched therewith. Whereupon Constantine mougued with these things, forbid that from thencefoorth any should be put to death on the crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuercence.

The empress Helen hauing thus found the crosse, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the same to hir some Constantine, who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, an other in the bridle of his horse, and the third he cast into the sea, to assauke and pacifie the furious tempests and rage thereof. She also brought with her a parcel of that holy crosse, and gane it to hir some the said Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within an image that represented his person, standing upon a piller in the market place of Constantine, or (as some late writers have) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffe of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Sessoriana, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie works of great zeal and vertue are remembered by writers to haue bene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the advancing of the faith of Christ.

But to be brieife, he was a man in whom manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeared, chieflie he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earnest lower of justice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one Maximinus a right valiant capaine. He tooke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and dierse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approoued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceived a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprizes, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euery place ouercame his enimies.

Some write that Constantine thus conueying ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industric obtaining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to gue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posterity remaine unto this daie, maruellous increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he tooke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers doe testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Traherneus, and Marius, whom he made senators of Rome.

Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne ouer the Britains, he incountereth with Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwaerd in Westmerland: Octauius being discontented fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius secludeth for Maximinus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter and the kingdom of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena buildeth the walls of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the provinces that retained the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Mariuns the lieutenant excuse them as innocent, his valuiatie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

THE XXIX. CHAPTER.

NOW in the meane time that Constantine had obtained and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recoverd libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had got
got the government of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geoffry of Monmouth the interpreter thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octavian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewisses, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, which Octauius (after that Constantine had recovered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affairs of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

This Octauius then beginning his reigne over the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Traherne, or as some name him Traherne, entered this land with three legions of soldiers, & in a field nere vnto Winchester, was encountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whom after a sore battell there striken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constrained to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius having knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the country of Westermanl eftsoones gave him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the woorsse, and constrained to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid; and being ready with such power as he there gathered, what of the Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing he was advertised that an earle of Britaine which bare his heartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, eftsoones got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yeeres after that the said Octauius first tooke vpon him to rule as king.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius governed the land right noble, and greatly to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble young man, cousin to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with her to have the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to have given him in marriage vnto one Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, which was his nephue; but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the fornamed Maximianus.

Maurice according to his commision and instruction in that behalfe received, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a convenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meridoc past not so much to have bene doing with him, for malice that he conceived towards him, because he saw that by his means he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the marriage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which divers authors doo write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be understood of Gratian his reigne after the decasse of his uncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie arise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule over the Britains since the time of Constantius, vnto our British and Scottish writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, and assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empressesse Helen, daughter to Coell Octauius.
Cecil earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories doe witness.) Unto the which empress Constantine bare such dutifull reverence, that he did not onely honour hir with the name of empress, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the advancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the love that she bare unto Colchester and London, she walled them about, and caused great brick and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be scene even yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the worke manshipe of those daies. She lived 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir sonsnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the cite with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate appertained: but after hir corps was removed and brought to Constantinople, where it was eftsoones interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine lived till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then deceassed at Nicomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great stur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the British and Scottish writers have recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it may be supposed, that the Britains lusted in rest vnder his government, and likewise after vnder hirsonnes that succeeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots invaded the south parts of the land.

But now to end with Octavius, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reign, it may appear, in that amongst the 56 provinces, out of the which there were assembled above 300 bishops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Eusebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Ioannianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nationes in the confession of faith articulated in the Nicene councell. Also mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies, as Restitutus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Kibius Corinius sonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and bishop of Anglesey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and then of Anglesey aforesaid vere diligently.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) some trouble was likelee to have growne vnto the Britains by receuuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italia into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantius would have deputed, because they had taken part with Maxentius his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to see them brought to light to answere their transgressions: which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Cetera, and to rage against the Britains and partakers with the fugitives, in that they had receuied and maintaied them, as he alleged: but in the end being certified of Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing least his extreme rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogether, and cause them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made banocke of those that he suspected, till the said Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his sword and smote at him. But such was his age and weaknesses, that he was not able to kill him or give him anie deadlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his sword against himself, and so ended his life, being contented rather to die than see his countrymen and subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this the said Paulus returned backe againe into Italia from whence he came, after whose departure, it was not long yeer he also was slaine, and then all the Scots and Picts were disquited the Romane subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as shall be declared out of

Amianus
Amianus Marcellinus, after we haue first shewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and spoile the British inhabitants within the Romane provinces here in this Ile, and that eu’n in most outrageous maner.

Maximianus or Maximus governeth this Ile, why writers speake ill of him, strife betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornelwall, Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he transporteth the British youth serviceable for warres into France, little Britaine in France why so called, eleuen thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people, whereas some were drowned, and other some murdered in the way by Gaius king of胡同和 Melga king of Picts, they fle into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

THE XXX. CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Octavianus or Octavian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and chosen germaine to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, hardie of stomach: but yet because he was cruel of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamous by writers: but the chief cause why he was evil reported, was for that he slew his souereigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed woorthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech respect. Betwixt him and the abovemented Conan Meridoc duke of Cornelwall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, wasted the countrie on ech side. Maximianus thereof hauing advertisement, raised his power and went against him, and so fighting with him divers battels, sometime departed awaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through mediation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Maximianus, or (as the Romane histories say) Maximus, was by the soldiers chosen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although some write that this was doone in Spaine.

After he had taken upon him the imperall dignitie, vpon desire to haue enlarged his dominion, he assembled together all the chosen youth of this land mete to doo service in the warres, with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie anciently called Armorica, and slue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This doone he gave the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for ever. He also commanded that the said countrie from thencefoorth should be called lilde Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people soever inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than another: for Armorica in the British tongue signifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, avoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie oneie with Britains, which abhorring to joine themselues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and governour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to send ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the manner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be joined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Vrsula, a ladic of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be given in mariage to the foresaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

These
These number of maidens were shipped in Thanes, and passing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Vrsula) were slaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperour Gratian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppress and subdue all such as were friends and maintaineers of the part of Maximianus. We find in some booke, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maidens, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthred the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make sore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was advertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of soldieryers, who bare himselfe so manfullie against the enimies, that he constreined the said Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this mean time, Maximus having slaine the emperour Gratian at Lions in France, and after entering into Italia, was slaine himselfe at Aquilia (after he had governed the Britains eight yeres) by the emperour Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the said emperour Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italia.

But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the same Maximus, vndoubtedly a Britaine borne, nephue to the empress Helen, and begotten by a Romane. "At length (saith Gyldas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maner nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth forth a branch of hir most bitter plant, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to guard him, and apperred in the imperiall robes which he never ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but (after the custome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining soldieryers: which Maximus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periuie and false suggestion) vnto his wicked government the countries & prouinces next adjoynynge, against the impperiall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italia, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his souereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperors he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long variance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got together, at the citie of Aquilia he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire."

"From thencethorth Britaine being deprived of all hir warlike soldieryers and armie, of hir governours also (though cruel) and of an huge number of hir youth (which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vterlie vnskillfull in feats of warre, were troden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismayed, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to doo for the space of manie yeeres togethers. By reason of whose greuous invasion and cruel oppression wherewith she was miserable disquieted, she sendeth hir ambassadors vnto Rome, making lamentable suit even with tears to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend hir against the enimies, promising to be true subjects with all faithfullnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remonned." Thus farre Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter ye shall find recited.
What Gratianus it was that was sent over from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British soldiery have beene, the prime treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both slaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant succeeding them is wurthered, Gratianus also his successor hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his some Constatine partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenne hills, the issue of the battell.

THE XXXI. CHAPTER.

But now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent over with threé legions of soldiery by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards usurped the imperriall dignitie hære in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius. For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grand-father to the emperour Gratianus, against whom Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers make mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the forseaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appereith by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie hære in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperour Constantius as confiscate, for that in time of the ciuil wars he had receued Maxentius, as he past thorough his countrie.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent over into Britaine (as before is said) by Maximus, least otherwise some errour may be doubted in the writers of the Britan histories, as hauing happillie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them supposed: and so thorough mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuerthelesse it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable service of chaiuele was attuied by the same Gratianus Funarius whilst he remained hære in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath bene written by authors, and happillie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirteene booke might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Constantin the great first pepoled Armorica: but yet he agreeth, that both Maximus, and also Constantin the usurper, of whom after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Constantinus afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armorica. And so when the tyrants had lef none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but such as were giuen to slouth and gulltonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Hære is yet to be considerd, in what price the soldiery of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Maximus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expressed sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appereith, that
he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this side the Rhine, but also found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas pertaining to the empire. It was therefore agreed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a cohch toward Lions, as if it had bee ne Constantia Posthumia the empress, wife to the emperour Gratian, bruting abroad there withall, that the said empress was cunning forwards on hire waile to Lions, there to meet with hir husband, for that ypon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certaine earnest businesse.

When Gratian heard herecof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to meete his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approched the cohch, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murthered him: & so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt forth of the cohch to woorke that feathe when he had him once with-in his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finish his life in the 29 yeare of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yeare of Christ 383, and then died. Maximus succeeded him (making his sonne Flavius Victor Nobiliissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning five yeares and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yoonger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Maximus was earnestlie requested to come to an enteruie with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onlie a safe conduct, but also manic other beneficiall good turns beside. Howbeit Maximus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather ment to pursue Valentinian as a vsurper, and so at length chased him into Slauonie, where he was druen to such a straigt, that if Theodosius had not come to releue him, Maximus had druen him thence also, or else by slaughter rid him out of the waie.

But when Maximus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued carelesse of his owne safegard, and therefore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the northwest parts of Gallia, placed themselues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Constantius, whilst Maximus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius nere unto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yeare of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the six yeare of his reigne, or rather vsurpation, as more rightlie it maie be termed. His sonne Flavius Victor surnameed Nobiliissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Ar- bogastes a Goth, which Flavius Victor was by the said Maximus made regent of the Franke- ners, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in meetlie good quiet by the space of twenty yeeres, tilll one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we mate call him lord-lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers heere proclaimed emperour against Honorius, which Marcus was soon after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his vsurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succeeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken upon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet hereewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other em- perour, or rather vsurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperour, who tooke that honour ypon him in the 409 yeere after the birth of our Saviour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great to- wardlie disposition woorthie to gouerne an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, because they would have another Constantine, more than for anie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his person. But other commend him both for manhood and wisdome, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued singular commendation, if this one note-
of usurpation of the imperiall dignitie had not stained his other noble qualities. But herein he did no more than manie other would have done, neither yet after his inuesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the imperiall throne, gathered an armie with all possible in-deuour, purposing out of hand to go over therewith into France, and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or, at the least to worke so, as he should not have the soldiery and people there to be against him, if he missed to joine in league with the Suebeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he sought to performe. But in the end, when neither of these his devises could take place, he sent over for his sonne Constans (whom in his absence his aduersaries had shorne a moonke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, caused him to bring over with him another armie, which under the conduct of the same Constans he sent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obedience.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the passages that lead over the Pyrenean mountains, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of those passages was committed to defend the same against the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to resist him with their seruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giving him a verie sharpe encounter, and at the first putting him in great danger of an overthrow, but yet at length by the valiant provest of his British soldiery, Constans put his aduersaries to flight, and killed the two capteines, with divers other men of name, that were partakers with him in the necessarie defense of that countrie against the enimies. When Constans had thus repelled those that resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Pyrenean mountains was committed vnto such bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the archiving of this enterprise, who hauing the possession of those straits or passages in their hands, gave entrie vnto other barbarous nations to invade Spaine, who being once entered, pursued the former inhabitants with fire and swoord, setted them selues in that countrie, and drore out the Romans.

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end of Constantinus the father and Constans the sonne, the valure and provess of the British soldiery, the Britische wrioters reprooued of negligence for that they have inserted fables into their worke, whereas they might have deposed matters of truth.

THE XXXII. CHAPTER.

The emperour Honorius, perceiuing the rueing state of the empire, determined forthwith to recover it, before it fell altogether into ruine: and therefore sent one Constantius an earle to drive Constantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he shewed the said Constantine at Arles, although not without great bloudshed. He pursued also the residue of the Britains, driving them to the verie sea coasts, where they shrowded themselves among the other Britains, that before were setled in the countrie there, ancientlie called (as before we said) Armorica, that is, a region lieng on the sea coast: for Ar in the Britishe toong signifieth vpon; and Mour, pertineth to the sea. And as this Constantine the father was slaine by Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne capteines named Gerontius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius shortlie, hauing thus obtained the victorie of both these usurpers, recoverd the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high industrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine & his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comning of Cesar, 1162 after the building
building of Rome, the dominical letter being A, and the golden number 13, so that the
recoffering of the Island fell in the yeare of our Lord 411.

Here also is eftsoones to be considered the valour of the British soldiers, who following
this last remembred Constantine the usurper, did put the Romane state in great danger, and
by force brake through into Spaine, vanquishing those that kept the streights of the mountains
betwixt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small consequence, sith
thereby the number of barbarous nations got free passage to enter into Spaine, whereof
insued manie battels, sacking of cities and townes, and wasting of the countries, accordinglie
as the furious rage of those fierce people was mooned to put their crueltie in practise.

If therefore the Britaine writers had considered and marked the valiant exploits and
noble enterprise which the British aids, armies and legions attchiued in service of the
Romane emperours (by whome whilst they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at
sundrie times notable numbers conuened forth to the parties of beyond the seas, as by
Albinus and Constantius, also by his some Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this
Constantine, both of them usurpers) if (Isaie) the British writers had taken good note of
the numbers of the British youth thus conuened ouser from hence, & what notable exploits
they boldlie attempted, & no lesse manfullie attchiued, they needed not to have gien care
vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, woorthie
in deed of verie high commendation.

And pittie it is, that their fame should be brought by such means out of credit, by the
incredible and fond fables which have bene deuised of their acts so unlike to be true, as the
tales of Robin Hood, or the gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke intituled
"Orlando furioso," sith the same writers had otherwise true matter enough to write of
concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in those daies in forren parts boldlie en-
terprised, and no lesse valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which now and then they
maintained against the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themselves oppressed
by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Voadicia,
Cartimandua, Vennius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as some name him) and divers other, who
for their noble valiancies desire as much praise, as by toong or pen is able to be expressed.
But now to returne vnto the British historie: we will proceed in order with their kings as
we find them in the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to speake some-
what farther of Gratian, from whom we haue digressed.

Gratians rough regiment procureth his owne destruction, the comming of his two brethren
Guainus and Malega with their armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains, they
send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gallio Renavia to releue them, the Romans
refuse anie longer to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and
weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuail, the Britains are
brought to extreme miserie, cruel warres among them, and what mischiefe dooth follow
therepon, their lamentable letter to Actius for succour against their enemies, their sute
is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send am-
assadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obtaine their sute.

THE XXXIII. CHAPTER.

GRATIANUS. GRATIANUS then, whome Maximus or Maximinus had sent into Britaine (as before
ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, tooke vpon him the rule of this our
Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as
Polydor writeth, coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to
sale,
the Romans.  

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saie, a free man of the countrey or cite where he inhabited. For his steninessse and rough governement, he was of the Britains (as the histories allege) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the fornamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of waere, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and destroied the countrey from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infleeled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Maximus had led forth of the land the foure and chiefest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye have heard.

Gyledas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declarch (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischief, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the northwest, and the Picts out of the northeast, by whom (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought under foot many yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Wherevpon immediatly a legion of souldiers was sent thither in ye eare 414, which easilie repelled the enimies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were delivered from danger of utter destruction, as they thought.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had bene aforetime by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrey from sea to sea, stretching from Penauelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be stayd from entring the land : but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather then with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easilie ouerthrownwe by the Scots and Picts, which eftsoones returned to invade the confines of the Britains, and so entring the countrey, wasted and destroied the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subjects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitying the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their succours, the which arriving in Britaine set on the enimies, and giving them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrey.

The Romans thus hauing obtained the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take upon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a journey, alledging that there was no reason why the Romane eniggs, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to travell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfring theues. Wherefore they advised the Britains to looke to their duties, and like men to indevoure themselves to defend their owne countrey by their owne force from the enimies invasions. And because they judged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampie to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 6 foot in breadth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and showed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was doubted that the enimies would land, they caused towers to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discovered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to return.
returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, because of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the succour of the Britains, they tooke into possession all the north and vtermost bounds of the Ile, even vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitants. And wheras the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the country, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entered vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constrained to flye into desert places, and there to remaine and live after the maner of savage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to avoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the country was so destroyed and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left alie to live by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and governours, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easillie put to flight at two severall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mountains, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselves close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beasts and flocks of shaape which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieve them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in the same, as needing one anothers helpe, necessitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all injuries being pardonned and clearely forgiuen. This ciuill warre decayed the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the avoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof ensued such famine for the space of three yeres together, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreme miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counsell together, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

"The lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to bee ministred vnto the province of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wives and children at this present, which stand in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people drive vs to the sea, and the sea driueth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c."

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at Actius hands as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed little how things went, because he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constrained to imploie all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then invaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceased, just fiue hundred yeres alter that Iulius Cesar first entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yeeld themselves into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet keeping
keeping within the mountains, woods and caves, brake out as occasion served upon their adversaries, and then first (saith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the sayling of Philo, Where man hath failde, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enemies that had beene accustomed manie yeeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enemies ceased for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceased not at all. The enemies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie dooings, being not so readie to put backe the common enemies, as to exercise civill warre and discord among themselves. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselves first at that season in the uttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

This with more also hath Gyldas, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people; wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and considered, it must lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but one in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themselves in the north parts of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselves in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more neere to our borders. But to proceed.

The British histories affirme, that whilst the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted together, & concluded to send an honorable ambassade vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Merdoci the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassade the archbishop of London named Guetheline or Gosseline was appointed the chief and principal, who passing over into little Britaine, and coming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldroenus agreed to send his brother Constantine over into great Britaine with a convenient power, upon condition, that the victorie being obtained against the enemies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yeeres together, but how manie, writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by divers conjectures that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yeeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserable afflicted by the invasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye have heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geoffry of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains under the emperor Julianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they send their vicegerents into Britaine, in the disquietes of that time, London called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuiseth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and incommounes, the first entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are daunted at the verie sight of the Romans ensignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are slaine euerye mothers some.

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BUT now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yeere
There was a warlike represse what The in Illyricum ruler, his the was found in Aemilianus, followed. Therefore we have thought good here to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Roman histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperor Julianus, he saith as followeth.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consul the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietness was being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and savage people, the frontiers of the country were wasted, and fierce oppressions wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and having his mind troubled with mane cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we have shewed that Constantius did, lest he should leave them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almans being even then provoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chialtrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such as it was doubted long whether he was more crouetous or cruel. Hereupon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Batavi, with divers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind served his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth unto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as ypon advise taken according to the qualifie of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

In the meane time, whilst Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperor Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he depreied the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Guminarius to succeed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowne in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had underetood so much whilst he was yet in Britaine) would have attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yere he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperor, he could make no surre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue mooued rebellion there.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperor, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpetes had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruel orphan nations being stirred vp, invaded the borders next adjoining, the Almans wasted and destroyed the parts of Gallia and Ruthia, as the Sarmatians and Quadri did Paunonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and grievous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores overran the country of Alfricke more sharpelesse than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Numonius, pretending (though vnjuste) that now after the decease of Iouinius, with whom he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recover those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

Moreover, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of...
of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with grievous news, that were brought him, giving him to understand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to utter povertie: that Nectarius one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, having charge of the partes towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumstanced by traines of the enemies. These things with great honour being knowne, he sent Severus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his household) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Louinius going thither, and with speed hastig forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and advertised out of that He, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approoued skill in warlike affaires, and calling together an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceived of his good speed; the fame whereof spread and went afore him.

A little after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts divided into two nations Dicalliones, and Victuriones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made fowle worooke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers unto them, euery one as they could breaking forth, & doinge great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if good fortune would give him leave, that most able captaine goinge into the uttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting over at lesure, he arrived at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Whereupon the Bataui and Heruli, with the souliers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient cite, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith dividig his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to ferrey the contrarie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedily putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their boeties of cattell, he bereft them of their prete, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souliers, he entrie the cite which before was opprest with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of reliefe and assured preservation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good advise to woorke suerlie: whilst he remained doubtfull what would issue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and undainted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden invasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamation, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaye from their captaines or charge, he called them backe againe to servise: and also those that by licence were departed and late scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to have one Cuielius by name sent to him to have the rule of the provinces in Britaine in stead of the other governours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest maintainer of justice. He likewise required that one Dulcitus a captaine renouned in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistence. These things were done in Britaine.
Againe, in his eight and twentieth booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius attied in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verrite a capitaine of woorthie fame, taking a valiant courageous to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souliards assembled by great diligence, did succour and relieve greatlie the decayed and troubled state of the Britains, preventing usefull convenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to doo mischief, and nothing he commanded the mane souliards to doo, but that whereof he with a cherefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this means accomplishing the roome of a valiant souliard, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capitaine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whose presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to invade the Romane provinces: and so the cities and castles that had beeone sore damagd by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to issue.

But as these things were a dooing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue hurt forth, to the greevous danger of setting things in broyle, if it had not beeone staid even in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the partes of Valeria aditiong to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomach, brother to the wife of Maximinus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had beeone banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, devised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about many things both prouifie and aperitive, the force of his vnmeasureable desire to mischief still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischief like him selfe, as also driers of the souliards, alluring them (as the time servd) with large promises of great wealth, if they would joine with him in that enterprise. But euin now in the verie nickes, when they shold have gone in hand with their vagnatious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie advanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offendours that were forthwith taken and knoone to be guilty in that conspiracie.

Theodosius committed Valentinus with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capitaine Dulcius, commanding him to see them put to death: but conjecturing by his warlike skille (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in ane wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, lest through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the provinces now well quieted, should be againe recurred. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as need required, all danger was quite remoued: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of his furthurance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castles that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to kepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And having recovered the province which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that upon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull governour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as thenceforth it should be called Valenta for the princes pleasure.

The Areani, a kind of men ordaine in times past by our elders (of whom somewhat we have spokne in the acts of the emperor Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he remoued from their places of abiding, being openly convicted, that allureth with bribes and faire promises, they had oftimes bewrayd vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long journeys, and to give warning to our captaines, what sturre the people of the next provinces were about to make.

Theodosius therefore having ordered these & other like things, most woorthilie & to his high face, was called home to the emperour Constat, who leaving the provinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowned for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had
under the Scots & Picts.

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had been an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the favor and love of all men was conveyed unto the sea side; and passing over with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was received with great gladness and commendation, being immediately appointed to succeed in the room of Valence Iouinus that was master of the horses. Finally, he was called by the emperor Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperial estate, after the death of Valence, in the year after the incarnation of our Saviour 379, and reigned emperor, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 years and 2 dates.

Hereto also maye that be applie which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the invasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperor Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consults, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, & passing the seas, entred stronglie into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of whose first invasion came Nonneus sustaine, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an approved captain, & with continuall travell in warres verie expert. But then incontinent with desperate and forborne people, when he perceived some of his soldiery to be ouerthrown and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enemies, he obtained this by informing the emperor what was necessarie and ought to be done, insomuch that Seuerus, maister or (as I make call him) coroneil of the footmen, was sent to helpe and relieve things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazze with the sight of the glistering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they straitly made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was judged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie young men (able for service in the warres) delivered to the Romans according to the covenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to goe their wiles, divers bands of footmen were sent to lie pruifie in a certeine hid vallie so ambuzed, as they might easie break foorth upon the enemies as they passed by them. But it chanced far otherwise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were comming, brake foorth of time, and being suddenly discovered whilst they haste to vnite and knitte themselves together, by the hideous cri and shout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing together againe, they staled, and the extremity of the chance ministring to them force (though not sufficient) they were driven to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horsmen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the efitting of the waie to assisile the enemies as they should passe) advertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not speedily come to the succor of their fellows.

Then ran they together more cruelie than before, and the Romans bending themselves towards their enemies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natyre countrey to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffere to live after anotheres death; either to revenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserved at that time in Britaine, which should seeme to be about the yeere of our Lord 399.

Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this encounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and

borne
borne as it were to prowess and renowne; the course of their dealings in the field most aptly answering to their name. For (as some suppose) the Romans were called of the Græke word ἄγριον, signifying power and mightiness: and in old time they were called Valentians, A calendo, of prevailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the state of Britaine in the decaye of the Romane em- pire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie verving the Britains, they are afflicted by invasion of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, of the Scots first comming into this Iland, and from whence, the Scottish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

THE XXXV. CHAPTER.

AFTER this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did eff-scoones invade the frontiers of the Romane province in Britaine, as appereath by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preserving the same frontiers into the said emperour, in his booke intituled "Panegerycus tertij consulatus" (which fell in the yeere 396) as thus:

Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotting; vago muerone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,
Et geminis fulgens vtröq; sub axe trophieis,
Tethyos alternæ refiuas calcuit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdue,
And with his wandring swoord likewise
the Scots he hath pursude:
He brake with bold courageous care
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consulship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus cali? quid frigora prosunt?
Ignotius? fretum? maduerunt Saxone fusó
Orcades, incaluit Piconum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.

What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climates gaine?
And sea unkownne? bemossed all
with bloud of Saxons slaine.
The Orknes were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ysie Ireland hath bewaileth
the heaps of Scotish harme.
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gotish bloudie warres:

Venit & extremis legio pretenta Britannis,
Que Scoto dat irae truci, ferox; notatas
Perleget examines Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britannis bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liuelles Limbs dooke read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second "Panegerycus" of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstr,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit
Carulus, Oceaniq; astum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam
Moui, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis,
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubis venturum Saxona ventis.

Then Britaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surround,
Whose cheekes were pearst with scorching steele,
whose garments swett the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of ocean seas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Stilico munited strong, when
raised by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the salt sea home did slice,
His care hath causd, that I all feare
of Scotish broiles haue bard,
Ne, doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coasts to gard
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds
sent sailing hitherward.

Thus maie it appeere, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the same empire were invaded by barbarous nations, so was that part of Britaine which was subject to the Romane emperors grievouslie assailed by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Saxons, the which in those daies inhabiting all amongst the sea coasts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not eneie trouble the sea by continuall rouing, but also used to come on land into diverse parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the same with great rage and crueltie.
To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writing to Namatius. "The messenger did assurest affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a souldier, wafted about the crooked shores of the ocean sea against the fleet of the Saxons, of whom as manie rouers as ye behold, so manie archpirates ye suppose to see: so doo they altogether with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plie the parts of rouers, that even now there is good occasion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruel than all other enimies. He assasseth at vnwares, he escapeth by foreseeing the danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand against him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that pursue him, if he fres he escapeth."

Of like effect for profe the verses which he wrote vnto Maiorianus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in English verse.

Tot maria intrauit duce te, longeq; remotas
Sole sub occiduo gentes, victoria Caesar
Signa Calidonios transivit ad sequ; Britannos,
Fuderit & quamquam Scotum, & cun Saxone Pictum,
Hostes quesuit quem iam natura verbatat,
Querere plus homines, &c.
So manie seas I entred haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and Caesar hath
his banners borne full prest
Vnto the furthest British coast,
where Calidoneians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he enimies seeke vnknowne
whom he had forbid, &c.

Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of the decaye of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to invade the Britaines, before anie mention is made of the same their attempts by the British and English writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed by the Britaine writers, we leave that point to the judgement of others that be traualled in the search of such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the Scottish chronicle you shall finde the opinion which their writers have conceived of this matter, and also manie things touching the acts of the Romans done against diuerse of the Britaines, which they presume to be done against their nation, though shadowed under the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this daie to most men vnknowne. But whensoever the Scots came into this Isle, they made the third nation that inhabited the same, comming first out of Schithia, or rather out of Spaine (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that desire to understand that matter as they set it fourthe.
THE FIFT BOOKE
OF THE
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Constantinus at the generall sute of the Britains undertaketh to gouve the Iland, he is crowned king, his three sone, he is traitorouslie slaine of a Pict, Constantius the eldest sone of Constantine having bene a noble is created king: the ambitious & slie practices of duke Bortigerne to aspire to the government, he procureth certeine Picts and Scots to kill the king who had retaine them for the garte of his person, his crefftie desises and deepe dissimulation under the pretense of innocencie, he wineth the peoples harts, and is chosen their king.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

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

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 covenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the same at Totnesse in Deuonsirile. Inmediatlie after his coming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diverse places of the Ile. Then went he forth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquished: & slue that tyrannicall king Guantius there in the field (as some booke have.) Howbeit, this agreeth not with the Scottish writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet lost their king named Dongard (as in their historic ye maie read.)

But to procede as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus overcome their enimies, they conuerted their captaine the said Constantine vnto Cicester, and there in fulfilling their promise and covenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 432, which was about the fift yeere of the emperor Valentinus the second, and third yeere of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to settle themselves in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Constantine being thus established king, ruled the land well and noble, and defended it from all invasion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three sone (as the British historie affirmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambroesius, and Vter.
named Pendragon. The eldest, because he perceived him to be but dull of wit, and not
very toward, he made a moonke, placing him within the abbye of Amphibalus in Winchester.

Finally this Constantine, after he had reigned ten yeres, was traitourouslie shaine one day
in his owne chamber (as some write) by a Pict, who was in such favor with him, that he
might at all times haue free 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 advanced 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 soul-
dier, without anie degree of honour. The same Constantine (as writers record) going over
into Gallia, adorned his some Constantius with the title and dignite of Cesar, the which
before was a moonke, and finallie as well the one as the other were shaine, the father at
Arles by carte Constantius, that was sent against him by the emperour Honorius; and the
some at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as
in the Italian historie ye may see more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our
Lord 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 Aldrenus king of little
Britaine, as the circumstance of the time and other things to be considered may give them
occasion to thinke, for that there is not so much credit to be yeelded to them that haue
written the British histories, but that in some part men may with just cause doubt of sundrie
matters contained in the same; and therefore haue we in this booke bené the more diligent
to shew what the Romans and other forreine writers have registred in their bookes of his-
tories touching the affairs 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.

After that Constantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerne, or Vor-
tigerus, 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 Con-
stantine, was taken out of the abbye of Winchester where he remained, and was strait-
wales created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

Ye haue heard how Constantius was made a moonke in his fathers life time, because 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 secke t'advancce him, to the end that the
king being not able to governe of himselfe, he might have the chiefest swaie, and so rule
all things as it were under him, preparing thereby a way for himselfe to attaine at length to
the kingdome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceived.

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.
Whereupon first, where there had bene 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, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard upon the
kings person, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promises) he procured by
subtyle meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie upon the deed done, he
caus'd the murtherers to be strangled, that they should not afterwards disclose by whose
procurement they did that deed. Then caused he all the residue of the Scots and Picts to
be apprehended, and as it had bene upon a zeale to see the death of Constantius severelie
punished, he fram'd such inditements and accusations against them, thatchieffe by his
meanes (as appeared) the gittlesse persons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the
the British people being wonderfullie pleased therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that deed. Thus Constantius was made aware in manner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as most writers affirme) the space of five yeeres.

After his death was knowne, those that had the bringing vp and custodie of his two young brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Vier Pendragon, mistrusting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whose dissimulation and mischievous meaning by some great likelihoods they suspected, with all speed got them to the sea, and fled into little Britaine, there keeping till it pleased God otherwise to provide for them. But Vortigerne could so well dissemble his craftie workings, and with such conscience and cloked manner did shadow and colour the matter, that most men thought and judged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: insomuch that he obtained the favoure of the people so greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie state and defender of the common wealth. Herevpoa it came to passe, that when the counsell was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonses of king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Vortigerne himselfe was chosen, divers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preference, as to one best deserving the same in their opinion and judgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect means and sinister proceedings he aspired to the regiment, having no title thereunto, otherwise than as blind fortune vouchsaft him the preferment: so when he was possessed, but not interested in the same, he vncased the crooked conditions which he had couerlie 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 bewraith his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Constantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuses and sinnes did universally concurre with a plentiful yeere, the Scots and Picts revenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his estate, the Britains send for succour to the Saxons, they come under 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.

VORTIGERNE, by such diuelish meanes and unconscionable practises (as you heare) stealing away the hearts of the people, was chosen and made king of Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 446, in the 3 consulsip of Aetius, 1197 of Rome, 1 of the 303 Olympiads, 412 of the world, the dominical letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yeere of the emperour Valentinianus, the same yeere that Meromeus began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Geisses, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the west Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treason, fraud, and great deceit at length obtained that for 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 advance such onelie as he knew to be his speciall friends and fauourers, he sought by all meanes how to oppresse other, of whose good will he had never so little mistrust, and namelie those that were affectionate towards the linage of Constantine he hated deadlie, and devised by secret meanes which way he might best destroy them. But these his practises being at the first perceived, caused such as had the gourmance of the two young gentlemen with all speed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vnclle the king of that land. Durers of the
THE FIFTH BOOKE OF

The state of the Britains

William Malmesbury

Boetius, Gildas.

Plentie of wealth accompanied with warre

Britains also, that knew themselves to be in Vortigerne his displeasure, sailed over dailie
unto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his estate.

It chanced also the same time, that there was great plentie of corne, & store of fruit, the
like whereof had not benne sene in manie yeares before, and thereupon issued riot, strife,
lecherie, and other vices were helious, & yet accounted as then for small or rather none
offenses at all. These abuses & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporallie, but
also in the spirittualie and chéefe rulers in the same: so that enterie man turned the point of
his speare (even as he had consented of purpose) against the true and innocent person. The
commons also gauze themselves to voluptuous lust, drunkenesse, and idle loitering, whereof
followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore issued
great pride, and of this abundance no lesse hauntinesse of mind, whereupon followed great
wickednesse, lacke of good gouernement and sober temperancie, and in the necke of these
as a just punishment, death and mortalitie, so that in some countries scarce the quicke sufficed
to bury the dead.

And for an augmentation of more mischeefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their coun-
trimes through the false suggestion of Vortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put
to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruel warre against the
Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giving them the
ouerthrow in a pitch field, as in the Scottish historie more plaine appeareth. To be breéfe,
the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to
take for remedie in such present peril, likele to be ouerrun and vttlerie vanquisht of their
enemies. In the meane time Vortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euls, but
fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Viter Pendragon, began
to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called to-
gether the principall lords and chéefe men of the realme to have their counsell and opinion,
how to proced in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, mea-
sured both his owne force, and also the force of his enemies, and according to the condi-
tion and state of the time, diligentie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had
and provided.

At length after they had thourghlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with
the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way devised, 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 adventurues heretofore attiched.
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 entertainment to serve
in warres, choosing forth a picked companie of juste young men under the leading of
two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certaine vessels appointed for the
purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Vortigerne regne, as
the most autentike writers both British and English scene to gather, although the Scottish
writers, and namelie, Hector Boetius doo varie herein, touching the just 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 yeare of his regne: whereto Boda sèmeth to agree, who noteth it in
the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as ap-
peareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Austerius, and third
yeare of Meroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriving in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartlie welcomed
of king Vortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led
them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroyinge
the countrie before them. Hereupon comming to joine 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 HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an everlastinge name of man- 
hood by victorie, or else of proch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, 
that the enemies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on 
each side with great slaughter.

The king having gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well 
deserving, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enemies, which (as some write) 
were come as faire as Stamford, and used at that time to fight with long darts and speares, 
whereas the Saxons fought onlie with long swords and axes.

Some have 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 sustaine and find them, by com-
mandement of their princes, they should choose out by lots a number of young and able 
personages fit for the warrs, which should goe forth to secke 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 warrs.

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and 
subtile practises, a great number of forren people arrive in Britaine for the augmentation 
of his power, of the faire lady Rowen his daughter, whereof Wednesday and Fridate tooke 
their name, of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the love of 
Hengist daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigern giueth Hengist 
all Kent, the Saxons come over by heape to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie movit the 
king to avoid them, he is deprived of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the 
Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

NOW Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, understanding 
the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceing 
the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and 
craft he might by little little settle here, and obtaine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish 
the same to him and his for ever.

Therefore first he endeauored with all speed possible to fense that part of the countrie, 
which was gien him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed 
in places most convenient. After this he did what he could to perswade the king, that a great 
power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortiied with such 
strength, the enemies might be put in feare, and his subjects holde in rest. The king not 
 foreseeing 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: wherepon now at this second 
time there arrived here 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the lady 
Rowen or Ronix (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comlineesse, able to 
delight the eyes 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 Hen-
gist well perceiue.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and soone after, three maner of people of the 
Germane nation, as Saxons, Vite or Iutes, and Angles, over the which the said Hengist and 
Horse being brothen, were captaines & 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
part fetch their pedigree, as lineallie descended from him, vnto whome also the English people (falselie reputed him for a god) consecrated the fourth day of the weeke, as they did the sixt to his wife Frea: so that the same daies toke the name of them, the one being called Wodensdaie, and the other Freadais, which woords after in continuance of time by corruption of speech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodensdaie, to Wednesdaie, and from Freadais to Frideaie. The foresaid Woden was father to Vecta, the father of Wergistes that was father to the foresaid Hengistus and Horsus.

But now to rehearse further touching those three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Lutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Isle of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Ile. Of the Saxons came the east, the south, & the west Saxons. Moreover, of the Angles proceded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Angli, wh ch word is of three syllables (as Polydor saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Anglii were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, male appears in that they are numberd amongst the twelve nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselves, according to the which the state of their common wealth was governed, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, 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 saye the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonic, as in the description of that countre it male appear.

But now to the matter. Hengist perceiving that his people were highlie in Vortigernes favoure, began to handle him caftillie, deuising by what means he might bring him in love with his daughter Ronix, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as some write) which he beleued well would easlie be brought to passe, because he understood that the king was much givien to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens understanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they feele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreme point of confusion in deed.

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, sauing; Wassail. Which she did in such comelie and decent maner, as she knew how to doo it well enowth, so as the king maruellid greatlie thereat, and not understanding what she meant by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by Hengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after him, imowing thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Wherupon the king (as he was informed) tooke the cup at the damses hand, and dranke.

Finallie, this young 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 love with hir person, that he burned in continual desire to imoe the same: insomuch that shortlie after he forsooke his owne wife, by the which he had three sones, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Pascentius, and required of Hengist to haue his daughter, the said Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengist at the first seemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie meet to be matched with his maistie. But at length as it had bene halfe against his will he consented, and so the mariage was concluded & solemnized, all Kent being assigned vnto Hengist in reward, the which countre was before that time gouerned by one Guorongus (though not with most equall justice) which Guorongus was subject vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potenties of the Ile were.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subjects, and hastened the final destruction of the land. For the Saxons now understanding
ing the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengist, came so fast over to inhabit here, that it was woorther to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come togeth'r: so that be-cause of their great number and approved puissance in warres, they began to be a terror to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengist being no less a politicke in counsel than val-liant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serve his owne turne, persuaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his sonne named Ebussa, being men of great va-lure, to the end that as Hengist defended the land in the south part: so might they keepe backe the Scots in the north.

Hereupon 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 at last arrived in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they settled themselves at that present, and so continued there over after: but none of them taking upon them the tyle of king, till about 99 yeares after their first comming into that country, but in the mean time remaining as subjects unto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arrival in that province, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and overcame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receieving them vnder allegiance.

When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceived in what danger the land stood, by the dailie repair of the huge number of Saxons into the same, they first consulted together, and after resorting to the king, moued him that some order might be taken for the avoiding of them, or the more part of them, lest they should with their power and great multitude vterlie oppresse the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne so esteemed and highly fa-voured the Saxons, and namele by reason of the great love which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing estemed his owne naturall kinsmen and chief friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine deprivied him of all kingly honour, after that he had reigne 16 yeares, and in his stead crowned his sonne Vortimer.

Gylleys and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Saxons were receieved into this land, there was a covenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Saxons should defend the countrie from the invasion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration thereof, the Britains should find them provision of vittles: whererewith they held them contented for a time. But after this they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficicntlie furnished of their due proportion of vittles, threatening that if they were not provided more largelie thereof, they would sacrie spoile the country. So that without deffering of time, they performed their woords with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed forth, wasting and destroying the countrie, till they came to the vtermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroyed in such cruel and outrageous manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regard'd, but all committ'd to the fire: the priests slaine and murdhered even afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reverence of their estate or de-grée dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentable to behold.

Manie of the Britains seeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which divers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeeld themselves to eternall bondage, for to haue releafe of meate and drinke to asswage their extremity of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to save themselves; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thick woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a poore wretched life, in great feare and vnquietness of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrewe to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing forth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserved from vter 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.
The Fift Booke of the State of the Britains.

So Gildas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 400.

desires. And from thence foorth, one while the Britains, and another while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed manner) as it were present Israel, tried them from time to time, whether they loved him or no, until the yeare of the siege of Badon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enemies: which chance the same yeare in the which Gildas was borne (as he himselfe witnessed) being about the 44 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Thus haue Gildas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same Gildas) written of these first warres begun betweene 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.

Fortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giveth the Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat fought betwixt Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains drive the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowne the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they joine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfitt them.

The Fourth Chapter.

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 six 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 noteoth 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 commerenct with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Meroneus, as by his chronologie dooth more at large appeare.

But to proced, Vortimer being thus advanced to the government of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaué unto them a great battell upon the river of Derwent, where he had of them the upper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Epiford, or Aglistrop, in the which encounter Catagrine or Catigerne 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 obtained the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them nere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken nere 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 enemies 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 principall battels, Vortimer had divers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, also nere 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 kepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Rowne the daughter of Hengist perceiued the great losse that the Saxons sustained by the martilll prowesse of Vortimer, she found means that within
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 seene, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxonsof so hardlie, keeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in securitie: and the better to bring this to passe, they sent Vortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battells) vnto his same Vortimer, to be a meane for the obtaining of their suite. But whilsts this tractie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leaving their waives and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal. Mon. But how unlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onely refer euery man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie glue 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 countriemen the Britains prevented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to druide them out of the realm, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He heerefore being the author and procurer, sevene yeares after their first comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the space of 20 yeares they fought often times together in manie light encounters, but foure times they fought puissance against puissance in open field: in the first battell they departed with like fortune, whilsts the one part, that is to saie, the Saxons lost their capteine Horse that was brother to Hengist, and the Britains lost Catigerne an other of Vortigerns sonses.

In the other battells, when the Englishmen went euery apace with the wypper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by course of fatal death, the which much differing from the soft and milde nature of his father, right noble would have governed the realme, if God had suffered him to have liued. But these battells which Vortimer gave to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) should appeare by that which some writers haue recorded, to haue chance before the supposed time of Vortimers or Guortimers attening to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeares after the first comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengist. And hereto W. Harison giueh his consent, referring the mutual slaughters of Horsus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, & 455 of Christ. Howbeit Polydor Virgil saith, that Vortimer succeeded his father, and that after his fathers deceaseth the English Saxons, of whom there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer dailelie like swarmes of bees, and hauing in possession not onely Kent, but also the north parts of the realme towards S. xland, together with a great part of the west countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and first therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, upon the sudden they turned their weapons points against the Britains, and most cruellie pursued them, as though they had receiued some great inuerie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelloues abashed herewith, perceiving that they should haue to doo with Hengist, a capteine of so high renowne, and also with their ancient enemies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they must fight or else become slaves. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage stirred vp manhood in them, so that they assembled together, and boldlie began to resist their enemies on echa side: but being too weake, they were easilie discomfited and put to flight, so that all hope of defense by force of armes being utterly taken awaie, as men in despair to prevaine against their enemies, they fled as sheepe scattered abroad, some following one capteine and some another, getting them into desert places, woods and maeres grounds, and moreouer left such towne and fortresses as were of no notable strength, as a preie vnto their enemies.

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.
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 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 invasion, whose drift was not onely to overrun 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 soones reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisbury plain, the priuie treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloucester, Vortigerne is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three provinces of this land, a description of Kent.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

AFTER all these bloudie broyles 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 soones 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 riuere of Guana, upon a mountaine called Cloonarius, which some refere to be builded in his second returne into Wales, as shall be sheved hereafter. And it is so much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had sight of, affirneth, that Vortigerne was kept under the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerleon, and behaued himselfe in such commendable sort towards his sonne, in aiding him with his counsell, and otherwise in the meansean 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 kingdom, Hengist advertised 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 upon the plaine of Salisbury. Hengist having devised a new kind of treason, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, caused euerie one of his allowed number secretlie to put into his hose a long knife (where it was ordered that no man should bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when this watchword should be yttered by him, "Nempt your sexes," then should euerie of them plucke out his knife, and slay 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 receuied the king with amiable countenance and in most loving sort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish his devised purpose, gaue the watchword, immediatlie wherevpon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and suddenlie fell on the Britains, and slue them as sheepe being fallen within the danger of woolees. For the Britains had no weapons to defend themselves, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Amongst
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 himself and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambric, now called Salisbury, and so saved his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constrained to deliver unto Hengist those provinces 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 country where the Estangles planted themselves, which was in Norfolke and Suffolk. Then Hengist being in possession of those three provinces, suffered Vortiger to depart, & to be at his libertie.

William Malmesbury writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortiger, during whose regne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the mean time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortiger 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 empienting of cups, and of purpose touched euery of them with one bitter tawne or other, they first fell to multiplying of malicious words, and after to blows that the Britains were slaine, euery mothers sonne so yelding vp their ghosts euery amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeme himselfe out of prison, gave to the Saxons those three provinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meanes soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yeere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yeere of Vortiger's last regne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdom of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift therof, the same kingdom began in the yeere 455, and containe the country that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex.

The heptarchie or seven kingdoms of this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be peopled with Saxons, the decaye of Christian religion, the pelagians with their hereticall and false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scotts assist the Britains against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germanie and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British army to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains under bishop Germans fortunate conduct drawe into the Saxons by the outere of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germanes 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 Germanes, marther required with marther.

THE VI. CHAPTER.

HENGIST and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seven 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 three provinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the country, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decayed within the 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 worshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger daie to daie, but also the erroneous opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuaile here amongst the Bri- tains.
tains, by means of such unsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all manner of reprehension.

Ceretene preachers 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 some of Severus Sulphius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lorde. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obtaine salvation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without original sinne, &c.

This erroneous doctrine being taught therefore, and maintained in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receive it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions used by the professors thereof, thought good to send oner into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent oner from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Wherepon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieve their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe oner into Britaine to confirm the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their journie, finally arrived in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath been thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to have hindered their proceedings in this their good and well purposed journie. After they were come oner, they did so much good with convincing the wicked arguments of the adversaries of the truth, by the invincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong were, were soon brought into the right path again.

About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, unto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantius 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 Constantius did not onelie forbear to assist the Saxons, but contrariely holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did maintaine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vter ruine and decaie. In the mean time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being joined together, they began afresh to make sore warres upon the Britains, who of necessitie were constraine to assemble an armie, and mistrusting their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who hastening 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 done 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 receive the grace of God offered in baptism, so that on Easter day which then issued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went forth against the enemies, who hearing thereof, made hast towards the Britains, in hope to overcome them at pleasure. But their approach being knowne, bishop Germane tooke upon him the leading of the British host, and over against the passage thorough which the enimies were appointed to come, he chose foure a faire vale inclosed with high mountains, 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, crying aloud the same eare that he should begin. So that euery one of the enimies, were ready to give the charge vpon the Britains, supposing that they should have taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had been given, suddenlie bishop Germane and the priests with a lowd and shrill voice called Allelulia, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same eare, with such a lowd shout, that the Saxons were therewith so amazed and astonied (the echo from the rocks and hills adjoyning,
joining, redoubling in such wise the cry) that they thought not onlie the rocks and cliffs had fallen upon them, but that even the steepe, it selfe had broken in pieces and some tumbling downe upon their heads: hencewith therefore throwing away their weapons, they tooke them to their feet, and glad was he that might get to be formost in running away. Manie of them for hast were drown in a ricer which they had to passe. Polydor taketh that ricer to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquished their enimies, gathered the spoile at good pleasure, & gave God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had setled 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.)

By one author it should appeare that this battell was woone against the Scotts and Picts, about the yeere of our Lord 448, a little before the comning of the Saxons into this land under Hengist, in which yeere Germane first came hither to weed 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 have bee in the 429 yeere of Christ, and under the consulship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should seeme to agree with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Rauenna, about the yeere 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 churiege 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.

Hereupon 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 Trieres) tooke the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people stedfast in the same belief wherein he had left them, & perceived the fault to rest in a few: whereupon 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 use of his limbs, 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 deliered vnto bishop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conuie them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be deliuere of further danger, and they receive 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 received of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placidia in most reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this transitorie life, to the eternall icles of heaven. His bodie was afterwards conuied to the citie of Auxerre, where he had bee hople bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie after was the emperour Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whom he had before caused to be put to death.

¶ By this it maie appeere, that bishop Germane came into this realme both the first and second time, whilst as well Hengist, as also Vortigerne were liuing: for the said Valentinian was murthered about the yeere of our Lord 454, where the said kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appeere both before and after in this present booke.
What part of the realme the Saxons possessed, Vortigerne buildeth a castell in Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Viter both brethren returne into Britaine, they assault the usurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same, Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, feigned and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a shepheard made a king.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

NOW will we returne to Vortigerne, of whom we read in the British historie, that after the Saxons had constrained him to deliver into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Yorke, Lincoln, & Winchester, with other cities & towns, he not onlie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Viter Pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a strong castell upon a mountaine called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, nere to the river of Guanna, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compass of the same hill called Generon or Gweneren. 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 Galfrid's booke is also set forth, as there ye maie see: but for that the same scemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Whilst Vortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Viter prepared a nauie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and friends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were advertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in divers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Viter perceiued that they were sufficiencie furnished of people, they marched forthwards Wales against Vortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approach, had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all aualied him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen divers assualts to the said castell, they found means 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 her beget a sonne, in hope 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 deny the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heardes of castell receuied 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 ordainance 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," alledgeing 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.

Moreover it hath bee ne said (as one writer recordeth) that when Vortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would have instructed him, one night there fell fire from heaven upon 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 scene. *But these are fables, and therefore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stufie our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much regarding*
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regarding the credit of an historic, as satiisfie the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studyeng with a pretended skilfulnessse to cast glorious colours upon 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 historic (defined to be Rei verè geste 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 some submitte himselfe to Aurelius, he puteth all the Saxons out of the land, repairoth places decayed, and restoreth religioun, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisbury plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest some, Aurelius lieth sicke, Viter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the overthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfeit moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slain, Occa and Ocua his two sonnes make a sole spoile of the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeable passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

Aurelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murthered by the treason of Vortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yeere of the regne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odoicer king of the Heruliens then usurping the government 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, incountered with the Saxons at a place called Maesbell, and overthrow them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fleecing to haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Glæcester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborrow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought upon the riuer of Dune, in the yeere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maesbell in the yeere 487, as the same authors doo allege. Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Yorke, and being there besieged, at length was constrained to yeeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing favourable to him, assigned unto him and other of the Saxons a rike bordering neere to the Scots, which (as some affirm) 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 ministrie and service of God in the same churches.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisbury by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth unto this day. Fiftiethone thousand men (as Gallfrid saith) were sent for those stones, under the leading of Viter Pendragon the kings brother, who giving battell unto Cil-lomannus 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, discomitted him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Shortlie:
Shortlie after, Pascentius that was Vortigern's yongest 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 Meneua in Wales, afterwards called saint Davids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and sword. At which time the same Aurelius Ambrosius lay sick at Winchester, and being not able to go forth 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 forth, and encountering with the enimes gave them the ouerthrow, slue Pascentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come euere with him in aid against the Britains.

In the meantime, a Saxon or some other stranger, whose name was Eopa or Cota, not long before procured thereto by Pascentius, fained himselfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himselfe a monke, and to have great knowledge in physicke, was admitted to minister as it were medicines to Aurelius: but in stead of that which should have brought him health, he gave him poison, whereof he died shortlie after at Winchester aforesaid, when he had reigned after most accord of writers nineene yeeres: his bodie was conuied to Stonecheg 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 Roman by descent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this sort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius. Then (saith he) the Saxons haung alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practised their outrageous cruelties speciallie against the princes of the Britains, to the end that the said princes being overcome and destroyed, they might with more ease obteine possession of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie sought. But the saueour 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, praiing & beseeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might stand with his pleasure to go foorth with them against the enimes 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 three battells with great fereenesse on both sides, in triall of their high displeasures and vtermost 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 enimes 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 advertised thereof, but that without delai he set forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimes should come, and hearing by the way that Hengist was incamped about seven & twentye miles distant from that citie, nere to the banke of a riuer 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 enime and vanquished him, Hengist at the first meeting of the battell being slaine, with a great number of the Germans. The elate of this victorie (saith Polydor) is hid in memorie with the inhabitants of those partes even 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 sones, Osca and Occa, which as men most sorrowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, assembled such power as they could together, and remoued theire way to the west part of the Ile, supposing it to be better for them to draw that way foorth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a sufficiet number of their people to resiste 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
crueltye that might be shewed. These things being reported unto Aurelius Ambrosius, he straightwayes hasted thither to resist those enemies, and so gaining them battell, effectsone discomfited them: but he himselfe receaving a wound, died thereof within a fewe dates after.

The English Saxons hauing thus sustained so manie losses within a fewe moneths togethers, 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 capaine as they had now lost. In the meane time Vortimer died, whom Vter surnamed Pendragon succeeded.

Thus hath Polydor written of the forsaids Aurelius Ambrosius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in deed in sundrie points in this behalfe from diverse 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 slain, by the report of Polychronic, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Mahneburie saith, that they departed from that battell with equall fortune, the Saxons losing their capaine Horsus, and the Britains their capaine Katigerne (as before ye have heard.) But there is such contrarietie in writers touching the dooings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in those daies, as well in account of yeeres, as in report of things doone, that setting affection aside, hard it is to judge to which part a man should give credit.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne over the Britains about the yeere of our Lord 481, and Horsus was slain about the yeere 458, during the reigne of Vortimer, as above is mentioned, so that it cannot stand with the truth of the British histories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horsus was slain by Aurelius Ambrosius, if according to the same histories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there supposed. But diverse such maner of contrarietie shall ye find, in persuing of those writers that have written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerye 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 just accord for the satisfiege of all mens minds, speciallie the curious, which may with diligent search stisfie themselves happily much better, than anie other shall be able to doo in vtering his opinion neuer so much at large, and agreeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the wae to touch what diverse authors doe write, leaving it so to euerye mans judgement 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 by the invasion of the Saxons was greatlie decayed in diverse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the younger.

The beginning of the kindeone of the Southsaxons commonly called Sussex, the Britains with their rulers gie battell to Ealla the Saxon & his three sons, disagreement between the English and British chronographers about the battells fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kindeone, a battell fought between the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

In the time of the forsaids Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ealla a Saxon with his 3 sons Cy- men, Pletinger and Cisa, came out of Germanie with three ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountered with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneeshore, discomfited them, and chased them into a wood then called Andredescestre, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and
and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Isle of Wight, on the west Hampshire, 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, should be about the second yeere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yeere of our Lord 452. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yeere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeeres sooner.

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 42 after the comming of the Saxons into this land: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arrival, and reigned 32 yeeres, the chiefe cite of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inicied the same his kingdome a while, he overthrow the cite called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. For my part I think as my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should thereof ad mine owne, I should but increase conjectures, whereof alreadie we have superfluous store. To proceed therefor as I find.

About the ninth yeere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiving that he with his Saxons still enlarged the bounds of his lordship by entering further into the land, assembled themselves together vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonsnes at Meredesbourne, where they departed with doub'tfull 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 province of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British histories, both in report of the battles 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) in the first yeere of the emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that governed the empire, who began to rule in the yeere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Ocra or Osca gathered their people together that were before sparkled, and haung also received new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britains at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukers or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent into London, so that they never returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelue yeere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeeres.

It is remembeard 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 in foure battles vnder their aforesaid foure dukers or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the sixt yeere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yeere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Ocra or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, nere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukers or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one 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 cares among themselves, one striuing against another. Finally, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yeere after his first comming into Britaine, having proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile.
guile than with force and strength, following therewith his native cruelty, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentleness. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentive rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdom, never set foot out of his father's bounds, during the space of 24 yeares, in the which he reigned.

About three yeares after the deceasde of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germany into the aid of Ella king of Sussex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the cite of AndreJescestre, which was very 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, laying ambusches to destroie such as went abroad, and ceasing not to give alarmes to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare them selves to give the assalt, but the Britains were ready to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselves into two companies, appointed the one to give the assalt, and the other to encounter with the arme of the Britains without, and so smallie by that meanes prevailed, tooke the cite, and destroyed man, woman and child. Neither so contented, they did also vitterlie race the said cite, so as it was never after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The east Angles kingdome beginneth, the arrival of Cerdic and Kenric with five ships of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains in flight, the west Saxons kingdome beginneth. Pier Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon of his name, he takedh Occa and Osca the two sons of Hengist prisoners, how Hector Boetius varieith from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in love with the duke of Cornwalls 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.

MOREOURE, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambrosius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the east Angles began under a Saxon named Uffa. This same kingdome contenied Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the east and north parts the sea on the northwest Cambridgeshire, and on the west saunt Edmunds duch with a part of Hertfordshire, and on the southside lieth Essex. At the first it was called Vifines demetion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the first named Vifines, but at length they were called east Angles.

FURTHERMORE, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengist was dead, one Cerdic and his sonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with five ships, and landed at a place called Cerdichsore, which as some thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. He was at the first receiued with batrell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warrior, he castike beate backe and repelled the incensive multitude of his enimies, and caused them to flee: by which good successe he procured both undoubted assurance to himselfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to provoke him more by resistance, submitted themselves to his pleasure: but yet did not he then gue himselfe to slouthefull rest, but rather extending his often achiued victories on both side, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obtained the rule of the west parts thereof, and governed there as king, so that the kingdome of the west Saxons began vnder the said Cerdic in the 519 of Christ, as after shall be shewed.
Thus ye may se, that Aurelius Ambrosius did succeed Vortigerne, and reigned in the time supposed by the British histories, as before is alleged, all the daisies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains sore vexed by the Saxons that entred the same, so that the Britains were daile hampered, and brought under subjection to the valiant Saxons, or else driven to remoue further off, and to give place to the victors. But now to proceed with the succession of the British kings, as in their histories we find them registered, which I deliuer such as I find, but not such as I doo wish, being written with no such colour of credit as we make safelie put forth the same for an undoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambrosius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome some call Aurelius Vercius Ambrosianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Anastasius, and in the sixteenth 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 natuittie marvellouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blasing star, as is reported. But others supposed he was so called of his wisedome and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gave the dragons head in his banner. This Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Oca or Otta the sonne of Hengist, and his brother Osca had besieged the citie of Yorke, hasted thither, and giving them battell, discomfited their power, and tooke the said Oca and Osca prisoners.

From this varietie Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of these doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit moonke, which poisoned Aurelius Ambrosius, was suborned and sent to woorke that feat by Oca, and not by his brother Pascentius: and further, that about the selfsame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullierecovered of a sore sicknesse, wherewith of late he had beene 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 forth with all convenient speed vnder the leading of one Nathaliod, a man neither of anie great ancient house, nor yet of skill in warlike affaires.

The noble men were nothing pleased herewith, as misliking aliogether the lacke of discretion in their new king, & doubted sore, least in time to come he would have more delight to aduance the men of base degree, 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 agreed to go forth with him in that iournie. Oca had advertisement 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 speed, he hasted forth to encounter 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 chiefest capteins called Gothlois disclaiming to be at the appointment of Nathaliod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leaving the other Britains in all the danger: which they seeing began by & by to fée. There died no great number of the Britains, except those that were killed in the fight: for Oca 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. Oca then perceiving himselfe to have the upper hand, sent an herald vnto king Vter with a certeine message, threatening destruction to him and to his people, if he refused to doo that which he should appoint.

Vter perceiving what disialtie rested in the harts of his owne subjects, agreed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wise counsellors, four Britains and four Saxons, which might have full power to make an end of all controweries and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Oca was likewise contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part four persons, of such wisdome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetest for the ordering of such a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome
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doome of those eight persons authorised thereunto, a league was concluded upon certeine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Saxons from thenceforth should quicke injoy all that part of Britaine which lieth forever against the Almaine sea, the same to be called ever after Engistleand, and all the residue should remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne into Vter according to that we find in the British histories, and to proceed after our owne historians; we find, that when he had vanquished the Saxons and taken their two chiefest prisoners, in processe of time he fell in love with a very beautifull lady called Igwarne or Igerina, wife to one Gorlois or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he slue at length dere to his owne castell called Diuulioe in Cornewall, to the end that he might injoy the said ladie, whom he afterwards maried, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Occea and Osca escaping also out of prison assembled eftsoones a power of Saxons, and made warre against the Britains, whereof Vter having advertisement prepared to resist them, and finallie went himselfe in person against them, and at saint Albans (as some write) gau them battell, and slue them both in the field.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it should seene that German 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 themselves, which finallie brought them to vter decaye, as after shall appeare. But the Saxons desirous to spoile the Britains of the whole possession of that part of the 1le which they held, whereas they accounted the citie and towne of small strength to be defended, they got them to a high mountaine called Badon hill, which Polydor supposeth to be Blackamore that lieth dere to the water of These, which diuidedeth the bishoprike of Durham from Yorkshire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen mete to receive such ships as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons looked for aid, hauing alredie sent thither for the same.

The Britains being thereof aduerserd, made hast towards the place, and besieged it on euerie side. They also lade the sea coasts full of souldiers, to keepe such of the enimies from landing as should come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themselves for a certeine space aloft upon the high ground, but in the end constreined through want of victelles, 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 euery side flowed with bloud: but the Saxons sustained the greater losse, their capteins Occea and Osca being both slaine, so that the Britains might see the quite deliuered of all danger of those enimies: but the fatal destruccion could not be avoide, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaeughter made of the Saxons at Badon hill, whereof Gyldas maketh mention, and chaunced the same yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

About the same time Vter departed out of this life (saith Polydor) so that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of those authors, whome Fabian and other have 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 seene in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter shall be also shewen. Finallie (according to the agreement of the English writers) Vter Pendragon died by poison, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 years, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stonechenge, otherwise called Chorea Gigantium, leaving his sonne Arthur to succeed 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 add them in the same warres, and so likewise did the Picts, but the same chronicles do not onely varie from the British writers in account of yeares, but also in the order of things done, as in the same chronicles more plainly now appeare, & namely in the discouer of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. For whereas the British histories, as ye have heard, attribute great praise vnto the same Vter for his victories atchievd against the Saxons and their king Occa, whom he slue in battell, and obtained a great victorie, the Scottis 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 over againe chanced to be slaine: after whose decease the Saxons ordained his sonne named also Occa to succeed in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enimies, sent it to Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came over into this our Britaine, and conquered by Occas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, situate betwixtene 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 authority of Veremon that wrote the Scottish chronicles) to have chanced the second time of his comming over into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his first being here. Against 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 489, as above 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 deed some writers have 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 agreable to truth, and to stand also with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being here of the said Germane, than the opinion of other, which affirm 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 reigne of the British kings that governed Britaine about that season. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but seven yeares, and then succeeded 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 have 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 old writers which have registred the acts of the English Saxon kings we find no such matter, but rather that after the decease of Hengist, his sonne Osca or Oeca reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdom onelie, and not seeking to enlarge it (as before is touched.) After whose death his sonne Oth, and Hmenrike sonne to the same Oth succeeded, more resembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reigne are assigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned jointlie together, or seuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certenlie perceiued.
Porth the Saxon arrineth at Portsmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are overthrown and slaine, the kingdom of the west Saxons begninth, the compass or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was enlarged.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

NOW will we brevieslie discourse upon the incidents which first happened during the reigne of Vzer Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two sons Megla and Beda came on land at Portsmouth in Sussex, about the beginning of the said Vzer reigne, and slue a noble young man of the Britains, and manie other of the meane sort with him. Of this Porth the towne & haven of Portsmouth tooke the name, as some haue thought. Moreover, about 40 years 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 understanding of the great power of his enemies, required aid of Osea king of Kent, also of Elle king of Sussex, and of Porth and his sonsne which were latelee before arrived as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furnished with a convenient armie, diuided the same into two battels, reserving the one to himselfe, and the other he appointed to his some Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiving that the wing which Certicus led, was of more strength then the other which Kenrike governed, he set first upon Certicus, thinking that if he might distresse that part of the enimies armie, he should casifie overcome the other. Hereupon he gave such a fierce charge upon that wing, that by verie force he opened the same, and so overthrew the Saxons on that side, making great slaughter of them as they were scattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike saw, he made forward with all speed to succour his father, and rushing in amongst the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in pieces, and shew their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that day 5000 men, and the residue escaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the sixt yeere after this battell, Staff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ships, and landed at Certiesford, and overthrew 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 capitaines, the part of Certicus became much stronger. But at the same time Elle king of the Southsaxons departed this life, after whome succeeded his some Cisa, of whom we find little left in writing to be made account of.

About the yeere of our Lord 519, and in the yeere after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeere of the emperour Anastasius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his some Kenrike at Certiesford, where the capitaines of the Britains stood to it manfully: but in the end they were discomfit, and great slaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had bee, if the night comming on had not parted them, and so manie were sauned.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Westsaxons, & so began the same kingdom at that time, which was (as W. Harison noteth) in the yeere of Christ 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4885, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Justinus anicius emperour of the east, the first and third of the renowned prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning over the Britains. The said kingdom also contained the countries of Wiltshire, Summersetshire, Barksire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwallly, hauing on the east Hants, on the north the river 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 didlie wan ground upon the Britains, and so in the end by enlarging their confines, they came to injoy all the foresaid countries, and the whole at the last.

In the ninth yeere of the reigne of Certicus, he elssoones fought with the Saxons at Certiesford aforesaid, where great slaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times past called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this season
season at sundrie times divers great companies of the Saxons came over 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 governed them, but were under certaine noble men that got possession of divers parts in that countrey, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters issued, with a common waste of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiously minded, & heaping to themselves 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 vnrule affections. For such is the nature of men in governement, whether they be interested to it by succession, or possessed of it by vnraptation, or placed in it by lawfull constitution, (vndeesse they be guided by some supernaturall influence of divine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admittance no companion: but erie one seeke to advance himselfe to a singularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which male easillie he observed in this our historicall discourse.

The beginning of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, what it contained, of Arthur king of Britaine, his twelve victories over the Saxons against whom he maintaineued continuall warre, why the Scots and Picts emiued him his roialtie and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aidedeth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the overthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornenall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against divers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

THE TWELFEE CHAPTER.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the chiefe citie 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, which was sonne to one Offa, the sixth in lineall descent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yeere 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 coming of the Saxons. In the 13 yeere 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 Britaines, and so conquered the Ile, the which about four yeeres after was givven by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Suffic and Witgar.

AFTER the deceasse of Vter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a younge towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yeeres or thereabouts, began his reigne over the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yeere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yeere of the reignes of Childbert, Clotare, Claudamire, and Theoderike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of autheritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some woorthy man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in deed, 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 drive 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.
under the British kings.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

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But truth it is (as divers authors agree) that he held continually warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scottish histories is contained, even at the first beginning of his reign, the two kings of the Scots and Picts seemed to enjoin his advancement to the crown of Britaine, because they had married the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Anibrosius, and Vter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in marriage Alda their younger sister, so that because Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdom of the Britains should have descended unto the sisters sonsnes, rather than to a bastard, namely: 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 joined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being overthrown in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finally a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, upon certaine 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 have recorded.

The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediately after he had received the crown 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, whomhe Arthur did commit and chased into the cite of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the cite, & leaving it in charge with his brother called Bladulf, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that country, of whom he obtained success, so that the said Cheldrike made provision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fifteene hundred sailers 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 sister sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinent assembled his people, to the number of fifteene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was ready to receive him with great joy and gladness. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled together, marched forward to Lincoln, which cite Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaugther made of the enimies, they obtained the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left alive) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constrained to yeeld themselves, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so avoid the land, leauing their horse, armoure, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Herereupon 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 country: 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 arrived at Totnesse, and contrarie to the counseanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, invaded the country anew, and taking such armouer 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, whereupon the Saxons immunoned it with a strong siege. Arthur informed heerof, with all speed hasted thither, and giving the enimies battell, slew the most part of Cheldriknes men.

There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulf, 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 his people.
people. Arthur himselfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all speed towards the marshes of Scotland, for that he had received aduancement, how the Scotts had beseged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay sick. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprise and slaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much spede as was possible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he rescued Howell, and afterwards pursued the Scotts which fled before him by heaps.

About the same time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arrived in Scotland with a mightie power of Irishmen (near the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scotts against the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillomer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland. This doone, he continued in pursuit of the Scots, till he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit them selves whole to him, and so receiving them to mercy, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and shortly after tooke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull lady, that was nere kinswoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

In the yeere following, which some note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and discomfitting king Guillomer in battell, he constred him to yield, and to acknowledge by dooing his feallie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembered in those British histories, that he subdued Godthland and Iseland, with all the lies in and about those seas. Also that he overcame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capitaine Lucius, and wasted the most part of all France, and slue in singular combats certaine giants that were of passing force and hugenesse of stature. And if he had not beene resouked and called home to resist his coosen Mordred, that was sone to Loth king of Pigtland 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 approoved author who dooth speake of anie such doonings, the Britains are thought to have registered meere fables in sted of true matters, uppon a vaine desire to advance more than reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen have done their Rouland, and diverse others.

Arthur is resiteth by Mordred the usurper from arriving in his owne land, they joine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the place of his burial, his bodie digged vp, his bignesse coniecturable by his bones, a crosse found in his toome with an inscription thereupon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of his houre, John Islands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

KING ARTHUR at his returne into Brimaine, found that Mordred had caused himselfe to be made king, & having alied himselfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whom Galfrade, as ye haue heard, supposeth to have beene wounded & slaine before) was ready 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 arrived, and joining in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but not without great losse of his people: especiallie he sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like as one full gentleman, regarding more his honoure and faileth truth than merceresse of blood and congnache, chose rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and loyall master, than to take part with his naturall brother in an unuest cause, and so there in the battell was slaine, together also with Angussell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the government
ment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward, and
falling landed in Cornwall. King Arthur caused the corps of Gawaine to be buried at
Dauier (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmesbury supposeth, he was buried in
Wales, as after shall be shewed. The dead bodie of Angusell was conveyed into Scotland,
and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enemies to flight, and had knowledge
into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all speed he reinforced his armie with new
supplies of souldiers called out of diverse partes, and with his whole puissance lasted for-
ward, not resting till he came nere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with such
an armie as he could assemble together out of all partes where he had anie friends. § Hhere
(as it appeareth by John Leland, in his booke intituled, “The assertion of Arthur”) it may
be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geoffrey of Monmouth sheweth, that
after Arthur had discomfited Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so that Mor-
dred escaped and fled to Winchester, whither Arthur followed him, and there giving him
battell the second time, did also put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought
crossones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as some
authors have) nere unto Glastenburie.

This battell was fought to such profe, that fallallie Mordred was slain, with the more
part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiving divers mortall wounds died of the same
shortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the terme of 26 yeeres. His corps
was buried at Glastenburie aforesaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was
found in the dais of king Henrie the second, about the yeere of our Lord 1191, which
was in the last yeere of the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred yeeres after the
burial thereof. He was laid 16 foot depee vnder ground, for doubt that his enemies the
Saxons should haue found him. But those that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after
they had entered about seven foot depee into the earth, they found a mighty broad stone
with a leaden crosse fastened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, containing
this inscription:

“Hic iacet seputus inclytus rex Arthurius in insula Avalonia.”

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 vnsene. His bodie was found, not in-
closed within a toome of marble or other stone curiouslie wrought, but within a great tree
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 marvellous bignesse, that the shin-
bone of his leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man:
as a mooneke of that abbeie hath written, which did live in those daies, and saw it. ¶ But
Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also lived 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
ab bat, he learned, that the shinbone of the said Arthur being set vp by the leg of a verie
tall man (in the which the abbat shewed to the same Gyraldus) came aboue the knoe 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 wonderfull largenesse, so that the space
of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a span broad. There appeered in his head the
signes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wam, except
onelie that whereof it should seeme he died, which being greater than the residue, appeered
verie plaine. Also in opening the toome of his wife queene Gueneuer, that was buried
with him, they found the tresses of his haire whole and perfect, and finallie platted, of colour
like to the bruised gold, which being touched, immedietlie fell to dust. The abbat, which
then was gouernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwise de
Sullie, nephew to king Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had serched for the
grave of Arthur) translated the bones as well of him as of queene Gueneuer, being so
found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double toome of marble,
laieing the bodie of the king at the head of the toome, and the bodie of the quene at his feet 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, fiftenee feet within the ground, & that his grave was found by the means of a Bard, whome the king heard at Penbrooke singing the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his burial.

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 here followeth.

SAXONICAS toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Who vanquished Saxon troops so oft, with battels bloudie broiles,
Turnas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opinis,
And purchast to himselfe a name with warlike wealt The spoiles,
Fulminco toties Pictos qui contudit ense,
Who hath with shinering shining sword, the Picts so oft disdain,
Imposuitque ingenum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
And eke vnweildie serulde yoke on neche of Scots hath laid:
Qui tumidos Gallois, Germanos quiue feroques
Who Frenchmen put with pride, and who the Germans fere in fight
Percult, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Discomit, and dantes Danes with maine and martiall might:
Denique Mordredum è medio qui sustult illud
Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, saefiumque tyrannum,
That monster grislie, lotsome, huge, that diresome tyrant fell,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
Hicere linelesse Arthur lies intoomd, within this statelie hearse,
Militie clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
Of chivalric the bright renowne, and vertues nursing fearse:
Gloria nunc cubis terram circumuolat omnem,
Whose glorie great now over all the world dooth compass fled,
Aetherijque petit sublimia tecta Tomantis.
And of the airie thunder skales the luftie building heie.
Vos igitur gentis proles generous Britannie,
Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro,
Arise unto your emperour great, of thrice renowned grace,
Et tumulo sacro roses inferte corollas,
And cast vpon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaine,
Offici testes redolentia munera vestri.
That fragrant smell may witnesse well, your duties you displaye.

These verses I haue the more willinglie inserted, for that I had the same delivered to me turned into English by maister Nicholas Roscarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the sense, and also properlie answering the Latine, verse for verse.
Upon what occasion the grave of king Arthur was sought for, the sottie of such discovered as believed that he should returne and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it be a fiction or a verity 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, her beautie and dishonest life, great disagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wives to the impeachement of the historie, of his life and death.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

The occasion that mooved king Henrie the second to cause his nephue the foresaid abbat to search for the grave 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 foresaid churchyard at Glastenburie, betwixt the said two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found sixtenee foot deepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth, that the trece in the which Arthurs bodie was found so inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was an alder trece, because that in the same place a great number of that kind of trees doo grow, and also for that it is not vnowne, that an alder lying vnder ground where moisture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) such as hitherto beleued that he was not dead, but conuied awaie by the faires 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 perceive themselves deceived 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, because neither Gyldas nor Beda in their woorks speake any thing of him) it may appeare, the circumstances considered, that suerely such one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diverse points so famous as some writers paint him out. William Malmesbury 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 feeble, their decayed hope went backward apace: and euie then surlie had they gone to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Romans remained yet alue, and was king after Vortigern) had not kept vnder and staid the lofiue 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 trivial tales of the Britains euene to this day fantasticallie 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 foroath his woorthie praises, as he that did for a long season sustaine and hold vp his countrey that was ready to goe to utter ruine and decaye, encouraging the bold harts of the Britains into 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 countriemen that came out of Germanie, and so with bolder courage assaulde their enimies, and by little and little causing them to give place, spread themselves over the whole Ile. For although there were many battells, 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 countriemen, being called in and sent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Hicere is also to be noted, that where the British historie declareth, that Gawayne or Gal-lowine being slaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer,
Douer, so that his bones remained there to be shewed a long time after: yet by that which the foresaid William Malmesburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled "De regibus Anglorum," the contrarie may seeme true: his words are these. "Then (saith he) in the province of Wales, which is called Wessex, the sepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephew to Arthur by his sister, not going out of kind from so worthy an uncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which unto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high prowess most highlie renowned, but expelled out of his kingdom by the brother and nephew of Hengist, of whom in the first booke we haue made mention, first requiting his banishment with great detriment and losse to those his enemies, wherein he was partaker by just desert of his vncles woorthie praise, for that he staided (for a great manie yeeres) the destruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into utter ruine and dyea. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: yet the others toome (as I haue said) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, upon the sea si'e, and contained in length fourtie eene foot, where he was (as some say) wounded by his enemies, and cast vp by shipracks. But other write, that he was slaine at a publicke feast or banquet by his owne countrie men." Thus saith William Malmesburie.

But here you must consider, that the said Malmesburie departed this life about the beginning of the regne of Henrie the second, certeine yeeres before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as needles to be controvertis, & letting all dissonant opinions of writers passe, as a matter of no such moment that we should need to sticke therein as in a glewspot; we will proceed in the residue of such collections as we find necessarie pertinent to the continuation of this historie; and now we will say somewhat of queene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foresaid king Arthur.

Some judge that she tooke hir name of hir excellent beautie, because Guinne or Guenne in the Welsh toong signifieth faire, so that she was named Guennere or rather Guenihcan, euin (as you would say) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the house of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, she was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & 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 oncely abuse hir selfe by unlawfull 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 nextre to Glastenburie, for displeasure that he bare to a certeine lord called Medua, who had rauished Gueneuer, and led hir into those marishes; and there did keepe hir. Hir corps notwithstanding (as before is recited) was interred together with Arthurs, so that it is thought she liued not long after his decease.

Arthur had two wifes (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 receive the bones of the man, and the third part towards the feet contained the womans bones, apart by themselves. 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 conuined 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 three sundrie wifes, each of them bearing the name of Gueneuer, as sir John Price dooth asouche that he had. Now because of contrariete in writers touching the great acts attched 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 hime is written (as before ye haue heard.)

But others there be of a constant beleefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that such a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into
into necessarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a speech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the British bloud, discharging a short but yet a sharpe inuicte against William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuseth of base tongs, enuiuous detracion, malicious slander, reprochful and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enui, and cankered minds; for that they speake inuercuentlie and contrarie to the knoune truth concerning those thrisenoble princes. Which defensifie he would not haue deposed, but that he taketh the monuments of their memories for undoubted verities.

The British histories and also the Scotish chronicles doo agree, that he lived in the dais of the emperour Iustinian, about the fiftie yere of whose reigne he died, which was in the yere of our Lord 542, as diuere doo affirme. Howbeit some write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperour Zeno, who began his reigne about the yere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled " Aurea historia" affirmeth, that in the tenth yere of Cerdicus king of Westsaxons, Arthur the warriour rose against the Britains. Also Dictionenis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were overcome in one moneth, he arose in another moneth more fierce and strong to gaine battell than before. At length Arthur weared with irkesomes, after the twelfth yere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue unto him upon his homage done and fealtic receiv'd, the shires of Southampton and Somerset, the which countries Cerdicu's named Westsaxon. This Cerdicus or Cerdicu's came into Britaine about the yere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yeere after his comming hither, that is to say, about the yere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and gouerned them as king by the space of 15 yeres, 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 proced.

The decaie of christian religion and receivings of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redresst: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, civill warre about succession to the crowne, the chalengers are pursu'd and slaine, Constantine is unkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochful ineuctive of Gylchas against the British rulres of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Godwin, and his sonne Cador, the severe reprehensions of Gylchas uttered against Godwin, discovering the course of his life, and a secret prophese of his death.

THE XV CHAPTER.

IN this 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 faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by divers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaff, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour David, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and reestablishing of the truth.

After the death of Arthur, his cousin Constantine the sonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 524, which was about the 15 yere of the emperour Iustinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of
of France, and the first yéere well néeere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Gothis in Italie. Arthur when he perceived that he shuld die, ordained this Constantine to succeed him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the soones of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by just title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Hereupon followed ciuill warre, so that divers battels were striken betwene them and in the end the two brethren were constraine to withdrawe 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 done the other. And so hauing dispatched his adversaries, he thought to have purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortly after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Comanus arreered warre against him, who joining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned four yeeres. His bodie was conveyed to Stonhenge, and there buried beside his ancestour Vier Pendragon.

Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled "De excidio Britanniae," where inveigling against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: "Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; judges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes peeling and harming the innocent people, raving and defending, but whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forsweering themselves; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but maintaining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indecëues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onlie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also higlie rewarding them: giving almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of simnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldomse seeking the rule of righteous judgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and excalling so farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers, theues and adulerers, yea the verie profession enemies of God; if he would so permitt: keeping manie in prison, whom they oppresse, in lodging them with irons, through craft rather to serve their owne purpose, than for anie gift of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemnne othes before the altars, and shortlie after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

"Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lionesse of Deoushire 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 subiects (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, under the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of teeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two children of noble and kingly race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongst the sacred altars: the armies of which persons so shaine, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons (the which few in those daies handled more valiantly then they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of judgement, shal set vp the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue covered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their clotted blood.

"These things he did not after anie good deeds done by him deserving praise: for manie yeares before, overcome 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 euils, 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 reproacheth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

After
After that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresad Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conon was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Iustinius, and in the 33 of the regigne of Childeberth king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but gien much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and nameled had an open ear to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreover he was noted of cruelte, as he that tooke his vnkle, who of right should haue bene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied suue in tyrannuous maner the two sons of his said vnkle. But God would not suffer him long to enjoy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing, for he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succeeded him in the kingdome, as authors doe record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saieng in this wise: "And thou lions whelp, as saith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doo thou? Art thou not swallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering 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 overwhemling thee with his vumerous rage? Doest thou not in hating of thy countre as a deadlie serpent, and thirsting after ciull wars and spotted (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 forth of all thy linage for thy godlie desert, be reserved 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 talkle 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, Meritia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Saxon commended, the originall of the kingdome of Deira, the circuit and bounds thereof; of Ella the gouernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus regneth over the Britains, he vanqushieth the Saxons; Gyldas sharply reprooueth Vortiporus for manie greevous offenses, and exhorted him to amendment.

THE XVJ. CHAPTER.

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 called Ida, & descended of Woden. For where the said Woden had three sons, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldecius; of the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Meritia: 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 Weldecius and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was undoubtedly a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subjects 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 given to him by consent of other, the certeintie 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, qualifying his
his kingly severite with a natural kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdom called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the river of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the British tongue called Werd.

About the same time, or rather about 14 years after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in D-ira, which kingdom began at the said river of Tine in the north, & ended at the river of Humber toward the south. These two kingdoms were sometime governed by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were joined in one, and governed by one onele king, and named the kingdom of Northumberland, which in process of time was much enlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Nottingham, Darbie, Lancaster, the bishoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries between the east and the west seas, even unto the river of Mersie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Ilius, 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 Malmesbury dooth testifie) reigned 14 years.

Now Ella who was successor to Ida (as he saith) reigned thirteen years, and very valiantly enlarged his kingdom. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 years, and that he builded the castell of Bamberge, first fusing it with pales, and after with a wall of stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebrie, Theodorie, Athelric, Osme, and Theofred. Moreover he begat of certaine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Osbale, Segor, and Secother. There came altogether into this land, and arrived at Flenswurke with fortie ships, as Mathaus Westmonasteriensis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdom of Northumberland chanced after the decease of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ada the sonne of the foresaid Ida successed his father in the kingdom of Brenitia, reigned therein seven years: and Ella the sonne of Histrria, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Math. Westm. and others doo affirme.

Vortiporus the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succeeded his father, and began to reigne over the Britains, in the yeare of our Lord 576, in the 11. yeare of the emperor Flavius Anicius Lustinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Childeric king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephius the Gothish king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantly defended his land and subjects 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 kingdom 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 had ruled the Britains the space of 4 yeares, he departe this life, and left no issue behind him to succeed him in the kingdom.

Against this Vortiporus Gyldas also whetting his toong, beginneth with him thus: "And why standest thou as one stroke amaz'd? Thou (I say) Vortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in manner and wickednesse diverslie spotted as it were with manie colors, with thy heare head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled even from the lowest part of thy bodie to the crownne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murthors committed on thy owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus proouing a naughty sonne of a good king, as Mneses was to Icarius. How chanceth it that the violent streames of sines which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deceived of them, the end of thy life by little and little now drawing nere) can not yet satisfye the? What meanest thou that with fornication of all cuills, as it were the full heape, thinke owne wife being put away, thou by thine honest death doest oppresse thy soule with a certaine burthen that can not be avoided, of thine vnshamefast daughter? Consume not (I pray thee) the residue of thy days to the offense of God, &c." These and the like words uttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.
Malgo reigned over the Britains, the noble qualities wherewith he was beautified by his
fetthie shone are blemished, Gyldas reproach Cuneglasus for making warre against God
and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offences, the vile iniquities whereunto the
British rulers were inclined, the valiantrness of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his
victories against divers people his enimies, succession in the government of the West-
saxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt
the Saxons in this land, Cheuling with his Westsaxons encounter with the Britains and
get the upper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their
lands, goods and lives.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the deceasce of Vortiporus, Malgo the nepheue of Aurelius Conanus (as some
write) was made king of Britaine, & began his regne over the Britaines, in the yeare of our
Lord 580, in the fiftie yeare of the emperour Iustianian, and in the 57 yeare of the regne
of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to have beene the comelie-
gentleman in beaute 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 which his person was
adorned, yet he spotted them all with the fetthie sinne of Sodomie, so that he fell into the
hated of almighty God, and being pursued of the Saxons, receiv'd manie overthrowses
upon their hands, as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. Finallie,
when he had reigned five yeares and od moneths, he departed this life.

It seemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before
he speaketh of him) imputeth against one Cuneglasus, whom he reproacheth, for that he
warred both against God and man: against God with grievous sines, as manie adulterie,
in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and keepeing to concubine a sister of hirs, that
had professed chastifie: & 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
enemies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglasus he cometh to the foresaid Maglocunus, whom he nameth the dragon
of the iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onely out of their kingdoms, but also
out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischeue &
euill, greater then manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberal in gifting, but
more plentiful in sinne, strong and valiant in arms, but stronger in destruction of his owne
soul. And so proceeding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomites, & sore blangeth
him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher then all other dukes of Britaine
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in kingdom and degree, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrariely far worse than they both in manners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Maglocune in his young yeares slue in battell his uncle being king, with the most valiant soldiers in manner that he had. Also that where the said Maglocune tooke upon him the profession of a monke, he after renounced the same, and became a worsse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and keeping his brothers sonnes wife, while his 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 given to all manner of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill disention, rapine, adultery, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that GOD stirred vp the Saxons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his just vengeance upon them for their wickednesses and abominable offenses dailie committed against his divine majestie, 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 Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the West Saxons, departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yeeres compleat. 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 yeere of his reigne, and 555 yeere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of the Britains at Brantburie.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the rare ward, with their horsemen 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 coming-on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made thereof (saith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) Sith the Saxons were men of huge stature, great force & valiant courage. The same yeere that Kenrike deceased, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant prince, & enlargd the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he overcame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Corran king of Scots.

Also about the yeere of Christ 560, Conanus (as yet governing the Britains) Irmeneurke king of Kent departed this life, of whom ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeeres. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his sonne Cenaulmus or Cheuling succeeded in government of the West Saxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmeneurke followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule over the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert, in process of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginning of his reigne he had but sorne successe against some of his enemies: for haung to doo with the foresaid Cheuling king of West Saxons, he was of him overcome in battell at Wilbardsywe, 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 yeere of the emperour Iustinus.

About the yeere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & tooke from them 4 townes, Liganbrough, Eglesbrough or Aileshburie, Bessington, and Eueham. Also about the yeere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling encountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obtaining the upper hand,
hand, tooke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cireneester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coin-magill, Candidan, and Farimagill, which were slaine there through the permission of Almighty God as then refraining his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most greuously offended his high and diuine majestie, as by Gyldas it may evidendie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abominable in his sight, even 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 righteoues God had given them over as a prey to their enemies.

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sone Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as some bookes haue) Fritenle, 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, 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 have bene the 49 successuuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whom he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horseheaded, and had reigned 34 yeeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (between 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 encounter tried.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia, the bounds of the same, the heptarchie or seven regiments of the Saxons, how they grew to that perfection, and by whom they were reduced and drawn into a monarckie; Careticus is created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the civill dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forrein power to further them in their enterprise, Garmundus king of the Africains arriveth in Britaine, the British king is driven to his hard shifts, the politike practice of Garmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliverr the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains have onlie three provinces left of all their countrey which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in deacre, they are governed by three kings, Cheuling's death is consipred of his owne subiects.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia began under 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 into Humber, and so on the north the said river of Humber, and after the river of Mercia, which fall th into the west sea at the corner of Wirball, and so comming about to the river of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same river boundeth it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seerne up to Bristow: on the south it had the river of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it contained Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, Derbshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwikeshire.
Thus have ye heard how the Saxons in process of time removing the Britains out of their seats, dullely wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seven kingdoms, which were governed by seven several kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarckie, as after shall appeare. Math. Westm. reckonth eight kingdoms 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 Westsax, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

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 regne in the yeare of our Lord 586, which was in the third yeare of the emperor Mauricius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of cruel warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons understanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in partakings, so as one was ready to devour another, thought it good time for them to advance their conquests, and ceased not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constrained them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some hauie written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent over into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Africans to come over into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued here in Britaine, making such cruel warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Caretius was constrained to kepe him within the cite of Chicester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assaults and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that cite, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroyed it in most cruel manner. Some write, that hee tooke this cite by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselves within their nests which they had made in stacks of corne, and euens of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were overcome 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 pitfull wise, and then deluered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie received 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, accoridnglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnes of speech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called Eng-land, 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 captains, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie, about the parts of 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 Angles, 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.

Of this Gurmundus the old English wriiters make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yee saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and given 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 received the christian faith, but warned against the Britains, as well to destroy the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselves continual habitation 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.

In the yeere of Grace 586, Careticus a lover of civil warre succeeded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancy when the English and Saxon kings perceived, with one consent they rose against him, and after many battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length encountering with him in a pight field, they drove him beyond Severne into Wales. Theevyon clerks and priests were driven 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 upon the Saxons, which in manner aforesaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leaving to the Britains onlie three provinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easy to be wonne, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with deepe mareshes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mountains.

The English and Saxon kings having 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 Crilda in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangie, 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 destroied; and the archbishops of Carelion Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew together with their clergie into the mountains and woods within Wales, taking with them the relics of saints, doubting the same should be destroyed by the enimies, and themselves put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Manie also fled into Britaine Armorie with a great fleete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two provinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decay of the christian religion. Careticus was driven into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeere of his regne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceased not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still served.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were governed afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with civil warre to secke others destruction, till finalie (as saith the British booke) they became all subject into Cadwallo, whom Beda nameth Cadwallo. In the meanie time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the Westsaxons, through his owne misgovernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onlie the Britains, but also his owne subjects to conspire his death, so that joining in battell with his adversaries at Wodensdie, in the 33 years of his regne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constrained to depart into exile, and shortly after ended his life before he could find enemies to be restored.

So that we have here a mirror or lucidie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse odes in the manner of their governement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of tooges, that understandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Greke ἔσχατος, which being resolved is in effect ἐσχατός, 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 governement as there is none more perilous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is provoced by historiell observation through the course of this historie.
Celric reigned over the Westsaxons, the Saxons and Britains encounter, Ethelbert king of Kent subdued the English saxons, he is married to the French kings daughter upon cautions of religion, the king inbreath the gospeil, Augustine the monk and others were sent into this he to preach the christian faith, the occasion that named Gregorie the great to send him, buying and selling of boies, the Englishmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert causethe Augustine and his fellows to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a convenient rent and competent reliefe in Canturbrie, the manner of their going thither and their behaviour there, the king and his people receive the christian faith, and are baptised.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

NOW after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Celric that was sometime vnto Cutwine, the same of the foresaid Cheuling, reigned as king over the Westsaxons five yeres & five moneths. In like manner the same yeare died Elia or Alla king of Northumberland, after whom succeeded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, and reigned but five yeres, being a man well growne in yeres before he came to be king. About three yeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britains being ranged in good order, the Saxons set upon them boldlie indeed, but disorderedlie, so that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had shewed themselves in battell, before that time, so much the more slow and vntowardlie did they shew themselves now in running awaie to saue themselves, so that an huge number of them were slain. Also about the same time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whom his sonne Wibbas or Wipha succeeded. And after the decease of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride surnamed the wild, succeeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to return to our purpose.

Ethelbert king of Kent, not discouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, proued 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 riuers of Humber. Also to haue friendship in foraine parts, he procured a wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheribers 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 over with them remaining in the court, and vsing to serue God in prayers and otherwise, according to the custome of the christian religion, began vndoubtedlie to glie light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganism, so as the bright beames of the celestiall clerences of vnderstanding remoued the thicke mists of his vnbeliefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the gospeil, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occasion, and in maner as followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeares of the reigne of the emperour Mauritius, 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 monk, with certene other learned men into this lie to preach the christiane faith unto the English Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the gospeil. And here we hold it necessarie to shew how it is recorded by divers writers, that the first occasion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to send Augustine into this land, rose by this means.

It chanced (whilst the same Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the see of Rome) certene yeong boies were brought thither to bee sold out of Northumberland, according to the
under the British kings. THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND. 391

the accustomed use of that country, in somuch that as we have in our time seen (saith W. Mal.) the people of that province have not yet doubted to sell away their native kinfolke 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 the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie also came amongst other to behold them, and when he considered and well viewed their faire skins, their sweet visages, and beautifull buses of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came? Vnto whomse answere was made, that they were brought out of Britaigne, the inhabitants of which country 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? Whereunto it was answered, that they were not christened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a deede sigh, said: Ah, alas that the author of darkness dooth as yet possesse men of so brightsome countenances, and that with the grace of such faire shining visages, they bare 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 province 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 province? Whereunto answere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he said, Alleluia ought to be soong in those parts to the praise and honor of God the creator."

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 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 passing in their iournic, such a sudden fear entred into their hearts, that (as some write) they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent backe to Gregorie, to see that they might be released of that voyaige so dangerous and uercerne amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Augustine and his companie in all what so ever his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Augustine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

"Gregorie the servant of Gods servants, to the servants 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 returne backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all fervent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good business, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the weariomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and ferenccie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand, knowing that your great travell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also..."
also we have ordained to be your governor, so do you humble obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your souls what soever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal country the fruit of your labours, though hence I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keep ye safe most deare and wellbeloved children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reign of our sovereign lord Mauriceius most virtuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire."

Thus emboldened and comforted through the good wordes and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their journey, first arrived at the Isle of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which divers were interpreters, whom they brought with them out of France. These they sent unto king Ethelbert, signifying the occasion of their coming, who hearing the messengers within a fewe daies after, went into that Isle, and there abroad out of anie house satdowne, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come under anie roofe 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 duell (as they said) but by the might and power of almighty God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Saviour painted in a table, and thereunto singing the letanies, made intercession unto the Lord for the everlasting preservation of themselves, and of all them for whomme and to whomme they came.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their wordes and promises were good: but for as much as the same were newe & vnconcieued to him that had been brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leue that beleefe which he and the English nation had so long a time observed and kept: but (as he) because ye have trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beleue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much grante vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and hau 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 joine as manie of our subjects as you can vnto your law and beleefe. 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 approched the citie according to their manner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, "Depecanur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut suferetur furor tuus & ira tua a ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccautimus: Alleluia." That is to say, We beseech thee o Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we have sinned. Praise be to thee o Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles used in the primitieve church, that is to say, exercising themselves in continuall prayer, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whomme they taught) things necessarie for the sustentance of their life, & living in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, having their minds ready to suffer in patience all adversities what so ever, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Hereupon, manie of the English people beleued and were baptised, having in great reverence the simplicitie of those men, and the sancteness of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church nere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilst the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the queene, being (as we have said) a christian, used to make her prayers. To this church Augustine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praiie, to saie masse, to preach and to baptisse, till at length the king being
being converted, granted them licence to preach in every place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being persuaded by their doctrine, good examples giving, and divers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to give care unto the preaching of the gospel, and renouncing their heathenish belief, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembereth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the nativitye of our Saviour 597, and the first induction.

Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospel amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirm, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the river of Sule, which (as W. Harrison saith) cannot be verified, because of the induction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Religion is not to be inforced but persuaded and preached, Augustine is made archbishop of England, Gregorie informeth Augustine of certeine ordinances to be made and observed in the new English church, as the receuemes of the church to be divided into foure parts, of liturgie, of marriage, of ecclesiasticall discipline and ordaining of bishops: trifling questions objected by Augustine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are sent over to assist Augustine in his ministration, he receiueth his pall, reformation must be done by little and little, not to glorye in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conversion to christianitie.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

KING Ethelbert rejoised at the conversion of his people, howbeit he would not force any man to be baptised, but onely shewed by his behaviour, that he favored those that beleuved 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. Moreover he provided for Augustine and his fellows a convenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gau them necessarie receuemes in possession for their maintenence. After that the faith of Christ was thus receuied of the English men, Augustine went into France, and there of the archbishop of Aries 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.

After his returne into Britaine, he sent Laurence a priest, and Peter a monkke unto 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 under his hand as it had done. He also required to have Gregories advice touching certeine ordinances to be made and observed in the new church of England. Wherepon Gregorie, sending backe the messengers, wrote an answer vnto all his demands. And first touching the conversation of archbishops with the clerge, and in what sort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient custome of the apostolike see was to giue commandement vnto bishops ordeined, that the profits and receuemes of their benefices ought to be divided into foure parts, whereof the first should be appointed to the bishop and his familie for the maintenance of hospitallitie: the second should be assigned to the clerge: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

And whereas in the church of Rome one custome in saigned masse or the liturgie was observed, and another custome in France; concerning such church service, Gregorie ad.
used Augustine 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 diligently choose it out, and instruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he should gather forth from the said churches: for the things are not loved for the places sake, but the places for the things sake. Also for punishing of such as had stolen things out of churches, so nere as might be, the offender should be chastised in charite, so as he might know his fault, and (if it were possible) restore the thing taken away.

And touching degrees in mariage, Englishmen might take to their wives, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehension, and if any unlawfull marriages were found amongst the Englishmen, as if the some had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wise to abstaine, and understand it to be a greuous sinne: yet should they not for that thing be depreied of the communion of the bodie and blood of our Lord, least those things might sceme to be punished in them wherein they had offended (before their conversion to the christian 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.

Moreover touching the ordening 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 three or four 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 given, 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 diminishe, least he should seeme 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 strengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreover, 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.

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 prevented by death?

2. Within what time a man might companie with his wife after she was brought to bed?

3. Whether a woman, hauing her floures, might enter the church, or receive the communion?

4. Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receive the communion before he was washed with water?

5. Whether after pollution by night in dreaames, a man might receive the communion: or if he were a priest, whether he might say masse?

To these questions Gregoric maketh answere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breuenesse we passe ouer. He sent also at that time with the messengers aforesaid, at their returne into England, divers learned men to helpe Augustine in the haruest of the Lord. The names of the chiefest were these, Melitus, lustus, 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 understand what number of bishops he would have 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 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 have resemblance
under the British kings.  

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

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 counteth to the highest place, goeth up by steps and not by leaps.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he understood were showed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in rejoicing to fear, and consider that God gave him the gift to worke such signs for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he advised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no joy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for no 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 yeere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeere of the emperor Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatly commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holy state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of allmightie God.

What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergymen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster uncerteine, a provinciall councell 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 observed of the Britains, he ordinate bishoppes at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth over the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

THUS farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of converting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadjutoris: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturbury, he restored another church in that citie which had beene erected there in times past by certaine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Saviour. 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 even from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holy apostles Peter and Paul, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturbury and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbe was called saint Austin 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.

Moreover, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latele had conquerd) and dedicated it vnto saint Paul: but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paul it may be doubted, for there be divers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king 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 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 ille of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was builded by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons.
East Saxons. This church was either newly built, or greatly enlarged by King Edward sur- named the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautiful monasterie, and verie richlie endowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous jewels. The place was ouergrown with underwoods, 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.

In the name season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a counsell to be called at a place in the confines of the West Saxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the provinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianite as yet remained in force, which from the apostles times had never failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their provinces seven bishops seues, and an archbishops see, wherein cat verie godlie & right religious prelatis, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in observing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the use of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to mooue them to agree with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to give 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 justice 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 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) seven bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, speciallie of the famous monasterie of Bangor, wherof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that counsell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an herenis 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 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 meeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleuied that he also beware the yoke of Christ, and offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not meeke but proud, it is certhene 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 make 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 servant 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 chaires: whome when they beheld, straightwaies they conceived indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reprooue all his sayings. He told them that they use manie things contrarie to the custome of the vniuersall church, and yet if in three things they would obieue him, that is to say, in keeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministring baptismes according to the custome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the woord of life with him & his fellows, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patiencie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane jurisdiction. But they flatte denied to doe anie of those things, and gave a plaie answer that they would not receiue him for their archbishop: for laieng 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) Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with
with their brethren, they should receive 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 convenient shall be expressed. After this in the yeere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordained two bishops, that is to say, Melitus at London, that he might preach the word of God to the East Saxons, which were divided from them of Kent by the river of Thames, and Justus in the cite of Rochester within the limits of Kent.

At that time Sabert reigned over the East Saxons, but he was subject unto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephee he was also by his sister Ricula that was married unto king Sleeda that succeeded after Ercherwine the first king of the East Saxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Augustine had ordained Melitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same cite, where the same Melitus and his successors might keepe their see. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Justus and his successors might bane their see in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts upon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifulie, to the use of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops.

Finally, Augustine after he had governed as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yeeres currant, departed this life the sixe and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the cite neere 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 reverently buried in the north Ile there. He ordained in his life time Laurence to be his successor in the see of Canturburie, of whom ye shall heare hereafter. Thus haue ye heard in what manner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the living God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other doings chancing in the mean time amongst the people of this Ile.

Ceow!fe or Ceolouph governeth the Wes! Saxons, Ceolus king of Mercia, Edelfride king of the Northumbers, and Eden king of the Scots joine in battle, Eden is discomfited, Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chester, the devoute monks of Bangor praye for safetie from the sword of the enimie, twelve hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride entereth the cite of Chester, the Britains assembling their power under three captains encounter with Edelfride, slaine manye of his soldierns, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Reduald king of the Eastangles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons dieth.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Ceolricus king of the West Saxons, we find that Ceowulf or Ceolouph succeeded in government of that kingdom, and reigned twelve yeeres. He began his reigne (as should appeare by some writers) about the yeere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the more part in warres, not giving place to idlenesse, but seeking 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 Ceriike. After Wibba or Wipha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferior to his father, did not onely defend his kingdom, but also
Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594.

Beda.

Edelfred.

603.

Hnry. Hunt.
Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

WU. Malm.
see in Scotland.

Chester as yet in possession of the Britains.
I. Leland.
Hist. Main.

Beda.

The number of monks in the monasterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

The Britains discomfited & slain.

large it, by subduing the Britains on (as Beda saith) one Ceorlus succeeded in that kingdom, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 594, as Matth. West. recorded.

Ye haue heard that Edelfred, which otherwise is called also by writers Edelfrid, sur-
named the wild, governed still the Northumbers, which Edelfred did more damage to the Britains than any one other king of the English nation. None of them destroyed their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince more make of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Hæreypen Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith mooved to see Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but entering in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degsastane, or Degasatone, or Deglaston, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left alive, he escaped by flight. This was a sore foughten battell, with much bloodshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelfred was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he governed: and it was fought in the yeere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelfred, and in the sixt yeere of Ceowlfe king of the West saxons, and in the first yeere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yeere of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scottish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine againe to give battell against the English nation, as Beda himselfe writeth. But the Scots writers make other report of this matter, as in the historic Scotland ye may finde recorded.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelfred king of the Northumbers into warre: whereupon to tame their lustie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the cite of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleone ardour deue. The citizens countier rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to give battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easie discourcifed.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell joined (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 speed of their people, being then readye to give battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that where they were diuided into seven seuerall parts, with their seuerall governors appointed to have rule over them, euerie of those parts contained at the least three hundred persons, the which lived altogether by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemnne fast for three daies together, were come to the armie with other to make praiere, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Brocmael, earle (or consall as some call him) of Chester, which should preserve them (being gien to praiere) from the edge of the enimies sward.

King Edelfred 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, suerly though they bear no armour, yet doo they fight against vs, being busied in praiere for our destruction." Wherepown he commanded the first onset to be gien them, and after sune downe the re-
sidue of the Britains armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praiere (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 Brocmael at the first approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, lef them (whom he should have defended) to be murthered through the enimies sward. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)
Héere is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yeere of Ceowlfe king of Westsaxon (as some have written) and that Augustine liued 12 yeeres after his entrance into the government of the sée of Canturburie (as some write) it is euydent that he liued foure yeeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and moonks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowlfe began his regine (as before is mentioned) about the yeere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his regine the battell was fought at Degasastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpnon 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 companye, in the eight yeere after his arrivaull, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to observe the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 moonks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the swett of their browses, thereby to get their livings, &c. Vereleie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdain and denie their suubiection vnto Augustine, by whom he was converted to the christian faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But heereof Maister Fox douteith, and therefore saith, that of uncertaine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to judge. 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 mean time had assembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These joining in battell with Edelferd, slew 10066 of his soldiery, and constreined him to flye out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had received manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forsaide Blederike, which was chief captaine 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 contrarielie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to avoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a young gentleman of great torchardnesse, latecillie 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 adversitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Vfa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succeed next after the said Vfa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourable intreline Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliever Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to doe, to declare and denounced vnto his open warres.

Redwald encouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraye his friend, to whome he had given his faith for the menaces of his enimie) assembled fortheith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaylted him yer he could haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vniwares, did not vnsustained: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get togither, he boldlie encounterd the enimies, and giving battell, slew Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned over the Northumbers about 22 yeeres. This battell was fought neere to the water of lyle.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yeeres of age, and Oswin about four yeeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conveyed about into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he
he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had maintained great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe over. One great battell he fought against them of Sussex, in which the armies on both sides sustained great damage, but the greater loss fell to the Southsaxons.

Cingiscus and his sonne Richelius reignne joynitley over the Westsaxons, they fight with the Britains; the induerue of Laurence archbishop of Canturburie in setting religion at large, and seeking a uniformitie 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 returne from pope Boniface.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the foresaid Ceowulf reigned Cingiscus, or Kingile, which was the sonne of Ccola, which was the sonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the sonne of Kenricke, which was the sonne of king Ceritcke. In the fourth yeere of his regne, he received into fellowship with him in governance of the kingdom his sonne Richelius, or Onichelius, and so they reigned joynitely together in great loue and concord (a thing seldome scene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the first apporoach of the battels together, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were overtaken 2062.

In this meane time, Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, who succeeded next after Augustine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is said) did his induerue 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 onely for the increase of this new church, which was gathered of the English people, but also he was busie to impioke his pastorlike cure upon 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 observing the feast of Easter contrary to the use of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto those Scots letters exhortatory, requiring them most instanlye to an vnite of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Christ, speed and dispersed through the world. These letters were not written onely in his owne name, but joynitely together in the name of the bishops Melitus and Justus, (as followeth.)

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

"Whereas the apostolike see (according to his maner) had sent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in these west parts, as otherwise through the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & understoned the state of things, we had in great reverence both the Scots & Britains, which beleuied, because (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the custome of the universall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we judged the Scots to be better. But we have learned by bishop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conversation 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 worthy of his degree, doeing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church; but it profited little, 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 ordinarie decreed. This synod was holden the third kalends of March, in the last yeere of the emperor Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Saviour 580. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the said pope to be observed in the English church, with letters also directed to archbishop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

 Cadwan is made king of the Britains in the citie of Chester, he leveth a power against Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, covenants 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 kingdom, his head and unholy life, he is an enemy to religion; he is plagued with madnesse; Hebert king of the Eastsaxons dieth, his three sons refuse to be baptised, they fall to idolatry and hate the professors of the truth, their irreligious talk and unchristian behavior to bishop Melitus, he and his fellow Justus passe over into France, the three sons of Hebert are slaine of the Westsaxons in battel, the Eastsaxons by their idolatry provoke archbishop Laurence to forsake the land, he is warned in a vision to tarie, whereas he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering christianitie, sendeth for Melitus and Justus, the one is restored to his see, the other rejected, Melitus dieth, Justus is made archbishop of Canturburie, the christian faith increaseth.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

AFTER that the Britains had continued about the space almost of 24 yeeres without anie one speciall gouernour, being led by sundrie rulers, ever sithens that Careticus was constreined to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onlie against the Saxons, but also one of them against another, at length in the yeere 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 regne as king of Britaine in the said yeere 613. But some authors say, that this was in the yeere 609, in which yeere Careticus the British king departed this life. And then after his deceas the Britains or Welshmen (whether we shall call them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yeere 609, which was in the 7 yeere of the emperor Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yeere 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 adverstised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Hereupon as they were ready to haue tried the matter by battel, certaine of their friends troubled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agreemenc, so that Ethelfred should keepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuers of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Bri-
tains on the southside of the same river. This covenant with other touching their agreement was
confirmed with oths solemnely taken, and pledges therewith delivered, so that afterwards
they continued in good and quiet peace, without vexing one an other.

What chance afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehearsed, which for that it
soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to
make further rehearsall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the same season,
whilst this Cadwan had government of the Britains, reigning as king over them the terme
of 22 or (as some say) but 18 yeeres, and finallie was slaine by the Northumbers, as before
hath bërne, and also after shall be shewed.

In the 8 yeere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this
life, in the 21 yeere 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 province of Kent the
terne of 56 yeeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yeeres lesse) he departed
this world, as aboue is signified, in the yeere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of February,
and was buried in the Ile of stant Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paul,
without the cite of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bartha was also buried, and the fore-
said archbishop Augustine that first converted him to the faith.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the advice of his councellor enordened divers
laws and statutes, according to the which decrees of judgements should passe: those
decrees he caused to be written in the English tongue, which remained and were in force vn
to 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 re-
ceived.

**EADBALD.**

After the decease of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadblald succeeded in the government 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 onely refuse to be baptised himselfe, but
also use such kind of fornication, as hath not bene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the
Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in law, that had bene wife to his father. By
which two euill examples, manie tooke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the
which whilst his father reigned, either for the princes pleasure, or for feare to offend him,
id professe the christian faith. But Eadbalad escaped not woorthie punishment to him sent
from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexeied with a certaine kind
of madness, and taken with an vnclene spirit.

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregacion, was afterwards
greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was con-
verted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is men-
tioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdom of heauen, he left
behind him three sonnes as true successors in the estate of his ear lithly kingdom, which
sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men
of an ill mind, & such as in whom no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of
religion, but speciallie hating the professors of the christian faith. For after their father was
dead, they began to fall to their old idolatry, which in his life time they seemed to have giuen
ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subjectes to
do the like.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the
eucharistical bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not de-
liver of that bright white bread vnto them also, as also the he had bene accustomed to doo to
their father Sabë (for so they vset to call him.) Vnto whom the bishop made this answer: "If
you will be washed in that wholesome fountain, wherein your father was washed, ye may
be
be partakers of that holi bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of salutation.” But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: “We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we have no need thereof: but yet nevertheless we will be refreshed with that bread.”

After this, when they had beene earnestlie and manie times told, that unless 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 unto 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. Whereupon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take advice with his fellow-bishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finally resolved upon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their country, where with free minds they might serve 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 over into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortly after, those brethren the kings of Essex, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered worthilee for their wicked dooings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were ouerthrown 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 country would not be reduced againe from their diuellish worshipping of false gods, being etsoones fallen thereto in that season by the incouragement 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 bene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reprooued him) for that he would so vncharitable forsake his flocke, & leue it in danger without a shepherd to keepe the woole 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 see of Rochester.

But the Eastsaxons would not receive Melitus to his see at London, but continued in their wicked manner, in obeying 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 constraine them to receive their lawfull bishop. But surelie the said king Eadbald with his people, after he was once converted againe, gave himselfe whole to obeye the lawes of GOD, and amongst other deeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church 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 succeeded in the governaunce of the archbishops see of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Iustus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordered one Romanus to the see of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber received the faith, by occasion (as after shall appear.)
Edwin reigneth over the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betwixt him and Ethelburga the sister of king Eadwald upon religious covenants, the traitorously attempts of murderous Eamerus against him, his wife Ethelburga is delivered of a daughter, he assaileth the Westsaxons, and discomfiteth them, Boniface the first writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladye 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 conversion 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 yeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore haung obtained that victorie, found means to place Edwin in government of that kingdome of the Northumbers, haung a title thereto as some to Alfa or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin profound a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling over a great part of the countries inhabited with English men, but also with Britaines, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and amongst by the west sea-coast in Galloway, and so forth euene unto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallao bare rule, of whom 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 those of Man, and others the west Iles of ancient time called Meunanie, 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 advanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeres, the same Redwald deceaseth, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eastangles, which (whilst Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceived a good opinion of him for his approoued valiancie and noble courage, offered themselves to be whole at his commande. 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 province within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not ready to doo him service (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentishmen to live in quiet, because he began to have a liking to the sister of king Eadwald, named the lady Ethelburga, otherwise called Tate or Tace.

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. Hereupon she being sent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by the archbishop lustus the 21 of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in company with Ethelburga, travelled castellie in his office, both to preserve hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to give 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 murherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then sojourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the river of Derwent, being sent from Quichelme
Quichelme, king of the West SAXONS, to the intent to murther Edwin, because he had of late sore dammned the countries of the West Saxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried under his coat a short double edged woodknife inuomied 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 poison. This Eumerus on Easter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had beene to have 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 servants named Lilla, perceiving 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 servants, a knight that attended upon him, called Fordher.

The same night Ethelburga was deliveried of a daughter named Eauflid, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks unto his gods, in the presence of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to give thanks unto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliveried. The king giving good care unto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his inuyres receiued at the hands of the West Saxons. 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 her, on Whitsundaye next following baptised her, with twelve other of the kings household, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so wash'd in the fountaine of re-generation.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recovered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the West Saxons, with whom incounteringe in battell, he either slue or brought to his subjection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrey. But yet he delayed time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he left his dooing of sacrifice to idols, ever since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, & before he would alter his religion, he politike thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughly examined.

Now whilst he thus hoong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle persuasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of mauwnets and idols. The pope wrote also to queene Ethelburga, praising hir to continue in her good purpose, and by all means possible to doo what might be done for the converting of her husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moved the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwalde king of the Eastangles, as thus.

After that king Ethelred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to mone Redwald either to deliver 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 deliured into his enemies hands. One of Edwards friends having 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 countrey, if he would so adventure to escape. Edwin being wonderously amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrey, sith he had no just cause outwarde gien to play such a slipper part, choosing rather to jeopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thincke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whom he had given his faith.

Hereupon his friend departing from him, left him sittinge without the doores: where after he had resolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceived
perceived one to come towards him unknowne, and in strange apparell, seeming 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 used to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy haun-

nesse, 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 thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou give him, that could deliver thee out of this haun-

nesse, and persuade Redwald that he should neither doo thee hurt, nor deliver thee to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie give all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said; What wouldest thou give then, if he should promise in good sooth that (all thine enimies being destroyd) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which have 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 thee this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as noyer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome advertisement? Whereunto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliver him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which an-
swer being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saying: When this therefore shall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communica-
tion, and those things that then now doeest promise, see thou performe. And there-
with 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 use for the conversion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be con-
formed) who otherwise had continued in paganism and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his prede-
cessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbelchefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the observation of such rites and customes as haue beene 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 irre-
ligious course of conversation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innova-
tion: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarve from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.

Edwin still rejoicing 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 quene had altered his determination, and minded to maintaine his quarrell to the uttermost of his power: and so he did in deed. 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 save the same in spirit, he is licensed to preach the gospel, bishop Coifi destroyeth the idols, Edwin and his people receive the christian faith, his two sons Osfrid and Eadfrid become converts, Redwald king of the Eastangles is baptized, he serveth God and the diuell, Siher receiveth the faith, Felix bishop of Burgonye commendeth oner to Honorius archbishop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eastangles, the Northambers and Lincolnshiremen are converted, mane are baptised in the river of Trent: king Edwines justice how effectuatall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of travellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbishop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutaul election of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to survive other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Easter and avoiding the Pelagian heresie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebellet against Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enieth his good estate, Cadwallo and Penda invade Northumberland, Edwin and his sonne Osfrid are slaine, Penda putteth his other sonne Eadfrid cruellie to death.

THE XXVI. CHAPTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former vision, king Edwin defered time yet he would receive 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 egne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wise thus said vnto him: "Behold, by the assistance of Gods favour 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 deie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddest promise, in receiuing his faith, and keeping his commandements, which delivering the from worldlie aduersitie, hath thus advancdde thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee setteth and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee from everlasting torments, and make thee 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 revealed 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 agree to doo the like, then would they be baptised altogether at one time. Pauline satisfied herevth, 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 diuinite, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whom his chiefe bishop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this answer: that Suerlie the religion which they had bitherto followed was nothing worth. "For saith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worshipped our gods than I haue done, and yet be there manie that have receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done: and therefore if our gods were of manie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignite more than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more available than our old, let vs with speed imbrace the same."

Finalie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gau their consents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appereed more certeinite of salvation than could be found in the other: at length the king gau licence to Pauline openlie to preach the gospel, and prouoking his worshipping of false gods, professd the christian faith. And when he surnamed of his bishop Coifi who should first deface the altars of their idols, and the abanondes wherewith they were compassed about?
He answered, that hims. He would doe it. "For what is more meet (saith he) than that I, which thorough foolishness have worshipped them, should now for example sake destroy the same, thorough wisdom I give: me from the true and living God?" And straightways throwing away the superstition of vainite, required armour and weapon of the king, with a stoned horse, upon which he being mounted, rode fourth to destroy the idols.

This was a strange sight to the people: for it was not lawful for the bishop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beast, except it were a mare. He having therefore a sword as him, took a spear in his hand, and riding on the kings horse, went to the place where the idols stood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene starkie mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinent as he was comming to the temple, began to deface the same, and in contempt threw his spear against it, & rejoiceing greatlie in the knowledge of the worshipping of the true God, commanded his companie to destroy & 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 Galam, where the foresaid bishop by the inspiration of God defaced and destroyed those altars, which he himself had hallowed.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptised, in the yeere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and about the 178 yeere after the first comming of the Englishmen into this land. He was baptised at Yorke on Easter daie (which fell that yeere 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-worke of a larger compasse, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had first caused to be built: but before he could finish the worke, he was staine (as after shall be shewed) leaving it to be performed of his successor Oswald.

Pauline continued from thencefoorth during the kings life, which was six yeeres after, in preaching the gospell in that province, converting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Christ, among whom were Osfrid and Eadfrid the two sons of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his banishment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Gearlus king of Mercia. Also afterwards he begot children on his second wife Ethelburga, that is to say, a sonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another sonne called Busfrica, of the which the two first died in their cradles, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be breie : by the kings assistance & favour shewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people daile receiued the faith, and were baptised of Pauline in manie places, but speciallie in the riuer of Gleinie within the province of Bennicia, and also in Swale in the province 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 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 receive the faith of Christ with all his whole province. 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 purtie of faith, his last doings were worse than his first, so that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would seeme both to serve the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had served) 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 received the faith, was staine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnieke, called Richbert, and then after his death, that province for the tarmie of three yeeres was wrapper ethnoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christian prince, and very well learned, obtained the rule of that kingdom, who whilst 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 province to be partaker of the same fountain of life, wherein he had beene dipped himselfe.

Vnto this godlie purpose also, a bishop of the partes of Burgoyne 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 word of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good success, that he converted the whole countrie to the faith of Jesus Christ, and placed the see of his bishoprike at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yeares. Moreover Pauline, after that he had converted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he persuaded one Bleca the governour of the cite of Lincoln to turne vnto Christ, together with all his familie. In that cite he also builded a church of stone worke. Thus Pauline travelled in the worke 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 river of Trent, neere to a towne, which in the old English tong was called Tio vndjingavester. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which showed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatlie therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verdie of woorthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countrey and observing of justice, deserved highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might have travelled from sea to sea, and not have encountred with anie creature that durst once have offered her injurie. He was also verie carefull for the advancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, insomuch that where there were any sweet and cleare water-springs, he caused postes to be set vp, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that wailing men might have the same ready at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to touch the same but for that use. He used wheresoeuer he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to have a banner borne before him, in token of justice to be ministered by his roiall authoritie.

In the meanie 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 see of Yorke. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kneele him the more with fatherlie advise to continue and proceed in the waie of understanding, into the which he was enterred. At the same time also, because Iustus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that see, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was contained a decree by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that survivied should have authoritie to ordaine another in place of him that was deceased, that they should not need to weary themselves 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 June, in the yeere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scottish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world observed. And also because 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 avoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarie 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 proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the body, that is heresie vnto verite. And as the body by poison is disabled from all natural faculties, and vitallie extinguished, vniue by present means the force thereof be van-
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, Romaines bishop of Rochester drowned, Pauline undertaketh the charge of that see; Osrike is king of Deira, and Eadivride king of Bernicia, both kings became apostatas, and fall into christianitie to paganism, they are both slaine within lesse than a yeeres space; Oswald is created king of Northumberland, his chief practise in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oswalds superstitious devotion and intercession to God against his enemies; both kings joine battell; Cadwallo is slaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

THE XXVII. CHAPTER.

Cadwallo and Penda hauing obtained the victorie aforesaid, vsed it most cruellie. For one of the captaines was a pagan, and the other wanting all civillitie, showed himselfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worshippier of false gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no respect to the christian religion which lattie 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 eu'n unto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Englishmen, nor would communicat with them more than with the pagans, because they differed in rites from their accustomed traditions.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miserable case by the enemies invasion, the archbishop Pauline taking with him the queene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie received.
received 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 Lil the sonne of Osfrdie Edwins sonne, whom their mother after for fear of the kings Edbold and Oswald 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. Whereupon at the request of archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline tooke upon hym the charge of that see, and held it till he died.

After it was knowne that Edwin was slaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Osrike the sonne of his uncle Elfrike tooke vpon hym the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the preaching and vertuous instruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eaufride the son of Edelfred or Edelfride, tooke vpon hym to governe. This Eaufride during the time of Edwins regigne, 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 vnhankfulnesse without just punishment: for first in the next summer, when Osrike had rashlie besieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon hym, and finding him vprouided to make resistance, slue him with all his armie. Now after this, whilst Cadwallo not like a conqueror governed the provinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant wasted and destroued them, in slaying the people in tragical maner, he also slue Eaufride, the which with twelve men of warre came vnscrutifie vnto hym to sue for peace: and thus within lesse than twelue moneths space both these runagate kings were dispatched.

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 longe 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 understanding of warlike knowledge, minding so to use it as it might stand him in stead to deffend himselfe from injurie of the enimies that should prouoke him, and not otherwise. Herevpo Cadwallo king of the Britains made in manner no account of him: for by reason that he had atchieued such great victories against the Englishmen, and hauing slaine their two kings (as before is expressed) he ceased not to proceed in his tyrannical doings, reputeinge the English people for slouthefull, 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 skillfull knowledge which Oswald had sufficientlie learned in states of war) tooke vp upon him to asassile the foresaid Oswald, that had brought an armie against hym, and was encamped in a plaine field neere vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times past against the invasion 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 soldiers to make their prayers to God, that in time of such necessities it might please him to succour them that worship hym. 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 soldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then caused all the soldiers to kneele downe vpon their knes, and to make intercession to the true and finishing God for his assistance against the proud enimie, with whom they should fight in a just quarrell for the preservation of their people and countrie.
THE FIFT BOOKE OF  The state of the Britains

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, so that a sore and cruell fight issued betwixt them. At length Oswald perceiued that the Britains began somewhat to faint, and thence caused his people to renew their force, and more lustilie to prasse forward, so that first he put that most cruell enimie to flight, and after pursuing the chase ouerteoke him, and slue him with the most part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisonborne, but the place where he caused the crosse to be erected he named Henfield. Thus Cadwallo the most cruell enimie of the English name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for 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 yeeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it shall appeare. But for that the contrarietie in writers in such points may sooner be perceiued than reformed, to the satisfying of mens fancies which are variable, we will leave euery man to his libertie to thinke as seemeth him good, noting now and then the diuersitie of such writers, as occasion serueth.

Penda the sonne of Wilba succeded in the governoon of the kingdome of Mercia after Cirlius, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yeeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ijeopard 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 bitterness of maners as had not bene heard of, cruellie of nature, lacke of courtesie, great vnstedfastnesse in performing of work 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 convenient ye shall find further mention also, and so likewise of the kings of the Southsaxons: but because their kingdom continued not past five successions, little remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the British writers have recorded them, whereupon discord arose betwixt Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeeres space were linked in friendship, Cadwallo vanquished, his flight, of Pelitus the Spanish wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power besieging Exester, he arrearowth 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 obtenieth peace, whom Penda spitefullie attempting to kill is killed himselfe, Cadwallo driveth, a brasen image on horssebacke set vp in his memoriall, saint Martius at Ludgate builded.

THE XXVIIIJ. CHAPTER.

CADWALLO or Cadwalline, (for we find him so named) began his reigne over the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 635, in the yeere of the reigne of the emperour Heraclius 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partie before touching
touching his dealings and warres against the Northumbers, and other of the English nation: but forsoomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the British writers, we have thought good in this place to rehearse the same in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find writen, leaving the credit still with the author, sith the truth thereof may be the more suspected, because other authors of good authentick, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmsburie, and others seeme greatlie to disagree from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the sonne of Ethelfred, as Galfrid saith, were brought vp in France, being sent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were very young. 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 yeeres great friendship betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might wear a crowne, and celebrate appointed solemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his country. Cadwallo taking advice 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 leave 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 cruel warre either of them against the other, and at length joining 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 outer into Ireland, and finally passed the seas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his cousin king Salomon he was courteouſlie receiv'd, and at length obtained of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his country, to assist him in recoverie of his lands & dominions, the which in the mean time were cruellie spoiled, wasted and harried by king Edwin.

At the same time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had sent into Britaine as little before to see a certaine wizard or southsier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitius, that by disclosing the purpose of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwalloes enterprises, had fortiﬁed the cite of Excester, meaning to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherepon Penda king of Mercia besieged that cite with a mightie army, purposing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then advertised hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall hasted to Excester, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, set upon his enemies, tooke Penda, and overthrew his whole armie. Penda haueing no other shift to escape, submitted himselfe wholelie 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 speed went against Edwin king of Northumbeland, and slaue him in battell at Hatfeild (as before is mentioned) with his son Osfride, and Eadbald 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 yeere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is said) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwane 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 yeeres to the reign of the Cadwallo, and declareth that he died in the yeere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his senemeth best to agree with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we ﬁnd them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorious against the Northumbers, he cruelly pursued the Saxons, as though he meant 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 succeeded Edwin, though at the first Penda received the overthrow at Heauenfeld, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda slue
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 telles the cause of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varith in the observation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers have 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 converted to the faith by the preaching of Birnius, king Kingilis is baptised, he maketh Birnius bishop of Dorchester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the Westsaxons, both sides after a bloudie battell fall to agrément, Ercombert the first English king that deposed idols throughout the whole land, he ordinneth Lent; why English men became monkes, and English women names in monstaries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia comith vertuous king Oswald, he is assualted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

NOW will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approach and draw as nere as we can to the truth of the historic touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to himwards, in vanquishing his enemies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore even in the beginning of his reign, he sent vnto Donwald the Scottish king (with whom he had bene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yeares) requiring him to have some learned Scottishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might convert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and living God, promising to intertaine him with such provision as appertained.

At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Cormans, a clerke singularie well learned, and of great grauntie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facilite, and plaine vterrance by waie of gentle persuading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie

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Oswald name, Eoedk.

Oswald, Meth. Hist., 634.

678.

VI. p. Hist. 6th., ninth. 76.

Cormans, name to be thankfull to God for his benefitts. Beda b. 3.

exp. 3. 5. 6. Hector Hot.
setting forth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as
the verie learned might scarce, or perceive the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his
trawell came to small effect, so that after a yere remaining there, he returned into his countrey,
declaring amongst his brethren of the clergey, that the people of Northumberland was a
froward, stubborne and stiffe-harted generation, whose minds he could not frame by anie
good meane of persuasion to receiue the Christian faith: so that he judged it lost labour to
spend more time amongst them, being so vunthankfull, and intractable a people, as no good
might be done vnto them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chanced 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 lived, having no regard to the cares of this world, but whatso-
euer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he freely bestowed vpon the
poore, exhorting other to do doo the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans woords, 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
attentive care vnto the preaching of that reverend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation
was they should haue done, yet might it be that his vittering of ouer many mysticall articles
amongst them, farre above the capacitie of the understanding of simple men, was the cause
why they so lightlie regarded his divine instructions, whereas if he had (according to the
counsell of Saint Paule) at the first ministred vnto their tender understandings, oneclic milke,
without harder nourishments, he might happie haue wonne 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 satisifie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might
be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceeding in this maner afores
alleged, what profit would thereof issue.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of
preaching, judged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therefore onelie allowed
his woords, but also willed him to take the journie vpon him, sith they knew none so able with
effect to accomplishe 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 inoffullie
receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see
of his new bishoprie.

This Aidan in one point varied from the use of the new begun church of England, that
is to say, touching the time of observing 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
took it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-woorthie father Anatholias. But the Scots
that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to observe that feast, according
to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland,
applied himselfe so earnestlie in praver and preaching, that the people had him within
short while in wondcrfull estimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with such
sweet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuch that
sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, because the audience was more
than could haue room 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 him in that matter, who being
desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the harts of his sub-
jects, used as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon toong, such whole ser-
mons as Aidan vittered in his mother toong. For Oswald hauing benne brought vp (as ye
hauie 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
the doctrine set forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to hear it: so that it was a marvellous matter to note, what numbers of people daily offered themselves to be baptised, insomuch that within the space of seven days (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betook themselves to a solitarie kind of life.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting forth the gospel in that country, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generally received of all the people, and such scale to advance the glorie of the christian religion daily increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Hereupon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberally consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this means the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in chiuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oswald attained to such power, that all the nations and provinces within Britaine, which were divided into foure toongs (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in ante pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marvellous 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, & having bishop Aidan at dinner 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 herewith tooke a silver dish, which was set on the table before him with maete, & commanded the same maete straightways to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish broken into small pieces, and divided amongst them: for which act he was highly commended of the bishop, as he well deserved. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the provinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the West Saxons were converted 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 forth the gospel vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent trauell in the Lords harvest, Kinggils or Kinggils, one of the kings of that country received the faith, and was baptised about the fiftieth yeere of his reigne. K. Oswald that should have had his daughter in mariage, was present the same time, who first yet he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinggils (that should be his father in law) by receiving him at the fontstone, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinggils (now that he was become a convert or christian) appointed and assigned the citye of Dorchester, situate by the Thames, distant from Oxford about seven miles, to be the see of his bishoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting forth the world of life, converted much people to the right beleeve. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the West Saxons, and sonne to Kinggils was also christened, and died the same yeere, and so Kinggils or Kinggils reignd alone.

In this mean while Penda king of Mercia that succeeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to secke trouble in one place or other, leaued warre against the kings of West Saxons, Kinggils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gauie him battell at Cirencester, where both the partieis fought it out to the vittermost, as though they had forsworne to give place one to another, insomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruel slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they should buckle together againe, the one part should vterlie destroie the other, they fell to agreement in moderating each others demands.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which take order for the vter destroieing of all idols throughout
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throughout his whole kingdom. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of
forty days in the Lent season to be kept and observed, appointing woorthie and competent
punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga,
that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangels, a daughter named Ourongatha, a pro-
fessed nunne within the monasterie of Briege or Cala in France: for in those days, because
there were not manie monasteries builted 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 themselves moonks: and manie there were which sent their daughters
ouer to be professed nunnes within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Briege, Cala, and
Andelle: amongst other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Ediburgh the bastard
daughter of the said king Anna, both which in processe of time were made abbesses of the
said monasterie of Briege.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points
like a most woorthie prince, not ceasing to releuce the necessitie of the poore, advancing the
good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himselfe exceeding praise and commenda-
tion of all good men, and still his fame increased for his vertuous doings; namelye, for the
ardent zeale he had to the advancing of the christian faith. Hereupon Penda king of Mercia,
enuieng the prosperous procedings of Oswald, as he that could never abide the good report
of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to destroie him, and to conquer his
kingdome, that he might joine it to his owne. At length he invaded his countrie by open
warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maserfield, and there in sharpe and cruel
fight Oswald was slaine on the fift day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the
38 yeares of his age, after he had reigned the term of eight or nine yeares after some,
which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predecessors Osrike and Eaufride
reigned, whom they number not amongst kings, because of their wicked apostasie and
renouning of the faith which before they had professed. Such was the end of that vert-
uous 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 of the people, being the first of the English nation that approoued his
vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life.

Oswie succeedeth Oswald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is sore vexed by Penda,
Oswin and Osune are partners in governement, they fall at strifes, Oswin is betrayered into
the hands of Oswie and slaine, a commendation of his personage and goodlie qualities,
bishop Aidan dieth; Conwalke king of the Westsaxons, Penda maketh warre against
him for putting away his wife, his flight, he cometheth a christian and recovereth his
kingdome, bishop Agilbert commeth into Westsaxen, and afterwards departing (upon
occasion) is made Bishop of Paris, Wini dieth the bishopprke of London; Sigibert king
of the Eastangels, the universite of Cambridge founded by him, he resigneth his king-
dome and becometh a monk, he and his kinsman Egrie are slaine in a skirmish against
Penda king of Mercia.

THE XXX. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Oswald was slaine, his brother Oswin (being about 50 yeares of age)
tooke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, governing the same with
great trouble for the space of 23 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 reigne, which was in the
yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the bishop of Rochester which had bene also archbishop
vol. i.

Oswin
King of Northum-
berland.
Beda lii. cap. 11.

Penda invaded
the Northum-
berland.
Beda ib. 3.
cap. 9.
King Oswald
slaine.
Mott. Westm.
ann. 644.

Will. Malmer.

after 644.
of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Englishman of the partes of Kent was ordained bishop of Rochester by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. King Oswin had one Oswin parther with him in government of the Northumbers in the first beginning of his reign, which was some to Osrike, so that Oswin governed in Bernicia, and Oswin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendship for a season, till at length, through the counsel of wicked persons, that counted nothing so much as to some discord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and so began to make warres one against an other, so that finally when they were at point to have tried their quarrell in open battell, Oswin perceiving that he had not an armie of sufficient force to encounter with Oswie, brake vp his campe at Wilfarsdowne, ten mile by west the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himselfe omelie with one servante named Condhere vnto the house of earle Hunwald, whom he tooke to have beéne his trustie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, he said Hunwald did betray him vnto Oswie, who by his captaine Edelwine slue the said Oswin and his servante the foresaid Condhere, in a place called Ingetheling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reign, which was after the birth of our Saviour 651.

This Oswin was a goodlie gentleman of person, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of speech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, so that he was beloved of all. Such a one he was, to be brefe, as bishop Aidan gessed that he should not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthie of so good and vertuous a governour. Such humblenesse and obedience he perceived 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 never saw before that time an humble king. The same Aidan fixed 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 seventeenth yeare after he was ordained bishop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindeferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made bishop in his place, a Scottischman 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.)

In the meanet ime, after that Kingilis or Cinigilsus king of the West Saxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life Anno 643, leaving his kingdome to his sonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the same kingdome the terme of 30 years, or 31 (as some write) in manner as his father had done 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 overcome in battell, & driven out of his countrie, so that he fled vnto Annæ king of the Eastangles, with whome he remained the space of a yeare, or (as other say) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was grown to be an enimie to the christian religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of king Annæ, he became a christian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the prescript of Gods law, and to be brefe in all things shewed himselfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & avoiding vice, so that shorct after (through the helpe of God) he recovered againe his kinglye.

Now when he was established in the same, there came a bishop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but having remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the scriptures. This Agilbert conning into the province of the West Saxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whose desire he tooke upon him to exercise the roome of a bishop there: but afterwards, when the said king admitted another bishop named Wini, which had become ordained 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 therin, returned into France, and there was made bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was expellèd also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Wulphere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which
he held during his life, and so the country 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 nephew.

Ye haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succeeded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and woorthinesse, who whilst he remained in France as a banished man, being constrained to flce his country upon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countre, and obtaining at length the kingdome, those things which he had scene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and hereupon considering with himselfe that nothing could more advance the state of the common-wealth of his countre than learning & knowledge in the toongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namede at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning under appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had bene 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 his learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous universitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun 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 apperained to the duties of a good king, wherevpon he determined to leave the charge thereof to other of more convenient yeres, and to live from thenceforth a privat kind of life, and so resigning the administration unto his kinsman Egricus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruel ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, wherevpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constringed against his will, would not put on armour or bare any other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in stead of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good speed by the presence of Sigibert, joined in battell with their enemies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, together with Sigibert and his choosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Saviour (as some haue noted) 652.

In the daies whilst Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Fusseus, who comming into the countre of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbrebo, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Fusseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordained in his place, who after he had bene bishop fiue yeres, died, and then one Beretgils was ordained in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yere of our Lord 653.
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 receive the faith under vertuous Peda their prince, he requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberland's daughter in marriage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose means the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion under Sigibert their king, he is murdered of two brethren that were his kinsmen upon a conceived hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe company with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

THE XXXI. CHAPTER.

AFTER Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Eaus in the kingdom of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that invaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succeeded him in government of the kingdom, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, together with the foresaid Penda, and woorthlie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdom. After this, when the see of Canturburie had bene vacant by the space of one whole yeere 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 governed the church of Canturburie by the tarmme of nine yeeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

About this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called 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 woorthlie to haue the guiding of a kingdom, his father Penda advanced him to the rule of that kingdom of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Here maie you note, that the kingdom of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdom of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were governed by one king.] This yoong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was informed that he might not haue her except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall 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 Alchfraed, who had in marriage his sister the daughter of Penda name Gimburgh.

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 meete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great joy 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 province of the Middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that daileie a great number of the nobilitie & communallie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrice, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbide the preaching of the gospell within his province of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whom he knew to haue professed themselves christians, and yet shewed not the woroks of faith, saieng, that "Those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obie their God in whome they beliued." This alteration of things began, about two yeeres before the death of king Penda.

About the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, received eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus.
Melitus. Ye have heard that Serred, Siward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonsnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the revolting of that province from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whom succeeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Siward, as some write. This Sigibert the little 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 province of the Eastsaxons, being a most especial friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceased not most earnestlie at times convenient to exhorte him to receive the faith of Jesus Christ, and in the end by such effectual persuasions as he used, Sigibert gave credit to his words, and so being conuerced, received the sacrament of baptism by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, because it was built nere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ie, as is often before remembred, being twelve miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert having now received the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certayne instructors and teachers which might convert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent unto the province of the Middleangles, calling from thence which vertuous man Cedda, and assigning unto him another priest to be his associat, sent them unto the province of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith unto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and enlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certayne things with bishop Finnan which kept his sec at Lindesferne, where understanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in advancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Hecerepon, the same Cedda returned vnto his care, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diverse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, speciallie in the cite of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilst Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and joye of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie proceeding, it chanced thorouge the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examinied of the cause that should move them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it because they had conceived an hatred against the king, for that he was too fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgive injuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, because he observed the commandements of the gospell with a deuot 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, whom he had unlawfullie married, and refused to put her 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 comning from thence met with the bishop, whom when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horsebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, saine these words; "Because (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 East Saxons, he is baptised, the bidoulike exercises of Ced in his native country of Northumberland; Ediswald K. of Deira reverence him, the kings denot mind to further and intarge religion; the manner of consecrating a place appointed for a holy use; the old order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced died; warre betweene Osowie and Penda, Osowie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virginy 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 ensuing Osowie conquest over his enemies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Osowie; prince Penda his kinsman murthed of his wife.

THE XXXII. CHAPTER.

AFTER Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdom of the East Saxons, he was the son of Sexbald, and baptised of Ced in the province 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 East Saxons used oftentimes to visit his country of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godliue life. Wherupon it chanced that king Ediswald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parts of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reverence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great devotion, willed him to choose forth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praine, heare sermons the oftener, and hauue place where to bury the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and desert mountains, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestingham.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with prayer & fasting, he asked leave of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sunday excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receyued any 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 whom he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praine and fasting, which they latelie had receyued 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 begyn religious woork should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordained a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindsferne 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 governance 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.

About the same time, Osowie 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 vterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Osowie people, so that Osowie turning himself to seek helfen at the hands of the almighty, said: If the pagan refuse to receive 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 obtain victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord
in perpetuall virginitie: and further would give twelve manors, lordships or farnes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small amnic he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble captains or cornels, against whom came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armic, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Jesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with queene Cynisse. Edwald the sonne of Oswald that governed Deira, & ought to have aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his uncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan captains were overthrowne and put to flight: and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whom was Eadilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought nere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enemies 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 gave the twelve manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, containing euerie of them ten households a pice. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professd in the monasterie of Hencel, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten households in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a novice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was her mother Elfled, and her grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie afose mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirtene yeere 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 them selves, and the countrie nere adoining to them wholie vnto the faith of Iesus Christ.

The first bishop in the province of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuna, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leaving 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 ordained 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 quene Elfled that was his kinswoman got of her husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, governed the people of Mercia, and also other of the south provinces, & subdud a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gau unto Peada the son of king Penda (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, containing 3000 households, and separated from the Northmercies by the river Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies contained in those daies 7000 households. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthured through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.
The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswe, recover their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwaln king of the Westsaxons, fighteth with the Britains and prevaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold king of Sussex hath the Isle of Wight given him, and why, succession of Edelher, Edelwaln, and Aldulfie in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scott first made bishop of Northumberland, controversie about the observation of Easter, about bald crownes or shaving 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 monk subplicithe the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing used in churches, Theodore and Adrian worethilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brougth into this land.

THE XXXIII. CHAPTER.

After three yeeres were compleat, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Imman, Eaba, and Eadbert rebell against king Oswe, advancing one Wulfhere a young gentleman the sone of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in secret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswe, they recovered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and so living in freedome with their owne naturall king the foresaid Wulfhere, they also continued with glad hearts in service of the celestiall king our God and Saviour.

This Wulfhere governed the Mercies seuentene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the said Wulfhere) had foure bishops successiuelie governing the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumherg, Iaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter shall more at large appeare.

About the beginning of king Vultheres reigne, that is to say, in the seuenteenth 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, proudlie encountered with the Englishmen, and at the first put them to the woors, but when the Englishmen would in no wise give over, but did sticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, so that the posterity of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Chenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell against the foresaid Wulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before against the Britains, for the said Wulfhere vanquishing him in the field, passed through this countrie with a great armie vnto the Isle of Wight, which he conquered, and delivered it vnto Adelwold king of Sussex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontstone after he had converted him to the faith. He gave vnto Adelwold that Isle, to the end he should cause the people there to receiue the faith and religion of Christ. Now after that Edelherie king of Eastangles was slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald succeeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the space of nine yeares. Then after Adelwald succeeded Aldulfie the son of Edelhere in governement of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

After Yman bishop of the Northumbers that held his see at Lindeferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined bishop, a Scot borne, and an earnest observer of the customes used amongst them of his nation, so that when the controversie began to be requiued for the holding of the feast of Easter, he would by no means yeeld 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 hearces, and such like in the monastrie of Whitbie, at the which king Oswe and his some Alcfrid were present, where Colman for his part allledged the custome of Iohn the evynclist, and of Anthauhlias; and the contrarie side brought in prooofe of their opinion, the custome of Peter and Paule.
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Paule. At length, when bishop Colman perceived that his doctrine was not so much regarded, as he thought of reason it ought to have beene, he returned into Scotland with those, which taking part with him, refused to observe the feast of Easter according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor would have their crownes shauen, about which point no small reasoning had beene kept. This disputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oswie 22, and 20 yeares after the Scotishmen began first to boare the office of bishops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan governed 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had beene brought vp amongst the Southerne Scots, and ordeined bishop by them, succeeded in his roome, having his crowne shauen, and observing the feast of Easter according to the custome of the province and rite of the Romane church. ¶ The same yeare, there chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, the third of Maiie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great deартh and mortalitie issueth, 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 abbacie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, succeeded in government of the church of Lindesferne, otherwise called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was sent by king Alfrid into France, to be ordeined there.

About the same time king Oswie, the father of king Alfrid, moued 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 in his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the province of the Westsaxons, where he was ordeined by bishop Wini, who tooke two other bishops of the British nation vnto him to be his associates, which used to observe 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 province of the Westsaxons in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he constrained to take such as he might get and provide.

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 horsebacke 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 & manners as he had known them to doo. Wilfrid also being consecrated bishop, and returned into England, indeued 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 constrained either to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne countrie.

In this meanie time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had governed the Kentishmen by the space of twenty yeares, his sonne Egbert succeeded 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 comning 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 issueth, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life, so that the see of Canturburie was void a certaine time, in so much that king Egbert, who succeeded his father Ercombert, together with king 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 ordaine the foresaid Wighart archbishop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English church. But this Wighart coming vnto Rome, and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then governing the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that cite) with all those that came with him.

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The pope then taking advice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturberie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office upon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a roome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, whereunto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, eftsone Adrian should have beene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other mooneke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Gillicia, verie well learned both in the Greke and Latine, and being of reverend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturberie, with condition, that Adrian should nevertheless attend upon him into England, both for that he had bene twice before this time in France, and so knew the toasts; 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 Grekes, contrarie to the vs in the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was grown, that he might have 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 themselves, according to the vs in saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturberie 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: whereupon with all convenient speed he sent over one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was stayed for a time, because he was suspected to have had some commusion from the emperour to have practised with the Englishmen, for the disquiecting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceived that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so coming vnto Canturberie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturberie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundae. He governed the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daises, 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 convenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to observe the feast of Easter, according to the right and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceada that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was removed from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereunto restored, so that Ceada (though he were not disgraced of his degree of bishop) lived yet a priuate kind of life, til 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, now they began in euerie church to vs use singing of divine service after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester vvoid by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiastical discipline, and nymeth well scene in song and musique to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories discipes.

'To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notable well learned themselves in the Greeke and the Latine toongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberal arts, as in the scripture, they tooke great pains to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happy times then in those daises, having as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in fear of them; and againe, those that courted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof divers being given to studie, proceeded excellent both in knowledge of the Greke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop
archbishop from Rome, an English man named Benedict Biscop, which had taken upon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his coutrie, builded two abbeys, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuers of Wire, and the other Girwic, distant from Wiremouth about five miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwic in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouverned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went five times to Rome, and came againe.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne over the Eastsaxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaneth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop of Mercia, the king of that coutrie hath him in his reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops helden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canon by Theodore archbishop of Canturbury, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedy therefore; Kenweake of a very euill prince becometh a very good ruler, his wife governeth the kigne after his death, Ecgfrid succeedeth him in the roome, of Thunmir a martherer king Egbert principal vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed moonke, his death.

THE XXXIII. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time, after that Suidhelm king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in governement of that kigne, albeit they were subject 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 governement, 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 reparing their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idoles, as though thereby they should have beene defended from that mortalitie. But his associat Sebbie with great devotion continued stedfast in the faith which he had receuied.

King Vulfhere being informed of Sengers apostasie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eastsaxons were departed from the faith, sent thither bishop Iaroman or Iaromman, that was successour vnto Trumhere, which vse such diligence and godlie meane, that he reduced the said king and all his people vnto the right belief, so as the idolish synagogues were destroyed, and the idoles also with their altars quite beaten downe, the christian churches againe set open, and the name of Christ etoones called vpon amongst the people, coneting now rather to die in him with hope of resurrection in the world to come, than to live in the service of idoles, spotted with the filth of errors and false beleefe. And thus when bishop Iaroman had accomplished the thing for which he was sent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the said Iaroman was departed this life, king Vulfhere sent vnto the archbishop Theodore, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new bishop. Theodore not minding to ordaine anye 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 lived as it were a priuata life at that time in his monasterie of Lestingham, for Wilfrid held the bishoprike of Yorke, extening his authoritie over all Northumberland & amongst the Picts also, so farre as king Oswies dominion stretched. Therefore Cead
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Having licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiv'd by king Vulfhere, and well entertained, in so much that the said king gave unto him lands and possessions containing 50 families of householders to build a monasterie in a certaine place within the countrie of Lindsey called Erbeare. But the see of his bishoprike was assigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordshire, where he made him a house nere to the church, in the which he lived, and other of his brethren in religion used in an oratorie there to pray and reade, so often as they had leisure from labour and businesse of the world. Finallie, after he had governed the church of Mercia by the space of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, having 7 dyes warning given him (as it is reported) from above, before he should die, after a miraculous manner, which because in the judgement of the most it may seeme more fabulous, we will omit and passe over. 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.

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 attack'd with a grievous sickness, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares compleat.

After Oswie, his sonne Egfrid succeeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whose reign, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbishop of Canturberie kept a synod at Herforde, the first session wherof began the 24 of September, all the bishops of this land being present either in person or by their deputies, as Bisi bishop of Estangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputy Putta bishop of Rochester, Eleutherius bishop of Westaxton, and Wilfrid bishop of Mercia. In the presence of these prelates, the 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 receiv'd.

1 The first chapter was, that the feast of Easter should be kept on the sundae following the fourteenth 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 anie thing anie monasterie consecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged into 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 clergie should depart from his bishop to run into anie other diocesse, nor comming from anie other place be admitted, except he brought letters of testimonie with him. But if anie such chanced to be receiv'd, if he refused to returne, being sent for home, both he and his receiver should be excommunicated.
6 The sixth, that bishops and other of the clergie being strangers shold hold them content with the benefit of hospitality, & should not take in hand anie priestlie office, without licence of the bishop, in whose diocesse he chanced so to remaine.
7 The seventh, that twice in the yeare a synod should be kept, but because of divers 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 Clofeshough.
8 The eighth chapter was, that no one bishop should by ambition seek to be preferred above another, but that euery 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 ordained.
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 kinfolke, 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 maried,
ried, if he would be accounted a true christian, he might not be coupled 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 disgraced of their priesthood, and separated from the companie of them all.

The forsaid Bisi that was bishop of the Eastangles, and present at this synod, was successor unto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that see 17 yeeres, and then departing this life, Bisi was made bishop of that province, and ordained by the archbishop Theodore. This Bisi at length was so visited with sickness, that he was not able to exercise the ministration, so that two bishops were then & there elected and consecrated for him, the one named Aecel, and the other Baldwin.

In this means while, that is, about the yeere of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Harison noteth, Kenwalch king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yeeres. This Kenwalch was such a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worst kind of rulers, but in the midst and later end of his reign, to be matched with the best. His godlie zeal borme towards the advancing of the christian religion well appeared in the building of the church at Winchester, where the bishops see of all that province was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdom of Westsaxons after him, a woman of stoumesse enough to have attainted acts of woorthy remembrance, but being prevented by death yet she had reigned one whole yeere, she could not shew anie full prooffe of her noble courage. I remember that Matth. West. maketh other report heereof, declaring that the nobilitee remoued him from the government. But I rather follow William Malmesbury in this matter.

To proceed, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will needs haue it so) Eclusinus or Eleninus, whose grandfather called Guthgelo, the brother of K. Kinigils, succeeding in government of the Westsaxons, reigned about the space of two yeeres: and after his decease, one Centuinus or Centwine tooke upon 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. Eleninus fought against Vulthere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Vulthere yet had after a maner the upper hand, as some haue written.

In the same yeere that the synod was holden at Herford, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 679, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdom to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yeeres, & seven moneths. Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thuurin, who had the chiefie rule of the kingdom under him, suffered the same Thuurin in lamentable maner to kill the two innocents sons of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercumbert, that was father unto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie young gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to deprive both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdom. Also, that they were priuily put to death, and secretly buried at the first, but the place of their burial immedeiatlie being shewed after a miracular manner, their bodies long after in the duies of king Egild the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conveyed vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being gilte of the death of those his coosses, did sore repent him, for that he understood they did gilte, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offence, as after shall be shewed.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedience in some point, was depraved by archbishop Theodore, and one Sexvulle that was the builder, and also the abat of the monasterie of Meidhamsted, oherwise called Peterborough, was ordaine and consecrate in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordaine bishop of the Eastsaxons, and appointed to hold his se in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holiness and
and virtue. 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 nunns at Berking, within the province of the Eastsaxons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie esteemed for his deount kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of her profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whom Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

After Erkenwald, one Walthere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, being now vexed with a greuous sickness, professed himselfe a moonke: which thing he would have done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the cite of London, and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and governed a part of the Eastsaxons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the government of the whole province of the Eastsaxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yeere of our Lord 675, Vulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yeeres, but (as other affirm) he reigned but 17 yeeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Osiwe 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 becometh a poore curat and teacheth musicke, Wilfred depo'ed from his bishoprike by king Egfrid vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell in Sussex by the licence of king Edulfalke, roane 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 have him in great reverence, 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 Whittie.

THE XXXV. CHAPTER.

AFTER Vulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succeeded in government of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yeere of our Lord 677, destroieing 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 appiere in the field to give him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroieing 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 Sexulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obtaining 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 entertainement.

Heereupon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constrained by pouerie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his steed. In the yeere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appeared, with a long bright beam like to a piller. It was scene euerie morning for the space of three moneths together. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his see, and then were two bishops ordained in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Bosa
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Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindeferne. Also one Radhildus was ordained about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which province king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whom he overcame in battell, and drove him out of that countrie. The said three bishops were consecrated at Yorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within three yeeres after ordained two bishops more in that province of the Northumbers, that is to say, Tumbert at Hagustald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindeferne, & Trumine was ordained to have the cure of the province of those Picts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also because Edilred king of Mercia recovered the countrie of Lindsey, and joined it to his dominion, bishop Radhildus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Rippon.

After that bishop Wilfrid was expelled out of his diocese and province of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southsaxons, the which containing seven thousand households or families, as yet was not converted 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 converted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolffer, that then became his godfather, and gave him at the same time the Isle of Wight, and the province of the people anciently called Meauturi, which he had woone from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefest lords and gentlemen of that province. But certain priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

It chanced that for the space of three yeeres (as it is said) before the comming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that province of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by resoun of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrie, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselves hadlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie vittles. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptism, there came downe sweet and plentiful showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullie tooke root, and yielded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and relief of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that countrie the manner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in any kind of fishing, except it were in catching eales. 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 received so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the understanding of his lawes. The king also gave unto Wilfrid a place called Scalerew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, containing 87 households or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whence he made free both in body and soule: for he did not onely baptise them, but also infranchised them of all bodilie servitude and bondage.

In this meanes while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yeere after the appearing of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Ethelred king of Mercia, neere to the rier of Trent, where Alswine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, so that king Egfrid was constrained to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiving that great warre and effusion of bloud was like to follow thervpon, traualled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompence of his losse. The foresaid battell was fought in the yeere of our Lord 679, and in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumber-
land, the sixt yéere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldvulse king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

The archbishop of Canturberie Theodorus held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certaine articles touching the beleefe of the trinitie of persons, in trinitie 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. Moreover, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the five generall counsellors, 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 emperor Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat unto pope Agatha of the agreement 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.

The same yéere that famous woman Hilda abbesse of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) five yeeres after, hauing first beene detaine long with greuous sickenesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephe of king Edwin, and converted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed hirselfe a nun, applying hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to praier, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor anie that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeeres of age. As some have written she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitbie, in the yéere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yeere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seuenthe yere of Centwine or Centzinius king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britains, and overcame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword unto 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 overthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shamefull repulse at the hands of their enimes, who converted the distresse of that people to their profit, and tooke pleasure in the extermite of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be observed by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuers governours, and specially vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile servitude than Pharaos did the Hebrewes at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Brigantia, that is, Libera Dania, sine regio in qua Dani liberè vivant, for they lived as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they listed. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place convenient.
Cadwallored 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, Cadwalla king of the Westsaxons, the kingdom is divided; the valorous mind of Cadwalla, he is forced to forsake his country, he vanquiseth and killeth. Edilcallic king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdom with revenge upon Berthan duke of Sussex and other his servants, his son if he might conquer the Isle of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop, his view to the Isle of Wight receiveth the faith; Cadwalla instrueth Kent, of a barbarous way, but he commeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland instrueth Ireland, he is slaine by Branduns king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsel is dangerous; Ethelreda a wife and a widow (having vowed chastitie) lived a virgine 12 yeeres with his husband Egfrid, she was calld saint Luderie of Elte.

THE XXXVI. CHAPTER.

But now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor whereof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succeeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yeere of the emperor Constantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yeere of 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 marryed 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 cuifull discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constreined with the cheifest part of his people to forsake their native countrey, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to seeke relief by vitelles for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

Long proesse is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to have returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which because it seemeth but fabulous, we passe over. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortlie after he fell sickle, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Cadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time moued of a religious devotion, after he was confirmed 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 yeere of 689 or therabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie unlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of divers good and approved authors.

This Cadwallader king of the Westsaxons succeeded after Centwine or Centuiinus, which Centwine reigned nine yeeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yeeres at the least, the kingdom of Westsaxons was divided betwixt him and Ecefinus or Escuinus, so that he should not reigne past seven yeeres alone.

But now to Cadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Cenulfine or Ketiling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Cadda: the sonne

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of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he proued 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 proowe of his high valiancie, so that in the end with his woorthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enemie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Whereupon he toke occasion as it were in revenge of such unthankfulness to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitieth his present estate, or moued 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 perceiving the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie achiuied victorie, returned with good and prosperous spæde into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, drove them out of the kingdome, and taking upon him to rule the same as king, reignd two yeeres, during the which he achiuied divers notable enterprizes.

And first, whereas Berthon and Authun dukes of Sussex & subjectes vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also vpon them the rule of that kingdome, having now attened to the government of the Westsaxons, he invaded the countrie of Sussex againe, and slue Berthon in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-nêere destroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Hee bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would give a fourth parte 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 thereof as contained 300 households or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 households. Wilfride receiuing thankfullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clerks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildilh, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptism vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the 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.

Moreover, king Ceadwalla invaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Mollo, as after small appere, but yet he avenged 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 bloodshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not have 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 sickenesse, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

In the meanwhile, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a capitaine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, sore dammaging the people of that countrie, which had ever beene friends vnto the English nation, and deserved nothing lesse than so to be invaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselves to their power, beseeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would revenge their cause in punishing of such extreme injuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdom 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 offensys by God, & so (peradventure) 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 his and
craggie montsins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his regne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

There were ducers of Egfrid's friends, and namele Cutberd (whome he had advanced the same yeere vnto the bishops see of Lindeferne) that advised 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 give care to his faithfull friends that advised him for the best. From that time forth, the hope and power of the English people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recovered that part of their countrey 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 maintained 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 lived with his husband the foresaid Egfride twelve yeeres in perfect virginitie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of his husband, if he might haue persuaded hir to the contrarie, but finally he was contented that she should kepe hir first vow of chastitiie which she had made. She was both widow and virgine when he married hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Eumert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrey, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Northfolke, Huntingtenshire, & Cambridgeshire, howbeit he lived 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 monastrie, and was made abbesse of the place, in the which after she had governed seven 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 conceived of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, John archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike geteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudshed, Ceadwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Malla burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enimies, Inas king of Wessex is made his friend, Sceburd and Nidred usurpers of the Kentish kingdom, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwal the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this land was vnder their government.

THE XXXVII. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, 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 judged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was received by the Northumbers, and made king, governing his subj ects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had doone: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one piece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his regne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Picts, whose confins he had as then invaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this
this time to take place. Finalie king Alfricke, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

In the beginning of king Alfrics daies, Eata the bishop of Hexham being dead, one loine a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Wilfrid was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said loine was removed to the church of Yorke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Bos. At length the foresaid loine wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his see, and got him to Beverley, where he lived a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about 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 Beverley aforesaid, in which church he lieth buried.

The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of February, of a wound by him receiv'd in a battell in which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was some unto his brother Egbert, and had maintaied warre against his vnclle the said Lother, even from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell striken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so di'd thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seven 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 gien to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelbrut, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was known they died innocently, he mocked them and made but a jest at it, although his brother in acknowledging his faults, repented him thereof, and gaine in recompense to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

The foresaid Edricke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuil warre, insomuch that before he had reigned the full term of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwaller king of the Westsaxons being thereof advertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serve his purpose, as one still counting 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 ecli side, till finallie the Kentishmen assembled themselves together, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwaller was driven from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enimies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Mollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwaller herewith depart out of the countrie, but to weake his wrath, and to revenge the grieve which he tooke for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroied a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankerd nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tolerating & forgiving, 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, namelye,

per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,
Sed verbis alisqve modis fuge kedere quenquam,
Quod tibi colles, alis fecisse cauto,
Quodque tibi velles, alis praestare studete;
Iace est nature lex optima, quam nisi ad vnquam
Serrabis, non ipse Deo (mili credo) placebis,
Pòstque obitum infelix non aurea sydery usibus.

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 have beene content with a competent
compotent revenge, and not in such outrageous manner with fier and sword have afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike cruelty) have ministered occasion to posterities to revenge wrongs given and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the processe.

The Kentsmen being destitute of a king, after that divers had contred the place, and sought to attain thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that province for the space of 6 yeares together, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricks death, Withred an other of the sons of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell overcome enemie at home, & with monie redemmed peace abroad, was with great hope conceived of his worthiness made king of Kent, the 11 of November, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 23 yeares, not deceyving his subjectts of their good conceived opinion of him: for overcomyng all his adversaries which were ready to haue civill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the Westsaxons, which meant to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdom of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrey, Suebhard and Nilred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled "Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum" have 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 succeed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus governed as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nilred, it forceth not: for certaine it is by the agreement of other writers, that till Withred obtained the whole rule, there was great strife and contention mowed about the governement, and divers 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 seven that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent bither from Rome.

Here endeth the line and governorment 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 howsoever that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutos, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Muineius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginnning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this governement, 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 Saxenish.

Thus farre the interrupted regimen of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.
THE SIXT BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole monarckie of the realme falleth into their hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to have destroyed, he & his coosen Nun fight with Gerent king of the Britains, and Ceoldred king of Mercia, and Eadbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas goeth over his royalie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his leaves written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, quene Ethelburgas devise to persuade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter peace to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become monks; the setting vp of images in this land authorised by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is shaine of his owne subjects by the suggestion of Bernred the wyrper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, mens kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

AFTER that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shewed) his coosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, begining his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Justinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welshmen, ceased in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appeareth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we have thought met to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reserving the particular dooings to the kings of the other provincies or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking N for V) doo wrongfullie name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient lineage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as some to one Kenred, that was sonne to Cenwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Ceriticus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdom more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his woorthie person, than for the successefull offspring of which he was descended. The first voyage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to renuenge the death of his coosen Mollo, the grieve whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceived, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obtained their purpose, vpon payment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siller.

After
After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his cozen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chased. In the 26 yeere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battell against Cheolred king of Mercia, at Wodenessburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be judged whether part sustained greater losse. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas invaded the Southsaxons with a mightie armie, and sue in battell Ealdibright or Aldinius king of the Southsaxons, and joined that kindgome vnto the kindgome of the Westsaxons: so that from thenceforth the kindgome of those Southsaxons ceased, after they had reigned in that kindgome by the space of five kings successuicel, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwale, Berutius, and this last Aldinius or Ealdibright.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 10 or 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kindgome, together with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe verye devout and zealous towards the aduanacement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good & wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by John Day, in the yeere 1568, together with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appere.

Moreover, king Ine built the monasterie of Glastenburie, where Joseph of Arimathia in times past built an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Aruragus, & taught the gospell heere to the Britains, converting manie of them to the faith. Moreover, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops see was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisbury. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had bene earnest with him a long time to persuade him to forsake the world: but she could by no means bring his purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodgeth at a manor place in the countrie, where all provision had bene made for the requeling of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houshold, as also in costlie viands, and all other things needfull, or that might serve for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had bene brought thither and ordeined for the beautefull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that doone, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Hecerevpon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to his appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

Now when he was returned to that house, which before seemes to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to bëhold the same, she tooketh occasion therevpon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togethier with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lump of claine, after it should once be dissoled by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moove him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that his wordes lastle thooke effeet: so that he resigned the kindgome to his cozen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended his life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie housshold within his dominion a penie.
In this meanie time Edilred or Ethelred, having governed the kingdome of Mercia by the turne of 29 yeeres, became a moonke in the abbe of Bardeiiie, and after was made abbot of that house. He he had to wife one Ostrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whom he had a some named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the some of his brother Vullther to succeed him in the kingdome. The said Ostrida was cruelie slaine by the treason of his husbands subiects, about the yeere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, desirous towards God, a furtherer of the commonweale of his coutrie, and passed his life in great sincerity of manners. In the fift yeere of his reign, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, together with Offa king of the East Saxons, where he was made a moonke: and finallie died there, in the yeere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a moonke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbe of Eveshame, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approoving the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the use of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, upon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yeere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of West Saxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the fore-said Kenred.

After Kenred succeeded Ceolred, the some of his uncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yeere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succeeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man governed a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, he besieged Somenerton and won it. He also invaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

He overcame the Weshtmen in battell, being then at quiet, and joined as confederates with Cuthred K. of West Saxons. But in the 37 yeere of his reigne, he was overcome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whom he was fallen at variance, and within four yeeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yeere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Scan- don, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurment and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, tooke vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succeeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripon.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Mentz or Moguntz, having assembled a counsell with other bishops and doctors, deduced a letter, and set it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good devotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the reliefe of the poore, and also for his upright dealing in administration of justice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from mariage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diverse women, and namelic with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamous the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious living in sinfull fornication, and namelic the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his cuil example did forsake their wives, and defouled other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreover, he shewed how that such cuil women, as well nuns as other, used to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graves with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cutbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wandr abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that lived wantonlie in fornication and whoredome.

Offa
Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a monke, succession in the kynegome of the Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Northumberland hath carnall knowledge with wnes, he is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kynegome becommeth a monke, bishop Wilfrid twice restored to his see, H'estsaxonic diuided in two dioeceses, bishop Aldhelmone a founder of religious houses; Ethelwald succeeded Ihas in regiment, two blazing starrs scene at once, and what ensued, the king dieth: the successive reigne of Wichtreds three sones ouer Kent, what provinces were gourned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelwald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke advanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

In this meane time Sighard and Seufred, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succeeded in government of that kynegome, a man of great towarsnesse, and of right comelic countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being mowed with a religious devotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine bishop of Worcester, and being there shauen into the order of moonks, so continued till he died. After him one Selred the sonne of Sighert the good, ruled the Eastsaxons the tearme of 38 yeeres. After Aldulfe the king of Eastangles departed this fraile life, which chanced about the yeere of our Lord 688, his brother Elcwold or Akwold succeeded him, and reigned about 11 yeeres. After whose decease one Beorne was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about 26 yeeres. In this meane while, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his sonne Osred, a child of 8 yeeres of age succeeded him in the kynegome, and reigned 11 yeeres, spending his time when he came to ripe yeeres in filthie abusing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

About the seuenthe yeere of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 711, one of his captins named earle Berthfridde fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obtaining the victorie, slue an huge number of the enemies. At length king Osred by the traitorous means of his cowens that arreared warre against him, was slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leaving to those that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reignying two yeeres, and Osricke ten yeeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthlie punished for shedding the bloud of their natural prince and souereigne lord, they finished their liues with dishonourable deaths, as they had well deserued. Osricke before his death, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceolwolfe the brother of his predecessor Kenred, to succeed him in the kynegome, which he did, reignying as king of the Northumbers by the space of 8 yeeres currant, and then renouncing his kynegome, became a mooke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

In this meane while, bishop Wilfrid being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of Hexham. The said Wilfrid had beeone bishop by the space of 45 yeeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For first being archbishop of Yorke, and exercising his jurisdiction over all the north parts, he was after banished by king Egbert, and againe restored to the see of Hexham in the second yeere of king Alfride, and within fete yeeres after eftsoones banished by the same Alfride, and the second time restored by his successor king Osred, in the fourth yeere of whose reigne, being the yeere after the incarnation of our Saviour 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Rippon. Moreover, after lohn the archbishop of Yorke had resigned, one Wilfrid surnamed the second was made archbishop of that see: which Wilfrid was chapleine to the said lohn, and governed that see by the space of fiftene yeeres, and then died. About the yeere of our Lord 710, the abbat...
Adrian which came into this land with Theodore the archbishop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yeeres after his comung thither.

Also Inas the king of Westsaxons, about the 20 yeere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Westsaxons into two bishops sees, whereas before they had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of those sees, being placed at Winchester, hausing vnder him Sussex, Southerie and Hamshire. And Althelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall. This Althelme was a learned man, and was first made abbat of Malmesburie, in the yeere of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then bishop of the Westsaxons, by whose diligence that abbeie was greatlie advanced, being afores that time founded by one Medulf a Scottish man, but of so small revenues afores Althelmes time, that the monks were scarce able to live thereon. Also the same Althelme was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glastenburie.

**ETHELARD.**

1728.


Blazing star
debut lib. 5.

Epc. lib. 5. cap. 24.

**729.**

HI. Malm.

Now when Wicfred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of 33 yeeres, with great commendation for the good orders which he caused to be observed amongst them, as well concerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporall, he departed this life, leaving behind him three sons, who successuallie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to say) Edbert 23 yeeres, Ethelbert 11 yeeres currant, and Alrike 34 yeeres, the which three princes following the steps of their father in the observance of politike orders & commendable laws, used for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the cite of Canturburie was burned by casuall fire, and Alrike lost a battell against them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was somewhat blemished: for so it came to passe, that whatsoever chanced euill, was kept still in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were soone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

In the yeere of our Lord 731, Betrwalde archbishop of Canturburie departed this life in the fift ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that see by the space of 27 yeeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whose place the same yeere one Tawwine was ordeigned archbishop, that before was a priest in the monasterie of Brudon within the prouince of Mercia. He was consecrated in the cite of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester, Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwin bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulf bishop of Rochester, the tenth day of Iune being sundae.

| As touching the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernours, certein it is, that the same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerning touching the ecclesiasticall state by archbishop Tawwine, and bishop Aldwulf. The prouince |
under the Saxons. THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

vince of the East Saxons by bishop Ingwold. The province of East Angles by bishop Eadbaldus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The province of the West Saxons was governed by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeeded next after Aldhelm in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yere of our Lord 738, left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the quene of the West Saxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, together with women, used to make such iournies thither in those daies. The province of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford governed those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The province of Wicces, that is, Worcester, one Wilfrid governed. The South Saxons and the Ile of Wight were under the bishop of Winchester. In the province of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfrid archbishop of Yorke, Eadbald bishop of Lindiserne, Acca bishop of Hexham, and Pechthelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that governed that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall governours in that season.

And as for temporall governement, king Ceolvulfe had the souereigne dominion over all the Northumbers: but all the provinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subject unto Edibald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and verite of the universall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, containing themselves with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the observance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both divine and humane force vsiterie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie freie, yet in some point remained still as thrall and manciple to the subjection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laien armour and weapon aside, applied themselves to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come thereof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these words dooth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 283 yeeres, according to his account.

In the yeere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordained bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie advanced the see of Yorke, and recovered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplicie but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got together a great number of good books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. In the yeere 733, on the 18 kalendes of September, the same suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth seemed to be covered with a blanke and horrible penthouse. In the yeere 734, that reverend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Maiie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie observed. W. Harison addeth hithereto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cuthbert monke of the same house vnto Cathwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good books, and not to exercise themselves with fables and friulous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Gerun, distant five miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastle (as is before remembered.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and

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and was scholar to John of Beverley. How throughlie he was sence in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which hee wrote doo manifestlie bare witness. His judgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wimborne, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certain questions mooted there, which without his opinion might sence to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he never went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeyes of Geruiue and Wimbourne, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeyes, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop lohn, surnamed of Beverley: so that it may be maruellde that a man borne in the vitvere corner of the world, should prove so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to sence it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, having in them diverse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in towns and villages adjoyning.

The same yeere died archbishop Taucine, and in the yeere following, that is to say 735, Noethelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yeere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Fruidber, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yeere 744.

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Cuthred king of the West taxons, he is greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelles against him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth sicke and dieth; Sigebert succeedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruelly to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, success in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for monks cowles; the Britaines subject to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moon al eclipsed.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Ethelward king of Westsaxons, his coosiue Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the yeare of 16 yeeres. He began his reign in the yeere of our Lord 740, in the twentieth yeere of the emperour Leo Isaurus, in the 14 yeere of the reign of the seconde Theodorus Cala K. of France, and about the 6 yeere of Ethelne king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to doo against Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his owne subiects the Westsaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtill practises sought to disquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yeere of his reign, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then joining their powers together, they went against the Welshmen, & gave them a great overthow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yeere of this Cuthreeds reign, his sonne Kenric was shine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman young in yeeres, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, whereby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

In the 11 yeere of his reign, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, aduentured to gue battell though he had the smaller number of men, and yet was at point to have gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant received, his periuriic had not beene punished, and the kings just cause advanced to triumph.
triumph over his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yeare of his reign, king Cuthred being not well able to sustaine the proud exactions and hard doings of Edibald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Edibald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant prowess he put great hope to attaine victorie: neither was he deceived, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the lottie pride of king Edelbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after sore and terrible fight continued and maintained even to the uttermost point. In the 24 yeare of his reign, this Cuthred fought eftsoones with the Welshmen, and obtained the upper hand, without amie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easlie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yeare after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yeare of his reign he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

After him succeeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigibert or Sigibert began his reign in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie neere abroad. He intreated his subjects verie euill, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruelly put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the rest of his nobles assembled themselves together with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second, or (as some say) the first yeare of his reign. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetsflood found him out, and perceiving what he was, stooe him in revenge of his maisters death.

Lo here you may see how the righteous justice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with worthie recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserve, permitting some of them to haue governemente a long time, that both the froward nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world tast the more bitter tortments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be delivered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his misdemeavour may speedilie receiue due punishment.

After Beorne king of Eastangles one Ethelred succeeded in government of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his sonne Ethelred (which succeeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

After that Colvulfe king of Northumberland was become a moonke in the abbe of Lindseyfene, his vnclse sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Colvulfe) succeeded him in the kingdome, and governed the same right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a moonke, by the example both of his predecessor the forsaied Colvulfe, and also of divers other kings in those daies, so that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a moons cows (as Simon Dunel, writeth.)

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reign) and August king of Picts came to the citie of Aleclud with their armiies, and there receiued the Britains into their subjection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Ouan into Newbourgh, was for the more part lost and destroyed. The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the moone being as then in his fulle, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to his accustomed shew, after a maruellous means, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like distace as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

Offa
Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and West Saxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eastangles by a policie or subtil devise of prouerbe curteties, he invadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Canturburie removed to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatime is deprin'd by king Offa, he seizeth upon churches and spiritual houses; mistrusting his estate, he alieneth himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had done to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sick and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.

THE FOURTH CHAPETER.

After that Offa had slaine Bernred the usurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa tooke vppon him the government of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomatch, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoever he conceived in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and maruellous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otterford, and the Northumbers also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight.

With Kenwulfe king of West Saxons he fought in open battell, and obtained a noble victorie, with small losse of his people, although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capitaine.

Againe, perceiving that to proceed with craft, should sooner advance his purpose, than to use open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, under faire promises to give vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allureth him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palacie, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes invaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent woorkmanship, and foundinge a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he inowde with great possessions. He removed the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to advance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preeminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obtaine it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then governing the Romane see. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorchester, Willnardus bishop of Hereford, Hallard bishop of Ely, and Cedferth bishop of Donwiche. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he travelled earnestlie to maintaine his prerogatime. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not recoute from his will, Offa deprived him of all his possessions & revenues that he held or inoied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewhile, but he also tooke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of Malmesbury of a part of his revenues. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the West Saxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a piece of
of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was
staid for a time. One of the ambassadors that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is re-
ported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alewine, by whose persuasion the same Charles
erected two universities, as in place due and convenient may more largelie appear.

Finalie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to
be iustlie conceived towards him for his sines and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all
his goods vnto churchmen, and to poor people. He also inowed the church of Hereford
with great revenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing monkies in
the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had done at saint Albons. Moreover
he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of
Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subject by way of tribute vnto the church of
Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay
vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which painment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter
pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiving himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his
sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this
world, left the kingdom vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Amongst other the dooings of this Offa, which suerlie were great and maruellous, this
may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes
of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to divide thereby the bounds of their dominions.
This ditch was called Offditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Bristow,
vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dee,
vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuere falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a
church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch
euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approoved good
doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient privileges, which
his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceived of his further good
proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the
space of foure moneths, not for his owne offensses (as was thought) but rather for that his
father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdom,
which so small a time he now inioied.

Oslph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succedeth him, the re-
ward of rebellion, a great mortallie of foules fishes and fruits, monkies licencied to
drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edred king of Northumberland is driven out of his
countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his
vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of misshaps
towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise
to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdom, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death
greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the deacie of the kingdom of Eastangles, succession
in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernment of the Eastsaxons, prince
Algar is smitten blind for seeking to ranish virgine Friswilde, and at hir prayers restored
to his sight.

THE FIFTIETH.

WHEN Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a monk, his sonne
Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned onetie one yeare, he was traitoroues
murthered by his owne servants at Mikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then suc-
ceeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began
not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth
of our sauiour 759.
This man proved right valiant in govenment of his subiects. He slue in battle an earle of his countrey named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitchte field at Edwines Clue, and receiued the worthe reward of rebellion.

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a maruellous great snow, and therwith so extreame a frost, as the like had not bene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middest of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their liuie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whom Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Linnesferne, the moonks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Giwento, Anwicke, London, Yorke, Donecaster, &c.

After that Moll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kynghdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Aldred. This Aldred reigned ten yeares over the Northumbers, and was then expellie out of his kynghdome by his owne subiects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelred, the sonne of the foresaid Moll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was druene out of his kynghdome by two dukes of his countreie named Edelbald and Heredwulf, who morting warre against him, had slaine first Aldulf the sonne of Bosus the generall of his arme at Kings-cliffe; and after Kinewulf and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Helatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despaerly of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kynghdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeede him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vertue abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better atteining to knowledge and understanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saings & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongst other he had this saying oftimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselves: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meke.

Moreover he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staidness of maners, and continence of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might have issue to succeed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was persuaded to follow their aduises. And so Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affiniated to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from his fathers house.

Manie strange things that happened to him in taking upon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no sooner mounted on his horesse, but that (as seeme to him) the earth shooke under him: againe, a she was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on eche side, that he could not see nor discerne for a certaine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night aslepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roofe of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he
he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourable received him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceived a malicious devise in hir hart, & straightswayes went about to persuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdom.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had bene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa haueing thus dispatched Ethelbert, invaded his kingdom, and conquered it.

But when the bride Alfreda understood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that woorthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in persuading so detestable a deed: and according to hir woords it came to passe, for hir mother died miserable within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselle a nun at Crowland, the which place began to wax famous about the yeere of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gutlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to hirselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbacie of mooneks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to burial in a vile place, necere to the banke of a river called Lug.

The kingsome of Eastangles from thencefoorth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subject one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhat vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the government thereof (as after shall appere.) After that Sved king of the Eastsaxons had governed the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers have not expressed. After him succeeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularie governed those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yeere that the said Egbert overcame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceasied and tooke end.

After about this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Friswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whom one Algar a prince in those parties fell in love, and would have raushed hir, but God the reuenger of sines was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before hir, she getting into the towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from hir. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards hir, so that his sight was againe restored to hir. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, heereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)
Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest over the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineward the principall procurer of that mischiefe, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a counsell holden at Mercia; judge Bearne burnt to death for cruelitie, Alfonso reigneth over Northumberland, his owne subjects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

AFTER that the Westsaxons had depriv'd their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they advanced Kinewulfe, or Cinevulfus, the which began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yeere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yeere of the reins of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right woorthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obtained great vittories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Olfa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeere of his reigne; and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne folle came into a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfulie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were advanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the suerte of their state whom he should leave behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineward the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceived to increase more than he would haue wished.

This Kineward dissembling the matter, as he that could gie place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled together a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuile inlie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come into the house of a noble woman, whom he kept a paramour at Merton, whereupon the said Kineward vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiving himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous woords to appease his enimies, or with his princellie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake forthe of the house vpon Kineward, and went verie neere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilst he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, together with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in seeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardise to yeeld themselves into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuertheless sore wounded and hurt.

The brute of such an heinous act was strightwaies blouwe ouer all, and brought with speed to the ears of the noble men and peeers of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Osrike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their soueraigne lord to passe unpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofs. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineward, who at the first began to please his cause, to make large promises, to pretend cozenage, and so forth: but when he perceived all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselves valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vtermost of their powers. Hereupon followed a doubtfull night, the one part striving to saue
their lies, and the other to attaine honour, and punish the slaughter of their souereigne
lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked mur-
ther after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, together with fourescore and eight
of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repington.
Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the termne of 31 yeeres.

In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or
(as some copies have) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with
letters commendatorie vnto Olfa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Iean-
bright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Kaubald archbishop of Yorke. These
legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all
other the high estates, aswell spiritual as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe
king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Olfa to take counsell with him for re-
formation of such articles as were contenied in the popes letters.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propose on the popes behalfe, as
touching the receivin of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeing
of the other generall counsels, with instructs concerning baptism and keeping of synods
yeerle, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers.
Moreover touching discretion to be used in admitting of governors in monasteries, and curats
or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behavor of priests in wearing
their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest
their dishonestie might be discovered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made
of the hore of an oxe, because the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of
pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in counsels to judge in secular causes, they
were now forbidden so to doo.

Manie other things were as means of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and
also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by
them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes
or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, avoiding of vndecent
apparel, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded con-
trarie to the order of christianitie, as curtailing of horsse, and eating of horsse flesh. These
things with manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as we have said) were first con-
cluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a counsell holden there, and
subscribed by Alfwold king of the Northumbers, by Delberike bishop of Hexham, by
Eubald archbishop of Yorke, Higwald bishop of Lindisferne, Edelbert bishop of Whiterne,
Aldulf bishop of Mieth, Ethelwine also another bishop by his deputes, with a number
of other of the clerge; and lords also of the temporaltie, as duke Arike, duke Segwulfe, abbat
Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was
also a counsell holden in Mercia at Caaltide, in the which these persons subscribed, lambert
or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Olfa king of Mercia, Hughbright bishop of Lich-
field, Eudulf bishop of Faron, with Wunone bishop of Ligor, and nine other bishops, besides
abbats; and thre dukes, as Bronda, Farwald, and Bercoald, with carle Othbald.

But now to returne backe to speake of other dooings, as in other parts of this land they
fell out. About the yeere of our Lord 764, the see of Canturburie being void, one lambert
or Lambert was elected archbishop there, and in the yeere 766, the archbishop of Yorke Eg-
bert departed this life, in whose place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yeere of Ken-
wulf king of Westsaxons, the Northumbers hauing to their captaine two noble men, Osbald
and Ethelherard, burned one of their judges named Bearne, because he was more cruel in
 judgement (as they tooke the matter) than reason required. In which vengeance executed
upon the cruel judge (if he were so seere as this attempt of the two noble men dooth
 offer the readers to suspect) all such of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes,
wherwith they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

\[ \text{For} \]

\[ O \ 2 \ \text{capit} \]
capit indulgentia mentes,
Asperitas odium sæuáque bella mouet.
Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit semper in armis,
Et pauidum solitos in pecus ire lupos.
At carer insidiæ hominum, quia mitis hirundo est,
Quisque colat turres Chaonias ales habet.

At the same time, one Aswald or Alfewald reigned over the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfawald had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeres, he was traitorouslie and without all guilt made away; the chéefe conspirator was named Siga. The same Alfawald was a just prince, and woorthilie gouverned the Northumbers to his high praise and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yeere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Hexham.

In the yeere 792, Charles king of France sent a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from Constantinople, containing certeine articles agreed vpon in a synod (wherein were present aboue the number of three hundred bishops) quite contrarie and disagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worshipped, which the church of God ytterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holie scripture, which to treatise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeere 800, on Christmassae euenc haued a maruellous tempest of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townces in diverse places, and trees in great number, beside other harms which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeere following a great part of London was consumed by fire.

Britricus K. of the Westsaxons, his inclination, Egbert being of the bloud roiall is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what they did prognosticate; the first Dunes that arriued on the English coasts, and the cause of their coming; frie dragons flieing in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poisoned of his wyfe Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wimnes should not be called queens, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertue, he restorath the archbishops see to Canturberie which was translated to Liechfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field, and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the great joy of the people thereupon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and burial.

The Seventh Chapter.

AFTER Kenuwulf, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordained king of Westsaxons, and began his reign in the yeere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeere of the government of the emprisne Eirene with hir son Constantius, and about the second yeere of the regne of Achaus K. of Scots. This Brightrike was descended of the line of Cerdicus the first king of Westsaxons, the 10 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after succeeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that season so confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greatest power, struate to be king and supreme governour. But speciallie Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and
and lustie courage. King Birghrike therefore to live in more saftie, banished him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert understanding certeinly that this his departure into a forreigne countrie should advance him in time, obied the kings pleasure.

About the third yeare of Birghrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, crosses of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heaven as drops of raine. Some tooke this woonder for a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortlie after, in the yeare ensuing, there arrived three Danisch ships vpon the English coasts, against whence the lieutenant of the parties adjoyning made forth, to apprehend those that were come on land, howbeit adventuring himselfe over rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countrie about began to assemble, and were comming against them, they fled to their ships, and left their prey and spoile behind them for that time. There were the first Danes that arrived here in this land, being one solen sent (as was perceived after) to view the countrie and coasts of the same, to understand how with a greater power they might be able to invade it, as shortlie after they did, and warred so with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the tenth yeare of king Birghrikis reigne, there were scene in the aire firie dragons flying, which betokened (as was thought) two grievous plagues that followed. First a great darketh and famine: and secondlie a cruel war of the Danes, which shortlie followed, as ye shall hear.

Finallie, after that Birghrike had reigned the space of 16 yeares, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Ola king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married her in the fourth yeare of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie cuill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare him the more statelie, by reason of his fathers great fame and magnificence: whence she hated she would accuse to his husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake her rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a young gentleman, against whom she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) His purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the King, but onelie the young gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For his heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West Saxons would not suffer their wives to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their majesties should bee shewed) manie yeares after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned herselfe so lewdly there, in keeping companie with one of his owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordained his cousin Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was one of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisdome, and upright dealing, was woorthie to be compared with the best princes that have reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enimie could with just cause reprooue. At home he shewed himselfe godliie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops see againe to Canturburie, wherein his humiliations was to be praised, that made no account of worldlyl honour in his province, so that the order of the ancient canons might be observed. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Olfa against them of Kent, and thereby entering that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountring in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Preme, overthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led.
led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of his good nature.

There were present at that sight, Cunbridge whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in rejoicing at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, erurie priest had a pece of gold, and erurie moonke a shilling. Also he dealt and gave away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbeie, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yere, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leaving behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his unnaturall sister Quenedred, the 17 of Iulie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Osrile king of Northumberland leauneth the kingdome to Edelbert resouked out of exile, king Alfusals sons miserablie slaine, Osred is put to death, Ethelbert puttheth away his wife and marrieth another, his people rise against him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driven out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke II ade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men effect one another with euill warres; king Ardulfe depoased from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disleialtie; the Danes invade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decatieth, the state of that kingdome; the primarie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to undertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his lineag.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

WHEN Aswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alfrede tooke vpon him the rule of that kingdome anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edred as then reueked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yeeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yeeres, or (as some say) 7 yeeres; in the second yeere whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laickeing it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found alie in the church.

Moreover, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfue were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had been taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wounderland, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yeere of our Lord 792, Osred vpon trust of the others and promises of diverse noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne soldiery forsooke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cambridge on the 14 day of September.

The same yeere king Ethelbert married the ladie Alfred the daughter of Ofa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no just cause of divorce giuen on his part, whereby his people tooke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yeeres, or (as other say) seven yeeres he could not avoid the destine of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cothre, the 18 of April. After whom, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was
was expelled, and constringed to flee first into the Isle of Lindesfarne, and from thence into the king of the Picts.

Then Ardufle that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulf was revoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumhald, and three other bishops, the 23 of June, in the yeere 796. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798, one duke Wade, and other conspirators which had beene also parrakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardufle, and fought a battell with him at Wallag, but king Ardufle got the upper hand, and chased Wade and other his enemies out of the field. In the yeere 799, duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Chorthmond in revenge of the death of his master the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about the same time that Brightrike king of West Saxons departed this life, there was a sore battell foughten in Northumberland at Welhara, in the which Alike the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battells with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irksome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continually seurged each other with intestine wares. About six or seuen yeares after this battell, king Ardufle was expelled out of the state.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of governours, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, divers bishops and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrie disdaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and incursoius dealings, as it were put in dailie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their native borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thencefoorth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpou him the kinglie gouernment amongst them, fearing the fatal prerogatiue thereof, as if it had bene Scians horse, whose rider came euere to some euiil end. But yet by that which is heretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm, it is evident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie murtherings and banishments of their kings and dukes gien vs gratefull to gesse, that there was but sore obedience vset in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and injurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rouers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindesfarne otherwise called holie Iland, and percieving the fruitfulness of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to invade it (because that through their private quarrelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their coming home, entised their countriemen to make voyages into England, and so landed in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obtained a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, because there was no rulre there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongst the nobles and people themselves, no man being of authoritie (as I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capitaines of the countrie assembling together at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinnmouth, constringed them by sharpe fight to flee backe to their ships, and tooke certeine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great lose of men, and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to maintaine a monarchie, is when all degrees lie in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one preeminente, vnto whome all the residue should stoop: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as souereigne, and hath subject vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the natural actions are directed by hir gouernment: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot crepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of.
of a king in his kingdom; otherwise he may be called "Rex agendo, as Mons a mouendo." For there is not a greater enmity to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a subsersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchy. But to proceed in the historie.

After that A-breke (the last of king Witchelds sones, which reigned in Kent successiue after their father) was dead, the noble ofspring of the kings there so decayed, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got ritches together, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to usurp the title of kings, abusing by vnworthie means the honor and dignite of so high an office. Amongst others, one Edelburt or Edelbert, surnamed also Prenne, gouverned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeares, and was in the end vanquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he lived in captiuity, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vncertaine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinevulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Edelburt or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeares as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors cuill hap and calamitie, through factions and cuill discord.

After that Iambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edbert was ordained in his place, vnto whome the primacie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken away by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second was admitted to succeed in that se. After that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to gue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constrained by the said Brightrike to depart the countie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Brightrike) he perceived he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands; and so Offa winking at the matter, he departed out of his countie, and got him outer into France. But being now advertised of Brightrikes death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all convenient speed into his countie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthise qualities and aptinesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall lineage, being lineallie descended from Inigils the brother of king Ias, as sonne to Alkmound, that was the sonne of one Eaffa, which Eaffa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Inigils.

*Egbert reigneth over the Westsaxons, his practise or exercise in the time of his exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen and Welshmen, Bermulfe king of Mercia taketh indignation at Egbert for the enlarging of his roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert overcometh great odds betwene their souldiers, bishop Alston a warrior; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Saxen, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bermulfe K of Mercia, and conuergeth the whole kingdome, Whitlafte the king thereof becometh his tribuarian, i. Nortumiers submit themselves to Egbert, he conuergeth Northwales and the cille of Dover, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this he was called England, the Danes invade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen joine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.*

**THE NINTH CHAPTER.**

This Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Enfrine began the second time to rule the empire, and
in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilst this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his adversaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had been a grindstone to grind away and remove the rust of sluggish slowliness, in so much that hauing the wars in France, in service of Charles the great, he attained to great knowledge and experience, both in matters appertaining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he tooke in hand, after he had attained to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, which still were ready to move rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeares of his reigne, he invaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anye person that durst resist him.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enemies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authority above all the other rulers within this land, in somuch that euery of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelesi Bernulfe king of Mercia soe stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a lofie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was known as also to be a man both skilleful and valiant. At length yet considering himselfe, that if his chance should be to speed well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and thereupon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonour vnto him to give place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Hereupon they encountered together at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the whereof a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfs souldiers (through long case) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharg'd with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was advanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoe to overcom the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainlie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Hereupon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelulve king of Kent, whom he knew to be a man in no estimation amongst his subjects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelulve & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselves, out of the countrie, constraining them to passe over the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subjection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Essex, Southerie, and Sussex. The Eastangles also about the same time received king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, invaded the confines of his kingdome, in revenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by invading their countrie, and as it came to passe, in courting with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles escoooned in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succeeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good success, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open invasion into the countrie, and chased Whitulfe king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yeare next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitulfe, with condition, that he should inoy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme governour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king
of Mercia was slain by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauford, betwixt them of Devonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

King Egbert having conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often invasion of Danes, percived not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore upon good advisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselves, and thereupon sent ambas- sadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselves whole unto his protection. King Egbert gladlie received them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdom of Northumberland was brought under subjection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had been sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countie, for the space of manie yeeres, beside the invasion made by outward enimies, to the greuous damage of the people.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with the cite of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obtained these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a council to be assembled at Winchester, and there by advise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as soueraine governour and supreme lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to give commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appeare (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

Now was king Egbert setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a natie of 35 ships, were arrived on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof advertised, with all convenient speed got together an armie, and went forth to give battell to the enimies. Heereupon incountering with them, there was a sore fighten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to have gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chief captaines Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herford of Winchester, and Vigferd of Shireborne, were slain in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yeere of king Egberts reign.

In the yeare following, the Danes with their natie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen joining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yeare after also, which was 836, he overthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one author writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the term of 86 yeeres and seven moneths with great glorie for the iurisprudung of his kingdom with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compass, he departed this life, leaving to his issue matter of woorthy praise to maintaine that with order which he with painfull diligence had joined together. His bodie was buryed at Winchester, and he left behind him two sones Ethelwulf, otherwise named Athulfie and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succeed him in the kingdom of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordained to have the government of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

If here we see the patern of a fortunate prince in all his affairs, as well forrnen as domestical, wherein it is first to be observed the order of his education in his tender yeeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progress of his age bring great matters
matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowess enough to encounter with his enemies, to whom he gave mane a fowle discontinuance. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happy success in his martiall affaires, was the good choice that he made of seruicable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and having gotten it, were not vuntaught to use it to their benefit, by their warmesse and headtaking; for

Senitus incutæ necessitatem victoria turbae.

The kingdom of Kent annexed to the kingdom of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdom of Kent and Essex; Ethenwulf king of Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sister Quendred, the order of his wicked practise; his death prophesied or foreshowed by a signe, the kings of Mercia put by their v politic one after another, the kingdom of Britaine beguned to be a monarchie; Ethenwulf king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his brothers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enemies, the Danes sought the ruine of this isle, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and very seruicable to king Ethenwulf in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethenwulf great victorie over the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethenwulf devotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marrieth the lady Judith, his two sons conspire (upon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethenwulf dieth, his four sons by his first wife Osturge, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

WHEN Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeeres, as before is mentioned, he was constrained to give place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vpon him the government, & reigned the space of 18 yeeres, without ane great authoritie, for his subjects regarded him but soillie, so that in the end, when his coutrie was invaded by the Westsaxons, he was easie constrained to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdom of Kent annexed to the kingdom of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdom had continued in government of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeeres, that is to say, from the yeere of our Lord 464, vnto the yeere 827. Suthred or Suthred king of Essex was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdom by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yeere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verris shortlie after. After the decease of Kenulf king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seven yeeres was admitted king, about the yeere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, emuied her brothers advancement, and sought to make him aware, so that in the end she corrupted the governour of his person one Ashbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch her innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Ashbert one day vnder a colour to haue the younge king foorth on hunting, led him into a thickke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an inype by reason of his tender yeeres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gil, and yet thus traitorousshly murthered without cause or crime: he was afterwards reputed for a martyr.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white dove came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was contained, "In clenc kou bath, Kenelme kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued:" that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelme.
nelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I rehearse, not for any credit I thinke it worthy of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the young prince innocentlie lost his life.

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vncle Coelwulfe the brother of king Kenelme was created king of Mercia, and in the second yeere of his reigne was expelled by Berwulfe. Berwulfe in the third yeere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsaxons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye have heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to revenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to reele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wight-lafe, who first being vanquished by Egbert king of Westsaxons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paid to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreme gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subjection to the kings of Westsaxons, as before is mentioned, in the yeere of our Lord 828, and in the yeere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet heere it tooke not end, as after shall appere.

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne over the Westsaxons in the yeere 837, which was in the 24 yeere of the emperor Ludouicius Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yeere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yeere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to have beene a priest, entered into the orders as subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoever the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolv’d of his vows by authoritie of pope Leo, and then married a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to live in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the government of maneie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsaxons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Essex, with other. He ailed Burtled the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie advanced his estimation, by giving vnto him his daughter in mariage.

But now the fourth destruction which chance to this land by forren enemies, was at hand: for the people of Danemarke, Norway, and other of these northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and prises as they had taken in the same, so that perceiving they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to invade the same on echa side, as they had partie begun in the daies of the late kings Brichtrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes seemed more grevous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans having quicklie subdued the land, governed it noble without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Pictes onelie invaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and advance it to a flourishing estate.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient laws to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now invading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much count to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time overcom, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new naie, and a greater armie was readie to make some new invasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and another in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.
This mischiefe began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the
space of two hundred yeeres, as by the sequelle of this booke it shall appeare. King Ethelwulfe
was not so much guen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and
subjects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued,
and specially chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisdome.
Amongst other, there were two notable prelates, Suithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelesstan
bishop of Shireborne, who were readie ever to give him good aduisse. Suithune was not so
much expert in worldlie matters as Adelesstan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in
things appertaining to his soules health: but Adelesstan tooke in hand to order matters apper-
taining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouding of monie, and furnishing fourth
of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun,
and happilie atchieued, as by writers hath bene recorded. He governed the see of Shire-
bore the space of 50 yeeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduisse of those two
prelates.

King Ethelwulfe governed his subjects vere politelike, and by himselfe and his captains of-
tentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at
their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yeere of his reigne, the
Danes arrived at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whom he sent earle Wulhard with part of
his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obtained
a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other
number of the Danes, which were landed at Portsmouth, but after long flight, the said Adel-
helme was slaine, and the Danes obtained the victorie. In the yeere following, earle Herbert
fought against the Danes at Merseware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same
yeere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, East
angle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yeere after this,
they entered further into the land, and about Canturburi, Rochester, and London, did
much mischiefe.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yeere of his reigne, with a part of his armie encountered with
the Danes at Carrum, the which were arrived in those parties with 50 ships, having their
full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of
men of warre, in so much that they obtained the victorie at that time, and put the king to
the worser. About the tenth yeere of king Ethelwulfe's reigne, one of his capteins called
Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelesstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called
Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth,
and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixteenth yeere of his reigne, king Ethel-
wulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled all their powers together, gave battell at
Ocley, to an huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arrived
at Thames mouth, and destroyed the famous cities of London and Canturburi, and also had
chased Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were
incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Ocley aforesaid, & after sore fight and incredible slaughter
made on both sides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to those that
believed on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.

Thus king Ethelwulfe obtained a glorious victorie in so mightie a battell, as a greater had
not beeene lightlie heard of to chance within the English dominions. The same yeere also
Athedelstan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by sea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of
their ships, and chased the residue. Moreover, one earle Ccorle hauing with him the power
of Deusionshire, fought with the Danes at Winkeshore, and got the victorie. This yeere was
verie luckie to the English nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter season
in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the first time that they remained here all the winter,
using afores time but to come and make an invasion in one place or other, and immediatly to
returne home with the prey.
In the 18 yeere of king Ethelwulfe's reigne, he aided Burhred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gave to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipaham. The same yeere king Ethelwulfe sent his sonne Alured as then but sixe yeeres of age to Rome, where he was consecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receivd of him as if he had beene his owne sonne. Duke Falhere or Earche with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought against the armye of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen prevauling in the beginning, but in the end, both their foresaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beside manie other that were slaine and drowned.

In the 19 yeere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordained that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be free from all tribute, duties, or services regall. And afterwards, with great devotion he went to Rome, where he was receivd with great honour, and taried there one whole yeere: he rooke with him his sonne Alured, who had beeene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxon schoole, which Olfa king of Mercia had sometime founded in that citie, and latelee had beeene sore decayd by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from thence-forth should doo penance in bounds as he saw some there to doo before his face. It is also written, that he should acquit all the churches of his realme of paing tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreover couenanted to send vnto Rome euerie yeere three hundred marks, that is to say, one hundred marks to saint Peters church, an other hundred marks to saint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of estate, with which deëd he offended so the minds of his subjects, because it was against the order taken before him, for the offense of Ethelburga, that his sonne Ethelbald and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerset, conspired to depose him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and so ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the sonne, with such parcialitie, that the sonne had the better part lieng westward, and the father was constraine to content himselfe with the east part being the woorest.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe some write otherwise, after this manner word for word.

Ethelwulfe, king of the Westsaxons being returned from Rome & the parties beyound the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelstane bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his oldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alfride, the mariage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open crying with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he seimeth to inferre, that this revolting of Adelstone and his son, should proceed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to regaine, and likelee enough, or else this unequall partition should never haue beeene made.

But howsoever the matter stood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the Westsaxons the space of 20 yeeres and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Winchester. He left behind him foure sonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alsed or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A little before his death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succeed him in the whole regimint of his kingdoms of Westsex and Sussex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Essex he assigned to his son Ethelbright. About the same time also the Danes solourned all the winter season in the Ile of Shepe.

The old Saxons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following.
Ethelwulf, the son of Egbert,

the son of Aelmund,  
the son of Eadfrid,  
the son of Leppa,  
the son of Ingle,  
the son of Kenred,  
the son of Cowin,  
the son of Kenric,  
the son of Cedric,  
the son of Esle,  
the son of Gewise,  
the son of Wigle,  
the son of Frawin,  
the son of Fradagore,  
the son of Brendie,  
the son of Beldegie,  
the son of Weden,  
the son of Frethelwold,  
the son of Freolafic,  
the son of Frelweolf,  
the son of Finnie,  
the son of Godulfe,  
the son of Geta,

shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse unto the first of the fift chapter of Genesis. Which genealogical recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also have observed; as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors overran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lombards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mixed with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gweston; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulf it is written, that he was so well learned & devout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he vindicoke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seven yeeres before he was king.

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the Westsaxons, the same of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright divide their fathers kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marrid his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroyed by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreake and did much mischief in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the Westsaxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successse, the kings of Mercia fall from their fentie and allegiance to Ethelred; Hungar & Vbba two Danish captaine with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and EIda kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER Wighlafke king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the Westsaxons, the space of 13 yeeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrey by the Danes, and then one Burtrith was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgin in Ireland was greatlie renowned in the world, vnto whom the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir means he recovered health, and therefore when his monastrie was destroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gave land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herewith built two monasteries, one at Peuleswoorth, joining to the bounds of Ardernse, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monastrie

Bertwolfe, the son of Ethelwulf, of Mercia.

Matt. West, with the daughter.  
Ruful, Cnt.  
John Ecceat,
monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praiser, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thricce to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yeeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Hand compassed about with the rier of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Hand, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeeres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Struingel, Edembrough; and in Ireland, at Celesidine, and elsewhere.

**Ethelbald and Ethelbright** diuing their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the Westsaxons and the Southsaxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yeere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yeere of the emporor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yeere of Donald the fift of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald grately to his reproch tooke to wife his mother in law queene Judith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past five yeeres in governement of the kingdom, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subjects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great lose and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke on him the rule of the whole governement, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroid the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gane the enemies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arrived in the Ile of Tenet, into whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to have a truçe granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the termne of that truçe was expired, brake foroth and wasted all the east part of Kent: wherevpon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towards those truçe-breakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons five yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shirborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

**Ethelred.**

After Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons and the more part of the English people, in the yeere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yeere of the emperor Lewes, in the 27 yeere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yeere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteus prince, and one that by all kind of means sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and storne, as he that understood what appertained to good order, so that he would suffer no offese to escape unpunished. By which means he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the governement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that time vexed with the invasion of the Danes, and speccialie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath bene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with dieres and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and overthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

But here is to be understood, that in this meane time, whilst Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the invasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings
and rulers of Mercia and Northumber-land taking occasion thereof, began to withdraw their covenanted subscription from the West-saxons, and tooke vpon them as it were the absolute government and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to sus-taine the enimies within their dominions, than to prevent the injurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serve and obeye.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilst the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other con-quest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds regne, there arrived vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowned capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of maruells strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countre vpon ceverne conditions, sparing for a time to shew their force for quietnesse sake.

In the second yeere of king Ethelred, the said capteins came with their armes into York-shire, finding the country vnproviding of necessarie defense because of the civil discord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had late lost King Osbright, that had the government of those parts, and placed one Ella in his room: howbeit now they were constrained to retake him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yeer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this invasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countre even to the riuers of Tine, were lodged.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battell ensued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Osbright and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constrained to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmsunday, in the yere 657.

¶ Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Osbright (whome before they had banished) incountrled with the Danes in the field, without the walls of Yorke, but they were caelestie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fire and burnt, together with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soerer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbers, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that som six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuers of Tine. In the same yeares, Aedelstan bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing governed that see the term of 50 yeares. This Aedelstan was a man of high wisdom, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the West-saxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when King Ethelwulf returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certaine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, where-vpon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulf was established king, and so continued till he agreed the kingdome was divided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finaallie, he greatlie enriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set on coutenciousse, he was nevertheless verye free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being con-sidered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable: yet simplicie & in truth they were venterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which biddeth thai none should doo euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Aedelstan could not but offend in the heat of his coutenciousse, which is termed the root of all mischief, though he was exceeding bounifull and large in distributing the wealth he had grecedie gotten together, he must needs
Burthred king of Mercia with aid besiegeth the Danes in Nottingham, Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers invade the West Saxons, they are encountred by Ethelwulf earle of Berkshire; King Ethelred giveth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Inaros king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of East angles giveth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most vnerrily murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane governeth the whole country, K. Osbright ranisbeth the wife of one Becume a noble man, a bloody battell insueth thereupon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.

THE TWELFT CHAPTER.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes besieged in Nottingham.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulf, earle of Berkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.

The Danes won the victorie at Reading.

The Danes discomfited.

IN the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yeere of Ethelreds regne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish captains Hungar and Ybba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had woon the towne for the winter season. Wherepon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Nottingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiving themselves in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinement from war, which they obtained, and then departed back to Yorke, where they so discomfoured the most part of all that yeare.

In the sixt yeare of king Ethelreds regne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countrey of the West Saxons under two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Edelwulf fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroch. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host into Reding, and there gave battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aschdon, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to encounter with the earles. Hereupon they being on both parts ready to give battell, the evening coming on caused them to deferred it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should joine, king Ethelred staid in his tent to heare diuine service, whilst his brother upon a forward courage hasted to encounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharpe, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to have turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staid his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discourageth the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had seened) the Danes finallie were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Osreeg, and 3 earles, Sidroch the elder, and Sidroch the younger, Osberne, Freine, and Harold. This battell was sore foughten, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought cftoones with the Danish
Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had beene put to the woore, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of woorthie fame and good account.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there sojourned for a time. These things agree not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie invaded the countrie adjoining. Against whom Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and encountering the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day together, and was in danger to have beene put to the woore, but that the night secured them asunder. In the morning they joined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easie put to flight, of whom (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recovered themselves togerthe, and found out a convenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which induered themselves by all meanes possible to repair their armie: so that within 13 daies after, the Danes eternoone fought with the Englishmen, and gave them such an overthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all encounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongst others, Ethelred himself receiued a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the truth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namelie touching the doonings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may see more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt received in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certaine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the six yeares of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came unto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season over the Eastangles, being advertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to give battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being environed with a siege by his enimies, he yeelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a trie, and shot arrows at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke groue of bushes. But afterwards his friends tooke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Eglesdon: where afterward also a faire monasterie was builded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsbury. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruel Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeares of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyramie it remained without mine governor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appoynted a king to rule over it, whose name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsaxons.

Ye haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After
which victorie by them obtained, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongst other cruel deeds, they destroyed the cite of Acluid, which was a famous cite in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers dooth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrake king of Northumberland ranshied the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereof, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his cozin of the injurie done to him by king Osbright. Whereupon the king of Denmarke, glad to have so just a quarrel against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (under the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place besides Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, taking that name of the said Ella, being there shaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in favour of Berne had refused to be subject vnto Osbright.

Alured rulith over the Westsaxons and the greatest part of England, the Danes afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make waste of his kingdom, they lie at London a whole winter, they invade Mercia, the king whose (Barthred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his death and burial; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland amongst his people; Alfred incountereth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdom, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he groweth them battell, and (besides a great disconfort) killet them of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie incertine, seven foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes sojourn at London.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alfred or Alured succeeded him, and began his reigne over the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the regne of Charles the shald, king of France, and about the eleventh yeare of Constantine the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye have heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngest, was kept backe from the governement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

In the begining of his reign he was wrapper in manie great troubles and miseries, specially by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and greuenous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroyeng the same in most cruel wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gave battell to the Danes of Wilton, having with him no great number of people, so that although in the begining the Danes that day were put to the yoorse, yet in the end they obtained the victorie. Shortly after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, removed from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindsey, and there lodged all that winter at Torkse, in the yeare following, the same Halden invaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindo. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Eskefell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Barthred king
under the Saxons.

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king of Mercia which had governed that countrie by the space of 22 yeares, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: whereupon he was constrained to avoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladye, nere to the English school.

In the fourth yeare of King Alured the armie of the Danes divided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumber-land, and lay in the winter season nere to the riuer of Tine, where he divided the countrie amongst his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither boaties and prizes out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came unto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, tooke one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next ensuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they swore to him (which they had not used to doe to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanecwick.

Moreover the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not overtake them till they came to Excester, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliver pledges for performance of such covenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortly after, when they had the whole government of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in residuce of the countrie beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Esetell, and Ammond, invading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents.

King Alured advertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiving that either they must fight for their lives, or die with shame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie met with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gave the onse, that their enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when it was perceived that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thickne legiers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one upon an other, and so of force were constrained to retire: and therewithall did cast themselves into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be devised for their safetye, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged together on heaps, that they had no room to stir their weapons. Which disadvantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongst other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capitans. At length the Englishmen having valiantly foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascrib'd. But after they were once secured, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to bury the dead bodies, namely the Danes interred the bodie of their captaine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which doone, they held out their fournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortly after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies.

In this mean while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had beene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatly to his advanta**

The Danes went to Excester.

Hear. Hunt.

Polydor.

Hubba slain.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

The Danes and Englishmen fight neere to Abington.
men had not to doo with those Danes, which had beene diverse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some newe people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to give ouer: in so much that the horsemens alighting on foot, and putting their horses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall advantage till night came on, which parted the affraight, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had beene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might justly attribute the victorie, it was vterlie vncerteine, with so like loss & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorye seven times that yeere did the English and Danes encounter in battell, as writers have recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agreed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anie newe supplie of suckers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themselves with the goods, possession, rents and revenues of the inhabitants. The same yeere the Danes soittned in the winter season at London, according as they had donee often times before.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giont him battell, Rollo sailith ouer into France; who first inhabited Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the Danes brake the peace which was made betwixt them and Alured, he is driven to his shifts by their inuasions into his kynge, a vision appeareth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrel entereth the Danish camp, marketh their behauionr unsuspected, assailleth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manye of them at advantage; the Deneshire men gie the Danes battell under the conduct of HAilien's brother, and are discomfited; Alured figheth with them at Edanton, they give him hostages, Gurthrun, their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kynge.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the country. King Alured hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common miscarife, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gave them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so favourable to him, that he obtained in that region for him and his people a country, which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northern people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you may see more at large.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsaxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but one of the three countrie of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to keepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds of
of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their living with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the land of noble men, environed about with fentes and marshes.

While he was thus shut vp within this land, he was by dreame aduerised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath bene said, saunt Cuthbert appeered to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recover againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enemies. And to assure him that this should prooue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frozen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sleepe, in came his men with so great fosion of fish, that the same might have sufficed a great armie of men, for the vit-telling of them at that season.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpou him the habit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and terrying there certeine diaies together, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afofe the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he understood it. Now when he hadscene and learned the demeanour of his enemies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had scene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enemies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamnage them. Wherevpon they conceiuing a maruells good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled together, and spies sent forth to learne and bring woord where the Danes lodged: which being done, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpou them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, havine them at great advantage.

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaued him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Ingure, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelve hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserved for their cruel dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afofe them with fire and swoord, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortesse in the Ile of Edlingsay, afterwards called Athisley, and breaking out oftentimes upon the enimes, distrest them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seventh weke after Easter, in the seventh yere of his regine, king Alured went to Eglereghston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hampshire, relieing greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afofe them the space of foureteene diaies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and covenantes to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurhtron, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gave to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he governed (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelve yeeres.

Diverse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in company of their king Gurhtron, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was
the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmon, in which the bounds of king Alured's kingdom are set foorth thus: "First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuere of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lée, even vnto the head of the same water, and so foorth straight vnto Bedford: and finally going alongst by the riuere of Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet."

This league being made with the advice of the same sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set foorth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

"Th' English called dines people Danes whom the French named Normans, whereupon that generall name was given them; Gurmo Angliicus K. of Denmarck, whose father Frotto was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, Alfred putte both to flight, recovereth London out of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eadred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hastings a captenie of the Danes, causeth him to take an arb, his two sons are baptised; be goeth forth to spoyle Alfredds country, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie given him againe; the Danes besiege Exeter, they dye to their ships, game with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female."

THE XV. CHAPTER.

HERE is to be noted, that writers name divers of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to regnie in those partes. But true it is, that in those daies, not onely the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vse to roaue on the seas, and to invade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whom they name Angliicus, because he was borne here in England, which succeeding his father Frotto in governement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto received baptism in England, as their stories tell.

In the eight yeere of king Alfred his regnie, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yeere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yeere following departed foorth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there dividind the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his regnie, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the reskue, the enemies fled to their ships, and passed over the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nombre of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuere called Sture, inconturering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and overcame them in fight: but as they returned with their priises, they inconturering with another mightie armie of the enemies, and fighting with them were overcome and vanquished.

In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, rejoising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deli-
under the Saxons & Danes.  

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... that should have subdued K. Burtred (as before is said.) About the 21 yeere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normanas, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arrived in the hauen or river of Limene in the east part of Kent, nere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did containe in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

In the mean time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constrained by siege which king Alfred planteth about him, to receive an oath that he should not in any wise annoxe the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gave great gifts as well to his wife and children. One of his sons also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aledren was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to avoid present danger) Hasting sent unto Alfred these his two sons, signifying that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But nevertheless this Hasting was ever most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Bramfield. And as he was going thither to spoil and wast the kings countries, Alfred tooke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got together of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored unto Hasting his wife and children, because he was his godfather.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whiles king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore invaded Essex, and builded a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell nere vnto the river of Seurene; but being driven out of that countrie, they returned againe into Essex. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfred's comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roamed abroad, seeking preies. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland tooke the cite of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constrained to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yeere of king Alfred, they left that cite, and fetched a compas about Northwales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arrivied in Essex, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, tooke preies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diverse of their ships.

In the yeere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the river Luie, began to build a castell nere to the same river, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and gining battell to the Danes, sue four: the chiefes captains. But by Simon Danel and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Herne Hunt, hath written as before I have recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be divided into three channells, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they lade at anchor. When the Danes perceived this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartridge vpon Seures they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, having left their wives and children in the country of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the castell, and the rest they burnt.

Thus for the space of thre yeeres after the arraiving of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Luie, they sore indamaged the Englishmen people, although the Danes themselves sustained more losse at the Englishmen hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yeere after their comming, the armie was divided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the country of Eastangles, & another...
another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came upon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred tooke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to incounter with the enimies ships.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike governour, he prevented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safeguard his subjectes. Finallye after he had reigned 20 yeeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter unto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelilda, Ethelgeda or Edgjua, and Ethelwitha.

How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter (being married) contemned fleshlie pleasure; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, his lawes for the redresse of thevves, his divising of countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries he was founder, he began the foundation of the universitie of Oxforde, which is not so ancient as Cambride by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zealde to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of John Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred divided the 24 hours of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdom of Mercia, the Danes have it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subject unto them, the Northumbers expel Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, privileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seate remain.

THE XVI. CHAPTER.

In the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you have heard) was married unto duke Eldred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind her of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing her husband one child, and sore handled before she could be delivered, she euer after forbare to companie with her husband, saying that it was great foolishnesse to use such pleasure therwith should bring so great grieve.

To speake sufficientlie of the woorthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautiful, and better beloved of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the invasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indevoure himselfe to repel them, and also attempted to see his subjectes governed in good and vpright justice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiving how his people were grcened with thevves and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, devised good statutes and wholesome ordinances for punishing of such offenders.

Amongst other things he ordained that the countries should be divided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters containing a certeine number of townships adjoyning together, so that euery Englishman living under prescript of lawes, should have both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suerite for his good demeanour: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he take extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was gultie fled before he found suerite, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, shold be put to their fine.
fine. By this devise he brought his country into good tranquility, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged up aloft on hills where anie common waies lay, to see if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namely in relieving of the poor. To churches he confirmed such privileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of devotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sigehelmus the bishop of Shirborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable value. From Rome also he brought a pece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Moreouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he lived sometime when the Danes had bereaved him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Sumeresheire about five miles: the second he built at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgelda or Edgina abesse. But the foundation of the vniersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and advise of Neutus an abbit, in those daies highlie esteemed for his vertue and learning with Alfred. This worke he tooke in hand about the 23 yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeere of our Lord 895. So that the vniersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniersitie at Cambridge about the yeere of our Lord 630.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and given much to studie, insomuch that beside diverse good lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered together and published, he also translated diverse other booke out of Latine into English, as Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Breviary de consolatione philosophia, and the booke of Psalms; but this he finished not, being prevented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subjects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to encourage them generallye to embrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were learned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yeeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which he had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

Hereupon going to his booke in sport, he so earnestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time he profited maruellouslie, and became such a faverer of learned men, that he delighted most in their company, to have conference with them, and allure diverse to come vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Meneensis bishop of Shirborne, & Wrefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the booke of Gregories dialoges into English. Also I. Scot, who while he was in France translated the book of Diony-sius Ariopagita, intituled Hierarchia, out of Grecke into Latine, and after was schoolemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murthered by his scholemasters with penknives. He had diverse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Pleimond afterward archbishop of Canturburge, Grimbalde governor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alfred, he was so careful in his office, that he divided the 24 hours which contain the day and night, in three parts, so that eighte hours he spent in writing, reading, and making his prayers, other eight he employed in relieuing his body with meat, drink and sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the governement of the realme. He had in his chapel a candell of 2+ parts, whereof everye one lasted an houre: so that the sexton, to whom that charge was committed, by burning of this candell warned the king ever how the time passed away. A little before his death, he ordained his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods justly gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and revenues he divided into two equall parts, and the first part he divided into three, bestowing the first vnto his servants in houestead, the second to such labourers and workmen as he kept in his works of sandie

4 R 2
sundrie new buildings, the third part he gave to strangers. The second whole part of his revenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was dispersed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore scholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea. He was diligent in inquire how the judges of his land behaued themselves in their judgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great favour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He maried his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstrate unto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whom he had two sonnes Arnulf and Adulf, the first succeeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the younger was made earle of Bulloigne.

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the bishops church: but afterwards, because the Canons raised a fond tale that the same should walke a nights, his sonne king Edward removed it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finally, in memorie of him a certaine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the woorthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a manier word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no life labor hath beene diligentie imploied in suppling sundrie insufficiencies found in this huge volume.

Nobilitas innata tibi probatis honorem
Nobilitie by Birth to the (o Alfred strong in armes)
(Armipotens Alfred) dedit, probatique laborem,
Of goodnes hath the honor gien, and honor toilesome harmses,
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
And toilesome harmses an endlessse name, whose ioies were alwaies next
Gaudia semper erant, speces semper mixta timori.
With sorrow, and whose hope with scare was evermore perplext.
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas,
If this day thou wert conqueror, the next daies warre thou drest,
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas,
If this day thou wert conquered, to next daies war thou spedst,
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore,
Whose clothing wet with daille sweet, whose blade with bloudie stainte,
Tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare probarn,
Do prone how great a burthen is in royalitie to raine,
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
There hath not beene in anie part of all the world so wide,
Cui tot in aduersis vel respirare liceret,
One that was able breath to take, and troubles such aside,
Nece tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,
Aut gladio ponuit vitae finisse labores:
Or with the sword the toilesomeness of life by death diuide.
Iam post transactes regni vitæque labores,
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)
Christus ei fit vera quies sceptrûmque perenne.
Christ is to him true quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia tooke end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burhred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulf that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Pavia in Lumbardie. The Danes having got the countrie into their possession, made one Cewulf K. thereof, whom they bound with an oath and deliverie of pledges, that he should not longer kepe the state with their pleasure, and further
further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cewulfe was the servant of king Burthred. Within four yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto Cewulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obtained that part of Mercia which Cewulfe ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eastangles, some part of Mercia, and other.

The yeare, in which the king Alured thus obtained all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in governance, was after the birth of our Saviour 886, so that the foresaid kingdom continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdom, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the last Cewulfe for none, who began his reign vnder the subjection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reign 604.

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these daies were vnder subjection of the Danes, as partie may be perceived by that which before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that governed the Eastangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Edhirike or Edrike had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alured, as after shall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder foot by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion against their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872, they expell not onelie Egbert, whom the Danes had appointed king over one part of the countrie (as before you have heard) but also their archbishop Wilfhere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whom one Ricsige succeeded as king, and the archbishop Wilfhere was restored home.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindseie, at a place called Torkseie, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Ricsige the king of Northumberland departed this life; after whom an other Egbert succeeded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselves there, chose Guthrid the sonne of one Hardcunete to their king, whom they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Wittingham. But now by the advise of an abbat called Aldred, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbate of holie land, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to give counsel both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthrid king. This chanced about the 13 yeares of the reign of Alured king of Westsaxons.

When Guthrid was established king, he caused the bishops to be removed from holie land vnto Chester in the strete, and for an augmentation of the revenues and jurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gave vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the rivers of Tese and Tine. Which christian act of the king, living in a time of palpable blindeenesse and mistie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and pcers of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and professe (in shew) the truth with feruence) not to impoverish the patrimonie of the church to enrich themselves and their posterity, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient revenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall livings into temporall commodities, not to secke the conversion of college lands into their privat possessions; not to intend the subversion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne coers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne privat lordlines; not to destroy whole townships for the erection of one statelic manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seuerales; but like good and gracious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gain.
and glory, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

Moreover, this pruiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoever fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie, & seuen daies. And this frecedome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthrid, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthrid departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much cruelty (as some say) by the terme of 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurno, & thought to be the same whomke king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthrid, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesbury taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthrid or Gurno his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and tooke it into his owne hands.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regentment, he is disquieted by his brother Adelwold a man of a deiled lif, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards provision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a mane of Danes entrench Eastangles, the Essex men submit themselves, he invaded Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience prejudiciall to themselves, they and the Danes have a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with then, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recovereth divers places out of the Danes hands, and giveth them mane a foile, what castels he builded, he invadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king thereof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfeda governed the countrie of Mercia during his life.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the deceasse of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his regne over the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeares of the regne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the manner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princely power more high and honorable, for he joined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glory and high commendation.

In the beginning of his regne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and maried a nun there, whom he had defolured, & attempted mane things against his brother. Whereupon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would have abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole apace in the night, and fled into Northumberlend, where he was loyfullie receiued of the Danes. The king toke his wife being left behind, and restored her to the house from whence she was taken. If some have written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his yuncles sonne. After this, king Edward provideth for the suercity of his subject against the forraies, which the Danes used to make, fortified divers cities and townes, and stufed them with great garrisons of soddlers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suercely the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being advertised of the invas
under the Saxons & Danes.  

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.  

The enemies of the enemics in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or captaine, and setting upon the enemies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they overmatched them both in number and practise. So were the enemies despised of the English soldiers, and laughed to scorn of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeere of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and even at the first the Essex men yelded themselves vnto him. In the yeere following he invaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, wasting and spoiling the same vnto Crikolade, and there passing over the Thanes, rode forthe till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some booke haue) Brittenen, harrying the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great joy and triumph.

King Edward awakened herein assembled his people, and followed the enemies, wasting all the countries betwixt the river of Ouse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gave commandement that no man should STay behinde him, but come backe together for doubt to be forchaid by the enemies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seven messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their advantage, came together, and fiercely fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantly defended themselves. But in the end the Danes obtained the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diverse of the chiefe captains amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlen or Sigibeline, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yeere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eastangle and Northumberland at Iungford. But in the yeere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slave manie of the Danes, and tooke great bootie both of people and cattle, remaining in the countrie the space of five weeke.

The yeere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spyle the countrie, against whom king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled together of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, together with their chiefe captains and leaders, as king Halden, and king Edwils, earle Vter, earle Scura, and diverse other. In the yeere 912, or (as Simon Danel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Etheldred departed this life, and then king Edward seizd into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Ethleda to injoy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still retained in his owne hand. This Ethleda was wife to the said duke Edred or Etheldred, as before you haue heard: of whose woorthe acts more shall be said hereafter.

In the ninth yeere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he built a town in Essex at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the mane time at Maldon, otherwise Meauldun, bringing a great part of the countrie under his suubiection, which before was subject to the Danes. In the yeere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxonshire. And shortly after their returne home, an other companie of them went forthe, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled together, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their horses.

In the 11 yeere of king Edward, a fleete of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Severne, and so tooke preies in Wales: they also tooke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camlligaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, paying them forte pounds for his ransone. After that the armie of Danes went forthe to spoil the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countrie thereabout assembled together, and giving battell to the enemics, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Reihal, commonlie awaie with the victorie.
Rehald, and Geoleii the brother of earle Vter, with a great part of their armie, & drave the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gave hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the fasts about Serune to be watched, that they should not break into his country: but yet they stole twice into the borders: neverthelesse they were chased and slaine as mane as could not swim, and so get to their ships. Then they remained in the lle of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, because they could not go abroad to get amie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

The same yeere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castells, the one vpon the one side of the water of Ouse, and the other vpon the other side of the same riuier. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that country, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yeere of king Edwards regne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought together at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers have not declared. Simon Dunelm. speakeh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish runners at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yeeres before this supposed time, as in the yeere 904, which was about the third yeere of king Edwards regne.

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselves together, and in Staffordshire at a place called Totterhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were overcome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worse in each place commonlie, where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland went to breake the peace: he invaded the country, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladdlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meanie time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the country of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to joine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agreement they might set upon the English nation, and ytterlie subdue them.

King Edward hauing intelligence hereof, purposed to prevent him, and therefore entering with an armie into his country, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor through displeasure conceived hereof, and desire to be revenged, hasted foorth to encounter his enemies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed each other. But as the battell was rashly begun on king Ericke side, so was the end verie harmefull to him: for with small adoo, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

After his comming home, because of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gonne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had used. Whereby he provoked the malice of the Eastangles so lighthie against him, that they fell upon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to have done: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their country, were compelled to submit themselves vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdom joined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdom of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediate vpon the death of his sister Eliseda, whom he permitted to rule that land all his life.
Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for government, what a necessarie staie she was vnto him in his life tyme, what towne she builded and reparer, hir warlike exploit against the Danes, hir death and buriaill: the greatest part of Britannie in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of towne, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wines, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why: a provinciall counsell summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie provinces; dissenstion among writers what pope should pronunce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killed an other.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

NOT without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the government of Mercia, during hir life tyme: for by hir wise and politike order usd in all hir dooings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but speciallie in repairing and building of towne & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir government, which continued about eight yeeres, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and reparen these towne, whose names here inu: Tamwoorth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Elllsburie or rather Eadsburie, in the forest of De la mere besides Chester, Brimsburie bridge vpon Severne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the river of Mercia with other. Moreover, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had beene greatlie defaced, was newlie reparer, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that tyme, was now brought within compass of the new wall.

Moreover she boldlie assaulted hir enemies which went about to trouble the state of the countrie, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and tooke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Bricenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adjoyning. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawn into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chief men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, even fast by hir at the verye entry of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constreined them of Yorkshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subjectes: some vowed to aid hir, and some were to be at hir commandement.

Finallie, this martials ladie and manlie Elfleda, the supporter of hir countrymen, and terror of the enemies, departed this life at Tamwoorth about the 12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yeere of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Matth. West. it should appeere. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceasst in the yeere of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yeere of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conveyed to Glocester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life tyme had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswill from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroyed by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worchester, reparer an other in the same countrie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfleds magnanimite and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixt on hir toome.

O Elfleda potens, o terror virgo virorum,
O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quaque splendidior fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.

VOL. 1. 4 S

Hen. Hunt.
Matth. West.
Simon Dun.

Tamwoorth was by hir reparer, anno 914.
Eadsburie and Warwike.

Edwards,

Tamwoorth was by hir reparer, anno 915.

Chester reparer, 905.
Sim. Dun.

Hen. Hunt.

Anna Christi

Hen. Hunt.

Matt. West.
Sim. Dun.

Banul.

Hen. Hunt.

Anna Christi

919.
The Sixt Booke Of

The State of Britaine

Te mutare decet sed solum nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens regque trophs paras.
Iam nec Caesaris tantum mirere triumphos,
Caesar splendidior virgo virago, vale.

O puissant Elfled, o thou maid
Of men the dread and faire,
O puissant Elfled of the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
A maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procureth
A manly name to thee.
It dooth but onely thee become,
Of sex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
Preparing trophies of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Cæsar's triumphs,[trim to view;]
O manlike maiden more renownd
Than Cæsar was, adieu.

After the deceas of Elfleda, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we have said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his niece Elfleda or Elswen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking her away with him into the countrey of Westaxons. By this means he so amplified the bounds of his kingdom, that he had the most part of all this land of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Streteled, and of the Scots, acknowledging him to be their chiefe souereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to apply the building and repairing of cities, townes, and castles, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Nottingham on the south side of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repaired Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he build a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of soldiours: diverse other townes and castels he build, as two at Buckingham on either side of the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. He likewise build ouer the townes of Tocctor and Wigmore, with diverse other; as one at Glademuth, about the last yeer of his regne. Some also he destroyed which seemed to säre the enimies turne for harbours, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat above the tearme of 23 yeeres, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his body was conducied from thence into Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wives, or (as some have written) but two, affirming that Edgiana was not his wife, but his concubine, of whom he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succeeded him in the kingdom. This Edgiana (as hath beeene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a moone out of hir belly, which with the bright shine thereof gaine light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, tooke care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Hereupon when she came to ripe yeeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, upon the first sight was straitly ranshed with hir beautie (which in deed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid
foresaid Adelstan: by him he had also a daughter that was married vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. of Northumberland. The Scottish writers name him Beatrice, but our writers name him Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not married to Egditha mother to Adelstan) was called Ethelde or Ethilda, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sons Ethelward and Edwin, which immediately departed this life after their father; and six daughters, Elfleda, Edginya, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitya, and Elfgya. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also lived in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in a laie habit.

Edgitya was married to Charles king of France, surnamed Simplex. And Ethilda by help of her brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for her singular beauty most highlie esteemed: sith nature in her had shewed as it were her whole cunning, in perfecting her with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edginya and Edgitya were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Otho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife named Edginya, he had also two sons, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adelstan successiue-ly. Also he had by his two daughters, Edgurde that was made a nun, and Edgitye a lady of excellent beauty, whom his brother Adelstan gave in marriage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine.

Whilst this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in somuch that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yeeres together (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to take order in matters appertaining to the church. Wherevpon the pope had accurssed the English people, because they suffered the bishops ses to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to avoid the curses, assembled a principlial council, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordained, that whereas the province of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be divided into five diocesses, cuerie of them to have a peculiar bishop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordained seuen bishops, as seue to the province of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the see of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwal, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelune to Welles, and Edulf to Kirton, Also to the province of Sussex he ordained one Bernegeus, and to Dorchester for the province of Mercia one Cenulfus.

The historie of England. 683


Winchester, Cornwal, Shireborne, Welles, Kirton, Mercia.
Hist. Malon. Thas that pope Formosus pronounced this curses. 904.

Polycho.

Heere ye must note, that where William Malme, Polycho and other doo afirmes, that pope Formosus did accursse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops ses to be vacant, it can not stand with the agreemente of the time, vnslee the that the curses pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began toounced the Romane see about the yeere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past six yeeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how so ever this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to advertise the pope what the king had decreed & done, in the ordening of bishops to their several sees, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouvernment and direction of the church depended chieflie vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestly appeareth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) seemed then alone to be sufficient.

Moreover, I thinke it good to advertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whom ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that governed the see, succeeded Taduin, that sat three yeeres, Notelin five yeeres, Cuthbert.
Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward in the kingdom, Alfred practising by treason to
keepe him from the government, gave him suddenlie as he was taking his oath for
his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise
is notable, what he did to satisfy the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king
Edwards daughter married to Sithrike a Danish governor of the Northumbers, by whose
means Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice
stranglig put to death by her stepsons for being of counsell to poison her husband Sithrike,
his death revenged upon the tormentors by her father king Edward, and how chronono-
graphers varie in the report of this historie.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

Adelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne over the more part of
all England, the yeare of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yeares of the emperor Henrie
the first, in the 31 yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, three
months after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yeare of Constantine the third,
king of Scotland. This Adelstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vnpon
Thames, of Aldelme the archibishop of Canturburie, who succeeded Pleimond. He was the
24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsaxons. There were
in the beginning some that set themselves against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which
practised by treason to have kept him from the government: but he was apprehended yer
he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not
giltie. And as he tooke his oath for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he sud-
denlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants tooke him vp, and bare him into the
English schoole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Pope John the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should
be laid in Christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and
kinstolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred
amongst other Christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and
saint Peter. The cause that mouned Alfred and other his complices against the king, was
(as some haue alleged) his bastardie. But whether that allegarion were true or but a
slander, this is cerneine, that excepte that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adel-
stane worthlie of blame: so that he darkned all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both
in vertuous conditions and victorius triumphes. Such difference is there to haue that in thy
selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the woorthinesse of thine ancestors, sith
that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indenuered himselfe to answer
the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to issue by his noble and prudent
government. First therefore meaning to proide for the suerte of his countrie, he concluded
a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whom (as ye haue heard) he gav
one of his sisters named Editha in marrie. Sithrike liued not past one yeare after he had
so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the province of the Northumbers vnto his sub-
tection, expelling one Aldulphe out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that
write,
write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succeding their father in the gourne-
ment of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned
him to invade their country, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into
Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reig-
nold which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is
mentioned.

The Scottish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose
chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in
marriage to Sithrike, the governor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if
anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king
Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a jolie
gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement
was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great rejoicing of
all the Danes, least if he had suruived his brother, he would have made some businesse for
the crowne.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to
be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward
understanding that Sithrike went about some mischief toward him, persuaded his daughter
to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Auallassus, and Godfrie the sonnes
of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning
hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set
naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithic, and therewith hard rosted eggs being taken out
of the hot imbers were put vnder hir arme pits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with
a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in re-
venge of his daughters death mooued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie,
and in battell finallie vanished them, but was slaine in the same battell himself.

Thus haue the Scottish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres
which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but
the truth thereof we leave to the readers owne judgement. For in our English writers we
find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir
fathers deceas was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yeere of his regine, giuen
in mariage (as before ye have heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland,
that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yoong ladie, renounced
his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife
and the christian faith, he set vp against the worshipping of idoles, and within a while after,
as an apostata miserable ended his life. Whereupon the yoong ladie, hir virginitie being
preserved, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polles-
woorth in Warwickshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watch-
ing, prayer, and doing of almesdeedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus
our writers differ of the Scottish historie, both in name and manner of end as concerning the
daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.
Adelstone subdued Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulfeth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstone conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enemie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstone banished his brother Edwin, be is for a consprracie drowned in the sea, Adelstone repented him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Adale sometimes king of Northumberland invaded England, he disguised himselfe like a minstrel and suruiced the English camp unsuspected, he is discovered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstone being comforted with a miracle discomfited his enemie, he makeb them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdued the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbes & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realms, what proudious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwick.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Adelstone had subdued them of Northumberland, he was adverised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Huduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him. Herevpon the king theydeed. The king thought it good fortune subtued them both, and also Vimer or Wulfeth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselves vnto him, who shortly after mowed with pitie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselves to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saies, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Ye must understand, that (as it appeareth in the Scottish chronicles) the Scottishmen in time of wars that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their nere adoining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chance occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstone his sone, although in deed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstone conquered the same out of their hands, and joined it vnto other of his dominions, constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obay him as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besiegd the citie of Duresme, soliciting the citizens to receive him, which they would gladlie haue done, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstone: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offences if they revolted, they kept the enemie out. King Adelstone being sore mowed against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enemie, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to renegue that infirure.

At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeme the same with a woorthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, wasted the country by land vnto Dunforde and Werternore, and his nauie by sea destroied the coasts alongst the shore, euin to Catesse, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enemies to subjection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliever him his son in hostage.

It is said, that being in his iournie nere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he praised vnto God, that at the instance of saint John of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then lived, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith,
the king with his sword smote upon a great stone standing née to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an eline, which remained to be shewed as a witness of that thing manie yeares after. At his coming backe to Beuerlie, he redeemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, one of accompanied with one esquire, so that being lanched forth from the shore, through despare Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquire that was with him recovered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Canturburie. But James Maier in the annales of Flanders saideth, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a creke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cousin germane, and honorably buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which deed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartlie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpun the church where his brother was thus buried. For verie king Adelstone after his displeasure was asswaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could never abide the man that had gien the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer seru'd him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recovered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saing, "One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other:" which words cost him his life. For the king remembering that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might have beéne an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

In this meanewhile, Aulafe the sonne of Sitherike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie lands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarke them in 613 ships and craiers, with which he arrived in the mouth of Humber, and thence comming on land, began to invade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Constamine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submision, Aulafe tooke in hand this iournie. King Adelstone aduertised of his enemies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all convenient speed hast ed towards them, and approching neerer vnto them, pitchte downe his field at a place called by some Brinesburie, by others Brinesford, and also Brunaubright, and by the Scottish writers Browningfield.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enemies campe, Aulafe enterprised a marvelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offering himselfe disguised as a minstrel, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument; and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and aduertised also to place afor the kings surveued the whole state and order of the armie. This doone, he returned, meaning by a camisado to set vp the kings tent. But one that had served as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vnter the king what he knew. The king seemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulafs departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: "Ye must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I have gien vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therefore if I should have betrayed him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter doo the like to you: but if you will follow mine advice, remove your tent, least happilie he assaile you wiuare." The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitchte vp his tent in that place from whence the king was removed: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine, which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward, and came to the
the kings tent, who in this mean time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Adelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie preased forth upon his enemies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and weniëere all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered together. But the Scottish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcomine, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yeerlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hownds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongst the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so removed the Cornish men further into the west parts of the coutrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stooping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie joined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of invincible constancie: his great devotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adored the same either with some new piece of building, jewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselves happie if they might have his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsse & sundrie rich jewels, with certeine reliques: as Constantines sword, in the hint whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauour was pierced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these jewels king Adelstane gave part to the abbie of saint Swithin at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreover, the king of Norwaië sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt paunes. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him.

Edmund
Edmund succeeded Adelstane in the kingdom, the Danes of Northumberland rebelling against him, a peace concluded between Aulafe their king and king Edmund on conditions, Aulafe dying, another of that name succeeding him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelled them to receive the Christian faith. Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their solemn vow to king Edmund, they are put to perpetual exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the cities of king Dunmails sons to be put out, and assigned the said country to Malcolm king of Scots; the Scottish chroniclers in perpetuating the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds laws, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshowed to Dunstan in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstan reproveneth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

THE XXI. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Adelstane was departed this life, without leaving issue behind to succeed him in the kingdom, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edguyce, tooke upon him the government of this land, and began his reign in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otto the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordaine Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norweke, & having a great power of men with him, marched fourth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole; but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and encountered with his enemies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vtermost triall of battell, through the earnest suit of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odoy and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should injoy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstreet southward, & Aulafe should injoy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulafe tooke to wife the ladie Alditha, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obtained the upper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroyed the church of saint Balter, and burned Tunningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, tooke upon him to governe the Northumbers.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and towns of Lincoln, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Nottingham, constreining them to receive the Christian faith, and reduced all the countries even unto Humberynder his subjection. This done, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Gurmo, who (as you have heard) subdued Yorke, as a means the sooner to obtaine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselves vnto him; whereupon he receiv'd them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrake, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realm: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being converted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissanse, as through the preaching of the gospel, was baptised, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie fontstone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops hands. Neuertheless, there wicked natures could not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the yeare next following druen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetual exile. And so king Edmund adoineth Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat governor, vnto his owne estate.
Moreover, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that country unto due obedience, and conformable subjection. The two sons of Dunmaile king of that province he apprehended, and caused their deaths to be put out. Herewith upon consideration either of such aid as he had received of the Scots at that time, or some other friendly respect, he assigned the said country of Cumberland unto Malcolm king of Scots, to hold the same by lealtie of him and his successors. The Scottish chronicles, pertaining the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirm, that by covenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolm king of Scotland, and Adelstan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expressed. And againe, that Indulf, who succeeded Malcolm in the kingdom of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Anlaf, whom the same chronicles name Audassus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not allow the same to stand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolm began not his regnent till after the decease of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 930. And Malcolm succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmonds reign, and after Malcolm (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulf in the yeare 959. The like discordance precedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfy the desirous to understand, and see the diuerside of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordained duiers good and wholesome laws, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which laws with duiers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of things woorthie of long remembrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his time they have beene recovered for the more part, & by maister William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue said. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned sixe yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For (as some say,) it chanced, that espiesing where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongst his enemies that were about him with drawn swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant, he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelsburgh.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesaid place on the day of saint Augustine the English apostle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at the table, he espied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherewith the king was so mouded with high disdain, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew upon the thiefe, and catching him by the haire of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the thiefe, having fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the belly, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presently died. The thiefe was hauing in pieces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt duiers before they could dispatch him. This chiance was lamentable, namelie to the English people, which by the overtimelie death of their king, in whom appeared many evidient tokens of great excellency, lost the hope which they had conceived of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princely governement. His body was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified aforesaid to Dunstane, who about the same time atten-ling vpon the same king, as he removed from one place to an other, chanced to accompany himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elsane, and as they rode together, beheld suddenlie Dunstane saw in the wate before him, where the kings
Edred succeeded his brother Edmund in the realm of England, the Northumbers rebell against him, they and the Scots swears to be his true subjects, they brea their oath and swore with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people expel him and erect Hericius in his room, king Edred taketh revenge on the Northumbers for their disloyalty, the renu of his armie is assaulted by an host of his enemies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselves, and put awate Hericius their king, Holstane archbishop of Yorke prayseth his disloyalty, whereto Edred applied himself after the appeas of civil tumults, his death and burial, a speciall signe of Edreds love to Dunstane archat of Glastenbury, his practice of consencage touching king Edreds treasure.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

EDRED the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgine his last wife, began his reigne over the realm of England in the yeare of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelfth yeere of the emperor Odo the first, and in the 21 yeere of the yeare of Iewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeere of Malcolm the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and anointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingsstone upon Thames. In the first yeere of his reign, the Northumbers rebell ed against him, whereupon he raised an armie, invaded their country, and subdued them by force. This doone, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anye resistance submitted themselves vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an othe to be true vnto him, which they observed but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had been chased out of the country by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioyfullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeeres, and then by the
Hirke or Hericius.

Hirke or Hericius.

The destrouie

The destrouie of the Northumbers punisshed.

The destrouie of the Northumbers punisshed. 

Simon Dun, Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned.

W. Malm.

W. Malm.

Dunstane departed this life.

Dunstane in favour.

Edredus departed this life.

Edredus departed this life.

But was not this a devise thereby to detaine the treasure? for I dnot read that he delivered it out of his hand.

Edredus departed this life.

An angell, or as some think a waier creature.

accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelld, and then they set vp one Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne over them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeare of his regnye, Edred in the Ingues of such disloial deallings in the Northumbers, destroyed the countrie with fire & sword, slaying the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Rippon, which was kept against him.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimys brake out of Yorke, and setting vp

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The renuer of the kynes armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same.

Wherefore the king in his rage ment to have begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselves so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy there peace, they obtained pardon. But because that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his coun- 

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On the fourth yeare of his reign, Edred, and advancing of Hericius, king Edred tooke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the renuerance which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Math. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolstanes imprisonment, as thus. In the yeere of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in close prison, because of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Thedford to be put to death, in renuer of the abbat Alkeme by them without the slaine and murthered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the advancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in prayer and other devout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatly addicted to devotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgina, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Imas, but in these daies sore decayed and fallen into ruine. Finally, after he had reigne nine yeeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greuance of men, and rejoicing of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedral church there. 

Here is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, upon a singular and most especiall favour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefe part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princely jewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Afterward, when king Edred perceived himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deede made an end of his life, he sent into all partes to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane tooke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliever the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his duty; but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saing; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he understood that the king died the same hour in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

Edwin
Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdom of England, his beastly and incestuous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the very day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dunstane and surneth over the gentennovans companie, Dunstane is banished for rebuke king Edwin for his unlawful lust and lordly life, the diuell rejoizd at his exile, what rewowing mishiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebellion against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome over them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a favouer of monks, his provision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in government, what kings he bound by oath to be true unto him, eight princes for his barge in signe of submission. the vices inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen upon his favouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessive quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcestre and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; justice in Edgars time seuerely executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Edred, his nephew Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reign over the same in the yeere of our Lord 953, & in the 20 yeere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yeere of the reign of Lewes king of France, and about the twelve yeere of Malcolm the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston upon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the very day of his coronation, as the lords were set in council about weightie matters touching the government of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his neere kinswomen, and there had to doo with her, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before named abbat of Glassenburie, did not onlie without fear of displeasure reproue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constraine him to forsake that woman whom unlawfullie he kept.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whom king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take her or his daughter into wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest travell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roaring maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and inioyfull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiving his behauiore, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, doo not so greatly rejoice at the matter, for thou dost not now so much rejoice at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flynders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gaunt, finding much friendship at the hands of the governour of that countrey. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing secular priests in their roomes, as namelie at Malmesburie, where yet the house was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberallie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which tooke vp the bones of saint Aldeleine, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to have the governement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine tooke such grieues, for that he saw no mane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortly after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.
Edgar, the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decesse of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reign over this realme of England in the yeere of our Lord God 959, in the 22 yeere of the emperor Otho the first, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the conning of the Saxons, 124 after the arriall of the Danes, and in the last yeere of Malcolm king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone upon Thames by Odoo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not 16 yeeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauourer of moonks, and speciallly had Dunstane in high estimation. Above all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserve the same, to the commoditie and advancement of his subjects.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great nauie of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to waft about the coast, that no forren enimie should approch the land, but that they might be encountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yeere after Easter, he vsed to give order, that his ships should assemble together in their due places: and then would he with the east nauie saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west nauie saile into the north parts; and with the north nauie come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scowe the seas of all pirates & theuces. In the winter season and spring tyme, he would ride through the provinces of his realme, searching out how the judges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of justice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subjects, nor molested by forren enimies.

He caused diverse kings to bind themselves by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Mascutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maister rourer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Duffnall, Girffith, Duvall, Iacob, and Ludithill, all which came to his court, and by their solerne othes receiued, to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie thereof, he having them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princely prerogatiue and roiall magnificence, in that he might vse the service of so manie kings that were his subjects. And thereupon he said (as hath been reported) that then might his successors account themselves kings of England, when they imitied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

The fame of this noble prince was spread euer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, insomuch that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath beene saide) more than stood with the commoditie of his subjects, for scarce was any street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continual conversation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessive quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certaine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disorderd fiercenesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tenderness of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.

Dunstane
Dunstone was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed unto him. He was in such favor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doo very much with the king. Also Oswald, which had beene a monke in the abbeie of Florie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the see of Yorke, was highlie in favor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counsellled. Justice in his daines was strikely obserued, for although he were courteous and gentile towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offenders, so that no person of what estate or degree soere was he escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theede nor common robber that durst lay hands upon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be gilte. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild raunging beasts, that liued upon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed Judewall or Ludewall king of Wales to present him with three hundred woolues yerelic in name of a tribute, but after three yeeres space, there was not a woolle to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yeere after it began to be paid.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a foule offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold coosneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womanes beautie with lustfull eyes; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and unnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinency and bad life; Dunstone putteth the king to penance for his vchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doo the like, monks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots upon occasion of words euil taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wives and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the ampltunesse of his dominions.

THE XXIII. CHAPTER.

In this meanete time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whom he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Horgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whom Edgar minding to haue in marriage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to see if the yeongladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iollie gentleman, tooke his journey into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was stright raunished so far in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obtained the same in deed. Hereupon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comly personage, as might be thought woorthie to match in marriage with his maistie.
Shortlie after perceiving the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gaued to Ethelwolds words. And so by this means Ethelwold obtained Alfred in marriage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread over all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chance to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, devised vnnder colour of hunting to come into the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obtaine his purpose, he shortlie after continued Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would seie hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in foule garments, and some euii favored attire, that hir nature beautie should not appear: but she perceiving how the matter went, of spight set out hir selfe to the vtermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamered of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, & after Horewood, not shewing that he meaneth him anie hurt, til at length he had got hir within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, wherto he answered: “Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me.” With which answer the king was so pacified, that he involoved by pretending his fauor towards the same, to extenuat the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sones, Edmund which died young, and Etheldred or Egelred.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, moued also by wanton loure, with a yong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to avoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselte into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns vesture, he tooke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to convenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodgged one night at Andeuer, and haung a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should bee brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowered: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidservants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hir to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my diues works if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she being staid by the king, as it were against hir will, she fell downe on hir knees, and required of him that she might be made frie, in gerdon of hir nights worke. For (saith she) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hast tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seritude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe and rough mistresse.

The king then being moued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the doonings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the poore wench. But yet in faine (turning earnest to a jest) he pardoned all the parties, and advanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afores, so that she ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vset hir as his paramour, till he maried the foresaid Alfred.

For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the ranishing of Wilfrid (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed heinous, for that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed
dowed under that habit) he greatly displeased Dunstan, so that by him he was put to his seven years' penance, and kept from the crown till the 12 yeere of his reigne or more. For some wrote that he was not crowned nor appointed king, till the 30 yeere of his age, which should be about the 13 or 14 yeere of his reigne by that account, sith he entred into the rule of the kingdom about the 16 yeere of his age. In deed one author witnesseth, that he was consecrated at bath on a Whitsunday, the 13 yeere of his reigne, and that by Dunstan archbishop of Canturburie, and Oswald archbishop of Yorke. But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediately upon the death of Edridus, affirme that he was crowned and appointed king by the archbishop Odo, Dunstone as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediately reuoke out of his office, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath beene said) and after the decease of Odo was advanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dunstone was reuoked out of exile immediately upon partition of the realm between Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yeere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia & others (as before ye have heard,) and that in the yeere following the archbishop Odo died, after whome succeeded Alfin bishop of Winchester, who also died the same yeere that king Edward deceased, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brightelmse bishop of Dorchester was elected archbishop. But because he was not able to discharge so great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to give place to Dunstone.

"Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen moued some rebellion against him. Whereupon he assembled an armie, and entering the country of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpefully for their rebellious attempts. Amongst other spoiles taken in those parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of saint Ellutus was taken away, and hanged about a horses necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, whereupon in sleepe there appeared one unto him, and smote him on the breast with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused all things that had beene taken away to be restored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forthwith. But truth it is, that in the 37 yeere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Iulie, and was buried at Glastenburie.

This Edgar is highly renowned of writers for such pryncelie qualities as appeared in him, but chieflie for that he was so beneficall to the church, namezie to moonks, the aduancement of whom he greatly sought, both in building abbeyes new from the ground, in repairing those that were decayed: also by inriching them with great revenues, and in converting collegit churches into monasteries, removing secular priests, and bringing in moonks in their places. There passed no one yeere of his reigne, wherein he founded not one abbeye or other. The abbeye of Glastenburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeye of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeyes of Peterborough & Thornie he established. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became abbesse there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeyes and monasteries, in some of which he place moonks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the litle, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeyes and monasteries: as Adelwold bishop of Winchester builded the abbeye of Elie, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also earle Aelwin, at the exhortation of the same bishop Adelwold, builded the abbeye of Ramsey, though some attribute the doing thereof unto Oswyld the archbishop of York, and some to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of moonks and nuns in these daies flourished, and the state of secular priests was smallicke regarded, insomuch that they were constrained to avoit out of divers colleges, and to leave the same unto moonks, as at Worcester and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, because the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the prebends

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Note the deep hypocrisy of Dunstan.

Bar. Hist.

Fabian out of Tudo or Co-

Lusonian.

Wili. Malm.

Hos. Hunt.

Roy. Hist.

Poly-terr.


Suanct. Dist.

Fabian.

Rum. Hist.

The Welshmen rebel and are chastised.

Ulf Malmes.

King Edgar departeth this life.

Wherefore Edgar is praised of some writers.

Fabian.

Rum. Hist.

Hos. Hunt.

Ulf Malmes.

Hos. Hunt.


Moonks esteemed & se-

cred in priests little regarded.

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prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to use themselves no better, but rather worse than the other before them, they were likewise put out, and moonks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope lohn the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vse by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by divers writers) namelee in his beginning, cruel against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after young women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst encounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to do with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes mens vse their toongs more libellullie then needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certeine words in this manner: "It may (saith hée) seeume a maruell that so manie countries and provinces should be subject to such a little sille bodie as Edgar is." These words being borne awaie by a lester or minstrell, and afterwards vthered to Edgar with great reprooch, he wistlie dissembled the matter for a time, although he kept the remembrance thereof inclosed within his breast; and vpon occasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and having caused one of his servaunts to conuey two swords into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secret wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scottish king, came to the place where the swords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliered the other to the Scottish king, willing him now to assisst his strength, that they might shew by proofe whether of them ought to be subject to the other; "Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it is a shame for a king to be full of brags at bankets, and not to be readie to fight when triall should be made abroad." The Scottish king herewith being astonied and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault, & desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his humble submission king Edward easile granted.

This noble prince had two wives, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordiner, by whom he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Orgar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whom he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egfrid which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiefullie, the elements shewed themselves verie favorable, according to the course of times: peace was maintaine, and no invasion by forlane enemies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord over all the kings of the out lies that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine even unto the realme of Norwair. He brought also a great part of Ireland under his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike records it dooth and may appeare.
Contestation amongst the peers and states about succession to the crowne, the moonskes removed and the canons and secular priests restored by Aifer duke of Mercia and his adherents, a blasing starre with the eventes issuing the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of moonskes to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controversie betweene the moonskes and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstan, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent love he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and her sonne Egelred, hir dulie purpose to muther Edward hir stepson accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by manyes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepened mutther, and imploiteit hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sines, king Edwards bodie removed, and solemnie buried By Aifer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards advancement to the crowne, queene Alfreeds offense by no means excusable.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

AFTER the deceasse of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & piers of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and divers other of hir opinion, would gladlie have advanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his handes the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward into the lords as they were assembled togethers, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Aifer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was boget in unlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which ofensse he did seven yeares penance, and not for lieng with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstan judgging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likely enouogh to turne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the eare of Essex and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which governed this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reign over England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reign of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstan at Kingston upon Thames, to the great grieve of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. About the beginning of his reign a blasing starre was scene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable hapes that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongst the people, and moraine of cattell.

Afer duke Aifer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbes which king Edgar and bishop Adewold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had beene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wronges that were doone to them, in that they had beene out of possession from their livings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remove an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, nor yet be allowed of any good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to have beene an other man doing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Aifer, judged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they removed the moonks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wites. But Edelwin duke of the Fastangles, & Aifer his brother, with Brightnoth or Brightnoke eare of Essex, withstood this doing, & gathering
gathering an armie, with great valiance maintained the monks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Hereupon were counsels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to have had therupurse, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in council, vtered certaine worrds in this wise: God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye judged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their own. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the cross was thought to speake these words, such credit was given thereto, as it had bene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the troubl was ceased. So the monks held those possessions, howsoever they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euene then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phesus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that upon new troubl an other counsell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to hauue the hearing of the matter, sat in an upper loft. The king by reason of his young yeeres was spared, so that he came not there. Hicere as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part facieng for himselfe what could be said, Dunstane was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlie euere in the verie heat of their communication, the fists of the left failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstane alone standing of one of the fists that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controversie betwene the priests and monks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

In this mean while, king Edward ruling himselfe by good counsell of such as were thought discreet and sage persons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous steps, as alreadie he well begun, and bearing alwaie a reverence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to his sonne Egelred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forest neere the castell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egelred then sojourned, when all his companie were sped abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he tooke the waie straight vnto his mother in lawes house, to visit hir and his brother. The queene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that she had occasion offered to woork that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to sle the king hir sonne in law, that hir owne sonne might injoy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alignt, which he in no wise would yeld vnto, but said that he had stolne from his companie, and was onelie come to see hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forest againe to see some more sport.

The queene perciuing that he would not alignt, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir servaunts stroke him into the bodie with a knife, wherevpon feeling himselfe wounded, he set spurre to the horse thinking to gallopp away, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horse, so as one of his feet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horse drew him forth through woods and launds, & the bloud which gushed out of the wound showed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horse had left him. That place was called Corphes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without any solemn funeral at Warham. For they which ended that he should injoy the crowne, ended also the burial of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his name could not be secretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there was
was sight restored to the blind, health to the sike, and hearing to the deaf, which are easier to be told than belieued.

Queen Alfred also would haue ridden to the place where he laie, moued with repentance (as hath bene said) but the horse whereupon she rode would not come neere the graue, for anie thing that could be doone to him. Neither by changing the said horse could the matter be holpen: for euery the same thing happened to the other horses. Hereupon the woman perceiued his great offense towards God for murthering the innocent, and did so repent him afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir boodie in fasting, and other kind of penance, she imploied all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monasteries. She founded two houses of nuns (as is said) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresbury, and finallie professed hirselfe a nun in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, which house she builded (as some affirme) in remembrance of hir first husband that was slaine there by king Edgar for hir sake (as before is mentioned.)

The bodie of this Edward the second, and surnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yeeres at Warham where it was first buried, was removed unto Shaftesbury, and with great reverence buried there by the forenamed Aifer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe, in that he had bene against the aduancement of the said king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he escape woorthie punishment: for within one yeere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the historie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yeeres, or (as other write) three yeeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatsoever hath bene reported by writers of the murther committed on the person of this king Edward, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appere he was in deed) great occasion undoubtedlie was giuen unto queene Alfred to seeke revenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of his son Egelfred from his rightfull succession to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue devised some other lawfull mean? to haue come by hir purpose, and not so to haue procured the murther of the young prince in such unlawful maner. For hir doinge therein can neither be woorthilie allowed, nor throughlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefe by advancing hir stepsomne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

Thus farre the sixt booke comprising the first arrivall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reign, pag. 652, at which time the most miserable state of England tooke beginning.
THE SEVENTH BOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Egelred succeedeth Edward the martyr in the kingdome of England, the decaie of the realme in his reigne, Dunstane refusing to consecrate him is thereafter inforced, Dunstans prophesies of the English people and Egelred their king, his slouthe and idlenes accompanied with other vices, the Danes arrive on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Rochester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Rochester without money; Dunstans parentage, his strange trance, and what a wondrful thing he did during the time it lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indue, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was renouched from loving and lusting after women whereeto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obtained by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

In the former booke was discoursed the troubled state of this land by the manifold and mutinous invasions of the Danes; who though they sought to ingrosse the rule of euery part and parcell therof into their hands; yet being resisted by the valiantnesse of the gouernors supported with the aid of their people, they were disappointed of their expectation, and received manie a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their adversaries hands. Much mischief doublestes they did, and more had done, if they had not bene met withall in like measure of extremetie as they offered, to the offense and overthrow of great multitudes. Their first entrance into this land is contoversed among writers, some saieing that it was in the daies of king Britrices, other some affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (sith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour lost to vse manie woords: onelie this by the waie is notewoorthy, that the Danes had an vnperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these kindes of kings discontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a pezzant not a puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne person, nor faworing the good estate of the people; the Danes who before were couered from coast to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more willing to leave the land, than desirous to tarrie in the same; took occasion of stomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waxing more bold and confident, more desperate and venturous, spared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let slip no advantage that they might possible take, to put in practise and fullie to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Now
Now because the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that renownedlie) so often as they did encounter, and seeking the total regiment, were disposessed of their partie principallie, which by warlike violence they obtained; and for that the Saxons were interested in the land, and these but violent incrochers, unable to keepe that which they came to by constreint; we have thought it convenient to comprise the troubled estate of that time in the six booke; the rather for the necessarie consequence of matters then in motion: and here deeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull loosenesse (speciallie in a prince) ministaring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the seuenth booke. Wherin is expressed the chiefest time of their flourishing estate in this land; if in tumults, vpproes, battels, and bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possible be found. For here the Danes lord it, here they take vpon them like souereignes, & here (if at anie time they had absolute authoritie) they did what they might in the highest degré: as shall be declared in vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Etheldred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last wife quene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne over this realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 979, which was in the seuenth yeere of the emperor Otho the second, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the second or third yeere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland.

This Egelred or Etheldred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsaxons: through his negligent governement, the state of the commonwealth fell into such decaie (as writers doe report) that vnder him it may be said, how the kingdome was come to the vtermost point or period of old and feeble age, which is the next degré to the grave. For whereas, whilst the realme was diuided at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youthfull yeeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed vnder the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelstane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was grewne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vpside downe, and weakened on eoch part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken yeeres of mans life, which through feebleness is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to have foresene this thing, and therefore refused to anoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother should attaine to the governement: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of April, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Yorke, and ten other bishops.

But (as hath beene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer condigne punishment generallie, with lose of ancient libertyes, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfulness that should remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he ministred the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath beene said:) wherupon Dunstane being troubled in mind; “By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall prove to be a slouthfull person.” It hath beene written also, that when he was but ten yeeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with weeping, because she could not still him, that hauing no rod at hand, she tooke tapes or sizes that stood before her, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could never after abide to haue anie such candies lighted before him.

This Egelred (as writers say) was nothing given to warlike enterprises, but was slouthfull, a lover of idleness, and delighting in riotous lusts, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Heerevpon the Danes that exercised routing on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the sea-coasts of the realme, in so much that in the second yeere of this Egelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled
spoiled the Isle of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yeere following they destroying S. Petroske abbey in Cornwall, Porthland in Deuonshire, and diverse other places by the sea side, specially in Deuonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Cheshire was destroyed by pirats of Norway.

The same yeere by casualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yeere of our Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was cozen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alfreike tooke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within three yeeres after was banished the land. About the eight yeere of his regne, Egreted married one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yeere of his regne, vpon occasion of strife between him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, wasted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstan procured the bishops peace with payment of an hundred pounds in gold. And because the K. would not agree with the bishop without monie at the onclie request of Dunstone, the said Dunstone did send him woord, that sithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patron of the church of Rochester, and more of courtesiness than of him being the archbishop, the mischies which the Lord had threatened would shortlie fall and come to passe, but the same should not chance whilst he was alive, who died in the yeere following, on the 25 of Maye, being Saturday.

Of this Dunstone manie things are recorded by writers, that he should be of such holinesse and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whilst he liued heere on earth, and also after his decease. He was borne in Westsaxon, his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth set him to schoole, where he so prospered, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sick of an ague, which vexed him so sore that it draue him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had bene dead, and after that he suddenlie arose, & by chance caught a stafe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through his and dales, and laid about him as though he had bene afraid of mad dogs. The next night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that stood there for workemen to mend the rooffe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerously, but in the end came safelie downe, and laid him to sleepe betwene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he maruelled how he came there. Finally, recovering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbeie of Glastenburie, where he gauie himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certeine other did raise a report of him, that he gauie not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, conjuring and sorcerie, which he vttevlie denying: howbeit learned he was in deede, & could doe manie pretie things both in handie woerke and other deuises: he had good skill in musicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such favour, that he was advanced into the seruice of king Adelstane.

Vpon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hoong the same on the wall, while he shaped a priest stole, the harpe suddenlie began to plaie a psalme, which draue the whole household in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: whereupon he was accused of necromanie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfcacus then bishop of Winchester and his cozen, persuaded him to become a monke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue married a young damosell, whose pleasant companie he daliie inioied. But being soone after striken with such a swellying disease in his belly, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had bene infected with a foule Iprousie, he bethought him selfe, and vpon his recovery sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shoue him a monke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holiness, as he in time became abbat of Glastenburie: where on a time as he was in his priers before the altar of S. George, he fell asleep: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare
came towards him with open mouth, and set his forefoot upon his shoulders ready to devour him; he suddenly wakening for fear, caught his walking staff which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a pair of pinsors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a challenge: the great love that the lady Elfleda née kinswoman to king Adelestone bare him to his dying day, with a great many of other such like matters, I leave as friouolous, and wholly impertinent to our purpose: onlie this I read, that through declaring of his dreams and visions, he obtained in the time of king Edgar, first the bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But leaving Dunstane and the fond devises depending upon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes invade England on each side, they are vanquished by the English, Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in a battell fought at Maldon hill Brightnod earle of Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the English subjects, they cease their cruelie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people desire to resist them; Egelred addresseth a monie against the Danes under the erles Alfricke and Tierold, Alfricke traitorouslie taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this land, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they drive king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulfe king of Norway is honorable intertained of Egelred, to whom he promiseth at his baptisme never to make warre against England, the great scale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

SHORTILIE after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes invaded this realme on each side, wasting and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arrived in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well devise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoile a place or town called Wichport, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who gining them battell, lost their captaine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunle saith, that the Englishmen in deed won the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Sprewold. In the yeere 991, Brightnod earle of Essex, at Maldon gave battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Iustine and Guthmond had spoiled Gyswich) and was there overcom and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obtained in that place the victorie.

In the same yeere, and in the 19 yeere of king Egelreds regnne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and harried by the Danes, which covered the same as they had beene grasshoppers; by the advice of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that see after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paid to them by the king, they should covenant not to trouble his subjects anie furthir. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leued of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was given unto such Danes as king Egelred afterwards retained in his service, to defend the land from other Danes.
and enemies that sought to invade his dominions. But by what name so ever this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that hereupon they ceassd from their most cruel invasions for a time. But shortly after they had refreshed themselves, and recovered new strength, they began to play their old parts again, doing the like mischeefe by their semblable invasions, as they had used before. By reason hereof such fearse came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enemies.

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admiral, joining with him earle Teutold. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enemies, who having warning given them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and encountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side.

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About the same time was Babmorough destroyed by the Danes, which arrived after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Yorkshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to give them battle, before they joined, the capteines of the English armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to fly away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the overthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appeare, that after the Danes had destroyed all the north parts, as they sped abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie day in September. They gave a very sore assault to the city, and assayed to set it on fire; but the citizens so valiantly defended themselves, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their loose, so that they were constrained to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countreys of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, and ceased not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to have peace with them.

Moreover, whereas they wittered that yeere at Southamptone, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuere (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in most honorable maner. The same time was Aulafe baptised, king Egelred receiving him at the fontstone, and so he promised neuer after to make anie war within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie: but the eulls tooke not so an end, for other of the Danes sprang vp, as they had beene the heads of the serpent Hydra, some of them euery being readie to trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

About this season, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Chester in the street (otherwise called Cunecester) with the body of saint Cuthbert for feare of the invasion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the same body now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; so that the see of that bishoprike was from theneforth
thenceforth there established, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time covered and covered that place, whereupon it began first to be inhabited. Earle Vithred, who governed that country, greatlie furthered the bishop in this worke, so that all the people inhabiting betweene the rivers of Coquid and Theis, came together to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

The Danes invading the west parts of this land make great burauke by fire and sword, they arriue at Rochester, and conquer the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred overcometh the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and devast the country, the Summerisettes men are saile; the miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English blood mixed with the Danes and Britains, and what incontinently great they upon, the disordered government of king Egelred, sicknesses vexing the people, treasons in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes unnecessary inburned, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politicke persuasion and counsell marrieth Emma the duchesse of Normandies daughter, upon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdom, and what rule they bare in this realme ver they were murdered, the thralldome of the English people under them, whereof the word Lordane sprang.

The THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the nineteenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes sailed about Cornwall, and comming into the Seuerne sea, they robbed & tooke priees in the coasts of Devonshire & Southwales, and landing at Wicheport, they burned vp the countrie, and came about unto Penwithstreet on the south coast, and so arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came into Lidford, and there wasted all afores with force of fire. They burned, amongst other places, the monasterie of saint Odelphie at Essingstocke. After this they came into Dorsetshire, and passed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to resist them. The same yere also they sojourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & priees which they tooke in Hampshire and Sussex. At length they came into the Thames, and so by the river of Medway arriued at Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled together and fought with the Danes, but they were overcome, and so left the field to the Danes. After this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whom he overcame with sore warre, and wasted almost all Cumberland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the same time, or shortly after, the Danes with their naue, returning out of Normandie, came into Exmouth, and there assaulted the castell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread abroad over all the countrie, exercising their accustomed trade of destroeing all before them with fire and sword. The men of Summerisettes fought with them at Penthio, but the Danes got the upper hand.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was verie miserable, for there sore trouble shitten to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for every one impugned others dooing, and yet would not desist with what way to doo with better likelihood. When they assembled in counsell, and should haue occupied their heads in devising remedies for the miscellane of the common wealth, they turned their purpose vnto alteration, about such stires, contentions and quarrels as each one had against other, and suffered the general case to lie still in the dust. And if at ankle time there was anie good conclusion agreed vpon, for the withstand of the enimie, & relefe of the common wealth, anon should the enimie be advertised thereof by such as were of alliance or consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others say) the English blood was
so mixed with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one side a parent of some of them.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret purposes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their assemblies prove quiet without quarrelling and taking of parts. Manie also being sent forth with their powers one way (whilst the king went to make resistance another) did revolt to his enimies, and turned their swords against him (as you have heard of Elfrike and his complices, and shall read of manie others) so that it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predecessors, although the monks favour him not in their writings, because he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing favorable to their eyd hypocrisie. But what is a king if his subiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be divided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdoms have oft times proceeded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdoms have ofter bene brought to ruine. And so it proved here, for whilst privat guards are pursued, the generall affaires are vterlie neglected: and whilst eth nation seeketh to preferre her owne alliance, the land it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to proced with our monasticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, saing that he was a man gien to no good exercise, he delighted in fleshlie lustes and riotous bankeettings and still sought waises how to gather of his subiects what might be got, as well by unlawfull meanes as otherwise. For he would for feined or for verie small & light causes disherit his native subiects, and cause them to redeeme their owne possessions for great summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, diuers kinds of sicknesses vexed the people also, as the bloodie flux, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, so that manie died thereof. By such manner of meanes therefore, what through the misgovernance of the king, the treason and disloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongst the people, and by such other scourges and mischaps as afflicted the English nation in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agreement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was enhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you have heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the relme was emptied in maner of all that monie and coin that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the queene. Shortlie after it was devised that the king should be a suer vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the florue of Normandie. This sue was begun and tooke such good success, that the king obtained his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he married the said Emma with great solemnitie.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those days: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subversion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened by betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obtained and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appear. Egelred being greatlie advancedd (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, devised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent privie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certaine day prefixed, being saint Nicholases day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and inunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncertaine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire,
under the Danes.

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Fordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Howhill, & others in other places, but wheresoever it began, the dooers repented it after.

But now ye we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & doo all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie : the Danes lived uppon the fruit and gains that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wives, their daughters, maids and servants, using and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarce hauue such sustenance of meats and drinks as fell for servants to have: so that the Danes had all their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the silly man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his full of the worst. Besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euery such house where anie of them sojourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to meet at anie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staine till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie partes of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuine, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes use the Englishmen in most vile manner, and kept them in such seruile thralldome as cannot be sufficientlie vittered.

A fresh power of Danes invade England to revenge the slaughter of their countrimen that inhabiteth this Ile, the west parts betrayed into their hands by the conspiracie of a Norman that was in government, earle Edrike feined himself sicke when king Egelred sent unto him to levie a power against the Danes, and betrayeth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arrineth on the coast of Northfolk, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the trauce taken betwixt him and Vikillus is violated, and what revenge suffoweth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriveth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was unable to pruaile against him, the Danes ouerran all places where they come and make cruel waste, king Egelred paith him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light upon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in government, how manie acres a hide of land containeth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armouer, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes under three captaines arrive at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturbrie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies advantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

VPON knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all speed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, tooke the citie of Excester, and got there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerran and wasted.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west partes of the realme, hesent unto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Hereupon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got together: but when the armies should joine, earle

Hownhill, or Howhill, a place within Merchington parish beside the forest of Needwood, somewhat more than twomiles from Vtceste-

Lordane whereof the word came.
earle Edricus surnamed de Streona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betrayed his people, of whom he had the conduct: for they perceiving the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them into Wilton, which town they rilied and overcame. From thence they went to Salisbury, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were advertised that the king was coming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to say 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reign, Swaine or Swannus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither toke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he into Thetford, and when he had taken and rilied that town, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Vikillus or Wilcketell governor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In revenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Vikillus, or Wilcketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to maintaine the fight, for his enimies overmatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to give backe: and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his flet, partlie constrained so doo (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie nere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the harvest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull crueltie, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of priues in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conuived themselves with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Isle of Wight, & in the time of Christ-masse they landes in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Colesie, and then approaching to Essington, came to Achikelmeslave, and in euerie place wheresoever they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not Carrie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and sleazing their hoasts. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaued them battell, but prevailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittles and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meantime king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his counsell he sent to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edrike cite of Mercia, who although he had maried Edgjua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the counsell unto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to disseamble and cloak his falshood, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular favours, whereas he uppon a malicious purpose studied dailye how to bring the realme into utter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowledge when they should give place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreover, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioneer to treat for peace, he perswaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his divine providence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had justlie prouuced his wrath and high displeasure.
In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he took order that of cuerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be built, and of cuerie eight hides a compleat armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought together at Sandwich, and such soldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fleet. There had not beene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable piece of service was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble young man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting together twenty sailis, helpe upon the coasts taking prices where he could get them. Brithrike the brother of earle Edrike, being desirous to win honor, tooke forth four score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enemie dead or alive. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outrageous wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast upon the shore: and Wilnot comming upon them, set them on fire, and so burned them cuerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

After this, in the harveste time a new armie of Danes, under the conduct of thre capaines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gave them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Isle of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subjectes, and comming to give them battell, had made an end of their cruel harrying the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edrike with forged tales (denised onelie to put him in feare) had not dissuaded him from giving battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their maie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

After the feast of Christamasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which town they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wastinge of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to give them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the river, passed the same river at Stanes, and so joining with their fellowes marched fourth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to reparie & amend their ships that were in anie wise decayed. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arrived at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the ascensione day of our Lord: and inundaing the countrie, gave battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Vikill or Wilfeketell leader of the English host in those partes, on the sitt of Maie. The men of Northolke and Sulfolke fled at the first onset given: but the Cambridgeshire men stocked to it valiantie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnessne amongst them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobleitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mirencheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an everlasting reproch.

The Danes obtaining the upper hand, for the space of thre moneths togethier went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those partes of the realme, that is to say, Northolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoil of great and wealtie abbesies and churches which had their situation within the compass of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountain-countrie of Belsham, cruelly murdering the people without respect of age, degree or sex. After this also they entred into Essex, and so came backe to their ships, which were then arriued in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soone after, when they had somewhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the country, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire.
fordshire. And about Saint Andrews tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrey, with fire & sword they wasted and destroyed a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finding about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hartfordsheire, Oxfordehire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedforde- 

shire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the riper of Thames. On the south- 

side of the same riper, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkshire, Hamp- 

shire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

King Egelred offereth the Danes great summes of monete to desist from destroying his countrey, their unspakeable cruelite, bloodthritisnesse, and insatiable spoiling of Cantur- 

burie betrayed by a churchman; their merciles murthering of Elphegus archbishop of Can- 

turburie, Turkillus the Dane chiefel lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded be- 

tweene the Danes and the English upon hars conditions; Guenthildis a beautiful Dan- 

ish lady and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

The king and the peeres of the realme, understanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is above mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambas- 

sadors unto the Danes, offering them great summes of monete to leaue off such cruelw 

wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to retaine the monete, but yet 

could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of blood and 

spoil satisfied with the wasting and destroyeng of so manie countries and places as they had 

passed through. Whereupon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew 

in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantie 

defended by the space of twentye daies. In the end of which term was taken by the 

enemies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whom the archbishop El- 

phegus had before that time preserved from death. The Danes exercised passing great cruel- 

tie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it dooth and maie appeare.) For they 

slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They tooke the 

archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Lefwin and Alseword 

the kings balifie there. They spared no degree, in somuch that they slue and tooke 900 

priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they 

set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the 

people after an inverted order, saling all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserved 

the tenth: so that of all the moonks there were but foure saued, and of the lae people 4800, 

whereby it followeth that there died 43000 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of 

Canturburie, and the countrey thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) 

was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there have not wanted (saith maister Lambert) 

which affirmeth that it had then more people than London it selfe.

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next insuing, upon the saturday in Easter weeke, 
after that the bishop Elphegus had beene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seven 
moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his brains with 
stones, because he would not redeeme his liberie with three thousand pounds, which they de- 

manded to have beene leaved of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murder was committed 
at Grenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a cer- 

taine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all 

wrought
wrought now by dead men, and not by the living) the Danes permitted that his body might be carried to London, and there was it buried in the church of St. Paul, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnute or Knought had the government of this land, by whose appointment it was removed to Canterbury.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whom the archbishop Euphegeus was thus murdered, held Northfolke and Suffolke under his subjection, & so continued in those parts as chief lord and governor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrey, soining in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most convenient harbour. Moreover, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 15 were retained to secure the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the soldiers and mariners should have provision of meate and drinkke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes upon S. Brikes day, to have chanced in the yere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with her husband & her sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But because all other authors agree that the same mutther of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we have made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it may be, that she became hostage either in the yere 1007, at what time Egelred paid thrife thousand pounds into king Swaine to haue peace (as before you have heard) or else might she be delivered in hostage, in the yere 1011, when the last agreement was made with the Danes (as above is mentioned.) But when or at what time soever she became hostage, this we find of her, that she came hither into England with her husband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiv'd baptism here. Whereupon she earnestly travelled in treatise of a peace betwixt her brother and king Egelred: which being brought to passe chieflie byhir selfe, she was contented to become an hostage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike she was put to death, pronouncing that the shedding of her blood would cause all England one day sore to rue. She was a very beautifull lady, and took her death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though she saw her husband and her ouen sonne (a young gentleman of much towardsesse) first mutthered before her face.

Turkillus the Danish capteine telleth king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles, & commons of this realme, he invaded England, the Northambers and others submit themselves to him, Danes received into service under Egelred, London assaulted by Swaine, the citizens behaine themselves stoltic, and give the Danish host a shamefull repulse. Ethelmere earle of Devonshire and his people submit themselves to Swaine, he returneth into Normandie, commeth back againe into England with a fresh power, is encountered withall of the Englishmen, whose king Egelred is discomfited, his oration to his soulliers touching the present reliefs of their distressed land, their resolution and full purpose in this their perils, king Egelred is minded to give place to Swaine, he sendeth his wife and children over into Normandie, the Londoners yield up their state to Swaine, Egelred saileth over into Normandie, leaving his land to the enimie.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

Now had Turkillus in the meane time aduerised king Swaine in what state things stood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the lusts & pleasures
pleasures of the flesh: how the noble men were unfaithfull, and the commons weak and fickle through want of good and trustie leaders. Howbeit, some write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained licere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in somuch that he was with him in London, to help and defend the citie against Swaine when he came to assault it (as after shall appeare). Which if it be true, a doubt may rise whether Swaine received anie advertisement from Turkillus to move him the rather to invade the realm: but such advertisements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, desirous both to revenge his sisters death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ships, with the which he made towards England, and first comming to Sandwich, taried there a small while, and taking eftsoones the sea, compassed about the coasts of Eastangles, and arriving in the mouth of Humber, sailed vp the water, and entering into the ruer of Trent, he landed at Gainsborough, purposing to invade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had beene subject to the Danes in times past, and thinking therefore not to revolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they should submit themselves to the Danes, straightwaies offered to become subject vnto Swaine, together with their duke named Wightred. Also the people of Lindsey and all those of the northside of Watlingstreet yielded themselves vnto him, and deliered pledges. Then he appointed his sonne Cnutus to have the keeping of those pledges, and to remayne vpon the safegard of his ships, whiles he himselfe passed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to subdue them of south Mercia: and so came to Oxford & to Winchester, making the countries subject to him throughout wheresoever he came.

With this prosperous successse Swaine being greatlie encouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, having with him Turkillus the Dane, which was retaine in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of some authors it may appeare) and were now ready to defend the citie against their countrymen in support of king Egelred, together with the citizens. Swaine, because he would not step so farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, lost a great number of his men as he passed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to assault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in such feare that he should despare of all reliefe and comfort, or at the least trie what he was able to doe. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in some feare by this sudden attempt of the enimies, yet considering with themselves, that the hazard of all the whole state of the realme was annexed to theirs, with their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie stood in defense of themselves, and of their king that was present there with them, beating backe the enimies, chasing them from the wallis, and otherwise doing their best to kepe them off. At length, although the Danes did most valiantlie assault the citie, yet the Englishmen to defend their prince from all injurie of enimies, did not shrinke, but boldlie sallied forthe at the gates in heapes together, and encounterd with their aduersaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Swaine whilst he went about to kepe his men in order, as one most desirous to retaine the victorie now almost gotten, was compassed so about with the Londoners on each side, that after he had lost a great number of his men, he was constreined for his safegard to breake out through the midst of his enimies wepons, and was glad that he might so escape: and so with the residue of his armie ceased not to iournie day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmerne an earle of great power in those west parts of the realme submitted himselfe with all his people vnto him, who shortlie after nevertheless (as some write) was compelled through want of victels to release the tribute late given to be paied vnto him for a certeine summe of monie, which when hee had receivd, he returned into Danemarke, meaning shortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

King
King Egelred supposed that by the payment of that monie he should have beene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwise, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all speed that might be made. Swaines tarried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge), but that with swift speed he returned againe into England, and immediatly vpon his arrival was an armie of Englishmen assembled and led against him into the field. Herevpon they joined in battell, which was sore foughten for a time, till at length by reason of divers Englishmen that turned to the enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceived the state of his regall gouernment to bee brought into vnter danger. Wherevpon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

The oration of king Egelred to the remanent of his souldiers.

"I should for ever be put to silence, if there wanted in us the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giving good advice & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if there lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countie. Truelie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confess it a worthy thing, and I for my part am ready to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimes in defense of my countie. But here I see our countie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into utter ruine. We are overcomen of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a naue against the enimies, the which that false traitour Eilrike betrayed into their hands. Againe, oftentimes have we given battell with euill success, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that have beene false and disloyall: whereby we have bin constrained to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, even as necessarie required, which to overcomen, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath beene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies have not stucked to brake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we have not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernment, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroyed for ever. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were our heads, you to whom my commandement hath ever bene had in good regard, provide, take counsel, and see to succor the state of your countie now ready to decay and to fall into irrecoverable ruine."

Herevpon they fell in consultation, euerie one alegging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the wooffe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should give battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselves, the armie should be betrayed into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of cruellie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselves readie to defend their countie, there was no shift but yeold themselfes. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they tooke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recover the libertie of their countie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had married. But because he would not doe this vnadvisedlie, first he sent over his wife queene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of her, Alfred and Edward, that by their interrogiment he might understand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard received his sister and his nephues verie loyfullie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome.

Y 2
done. But in this meanse while had Swaine conquered the more part of ali England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subjection. The people through feare submitting themselves on each hand, king Egelred in this meanse time (for the Londoners had submitted themselves to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Greenwich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gowernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law ioisfullie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed king of this land, he oppresseth the English people cruelly, and spoileth religious houses, the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles write parcellie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred word of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth over into England to know the state of the croune and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killethe the inhabitants thereof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Danmarke, why Turkillus the Danish captaine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to carrie in this land, his faithlesse service to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thral dome.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Swaine hauiing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be provided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leued through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Greene wich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releasuing, succouring, and sustening thereof. Swaine usd the victorie verye cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suerte. The yere in which he obtained the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constrained to flie into Normandie, was in the 35 yeere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gowernement, did not onelie use much cruellie in oppressing the latie, but also stretched foorth his hand to the church, and to the ministers in the same, fleecing them and spoiling both churches and ministers, without anie remorse of conscience, insomuch that having a quarell against the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but also rifled and spoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of saint Edmund rested.

Whereupon shortlie after, as he was at Gainesbrough or Thetford (as some say) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this land, he was suddenlie striken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouslie, for no man wist how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reason of his extreme anguish beyond all measure. There hath appronned a pleasant tale among the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife which king Edmund in his life time vsed to weare. Thus haue some of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which should chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the said chronicles report, that after he had subdued England, he tooke order
order with king Egelred, whom they name amisse Adelstane, that he should not ordaine any other successor, but onlie the said Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where using himselfe like a right godlie prince, at length he thare ended his life, being a verie old man.

Notwithstanding all this, when or howsoever he died, immediatlie after his decease the Danes elected his sonne Cnute or Knought to succeed in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake off the yoke of Danish thrall dome besides their necks & shoulders, straightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all speed advertised king Egelred thereof, and that they were ready to receiue and assist him if he would make hast to come ouer to deliver his countrey out of the hands of strangers. These newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in desire to be renenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer variance to set that enterprise forward. But yet doubting the inconstancie of the people, he sent his elder son (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderstand whether they were constant or wavering in that which they had promised.

The young gentleman hasting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like speed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if he would make hast. King Egelred then conceived an assured hope to recover his kingdome, aied with his brother in-laws power, and trusting vpon the assistance of the Englishmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and most acceptable to the English people, as to those that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was most sharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifullnesse and courteous dealings to have retained them vnder his obesiance.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the administration in the commone wealth, he sought first to appease his wrath, and also to make amends to saint Edmund for his fathers offense committed (as was thought) against him: insomuch that after he had obtained the kingdome, he caused a great ditch to be cast round about the land of saint Edmund, and granted mare freedoms to the inhabitants, acquiring them of certeine taskes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He also builded a church on the place where saint Edmund was buried, and ordained an house of monoks there, or rather removed the canons or secular priests that were there afore, and put monarchs in their rooms. He offered vp also his crown vnto the same S. Edmund, and redeeme it againe with a great summe of monie, which manner of dooing grew into an vse vnto other kings that followed him. He adorne the church there with manie rich jewels, and indowed the monasterie with great possessions.

But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was established in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then sojourning at Gainesbrough, remained there till the fast of Easter, and made agreeement with them of Lindsey, so that finding him horsies, they should altogether go forth to spoile their neighbors. King Egelred advertised thereof, sped him thither with a mightie host, and with great crueltie burned vp the coutrie, and stole the more part of the inhabitants, because they had taken part with his enemies. Cnute as then was not of power able to resist Egelred, and therefore taking his ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & sailed about the coast, till he came to Sandwich, and there soe greewed in his mind to remember what mischeefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and subiects of Lindsey, onelie for his cause; he commanded that such pledges as had bene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for assurance of their fidelities, should have their noses slit, and their ears stuffed, or (as some write) their hands and noses cut off.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was doone, taking the sea, he sailed into Denmarke: but yet tooke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthinesse of the land, compounded with the Englishmen,
Englishmen, and chose rather to remain in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted such commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as some thought) he did not forsake his soueraigne lord Cnute for amie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time seru'd) to recover the possession of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithstanding that he was now retaine by K. Egelred with fourtie ships, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, so that Cnute returne but with 60 ships into his countrey: yet shortly after, erle Turkill with 9 of those ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted himselfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into England, and promised him the assistance of the residue of those Danish ships which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did so much by his earnest persuasions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got together a nauie of two hundred ships, so roially decked, furnished, and appointed, both for brasse shew and necessarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is strange to consider that which is written by them that liued in those daies, and tooke in hand to register the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fielle passe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, consider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a sworne servante to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the advancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purposed treacherie with pretended amitie, as shall appeare hereafter by his deadly hostilitie.

A great waste by an inundation or inbreaking of the sea, a tribute of 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Edmund the kings eldest soune marrieth one of their wives, and seizeth upon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both sustaine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund presumeth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streone saileth vnto the Danes, the Westernmen yeldeth to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwicke shire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assemblyeth an armie against them in vain; Edmund & Wired with joined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to prevent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Wired submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliveth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wines, what issue he had by them, his infortunatenesse, and to what a affects and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to relieue his decayed kingdom.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

BUT now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefe an unwonted misadventure happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that overflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be levied to paye the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Greenwich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigefred and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarrell was cenie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Their
Their servants took in hand to have avenged the death of their masters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Friswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsbarie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, take occasion vpon pretense of other business to go thither, and there to see hir, with whom he fell so far in love, that he tooke and married hir. That doone, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles living, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to grant his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without having anie commissiow so to doo, finding the farmers and tenants there rendie to receiue him for their lord.

Whilst these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his provision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recover the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrel. Hereupon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obtained licence to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gave them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike governor of Norwaie made a roade likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoil, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this journie achieved thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gave order to prepare all things rendie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched forth to Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, tooke his journie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Cossam; and his sonne Edmund had got together a mightie feast, howbeit yer he came to joine battell with his enimies, he was advertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his tratorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish soldiers. Hereupon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yere 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkcelade, & enterre into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

In the meane time was king Egelred recovered of his sickenesse, and sent summons fraught to raise all his power, appointing euery man to resort vnto him, that he might encounter the enimies and gie them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gauue battell, for his owne sujects were purposd to betraie him. Hereupon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to joine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great cruellie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their revolting, that others might take example thereby.

But Cnute perceiving whereabouts they went, politikelee desirous to frustrate their purpose, and with dooing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtongshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford; and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Nottinghamshire, & so into Yorkshire, not sparing to doo what mischiefe might be devised in all places where he came. Vtred advertised hereof,
hereof, was constrained to depart home to save his own country from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiving himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constrained to deliver pledges, and submit himselfe unto Cnute.  But yet was he not hereby warrantted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his lands given into one Iricke or Iricius, whom afterward Cnute did banish out of the realm, because that he did attempt to challenge like authoritye to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had.  After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father.  Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the cite of London.

In the meane time, king Egelred sore worne with long sickness, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast-day of saint Gregorie for saint George.  He reigned the yeare of 37 yeares, or little lesse.  His body was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile beside the quere, as by a memoriale there on the wall it maie appear.  He had two wires (as before is mentioned) By Elgin his first wife he had issue three sons, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelestone; besides one daughter named Egina.  By his second wife Emaua, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sons, Alfrid and Edward.

This Egelred (as you have heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamite that fell thereby to his people, manie other miseries oppresssed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and slothfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him.  His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diverse of his owne English subjects without apperant cause of offense by paine forged caullations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realm in one day, by some light suspiccion of their euill meanings: but also gave himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamous & shame of that high degree of maestie, which by his kinglye office he bare and susteined.  To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more given to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie virtues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and profe of passd miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to have recovered the decayed state of his common wealth and country.

In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a Britishe chronographer) in the yeere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalbon, the second sonne of Ieuaf tooke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Ionnall his cosen, the sonne of Meyrie, and right heare to the land, and shue him, but Edwall the yoongest brother escaped awaie priuile.  The yeere following, Meredith the sonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight shue Cadwalbon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Meyrie his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe.  Wherein a man maie see how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Vocil did to their eldest brother Meyrie, who was first disherited, and afterward his cies put out, and one of his sonnes slaine.  For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalbon and Meyrie, were slaine and spoild of all their lands.

Edmund
Edmund Ironside succedeth his father in the kingdome, the spiritualie succouring Cnute would have him to be king; the Londoners are his backe friends, they receive Edmund their king honorablie and iustifie, Cnute is proclaimed king at Southampton, manie of the states cleane vnto him, he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens give him the foile, he incontreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battells fought betweene the Danes and English with equal fortune and like success, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edricts trecherie, 20,000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursuaded of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incontreth, and vanquished; queene Emma prouideth for the safeft of her sonses; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betray him; Cnute with his armie lieth vnder Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies have a long and a sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemble at Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitoroulsie revolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heape; what noble personages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Egelred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, having the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and speciallie those of the spiritualie fauoured Cnute, because they had aforesette sworn feallie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie stronglie about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his deceasement was received into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consentinge vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning eftsoones to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiving the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and having no great confidence in the loialtie of the Londoners, toile order to leave monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the citie, and imbrothing himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Shepied, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was iustifie receiued of the citizens, and contiuing there till the springe of the yeere, made himselfe strong against the enimies.

This Edmund for his noble courage, strengthe of bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 1016, in the sixteenth yeere of the emperor Henrie the second surnamed Claudius, in the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the sixt yeere of Malcolme the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke, he assembled together such a power as he could make, and with the same marched forth towards the west parts, and made the countrie subject to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diverse lords also of the temporallie there together assembled, vnto whom he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see justice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench 

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EDMUND IRONSIDE.

The kingdome goeth where the spiritualie fauoured.

The author of the booke intituled 

ENGLAND. 

with that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

1016.

Ram. Higl.

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.
to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. Manie great assaults he caused to be given unto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantly defended the walls and gates, that the enimies got small advantage, and at length were constrained to depart with loss. Cnute then perceiving that he might not have his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, encountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weekes, and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constrained to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armies of the Danes had besieged Salisbury, marched thither to succour them within, and immediately Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Worcestershire called Scrcaston, on the foure and twentieth of June, they encountred together, and fought a very cruel battell, which at length the night parted with equal fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled together againe, and fought with like success as they had done the day before, for towards evening they gane over well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

Writers have reported, that this second day, when duke Edike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to have got the upper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osnear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shakings his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the Englishmen; "Flee ye wretches, flee & get away, for your king is dead, behold here his head which I hold in my hands." Hereewith had the Englishmen fled immediatly, if king Edmund advised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him alme and lustie. Hereewith also the traitor Edike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had bëene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet abstaining from battell, staid still, in taking meat & drinke to relieve their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had bëene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reekened, rose to the point of twentie thousand and above.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the name of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discovered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the tract, and comming to London with small adoe remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gave them a great overthrow. In this mean while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the waere, sent her two sonsnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie unto their brother duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

Moreover, earle Edike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought means to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contenstions, which yer long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easie desier wizze how to betray him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and preie out of the countries next adjoynynge, repar'd to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawn into the riter that passeth by Rochester called Medwaile. Here Cnute remained certayne daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies meant to doo, the which he easie understood.

King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his business, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere unto them, & pitch downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to doo their good wille, at length by one battell so to overthrow them, that
they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them celerely out of the realme. With
these and the like words he did so encourage his sellsiers, that they dislayning thus to have
the enimies dillie provoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eager minds and fierce
courage offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receive whensoever the
Englishmen approched: and herevewth bringing his men into aralie, he came forth to meet
his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & con-
tinued four yeares, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute
perceived, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted
host.

But whilst one part of the Danes gane backe with feare, and the other came slowlie for-
ward, the arraie of the whole arnie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled
amaigne, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and five hundred men;
and of king Edmund's side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell
was fought as should appeare by divers writers, at Onkefort or Oteford. It was thought,
that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such
wise as he safelie might have done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he
was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to stable and
guie time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his arnpie passed
over the Thames into Essex, and there assembled all his power together, and began to spoile
and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund advertised thereof, hasted forth to
succour his people, and at Ashdown in Essex three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell
to Cnute, where after sore and cruel fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a
long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discontent of the
Englishmen.

Hecervon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, having first
doone all that could be wished in a woorthie chieftsaine, both by woords to encourage his
men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point
to have gane backe, but that Cnute advised thereof, rushed into the left wing where most
danger was, and so relieved his people there, that finally the Englishmen, both wearied with
long fight, and also discouraged with the running away of some of their companie, were con-
straine to gane over, and by flight to seeke their safegard, so that king Edmund might not
by anie means bring them againe into order. Hecervon all the wayes and passages being
forefined and stopped by the enimies, the Englishmen wanting both carriage to make longer
resistance, and perceiving no hope to rest in fleeing, were beaten downe and slain in heapes,
so that few escaped from that dreadfull and bloodie battell.

There died on king Edmund's side, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Goodwine,
with earle Wheskettell or Whesell of Eastangle, and duke Aiscward, that was come to Ardel-
wine late duke of Eastangle: and to be briefe, all the flower of the English nobillity. There
were also slaine at this battell many renowned persons of the spiritualitie, as the bishop of
Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramsey, with others: king Edmund escaping away, got him into
Glocesteshire, and there began to raise a new arnie. In the place where this field was
fought, are ye seven or eight hils, wherein the carcases of them that were slaine at the same
field were burned: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodys in a
collin of stone, of which the one laye with his head towards the others feet, and many
chains of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horses) were found in the same hill.
But now to the matter.

[\* Slg.] Noble men
incl. at the
battell of Ash-
done.

Nobles

Slane at the

battell of Ash-
done.

Sonne Duce,
Whese, Whese,
King Edmund
withdraweth
into Glocest-
eshire.
London & other great cities & townes submit themselves to Cnute, he hasteth after Edmund with his power, both their armies being ready to encounter by occasion are stated, the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hosts; the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall of combat betwene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is over-matched, his woords to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouslie slain, the dissonant report of writers touching the maners of his death, and both the kings dealeing about the partition of the realme, Cnute causeth Edrike to be slaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treason is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipsed state of England after his death, and in whose time it recovered some part of its brightnesse.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

IN the meane while that Edmund was busie to leaue a new armie in Glocester, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got so great a victorie (as before is mentioned) received into his obeisance, not onelie the cite of London, but also manie other cities and townes of great name, and shortlie after hasted forward to pursue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie host to trie the vertmost chance of battell if they should eftsoones joine. Hiereupon, both the armies being readie to glue the onse, the one in sight of the other at a place called Dacrehurst, neere to the riuer of Seneurne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to shew some token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as some haue written, without anie more ado. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue joine, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Englishman, it is not certeinate tould) stood vp in such a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vtted his mind in forme following.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the English and Danish armie.

"We haue, most woorthie capteines, fought long enowgh one against another, there hath bene but too much bloud shed betwene both the nations, and the valancie of the souldiers on both sides is sufficientlie scene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewise, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he pursueth that is ouercome; and if he chance to be vanquished, he resteth not till he haue recovered new strength to fight eftsoones with him that is victor. What should you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke shooteth your greedie desire to beare rule, and your excesstue thirst to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, divide it betwene you two, which sometime was sufficient for seuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowne, and for the same are driuen to try the hazard whether ye shall command or obeie, deuise the waie whereby ye may without so great slaughter, and without such pitfull bloudshed of both your guiltlesse peoples, trie whether of you is most woorthie to be preferred."

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his last motion, and so order was taken, that they should fight together in a singular combat within a little Island inclosed with the riuer of Seneurne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chance to be victor, should be king, and the other to resigne his title for ever into his hands. The two princes entering into the place appointed, in faire armour, began the battell in sight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either side the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing ioifull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie assaulted either other, without sparing. First, they went to it on horsebacke, and after on foot,
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

foot. Cnute was a man of a meane stature, but yet strong and hardie, so that receivine a great blow by the hand of his aduersarie, which caused him somewhat to stagger; yet recoverie himselfe, and boldly stept forward to be revenged. But perceivinge he could not find advantaage, and that he was rather too weake, and shrewdly ouermatched, he spake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wise: "What necessitie (saith he) ought thus to mooue vs, most valiant prince, that for the obtaineinge of a kingdome, we should thus put our lives in danger? Better were it that laicyn armour and malice aside, we should condescend to some reasonabile agreement. Let vs become sworne brethern, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale so friendlie, that thou maist vse my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine." King Edmund with those wordes of his aduersarie was so pacified, that immediatlie he cast awaie his sword, and conning to Cnute, joined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the same fortune to fall on their countries, which should happen to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the avoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus together in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, because (as he allledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomache, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most convenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constrained to be contented therewith.

Thus our common writers have recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprooue, or rather but to mistrust that which hath beene received for a true narration in this matter, I would rather give credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled "Encomium Emmae," dooth report in this behalfe. Which is that through persuasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatlie after the battell fought at Ashdone, sent ambassadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie enjoy the south parts, and therevpon haue pledges deliveried interchangeable on either side.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staied to make answer till he heard what his counsell would advise him to doo in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decaied number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish capteins, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Herevpon Cnute calling the ambassadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuid of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. "For (saith he) I haue undertakne to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace." The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliveried and receiued on both partes, and the armies discharged. But God (saith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pite of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should have continued in life togethier, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentie herevpon...
was Cnute chosen and received for absolute king of all the whole realm of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much advanced.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieeth from this, who doe affirm, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the serpent of eniue and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Oxford, as he sat on a privie to doo the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villaneous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote "Encomium Emerici," writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them :) But God (saith he) being mindful of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome divided in it selfe can not long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie vpon the English kingdome, least if both the kings should have continued in life together, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickness, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

And this should scene true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, doe also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his advancement to the governement of the whole realme. Wherevpon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: "Because thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head above all the lords of England," and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some booke's. Howbeit this report agreeeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute advanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him governour of Mercia, and vsoed his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sones also, Edmund and Edward.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuedent thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare, and so much more as is betweene the moneth of June and the latter end of November. His bodie was buried at Glastenbury, near his uncle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maisterie of the English kingdome, the which afterward as it had beene an aged bodie being sore daied and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recovered after the space of 26 yeares vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortly therevpon as it had bene falne into a resiliation, came to extreme ruine by the invasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and favorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and markyng reader both muse and moorne, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath bene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the fraticile and vacertentie of this mortal life, which is no more fre from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is inclosed and beset with round about, are manifold; so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they unavoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms dooth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discon-}

Cnute
The Historie of England.

Canute, or Cnute, whose the English chronicles doe name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, tooke vpon him the whole rule over all the realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, in the seventeenth yeere of the emperour Henrie the second, surnamed Claudius, in the twelfth yeere of the regne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Canute shortlie after the death of king Edmund, assembled a counsell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to doo him homage, in receiuing an oath of loall obedience. He diuided the realme into four partes, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reserving the west part to his owne gouvernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of King Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appeere, that Edrike was not then in anie wise detected or once thought to be gilie.

The said Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings favor (as some write) but shortlie after traitorously slaine by his owne servaunts. He was called the king of charles. Others write, that he came secretlie into the realme after he had bene banished, and keeping himselfe closelie out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tane-stoke. Moreover, Edwin and Edward the sonses of king Edmund were banished the land, and sent first vnto Sweno king of Norwike to have bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great favor at the hands of king Salomon, insomuch that Edwin married the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was advanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperour Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonses, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Christine, of the which in place convenient more shall be said.

When king Cnute had established things, as he thought stood most for his suerte, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two bastard sonses Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to have quene Emma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and so obtained hir, not a little to the woounder of manie, which thought a great oversight both in the woman and in his brother, that would satisfie the request of Cnute herein, considering he had bene such a mortal enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be married vnto Cnute, but also he himselfe tooke to wife the ladie Hestritha, sister to the said Cnute.

Here ye haue to understand, that this mariage was not made without great consideration & large covenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obtaine quene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condescended & agreed, that alter Cnutes decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue borne of this mariage-betwixt hir & Cnute, which covenant although it was not perfomed immediatlie after the decease of king Cnute, yet in the end it tooke place, so as the right seemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away
nor abolished: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vnarped, Hardicnute succeeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agreemen made at the time of the marriaige solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordained his brother Edmund to succeed him, whereby the Danes were vitterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English bloud restored thereto, chieflie by that gratious conclusion of this marriaige betwixt king Cnute and queene Emma. For the which no small praise was thought to be due vnto the said queene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficaill to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recoverd out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled "Encomium Emmae," and was written in those daies, it dooth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giveth undoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

But now to our purpose. Cnute the same yeare in which he was thus maried, through persuasion of his wife queene Emma, sent awaie the Danish nauie and armie home into Denmarke, givning to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yeare 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrown in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his prieue chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuouslie to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time done vnto him; "I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my souereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your sake slue him." At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gau sentence against Edrike in this wise; "Thou art woorthie (saieth he) of death, and die thou shalt, which art guilte of treason both towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine owne souereigne lord, and my deere aliied brother. Thy bloud therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith thy toong hath vthered thy treason." And immediatlie he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be thrown out at the chamber window into the river of Thames. But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to prevent all causes of tumults & hurlieburies, he was put to death with terrible torment of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his feates were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called Houndsditch; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better burial. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said, "Prodditionem amo, prodirorem odi;" Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratton or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

But there be that concerning the cause of this Edriks death, seeme partlie to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betrayed through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnutes hands, & said that he had deserved to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victorie therby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this aswerve: "And canst thou (quothe he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other," and so forthwith commanded Enike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incomintinente cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute understanding in what sort both king Egelfred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had beene betrayed by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore
therefore was glad to have some pretended quarrell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrik earle Norman the sonne of earle Leowwine, and brother to earle Leofrise: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agefmarke and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegeus governor of Devonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great favour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) governor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, wherepon he studied to preserve the people in peace, and ordered lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be governed in equal state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found unfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue learned) beside such as he banished out of the realm. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chanced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchieued in the meanes-time by Cnute, not onely in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiousie read and diligentie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Cnute sailloth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwines good service with the English against the said Vandals, and what benefit accrued unto the Englishmen by the said good service, he returneth into England after the disconforte of the enimie, he sailleth over againe into Denmarke and incommitteth with the Sweideneres, the occasion of this warre or encounter taken by Olamus, his bard hop, vnluckie fortune, and woeful death wrought by the hands of his owne unnatural subjects; Cnute confidence in the Englishmen, his devoute voyage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interremente.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subjects of Denmarke. Earle Goodwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easlie distressed them, slaying a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled apace, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he understood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but bloud, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation ever after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Goodwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behooffful, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Sweideneres made warre against his subjects of Denmarke, vnder the leading of two great princes, Vlfe and Vlafe. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountered with his enimies, and receiveth a sore owerthrow, loosing a great
a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering together a new force of men, he set againe upon his enimies, and overcame them, constraining the two foresaid princes to agree upon reasonable conditions of peace. Math. West. recounteth, that at this time earle Goodwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Vlfus and Alufus, which latter he calleth Figlaf, were constrained to agree upon a peace. The Danish chronicles allledge, that the occasion of this warre rose herof. This Olaus added Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweene Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olaus: whereas through him the Danes chieflie obtained the victory. Hereupon Olaus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now upon occasion sought to be revenged. But what souer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olaus was expelled out of his kingdom, and constrained to flee to Gerithaslaus a duke in the parties of Eastland, and afterward returning into Norwae, was slain by such of his subiects as took part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwae, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which have recorded the histories of those north regions.

But here is to be remembered, that the fame and glorie of the English nation was greatlie advanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norweagians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would ever hauie done. Shortly after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeares of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paul had their burrial, where he was honorable receiued of pope John the 20 that then held the see. When he had doone his devotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a journie against the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princely power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience: so that not onlie king Malcolm, but also two other kings Melibach and Iochmare became his subiects. Finally after that this noble prince king Cnute had reignied the termne of 20 yeares current, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of November, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rome (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

The tresp.Images of Cnute, the ampleness of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voyage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all travellers from England thither with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was done him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the floods not to rise, he humblyth himselfe and confesseth Christ Jesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to wear the crown during his life, he reproacheth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and enriched; what notable men he honoured and reverence, his laws; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall he had chefe and sole government in this land, whereby the popes usurped tithe of universall supremacie is impeached.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

THIS Cnute was the mightiest prince that euer reigned over the English people: for he had the soueraine rule over all Denmark, England, Norwae, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongst other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and streets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished.
diminished to the holiest, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the painct of the archbishops fees of his realme, which was levied of them in the court of Rome when they should receive their pales, as may appear by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appearre, that besides the roiall intertretation, which he had at Rome of pope Iohn, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Rafe the king of Burgongue, and manie other great principes and noble men, which were presente there at that time: all which at his request, in fauour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we have saide) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passangers.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, insomuch that being nere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, neere to South Hampton, and percutting the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round together, threw it on the sands neere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, speaking these or the like words to the sea: "Thou art (saith he) within the compass of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobeye my commandements: I therefore doe now command thee not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet anie part of thy souereigne lord and gouernour." But the sea keeping his course, rose still higher and higher, and overflowed not onelie the kings feet, but also flashed vp vpon his legs and knees. Wherewith the king started suddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, saing withall to his nobles that were about him: "Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandement this small portion of water. But know ye for cerneine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom he reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heaven, earth, and sea, and besides him none other."

From thence he went to Winchester, and there with his owne hands set his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which stood there in the church of the apositles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would never weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he spake not the former words to the sea vpon onelie presumptuousnesse of mind, but onelie vpon occasion of the vaine title, which in his commandement one of his gentlemen gave him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men, sea, and land. Therefore to reprove the fond flatterie of such vaine persons, he deuised and practised the deed before mentioned, thereby both to reproove such flatterers, and also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had issue by his wife quene Emma, a sonne named by the English chronicles Hardiknought, but by the Danish writers Canute or Knute: also a daughter named Godula, that was after maried to Henrie the sonne of Conrad, which also was afterwards emperour, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alsclipe, whome some name earle of Hampton, he had two bastard sonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much guien in his latter daies to vertue, as he that considered how perfect felicite rested onelie in godlines and true deuotion to serve the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

He repaired in his time manie churches, abbeies and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had become sore defaced by him and his father, but speciallie he did great cost vpon the abbeie of saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as paticular before is mentioned. He also built two abbeies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norfolk, seuen miles distant from Norwich, and another in Norwaie. He did also build a church at Ashdowne in Essex, where he obtained the victorie of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration thereof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with his owne hands to remooue the bodie of the holie archbishop

5 A 2

Elphigis.
Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most rich jewelvs which he & his wife quene Emma gauve vnto the church of Winchester, might make the beholders to woonder at such their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

Thus did Cnute strive to reforme all such things as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to wipe away the spot of euill doing, as suerlie to the outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbishop of Canturburie Aelchnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of importance. He also highlie fauoured Leofriere earle of Chester, so that the same Leofriere bare great rule in ordering of things touching the state of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe counsellors. Diverse lawes and statutes he made for the government of the common wealth, partie agreeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predecessors, and partie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him most expedient: among the which there be diverse that concerne causes as well ecclesiastical as temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the government of spirituall matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of Rome, but rather apperteined vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them set forth in the before remembred booke of maister William Lambert, which for brevinesse we here omit.

Variance amongst the peeres of the realme about the roiall succession, the kingdome is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard sonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten son of king Cnute late deceased, Harold hath the toall regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did stoullie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoemakers sonne, and how it came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Alfred challengeth the crown from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie intension) procureth his retinues vetter vndooin, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was interessed in the crown, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to his two sons in Normandie, whereupon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the unfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reservation of euerie tenth Norman, the remonat slaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold banisheth queene Emma out of England he degenerate from his father, the short time of his reigne, his death and burial.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Cnute was departed this life, there arose much variance amongst the peeres and great lords of the realme about the succession. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the base sonne of king Cnute, to succeed in his fathers roome, having earle Leofrike, and diverse other of the noble men of the north parts on their side. But other of the Englishmen, and namelese earle Goodwine earle of Kent, with the chieffe lords of the west parts, conseted rather to have one of king Egelreds sonnes, which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the sonne of king Cnute by his wife quene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, advanced to the place. This controversie held in such wise, that the realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt the two brethern Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercha and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, because his brother Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke to take the government vpon him.

But
under the Danes.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

But yet the authoritie of earle Goodwine, who had the queene and the treasure of the realme in his keeping, staid the matter a certayne time, (profesing himselfe as it were gardian to the young men, the sonnes of the queene, till at length he was constrained to give over his hold, and conforme himselfe to the stronger part and greater number.) And so at Oxford, where the assemble was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecrated according to the maner (as some write.) But it should appeare by other, that Elnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wisdome, refused to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and pieces, required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated, and receive at his hands the regall sceptre with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his custodie, and to whom it onelie did appere to inuest therewith, the archbishop flatly refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the queenes children lived: “for (saith he) Cnut committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I kepe my faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither doo I denie nor deliver them vnto you: but I forbids by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awoke, and deliver them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your selfe, if you dare, you may vse supplue that which I have committed vnto God and his table.”

But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king, or that he was consecrated of some other, he was admitted king of all the English people, beginning his regne in the yeere of our Lord a thousand thirteie and six, in the foureteenth yeere of the emperor Conrad the second, in the sixteenth yeere of Henrie the first, king of France, and about the seven and twentieth yeere of Malcolm the second, king of Scots. This Harold for his great swiftnesse, was sumamed Harefoot, of whom little is written touching his dooings, sauing that he is noted to have beene an oppressor of his people, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was spoken of diuerse in those daies, that this Harold was not the sonne of Cnut, but of a shoemaker, and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnut’s concubine, to bring the king further in love with her, feined that she was with child: and about the time that she should be brought to bed (as she made his account) caused the said shoemakers son to be secretely brought into his chamber, and then vntrulie caused it to be reported that she was delievered, and the child so reputed to be the kings sonne.

Immediatlie vpon advertisement had of Cnut’s death, Alfred the sonne of king Egred, with fiftie saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne, and to obtine it by lawfull chaine with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to use force by aid of his friends, and to assie that wate foorth to win it, if he might not otherwise obtine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortly after, earle Goodwine feining to receive him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleep, and so tooke them together with Alfred, & shew the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine, & the tenthreserved. But yet when those that were reserved, seemed to him a greater number then he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conuicted to the Ile of Elie, where shortlie after he died.

How Alfred should chaine the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be perswaded that he was the elder brother, though divers authors have so written, sith Geneticsis, & the author of the booke caled “Encomium Emmar,” plainly affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take advice with her how to recouer their right heere in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardinute, or for some other purpose, our authors doe not declare.

But
But the lords of the realme that bareth their good will vnto Harold, and (though contrarieto right:) ment to maintaine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Goodwine persuaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to entere the realme, as they had brought with them. Whereupon earle Goodwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordingly as he was of Harold required to doo. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in custodie of the monks, having his cies put out as soone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came over; and was thus handeled between the time of Harold's death, & the comming of in Hardicnute. Others write, that this chance in his brother Hardicnutes daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too dearlie to have suffered anie such injurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I have thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intitled "Encomium Emma" writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought means how to rid quene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked advise tooke counsel how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of quene Emma, & so to be out of danger of all annoyance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueeth.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent in quene Emmas name to hir two sonnes.

"Emma tantum nomine regina filiis Edvardo & Alfredo materna imperit salutamina. Dū domini nostri regis obitum separatae plangimus (filij charissimi) dumq; dictum magis magisque regno hereditatis vestrae priuamini, minor quid captetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestrae dilatatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidie soliditate. Is enim incessanter vicos & vbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes numeribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum et vobis super se mallent regnare quam istius (qui nunc ijs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rego vnum vestrum ad me velociter & privatae ventis, vt salubre a me consilium accurat, & sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per presentem quoque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remandate. Valete cordis mei viscera.

The same in English.

"Emma in name onelie quene to hir two sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilst we separate bewaile the death of our souereigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilst you are euery day more and more depreied from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceasing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the usurper of your kingdom is dailye made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from town to town, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather have one of you to reigne over them, than to be kept under the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that priuilege ouer to me, that he may understand my wholesome advice, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would have to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euie the bowels of my heart."

These
The letters were delivered unto such as were made privie to the purposed treason, who
being fullie instructed how to deal, went over into Normandie, and presenting the letters
unto the young gentlemen, used the matter so, that they thought verlie that this message had
been sent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of
them would not fail but come over into her according to that she had requested, and
withall appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harald, informed
him how they had sped. The younger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, tooke with
him a certaine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where
after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a
few Burgunogers, and passed over into England, but approching to the shore, he was straightways
described by his enemies, who hasted forth to set upon him; but perceiving their drift, he had the
ships cast about, and made againe to the sea; then landing at another place, he went to
the next way to his mother.

But earle Goodwine hearing of his arrivall, met him, receiued him into his assurance, and
binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therewith leading him out of
the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gifford, where he lodged all the
strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score together in innes, so as but a few remained
about the young gentleman Alfred to attend upon him. There was plenty of meat and
drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the company. And Goodwine
taking his leave for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the next morning to come
againe to give his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

But after, behold, after they had filled themselves with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in
the dead of the night came such as king Harald had appointed, and entering into euerie inne,
first seizd upon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they
should them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the
next morning. Which being done, they were brought forth with their hands bound behin
dtheir backs, and deliverd to most cruel tormentors, who were commancked to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he cameto hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth alive.

Of those that were left alive, some they kept to serve as bondmen, other for cutousmasse of
gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whom ye diuerse afterwards escaped. This
with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being
conuened into the Ile of Elie, had not euerie his eis put out in most cruel wise, but was also
presente there murthered. But he saith not further of the manner how he was made away,
saying that he saith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, because he will not
renue the mothers grece in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than
to heare of hir sonnes death.

If I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruel tormentors should cause his bellie to be
opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had
set fast in the ground; then with needles of iron prickinge his bodie, they caused him to run
about the stake, till he had wooned out all his intrailes; & so ended he his innocent life, to the
great shame & oblique of his cruel adversaries. But whether he was thus tormentord or not, or
rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was
requed by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether erle Goodwine was cheefe
causor thereof, in betraying him under a cloked colour of pretended frendship, I cannot say:
but that he tooke him and sluie his company, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be
true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote "Enco-
mium Emme," as also for that it should sceme he might never be so directlie charged with it,
but that he had matter to allege in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harald.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law queene Emme
of the most part of hir riches, and therewith banished hir quite out of the realme: so that she
sailed ouer to Flanders, where she was honourable receiued by earle Baldwine, and hauing of
hym honourable provision assigned hir, she continued there for the space of three yeeres, till

Simon Dun.
Quene Emma banished.
that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by his sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdom. Moreover, Harold made small account of his subiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and payments.) He caused indeed eight markes of siluer to be leuyed of euerie port or haue in England, to the retening of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued ever in readinesse to defend the coasts from pirates. To conclude with this Harold, his spècie death provided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had bene of long continuance, his infamous had bene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeeres, or (as other gathered) three yeeres and three moonthes, he departed out of this world atOxford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Meneford in the moneth of April, and was buried at Westminster, which should appear to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spie shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Hardiknout is sent for into England to be made king; alteration in the state of Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king Canute, Hardiknout is crowned, he sendeth for his mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the French king, Hardiknout revengest his mothers exile upon the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erke Goodwine have the government of things in their hands, Hardiknout leuyeth a sore tribute upon his subiects, contempt of officers & denial of a prince his tribute sharpe and punished; prince Edward commeth into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessorie to the murthering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Goodwine being accused for the same trespass excuseth himselfe, and justifieth his cause by swearing, but specially by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Goodwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, moreover Brightwolds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardiknout poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, specially his hospitalities, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drink immoderatiely, the necesitie of sobriety, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to invade the English coasts.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes and Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Hêere is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their governor. This Hardiknought Canute being advertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all convenient speed prepared a nauie, and embarking a certaine number of men of warre, tooke the sea, and had the wind so favorable for his purpose, that he arrived upon the coast of Kent the sixt day after he set out of Denmarke, and so comming to London, was joyfullie received, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athenotus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yeere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yeere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yeere of Maginthloch, alias Machabeda king of Scotland. Incontinent after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his mother queene Emma, who during the time of her banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minoritie of duke William, surnamed the bastard.
Moreouer, in revenge of the wrong offered to quene Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfriche archbishop of Yorke and earle Goodwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunke of it cast into the riuere of Thanes. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committted the order and governement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Goodwine that was earle of Kent. He leued a sore tribute of his subjects here in England to pay the soldiery and mariners of his naue, as first 21 thousand pounds, 699 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ships there was a paiment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his naue he caused a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his servants, which were appointed collectors in the cide of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turstane, were there slaine. In revenge of which contumly a great part of the croune with the cide was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnute's brother came forth of Normandie to visit him and his mother quene Emma, of whom he was most ioitfulie and honorablie welcomed and intercitained, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England; although other make other report, as after shall bee shewen. Also (as before ye have heard) some writers seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But sueuerie they are therein deceived: for it was knowne well enough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempte suche injurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Goodwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye have heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelve moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gave by waiue of amends.

Earle Goodwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oath that he was not guilty. Which oath was the better allowed, by reason of such a presents as he gave to the king for the redeeming of his favour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, containing therein 80 soldiery, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion girt on their bodyes, with guilt burdenets on their heads, a sword with guilt hiltts girted to their waists, a battell-axe after the manner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and mailes girt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath beeene said, that earle Goodwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiving that the elder brother Alfred would dislaie to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hee might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length enjoy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Also about that time, when the lineage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath beeene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Brightwold a monke of Glastenburie, that was afterward bishop of Worcester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & anoint Edward the sonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succeed the said Edward? Wherevnto answer was made by the apostle: Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which sueuerie in good
carneest may appear by manie great arguments to be full true vertue such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath bene euer governours raised vp to maintaine the, malestic of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie unfortunate mishap it hath bene brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yeeres lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holding at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenly the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a mariage was solemnized betweene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgot Clappa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his father. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberal, speciallie in keeping good cheere in his house, so that he would have his table covered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his servants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather lease than want. It hath bene commonly told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessive gour-mandizing & vnmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinks, whereby they forgot the vertuous use of sobrietie, so much necessary to all estates and degrees, so profitable for all common-wealths, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yeere of Brithrike the king of Westsaxons, at what time they first began to invade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should scheme to have ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here a day, which was 839 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 yeeres compleat of the reigne of Egbert.

But to let this pece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arrivaill, a time of invading, a time of ouerruming, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifest proofs are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines I meane and wastes committed by them; vpon the which whensoever a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirstie enimie, cannot but wish (if he have but “Minimam misericordiae guttam quae maior est spatioso oceano,” as one saith) and earnestlie desire in his heart that the like may never light vpon this land, but may be averted and turned away from all christian kingdomes, through his mercie, whose wrath by sinne being set on fire, is like a consuming flame; and the sward of whose vengeance being sharpned with the whetstone of mens wickednesse, shall hew them in pceces as wood for the fornasce.

Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnisses of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seventh booke is shut vp.
THE EIGHT BOOKE
OF THE
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a general consent, ambassadors are sent to attend him homeward to his kingdom, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompanyeth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtill ambition or ambitious subtillte of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraying Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfrids death, king Edvard maried the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to have carnall knowledge with hire, and why? he seeth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hire, she is dispossessed of her goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to have the use of her bodie, she purgeth and cleareth her selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to love their children with equalitie: hir liberall donation to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loved hir after hir puration, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

IMMEDIATELY vpon the death of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to burial, his halfe brother Edward, some of King Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was chosen to be K. of England, by the general consent of all the nobiles and commons of the realm. Thereupon were ambassadors sent with all speed into Normandie, to signifie unto him his election, and to bring him from thence into England in delivering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he should receive the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his coosine William duke of Normandie, tooketh the sea, & with a small companie of Normans came into England, where he was received with great joy as king of the realm, & immediately after was crowned at Winchester by Edsinus then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, surnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland.

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more meke and simple than apt for the gouernement of the realm, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie seeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that hemipt he advance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realm vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be persuaded. But whatsoever writers doe report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: so that if earle Goodwine did shew his
his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfred to betr weave him, he did it by king Harold's commandment, and yet it may be that he meant to have usurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therefore had not passed if both the brethren had bene in heaven. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpose, he did his best to advance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being known to be a man more appliable to be governed by other than to trust to his owne wit: and so chieflie by the assistance of earle Goodwine (whose authoritie, as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne: wherevnto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardknought in his life time had receiued this Edward into his court, and retaine him still in the same in most honorable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we doo here passe ouer, referring those that be desirous to know the diversite of our writers and theirs, vnto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed. This in no wise is to be left unremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardknought, it was not oncie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne ouer them, but also all men of warre and soouldiers of the Danes, which lay within anie citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelle and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers doo rehearse.) Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sounes, which she had then lyuing; Heming and Turkill were also causd to avoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Hardknought, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardknought, and that he diid helpes to expell the Danes, which being doon, he was slaine by earle Goodwine and other of his complices. But howthis may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by dueres authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Nevertheless, whether earle Goodwine was guilty to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, ceretaine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none so higlie in favoure with him as earle Goodwine was, insomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Goodwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Hardknought, and not of his second wife, as some have written. Howbeit, king Edward never had to doo with hir in fleshlie wise. But whether he abstained becouse he had happilie vowed chastitie, either of impotentie of nature, or for a priuate hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he esteemed not earle Goodwine so grettie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to doo, but rather for fear of his puissance assembled with hir, least he should otherwise put hir selfe in danger both of lose of life and kingdome.

Howsoever it was, he vset his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namele in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whomse dueres accusations were brought and alledged: as first, for that she consented to marie with K. Chute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they liued in exile, but that woorse was, contrived to make them away; for which cause she was despoile of all hir goods. And because she was defame to be naught of hir bode with Aowine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was strictlie kept in the abbye of Warwell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a marvellous manner, in passing barefooted ouer certaine hot shires or plough-irons, according to the law Ordalium, she cleared hir selfe (as the world tooke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignite.

Hir excesstive couetousnesse, without regard had to the poors, caused hir also to be euill reported of. Againe, for that she ever shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which she
under the Saxons.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Edgelred (as it were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the lone borne to the children) she lost a great pece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfred and Edward: so that now Edward inioeing the realme, was easilie induced to thinke euff of hir, and thereupon usd hir the more vneuerouslie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with maruellous rich jewels and ornaments, was hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir particie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the inmoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes she could diues. Now when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir ouer after in great honor and renuerence. And whereas Robert archbishop of Canturburie had beene sore against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should scene by that which after shall be said in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but because he counselled the king to banish earle Goodwine, and also to vse the Englishmen more stricte than reason was he should.

Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (queene Emmas heauie friend) fled out of England, the Normans first entrance into this countrie, deearth by tempests, earle Goodwines sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope of the kings fauour, killeth his cozen earle Bearne for his good will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Danish rovers arrive at Sandwich, spoil the coast, irnichthemselves with the spoiles, make sale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeith the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldeine earle of Flanders, a bloudie freie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongue and the townesmen, earle Goodwine faunoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseith to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furies, his suborned excuse to shift off his comming to the assembliie of lords comented about the foresaid broyle, earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would have the strangers delinthered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to have bee fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlantment, earle Goodwines retinue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their wives take their flight beyond the seas.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

YE must understand, that K. Edward brought diverse Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monk in the abbeie of Gemeticium in Normandie, and being by the king first advanced to gouerne the se of London, was alter made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not avoid the enuie of diverse noble men, and spacialle of earle Goodwine, as shall appere. About the third yeere of king Edwards reigne, Osspot Clappa was banished the realme. And in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yeere 1047, there fell a maruellous great snow, couering the ground from the beginning of Ianuarie untill the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yeere such tempest and lightnings, that the corre upon the earth was burnt vp and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cattell.

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Goodwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Edgiana, the abbesse of the monasterie of Lcoffe, and forsaking his Robert archbishop of Canturburie, Frenchmen or Normans first entered into England. 1047. A great death.  

Swain Goodwines sonne banished.
his wife, intent to have married the foresaid abbesse. Within a certain time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace by his fathers means and other his friends. But upon some malicious pretense, he slew his cousin earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Allerod the archbishop of York obtained his pardon, and found means to reconcile him to the kings favour.

In the mean time, about the sixt yeere of king Edwards reigne, certaine pirates of the Danes arriued in Sandwich haue, and entring the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had byne at Sandwich, and brought from thence greater riches of gold and siluer, they coasted about unto the side of Essex, and there spoiling the country, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and booties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor cuill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckiliie ended, or else without anie notable adventure changed into peace. The Welshmen in deed with their princes Rise and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rise and Griffin were brought unto confusion: although in the mean time they did much hurt, and namely Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whom he was allied, about this time entred into the Severne sea, and tooke preies about t' river of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

About the same time, to wit, in the yeere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to haue the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie foorth, he sent to king Edward, willing him to kepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a nauie, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the same time, Swaine, some of earle Goodwine came into the realme, and traitorouslie slew his cousin Bearne (as before is said) the which travelled to agrée him with the king. Also Gospit Clappa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongst other of the Danish pirates, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Essex, as before ye haue heard, received his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leaving the residue, being 23 behind him.

About the tenth yeere of king Edwards reigne, Eastace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwine, both afterward kings of Hierusalem, came over into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goda, he had married, she then being the widow of Gualter de Maunt. He found the king at Gloucester, and being there ioitfullie received, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he chieflie came, he tooke leave, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbugers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he sought to haue rather by force then by intretance, occasioned his owne death. Whereof when the earle was advertised, he hasted thither to revenge the slaughter of his servant, and slew both that citizen which had killed his man, and eighteen others.

The citizens hereabout in a great furie, got them to armor, and set vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they slew twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the earle scarce might escape with one or two of his men from the frayre, & with all speed returned backe to the king, presenting greuous information against them of Canturburie, for their cruelly using of him, not onlie in slaying of his servants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was higlie offended against the citizens, and with all speed sending for earle Goodwine, declared vnto him in greuous wise, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were under his jurisdiction.
The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceive that the matter was made a great deal worse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihood it would prove in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answers of the Kentishmen should be heard, before any sentence were given against them. Hereupon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Canturburie in most rigorous manner, yet he would not be too hasty, but refused to execute the kings commandment both for that he bare a piece of grudge in his mind, that the king should favour strangers so highlie as he did; and againe, because hereby he should seeme to doe pleasure to his countriemen, in taking upon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Therefore he declared to the king that it should be convenient to have the supposed offenders first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselves, then to be suffered without further vexation: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfying the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Goodwine departed thus from the king, leaving him in a great furie: howbeit he passed little thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assembly of his lords together at Gloucester, that the matter might be more deceptic considered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nepehu by his sister Goda, and all other the noble men of the realm, online earle Goodwine and his sonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Beuerstane, with such bands as they had leuied, vnder a colour to resist the Welshmen, whom they bruted abroad to be readie to invade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen preventing that slander, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their partes, but that earle Goodwine and his sonnes with their compounds went about to mowe a commotion against him. Hereupon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortlie march forth to assaile earle Goodwine in that place where he was lodged. Whereupon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yeeld and suffer themselves to be troden vnder foot by strangers. Goodwine in this meantime had got together a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west partes. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countries of Barkshire, Oxfordshire, Summersetshire, Herefordshire, and Glocestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had leuied in Essex, Norfolke, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingtontshire.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Rafe, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approaching to Gloucester, the king thought himselfe in more suercie than before, in so much that wheras earle Goodwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glocestershre) had sent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to doo, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made answers to the messengers which Goodwine had sent, that he would not deliver a man of those whome Goodwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Gloucester, and such readie good wils appeard in them all to fight with the adversaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith have gone out and gien battell to the enemies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vther ruine that might thereof haue issued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisdome and good advice of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges.
THE EIGHT BOOKE OF

THE state of Britaine

pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie
armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Goodwine
with his sonnes, and a great power of the West Saxons, came into Southwarke, but per-
ceiuing that manie of his companie stille awaie and slipt from him, he durst not abide anie
longer to enter talke with the king, as it was covenanted, but in the night next ensuing fled
awaie with all speed possible.

Some write, how an order was prescribed that Sw anus the eldest sonne of Goodwine should
depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Goodwine and one
other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assemblie to be holden at
London, accompanied with 12 seruants ondlie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentle-
men and souldiers unto the kings guiding and government. But when this last article
pleased nothing earle Goodwine, and that he perceived how his force began to decline, so as
he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did
his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Sw anus, Tostie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders:
and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Bristow, and passed into Ireland.
Githa the wife of Goodwine, and Judith the wife of Tostie, the daughter of Baldwin earle
of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

Goodwine and his sonnes are proclaimed outlaws, their lands are giuen from them, king
Edward putteth awaye the queene his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she
cleareth her self at the houre of his death from suspicion of incontinencie and lewdnesse
of life, why king Edward forbare to have fleshlie pleasure with hir; earle Goodwine
and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Sussex; Griffin king of Wales de-
stroyeth a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his encounterers the overthrow; Harold
and Leofwine two brethren invade Dorset and Summersetshires, they are resisted, but
yet at enuaille, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Good-
wine, king Edward maketh out threescore armed ships against them, a thick mass se-
parated both sides being readye to grapple and fight, a pacification betwixt the king and
earle Goodwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, coun-
terpledges of agreement interchangable deliwered; Sw anus the eldest sonne of Goodwine
a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Goodwine had refused to come to the
court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with
his sonnes, he proclaimed them outlaws, and giue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the
sonne of earle Leofrike, who giudged the same verie courteouslie, and resigned them againe
without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle
Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire.

Moreover, about the same time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and ap-
pointed hir to streit keeping in the abbeie of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentle-
woman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as
though she had not liued so continencie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time,
and after his decease. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chance in the daies of
William Conqueror) she cleareth hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she
had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched
hir in anie actuall manner. By this streit dealinge with the queene that was daughter to earle
Goodwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath seemd to manie, that king Edward forbare
bare to deal with him in carnall wise, more for hatred of his kin, than for any other respect.

But to proceed.

In the second yeere of Goodwines banishment, both he and his sonnes having provided themselves of ships and men of warre convenient for the purpose, came uppon the coasts of England, and after the manner of rovers, tooke prizes where as they espied advantage, namele on the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In the mean time also Griffin the K. of Wales destroied a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countie, & also many Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, comming to give battell, were ouerthrowen on the same day, in the which about two and twenty yeeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirteene yeeres, the Welshmen had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuern sea, landing on the coasts of Summersetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were encountered by a power assembled out of the counties of Devonshire and Summersetshire: but Harold put his adversaries to flight, and slue thirteene gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their prieie and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the point of Cornwall, came and joined with their father & their other brethren, then sooring in the Ille of Wight.

King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished forth sixtie ships of warre, with the which he himselfe went to the water, not stickeing to lie aboard at that season, although he had appointed for capteines and admerals two earles that were his coosins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as sonne to his sister Goda by his first husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be sufficient men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be such, as his person could not be presentlie spared. Therefore he was diligent in foreseeing of things by good advise, although age would not shew him leave to execute the same by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nautics on both parts were readie to haue joined, they were seuered by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, whereby their furious rage was restreined for that time: and immediatlie thereupon, Goodwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Goodwine restored home, and obtained againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent & wise man, that he clered and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in anie sort had bene laid against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agreemen betwixt king Edward and earle Goodwine, where other make somewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the same time that the two sonnes of earle Goodwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and invaded the west countie, king Edward rigged forth fourtie ships, the which throughlie furnished with men, munition, and vittels, he sent unto Sandwich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the comming of earle Goodwine, whom he understood to be in a readiness to return into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, earle Goodwine secretlie with a few ships which he had got together, arined in Kent; and sending forth his letters and messengers abroad to the citizens of Canturbrie, to them of Sussex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one consent promised to live and die with him.

The capteines of the nauie at Sandwich aduerised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to have found earle Goodwine: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Goodwine aduerised thereof, sailed to the Ille of Wight, and wafted vp and downe those seas, till his sonnes Harold and Leofwine came and joined their nauie with his, and ceasing from spoile, onlie sought to recover vittels to serve their turne. And increasimg their power by such aid as they might any where procure, at

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**THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.**

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**under the Saxons.**

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length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward having knowledge, being then at London, he sent abroad to raise all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come unto him, lingered time, in which meanewhile earle Goodwine comming into the Thames, & so vp the river, arrived in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their staieng for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so that he obtained of them what he could desire.

Afterwards, without disturbance, he passed vp the river with the tide through the south arch of the bridge, & at the same instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, mustererd in the fields on that south side the same river, and herewith his naute made towards the north side of the river, as if they ment to inclose the kings nauie, for the king had also a nauie & an armie by land: but yet sith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to doo anie great feat except Englishmen, they were both to fight one against another, whereupon the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonement: and so at length by their diligent travell, the matter was taken vp, and the armes being dismissed on both parts, earle Goodwine was restored to his former dignitie. Hereupon were pledges delivered on his behalfe, that is to say, Willnotus one of his sones, and Hacon the sonne of Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine. These two pledges were sent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more assurance of Goodwines loyallitie.

Some write that Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine was not reconciled to the kings favoure at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted sundrie rebellions against king Edward, he lastlie also rebelled against his father Goodwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, dishonouring with such manifolde robberies as he made on the seas, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remorse of conscience (as hath bene thought) for murthering of his coose (or as some say his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierusalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as some write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high wales, and so was murthered of them.

At what time William duke of Normandie came over into England, king Edward promised to make him his heir to the kingdom and crown, the death of queene Emma, earle Goodwine being groome in favor againe seeketh new revenges of old grudges, caus'd archbishop Robert and certein noble Normans his adversaries to be banish'd; Stigand intrudeth himselfe into archbishop Roberts sec, his simonie and lacke of learning; what manner of men were thought meet to be made bishops in those daies, king Edward begineth to provide for the good and prosperous state of his kinglydom, his consideration of laws made in his predecessors times and abused; the lawes of S. Edward usuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherupon instituted; the death of earle Goodwine being sudden (as some say) or naturall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behaviour and his sonnes vpont presumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wives and children; the sudden and dreadful death of his mother: his selling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danish people.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

The foresaid William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Goodwines outlawie, came over into this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioifullie receiued of the king, and had great cheere. Now after he had tared a season, he returned into his country, not without great gifts of ieweles and other things, which the king most
most liberallie bestowed vpon him. And (as some write) the king promised him at that
3 time, to make him his heir to the realm of England, if he chance to die without issue.
4 Shortlie after, or rather somewhat before, queen Emma the kings mother died, and was
5 buried at Winchester.
6 After that earle Goodwine was restored to the kings fauour, because he knew that Robert
7 the archbishop of Canturburie had bee the chiefest procurer of the kings euill will towards
8 him, he found means to weare him out of credit, and diuers other specially of the Normans,
9 bearing the world in hand, that they had sought to trouble the state of the realm, & to set
10 variance betwixt the king and the lords of the English nation; whereas the Normans againe
11 alledged, that earle Goodwine and his sonnes abused the kings soft and gentle nature, &
12 would not sticke to least and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howsoever
13 the matter went, archbishop Robert was glad to depart out of the realm, and going to
14 Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the injuries that were offered him: but in re-
15 turning through Normanie, he died in the abbeie of Gemmaticum, where he had bene
16 moonke before his comming into England.
17 Diuerse others were compelled to forsake the realme at the same time, both spiritual
18 men and temporall, as William bishop of London, and Vlf e bishop of Lincolne. Osberne
19 named Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, were constreined to surrender their castells, and
20 by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrey into Scotland, where, of king
21 Mackbeth they were honorable receiued. These were Normans: for (as partie ye haue
22 heard) king Edward brought with him no small number of that nation, when he came
23 from thence to receive the crowne, and by them he was altogether ruled, to the great offend-
24 ing of his owne naturall subjects the Englishmen, namelice earle Goodwine and his sonnes,
25 who in those daies for their great possessions and large reuenues, were had in no small re-
26 putation with the English people.
27 After that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye
28 haue heard, Stigand was made archbishop of Canturburie, or rather thrust himselfe into
29 that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for
30 whereas he was first bishop of Shireborne, he left that church, and tooke vpon him the
31 bishoprike of Winchester by force, and now atteining to be archbishop of Canturburie, he
32 kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one instant. This Stigand was greatlie
33 inflamed for his curteous practises in sale of possessions apperteyning to the church. He
34 was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongst the bishops of that age,
35 for it was openlie spoken in those daies, that he was mete onlie to be a bishop, which
36 could see the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleasures, rich raiment, and set himselfe forth
37 with a jollicie retinue of gentlemen and seruants on horse-bakke, for therein stood the coun-
38 tenance of a bishop, as the world then went; and not in studie how to haue the people fed
39 with the word of life, to the sauing of their soules.
40 King Edward now in the twelthe yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the state of the realme
41 quyte from troubles of warre both by sea and land, began to foresee as well for the welth
42 of his subiects, as for himselfe, being naturallie inclined to wish well to all men. He there-
43 fore considered, how by the manifold lawes which had bee made by Britaines, English-
44 men and Danes within this land, occasion was ministred to manie, which measured all things
45 by respect of their owne private gaine and profit, to pervert justice, and to use wrongfull
46 dealing in stead of right, clouding the same under some branch of the lawe naughtilie mis-
47 construed. Whereupon to avoid that mischief, he picked out a summe of that huge and
48 vnmeasurable masse and heape of lawes, such as were thought most indentiffent and neces-
49 sarie, & therewith ordered a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth vse;
50 according to whose prescript, men might live in due forme and rightfull order of a civill
51 life. These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his
52 lawes; so much esteemed of the Englishmen, that after the conquest, when the Normans
53 oftentimes went about to abrogate the same, there chanced no small mutinies and rebellions
54 for
for reteining of those lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called saint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward restored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

About this time, earle Goodwine died suddenly (as some have recorded) as he sat at table with the king; and upon tale ministred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuse himselfe, he tooke a pece of bread, and did eate it, saient: God let me never swallow this bread downe into my chest, but that I may presentlie be chocked therewith, if ever I was weeting or consenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatly therewith he fell downe starke dead. Other say, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being suddenly surprized with sicknesse, as he sat at the table with the king vpon an Easter monady; yet he liued till the Thursday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harold; and Harold's earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the sonne of Leofrike.

This Goodwine, as he was a man of great power, wise, hardie, and politike; so was he ambitious, desirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practises to bring himselfe and his sonnes to the chiefe seat of governement in the kingdom, or that of hatred such slanders were raised of him, it may of some perhaps be doubted; because that in the daies of king Edward (which was a soft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and so might procure to himselfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amisse: as oftentimes it commeth to passe in such cases, where those that haue great dooings in the governement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill spoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Goodwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predecessors, did manie things (as should appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes; vpon presumption of the great puissance that they and their father were of within the realme.

He had to wife Editha, the sister of king Cnute, of whom be begat three sonnes (as some write) that is to say, Harold, Biorne, & Tostie: also his daughter Editha, whom he found meanes to bestow in marriage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one son by Cnutes sister, the which in riding of a rough horsse was thrown into the riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was stricken with a thunderbolt, & so perished worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie dooings. She used to buy great numbers of young persons, and namelie maids that were of anie excellent beautie and personage, whom she sent ouer into Denmark, and there sold them to hir most advantage. After hir deceasce (as the same authors record) Goodwine married another woman, by whom be had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harrold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places convenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth Mackbeth the usurper of the Scottis kingdom and placeth Malcolm in the same, a controversie whether Siward were at this discomfiture or no; his stoute words when he heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Alred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironsides into England; earle Algar being banished ioineth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and gettesth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursue, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland died; his giantlike stature, his courageous heart at the time of his deceasce, why Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

THE FIFT CHAPETER.

ABOUT the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentieth yeare, as should appeare by the Scottish writers, Siward the noble
noble earl of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and
in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had usurped the crown of Scotland, and that doone,
placed Malcolm surnamed Canoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in
the governement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in
quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolm was king of Cumberland, but
other report him to be some to the king of Cumberland. But here is to be noted, that if
Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolm, earle Siward was
not at that battell; for as our writers doe testifie, he died in the yeare 1063, which was in
the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight,
and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye have heard) were
withdrawn into Scotland, when they were druen out of England.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots,
one of Siwars sonnes chance to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to
be sorrowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had received in fighting
stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie
reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now,
but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in
person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquer the land, whose hap was there to be
slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he received the wound
whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told
him that he received in the forepart; “I reioise (saith he) even with all my heart, for I
would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.”

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the
third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward
was desirous to see, meaning to ordaine him here apparant to the crowne: but he died the
same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie
was buried at Winchester, or (as an other saith) in the church of S. Pauls in London.

About the same time K. Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but
as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: whereupon he
got him into Ireland, and there providing 18 ships of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales,
joined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders
about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of
K. Edward by his first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came
forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to
fight on horsebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to give the onset
in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and
so the rest were discomfited, whom the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 5000
beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obtained this
victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seuen of the canons
that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and smallie spoiled and
burned the towne miserable.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, over the which Harold the sonne of earle
Goodwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into
Northwales, & stayed not, till haulinge passed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountains
of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them
into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more parte of his armie in North-
wales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Here-
ford, recovered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it,
with an high rampire, and fensed it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so
much, that coming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Biligel-
hage, a peace was concluded, and so the nauie of earle Algar sailed about, and came to

The citie of Hereford fortified by HaroJd.

The Welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

Stratcluid. Snowdon.

The citie of Chester.

Simon Dun.  
Mal. West.

Math. West.

Hyr. Hunt.

Math. West.  
Simon Dun.
Chester; there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earldome.

After this, in the yere same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flux, of whom it is said, that when he perceivd the houre of death to be nere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couche like a feeble & fainthearted creature: and siting so vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O stout harted man, not unlike to that famous Romane rememberd by Tullie in his "Tusculane questions," who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, looking vpon the surgeoone all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking.] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his some Walteff was but an infant, and as yet not out of his craddell, the earldome was gven vnto earle Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes.

Edward the same of Edmund Ironside is sent for to be made here apparent to the crowne, his death, the decease of Leofrike earle of Chester, the vertues and good deeds of him and his wife Gudwina, Coueniectrie free from custome and toll, churches and religious places builded and repaire. Algar succeedeth his father Leofrike in the earldome, he is accused of treason and banished, he reconuereth his earldome by force of arms; Harold is sent with a power against Griffin king of Wales; the countie wasted, and the people forced to yield, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him, and send his head to Harold, Griffins brother rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward; Harolds unfortunate going over into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him prisoner, and releaseth him at the request of William duke of Normandie, for whom vse Harold sweareth to keepe possession of the realme of England, the duke promiseth him his daughter in marriage.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

NOT long after, in the yere 1057, Aldred bishop of Worcester, was sent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the same of Edmund Ironside into England, whome King Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordaine him here apparent to the crowne: but he dyed the same yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was suruained the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Westminster, or (as others say) in the church of S. Paule within London. The same yeare, that is to say, in the sixteenth yeare or in the sixteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as some write) Leofrike the noble earle of Chester, or Mericia, that was sonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelic on the last day of August, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeye there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wise and discrèt in all his doings. His high wise and policie stood the realme in great steed whilst he lived.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whose earnest atte he made the city of Couentrie free of all manner of toll, except horses: and to have that toll laid downe also, his foresaid wife rode naked through the middest of the towne without other coueriture, suo onlic hir haire. Moreover, partie by his owne devotion, and partie by the persuasion of his wife, he builded or beneficialie augmented and repaire manie abbeyes & churches, as the said abbeye or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeyes of Wenlocke, Worcester, Stone, Euesham, and Leof besides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie
citie of Chester, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werbrough. The value of the jewels & ornaments which he bestowed on the abbey church of Conventrie, was inestimable.

After Leofrik’s death, his sonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and seigniories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058, the same Algar was accused againe (through malice of some enious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whom he was ioifully received, & shortlie after by his aid, & also by the power of a maie of ships that by chance arrived in those parts at that selfe same season unlooked for out of Norwale, the said Algar recovered his carledome by force, as some haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as then remaining at Glocester, appointed earle Harold to invade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horsemen, made speed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and also his ships, and then about Millent returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation wecke, Harold eisbones by the kings commandement went against the Welshmen, and taking the sea, sailed by Bristow, round about the coast, compassing in maner all Wales. His brother Tosti that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an host of horsemen, and so joining together, they destroied the countrie of Wales in such sort, that the Welshmen were compelled to submit themselves, to deliver hostages, and conditioned to paye the ancient tribute which before time they had payed. And moreover, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, so that he remained as a banished person: and finallie, about the fift day of August, they slue him, and sent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Riual, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the same, and had sworn vnder Harold against their brother the foresaid Griffin. There be which write, that not onedie Griffin, but also another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the sauge people of Wales reduced into the good order under the subjection of king Edward.

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to passe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpose it is hard to define, writers doo varie so much in report thereof. Some write that he made earnest sute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to see his brother Wiliam, and his nephew Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were delitted as pledges to king Edward, & sent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told aforeshand of the king, that he would repent his journie, and doe the thing that should be prejudicall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Bosham, went aboard one day into his fischers boat or craier, and caused the same to lanch forth to the sea for his pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a contrary wind suddenlie came about, and droue the vessell on land into France vpon the coast of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & presented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as prisoner, meaning to put him to a grievous ransom. But Harold remembering himselfe of a wile, dispatched a messenger forth with all speed vnto William duke of Normandie, signifying vnto him, that he being sent from king Edward to conforme such articles, as other meane men that had benne sent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as prisoner against all order of law, reason, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the messenger, sent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to set earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commission. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes request, did not onedie restore Harold to his libertie, but also brought him into Normandie, and presented him there to the duke, of whom he was most ioifully receiued.

There be that agree partie with this report, and partie varie: for they write, that earle Harold tooke the sea vpon purpose to haue sailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driven to the coast of Ponthieu, and so after came into Normandie in maner as before is mentionned. But by what means or occasion seuer he came thither, certeine it is, that
that he was most fully received, and had great chéere made him by the said duke William, who at that time was ready to make a journey against the Britains, and tooke earle Harold with him to have his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might have the better trial of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himselfe so, that he shewed good proffes both of his wisdom and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuized, so that duke William had him in high favoure, and (as it hath bene said) earle Harold (to procure him more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordained him his heire if he died without issue, and that he would not faile to kepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued a corporall oath, whether willingly to win the more credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diversely. At the same time, duke William promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold covenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward what he had done beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto him in that behalfe, who foresaw the conning of the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire, (wherein note his subtilitie) dissention betwixt Harold and Tostie two brethren the sones of earle Goodwine, their unauenral and cruell dealing one with another, specialtie of the abominable and merciles murders committed by Tostie, against whom the Northumbers revolted vpon diverse occasions, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might have a new governor; they renounce Tostie and request Marchar in his room, Tostie displeased geteth him into Flanders; king Edward deth, his manners and disposition note-worthe, his charitie and devotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings eulcall derived from him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last words that he spake on his death-bed, wherein he uttered to the standers by a vision, prophesying that England should be inhabited with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the Westsaxen kings, how long they continued, the names of their predecessors and successors; whence the first kings of seven kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

NOW when Harold should returne into England, duke William delivered him his nephew Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him still as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared unto Edward what he had done, who said vnto him; "Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest doo the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and procure a miscarrie to follow vnto thy countrey? But God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must needs come to passe, yet to staie it till after my daies?" Some by Harold's purposed going out into Normandie, doo gather, that king Edward foresaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing lesser, than to performe the promise made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promise should seeme to be made in time of his banishment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the manner of men in such cases is, to promise much, how so ever they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no such promise at all, but perceived the ambitious desire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occasion should be ministred unto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should goe vnto him, least that might happen, which happened in deed.
In the foure and twentieth and last yeere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him. Hereupon, Tostie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harold's servants were preparing for the kings comming to their maisters house, which servants he tooke and slue, chopping them in pieces, and threw into this hogheadd of wine a leg, into that barrel of sider an arme, into this vessell of ale an head: and so into the lomes of meath and tubs of brine and other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcase of his brothers servants, sending the king word that he had provided at his brothers manor, against his coming, good quantitie of sowsse & powdered meale, whatsoever he should find beside.

The rumor of this cruel deed sprang over all the realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had governed for the space of ten yeeres verie cruelly, tooke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his servants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses, and tooke awaie his horses, his armour, and all other his goods and houshold stuffe. The chiefest cause (as is remembered by some writers) that moved the Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie, was for the deceastable murther of certaine gentlemen of their country, servants unto Gospatrike, whom the queene in behalf of her brother had caused to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night of Christmas last past, and also in revenge of other noble men, which in the last yeere Tostie himselfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the greuous wages, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, set them in a great rage against him.

But the king advertised hereof, liked not their doings, for that they had done it without commandement or commission, and therefore sent earle Harold with an armie to chastise them, but they were strong enowgh to withstand him, as those which were assembled in armour together with the people of Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, and Darbisheire, and haung with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to have the kings peace, they offered to returne home, so that they might have an other earle appointed them, for that they plainly protested, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not suffer anie cruell governor to rule ouer them, being taught by their ancestors, either to live in liberite, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obedient subjects they would prooue & shew themselves to be, when they should be used after a reasonable and courteous manner. All things considered, their request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought necessarie that it should be granted. And so was Marcharus or Malcharus made earle of Northumberland. Tostie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the deceasse of king Edward.

Finally, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned threes and twentie yeeres, seven moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of January, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time roiallie repared; after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like thereunto within this realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne for other to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his famce of holiness sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of bloud, in so much that when he lived as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saieing oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather lie an private life for ever, than to obtaine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to have the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the paiement called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of fortie yeeres) to cease. It hath beene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure together, they brought

\[\text{THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.} \]
A diuell fetching gambols.

brought it vnto him, and laid it altogether vpon an heape, so to delight his eyes: but he declaring that he saw a diuell playing and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had awake, and restored againe to them of whom it was leaued.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he were rich apparelled, as became the majestie of his royall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loftie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodnesse towards him extended, than esteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he tooke chiefly in this world for the refreshing of his wits, consisted onely in hauing and hunting, which exercises he daliie vsed, after he had first beene in the church at divine service. In other things he seemed wholely giuen to a devout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, Namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the partes of beyond the sea, wishing ever that the monks and religious persons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren partes. As hath ben thought he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. 

He was warned (as hath ben reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint Iohn the Evangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortlie after his decease, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilst he lay sicke of that sickness, whereof at lengthe he died, after he had remainede for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had liene for a time in a slumber or soft sleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deep sigh, and thus said; "Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantasticall illusion, but a true vision which I haue seene, grant me space to vter the same vnto these that stand here present, or else not." And herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had seene two monks stand by him as he thought, whom in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died christianlie. "These monks (said he) protesting to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Because the chiefe governors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almighty God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yeere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked spirits shall waake abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalf, that they should doe penance in following the example of the Ninomites: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take anie pite vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I? Then said they; When a greene tree is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres breadth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stocke, shall joine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap renewing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall cease and diminish." ¶ With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in heare, yet archbishop Sticand made but a least thereof, saiesing, that the old man raued now in his sickenesse, as men of great yeeres vse to doe. Neuertheless the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainly appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither governor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all partes of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of limbs as was thereto convenient. In the yeere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a mooneke of Malmesburie named Eilmer beheld, he vterred these words (as it were by way of prophesieng :)

A tale of a ring.

King Edward

W. H. Malms.

Matt. Westm.
The historie of England.

under the Saxons.

THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

sieng: Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone sith I saw the, but now I doo behold thee the more terrible, threatening destruction to this coutrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicus, the space of 547 yeeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yeeres.

Moreouer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth whole to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obtained the whole monachrie) as also of them which ruled in the other seven kingdomes before the same were united into the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 31, 32, 33.

Here is to be remembred, that as particie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seven kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegree from one Woden, who begat of Freo his wife seven sonsnes, that is to say, 1 Vecta, of whom came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethedgeath, from whom the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Balday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their original, 4 Beldagius, ancestor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wegdach or Wegdadus, from whom came the kings of Deira, 6 Caser, from whom proceeded the kings of the Eastangles, 7 Nasced alias Saxaud, of whom the kings of the Eastsaxons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southsaxons or Sussex, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but five sonsnes: as Vecta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wepedeg, ancestor to the kings of the Eastangles; Viclac, from whom proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saxaud, from whom the kings of Essex came; and Beldag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the Southsaxons, Westsaxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe to Noah, the sonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 663. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hatha, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beau or Beau, the father of Teathwy alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Fruin, the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Fridewald, the father of the aforesaid Woden or Othen.

The poore are in doubt to whome the rule of the land should be committed, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should undertake it though he was interested to the same, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right to the crowne, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine crowned, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtilt and adulatorie means to win the peoples favour; duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obtaine the crowne; Harolds negative answer to the said ambassage, as also to the maring of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he provideth against the invasion of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blasing starre of seven daies continuance.

THE EIGHTH CHAPTEIR.

KING Edward being thus departed this life, the poore of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best committ the roiall gouvernement of the realm.

5 D 2

For
For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge upon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the soure of Edward the outlaw, that was soure of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time late licie come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the government of the realme vnto him, least (as some have thought) his tendernesse of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to chuil discord, whereby a shipwracke of the estate might ensue, to the great annoie and present overthrow of such as then lived in the same. But what consideration soever they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the young gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and seene, God, whose prudence and mightie power is shewed by overthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feble hath gouerned states and kingdomes often times in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifolde and strange woonders, which were scene and heard in those daies, be-tokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie because they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by his husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bastard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his coosine king Edward, made claine (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Whilst the lords were thus studing and consulting what should be best for them to doo in these doubts, Harold, the son of Goodwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, because of the great confidence and opinion which they had late licie conceived of his valancie. Some write (among whom Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordained before his death, that Harold should succeed him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediatlie after the said Edwards deceas, crowned Harold for their king; and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of Yorke, according to the custom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yeere after the birth of our sauiour 1066, or in the yeere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

But how and whensoeuer he came to the seat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the beginning of his regne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken upon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all means which way to win the peoples favour, and omitted no occasion when by he might shew anie token of bountious liberality, gentlenesse and courteous behauioir towards them. The greuous customes also and taxes which his predecessors had raised, he either abolisshed or diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauor among such as were his subjects.

Whilst Harold went about thus to steale the peoples good wiles, there came ouer unlooked for sundrie ambassadours from William the bastard duke of Normandie, with commision to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obtening of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This covenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwands daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which lye there as pledges.
Howbeit at this present, Harold's answer to the said ambassadors was, that he would be ready to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, so that he would not ask the realme, which alreadie he had in his full possession. And further he declared vnto them (as some write) that as for the oath which he had made in times past vnto duke William, the same was but a constreined & no voluntarie oath, which in law is nothing; since thereby he tooke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to give, he being but a subject whilst king Edward was living. For if a promised vow or oath which a maid maketh concerning the bestowing of her bodie in bire fathers house, without his consent, is made void; much more an oath by him made that was a subject, and vnder the rule of a king, without his soveraignes consent, ought to be void and of no value. He allledged moreover, that as for him to take an oath to deliver the inheritance of anie realme without the general consent of the estates of the same, could not be other than a great piece of presumption, yea although he might haue just title thereunto; so it was an unreasonable request of the duke at this present to will him to renounce the kingdom, the governance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with so great favor and good liking of all men.

Duke William having receiv'd this answer, and nothing liking thereof, sent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the least-wise, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promise; in refusing whereof he could make no sound allegation, because it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his absolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a stout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambassadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in any maner of wise. And so with other talke tending to the like effect he sent them away without anie further answer. The daughter of duke William whom Harold should haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Geneaecensis saith, and with hir (as the same author writeth) it was couenantted by duke William, that Harold should inioy halfe the realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit some write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of these ambassadors, and that Harold therepon thought himselfe discharged of the oath and couenants made to duke William, and therefore sent them away with such an untoward answer.

But howsoever it was, after the departure of these ambassadors, king Harold (doubting what would issue) caused his ships to be newlie rigg'd, his men of warre to be mustered, and speedily put in a readinesse, to the end that if anie sudden invasion should be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to resiste them. ¶ About the same time also, and vpon the 24 of April (whilst Harold was making provision to withstand the Norman force) there appeared a blasing starre, which was scene not onelie here in England, but also in other parts of the world, and continued the space of seuen daies. This blasing starre might be a prediction of mischiefe imminence & hanging ouer Harold's head; for they never appeare but as prognosticats of afterclaps. To be resoluteie instructed herein, doo but peruse a treatise intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blasing starres published by a bishop of Mentz in Latine, and set foorth in English by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blasing starre scene in the southwest, on the 10 of November 1577, and dedicated to the right worshipfull sir William Cordell knight, then maister of hir maisteries rolles, &c.
Earle Tostie afflicteth his brother Harold on sea and land, he taketh the repulse, and persuaded Harfager king of Norwike to attempt the conquest of England against Harold, Harfager & Tostie with their powers arrive at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers under the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and discomfit them; Harold leiueth an armie against them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian souldior; Harfager and Tostie slaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flee; Haroldes unequall and parcellie dividning of the spoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amisse.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

WHILEST Harold desirous to retaine, and verie loth to let go his vsurped roialtie, had crackt his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd resolute from voluntarie promises ratified with solemnne othes, had also kindled the fire of the dukes furie against him; it came to passe, that the proud and presumptuous man was (to begin withall) vexed in his owne flesh, I meane his owne kinred. For Tostie the brother of king Harold (who in the dyes of king Edward for his crueltie had bene chased out of the reame by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, assembled a nauie of ships from divers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arrived in the Isle of Wight, & there spoiled the countrie, and afterward sailing by the coasts of Kent, he tooke sundrie preies therewith, and came at the last to Sandwich: so that Harold was now constrained to appoint the nauie which he had prepared against the Normans, to go against his brother earle Tostie. Whereof the said Tostie being advertised, drew towards Lindsey in Lincolnshire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with sword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chased him from thence, and caused him to flie into Scotland, not without some lesse both of his men and ships.

This trouble was scarce quieted, but straightway another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the first. For Tostie, perceiving that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, sailed forth into Norwike, and there persuaded Harold Harfager king of that reame, to saile with an armie into England, persuading him that by meanes of cuill dissention latele kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not so) it should be an easy matter for him to make a conquest of the whole reame, and reigne ouer them as his predecessors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norwike tooke this enterprise in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Tostie, saieing, that Tostie meeting with him in Scotland, did persuade him to go forward in his purposed busines, and that the said Harold Harfager with all convenienct speed passed foureth, & with a nauie of 300 sail entered into the riuier of Tine, where after he had rested a few daies to refresh his people, earle Tostie came also with his power (according to an appointment which should be made betwene them.) They ad furthermore, that they sailed forth amongst the coaste, till they arrived in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp against the stremme of the riuier Owse, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they set forward to invade the countrie, & neere unto Yorke on the northside of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited and chased them into the citie, with great slaughte and bloudshed.

Harold king of England being aduerised of this chance, made the more hast forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending also to come towards his enemies) so that vpon the 6th day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbatelld, he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with his axe defended the passage, maunghe the whole host of the Englishmen, and shewed fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be overcomne, till an Englishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and through an hole thereof thrust him vp into
into the bodie with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his servants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge being watch'd, the whole host of the Englishmen passed ouer, and joined with their enemies, and after a verie great and sore battell put them all to flight.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king of England his brother, besides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of such as assailed them with great courage and assurance. The residue of the Norwegians that were left to keep their ships under the guiding of Olau sonne to the king of Norwaiye, and Paulus earle of Orknie, after they understood by their fellowes that escaped from the field, how the water went with Harfager and Tostie, they boised up their sailes and directed their course homewards, bearing sorowfull newes with them into their country, of the losse of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them frankly to depart with 20 ships, having first caused them to deliver such hostages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold recoeing in that he had attained so glorious a victorie, and being now surprised with pride and couteousness together, he diuided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to such as he favoured he distributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deserved) he gauie nothing at all, retaining still the best part of all to himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the favor of manie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This doone, he repaired to Yorke, and there stayed for a time to reforme the disordered state of the country, which by reason of these warses was greatlie out of frame.

William duke of Normandie prepareth to invade England and to conquer it, the earle of Flanders and the French king assist him, the number of his ships, his arrival at Pevensey in Sussex, upon what occasions he entered this realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king Harold was huted of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not suffer his soldiery to wast the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enemies, why his ushers espials took the Normans (being old beaten soldiery) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold from present incountering with the duke; where note the conscience that is to be had of an oth, and that perjurie can not escape unpunished.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

WILLIAM duke of Normandie having knowledge after what manner K. Harold was busied in the north parts of his realme, and understanding that the south parts thereof remained destitute of due provision for necessarie defense, hasted with all diligence to make his pursuance of men and ships, that he might vpon such a convenient occasion set forward to invade his enimie. And amongst other of his friends, vnto whom he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest, who vpon promise of great summes of monie
monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ships, and victuals, vere freelic. The French king also did as much for his part as bie in him to helpe forwards this so high an enterprise. Wherefore when all things were now in a readinesse, he came to the towe of S. Valerie, where he had assembled together an huge nauie of ships, to the number (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile; and when he had taried there a long time for a convenient wind, at length it came about even as he himselfe desired. Then shipping his arniie which consisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedi- tion he tooke the se, and directing his course towards England, he finally landed at a place in Sussex, ancientlie called Peuensey, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his men on land, & provided all things necessarie to incourage and refresh them.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other stacke fast in the sand: the which so soone as one of his knights had espied, and seeing his hand whereupon he staid full of earth, when he rose, he spake aloud and said: "Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke yer long become a king." The duke hearing this tale, laughed merily thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occasion he had thus entered the realme.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of the land that to him was gien and assigned (as he said) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the same land.

The second was, to revenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king Edward, whom Goodwine earle of Kent and his adherents had most cruellie murthered.

The third was to be renuengd of the wrong doone vnto Robert archbishop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wherein we have to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceived for the wrong doone to the archbishop, or at the onlie sute of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the second, favored this enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold cuer in great hatred and dis- daine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiastical solemnite or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding to what end his bold presumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they shewed themselves open adversaries, inclining strightwaics to the stronger part, after the manner of couteous persons, or rather of the red shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pensey (whether you will) fortified a piece of ground with strong trenches, and leaving therein a competent number of men of warre to kepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortezere there with all speed possible, without suffering his solldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adjoing, siaing that it should be great follic for him to spoile that people, which yer manera dukes to come were like to be his subiectis. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people together out of the countrie as he went forwards, at length came neere his enemies: and sending espilals into their campes to understond of what strength they were; the unskilfull messengers regarding smallic their charge, brought word againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams solldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vppcr lips and cheeks shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vppcr lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wether-beaten and hardie solldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capitaine.
In the meane season, Girth one of Harold's younger brethren (considering that perjury is never left unpunished) advised his brother not to adventure himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had beene sometime sworne to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to encounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrey he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a younger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had sworne the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance thereof, as the sequele of his doings to his discredit and vndoeing evidentic declared, which events might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deserved plagues inflicted upon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became a whip unto him for his perjury; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notable spake, saieung:

Ah miser, & si quis primò peruria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis poena venit pedibus.

After peace offered & refused on each side, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Englishmens attire & arraie, the maner how the Normans were placed to fight in battell; the dissolute and drunken behavior of the Englishmen the night before the encounter faire differing from the Normans devout demeanour; duke William's speech upon occasion of wrong putting upon his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke William's politike stratagem are deceived, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and many of them slaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English overhalfstie procure their owne death, they take the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licenced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the maner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dispraise-(woorthie in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his valiantnisse in a conflict against the Welshmen, his rigorous or rather pitillesse handling of them, his severe law or decree touching their bounds, they are utterly subdued, and (by the kings leave) the Welshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceaseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the invasion of the Danes.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

NOW it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diverse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vntrie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselves to trie the matter by dint of sword. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hosts met in the field, at a place in Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine battell on foot, with huge axes in their hands, and paled a front with pauices, in such wise that it was thought impossible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall battells, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleues and axes were placed in the fore-front, and the horsemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in very good order.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to drinking and making of rauell & pastime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselves warlike and so-
berlie, spending all that night in prayer and confessing their sinnes vnto God: and in the morning earelie they received the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he tooke occasion of laughter, saing merrie to them that stood by; "No force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedom shall be yer night changed into a kingdom." Beside this, he spake mane comfortable wordes vnto his men, to encourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at convenient time when both armies were ready, they made forward each to encounter with other, on the foresaid fourethenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrows flue abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to joine at hand strokes, and then pressed each side vpon his counter part with swords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horsemen to glu the charge on the breasts of his enemies battells: but the Englishmen keeping themselves close together without scattering, receuied their enemies vpon the points of their weapons with such fiercenesse and in such stiffe order, that mane of the Norman horsemen were overthrowne without recouerie, and slaine at the first brunt. When duke William perceived this inconueniency (as he that well and throughlie understood the skilfull points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie such occasion) that they should glue backe, and make a countenance as though they did fice, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and withall they imbatelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horsemen shifted themselves on the wings, readye to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

By this wise stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceuied: for they holding the Normans somewhat shrinking backe to bring themselves into the abose said order, thought verelie that they had fied, and therevpon meaning to pursue them before they should recover their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: wherevpon the Normans (perceiving now that all things came to passe as they desired) spedlie returned, and casting themselves together quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that advantage, they sue them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought sore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flee or glue ouer: so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselves to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could proceede, being oftentimes driven downe into the bosome of the valie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiving themselves to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and thereunto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to give ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such great rashnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yet they could be succoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell in gathering in the spoile of the field, burying also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giving licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to doo the like.

Of the death of Harold diversse report diuerslie, in so much that Girald Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receuied mane wounds, and lost his left cie, he fled from the field vnto the cast of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. James, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the sainge of Girald Cambren, in that point is not to be credited, because of the unliklihood of the thing it selfe, and also all generall consent of other writers, who affirm vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being striken thorough the left cie by the scull into the braine with an arrow, wherevpon falling from his horse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had reigned
reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacensis dooth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a hauie courage, & albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowned and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the harts of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides King Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrick, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twenty thousand men.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Wal-tham, within the monasterie of the holie crosse which he before had founded, and indowd to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Verelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise dispaised, if his ambitious mind could haue beene staid from counting the kingdome, and that he could haue beene contented to haue lived as a subject. Among other manifest proofes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in service, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoie and distresse those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light souldiers, entered vpon the mountaines of Snowdon, and there remained amongst the enimies for the space of two yeeres. He sore afflicted the Welsh nation, tooke their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous maner as might move the hearers to lament and pitie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserable slaine: and so with the edge of his sword he brought the country to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thenceforth should presume to passe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so sore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vterlie destroyed. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales joined themselves in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, hereby the bloud of the Saxonse ceased to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yeere of our Saviour 450, or 449, vntill that present yeere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yeere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengist his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeeres, or (after some) 617, as by the suppuation of the time will easilie appeare. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxonse bloud within this land, except that for the space of twentie yeeres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession; for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that governed England) vnto the last yeere of K. Hardicnut (the last Dane that ruled here) 28 yeeres, in which meanespace Egelred recovering the kingdome reigned 2 yeeres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continued in the rule one yeere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yeeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Hand, read a short advertisement annexed (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this crountrie one after another, by distances of times successivelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prudence allotted to duke William, his descent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie downwards to his particular bimage, he was base forgotten upon the bolicy of Arlewe duke Roberts concelaine, a pleasant speech of his to duke Robert on a time when he was to have the use of his person, a conclusion introductorie for the sequel of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a summarie of the notable conquests of this Hand.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

NOW, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret judgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the governance thereof should fall after this maner...
ner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I have thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the forsaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegree, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receivin baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to susteine) refused to obide that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to slay the foresaid Guion, and his sonne Gourin; so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driven to seake adventures, at length he became a christian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also married: but she departing this life without issue, he married Popée daughter to the earle of Bessin and Baileux, whom he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespée or Longaspata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whom he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whom no issue proceeded: but after his decease, he married to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had thre sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwise called Emma, married first to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Hellowe, otherwise Alix, bestowed vpon Geoffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Euldes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name married Judith, sister to Geoffrey earle of Britaine, by whom he had issue thre sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alix, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third-did yeong, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother decessed after she had beene married ten yeeres, and then duke Richard married seconde the ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whom he purchased to be diuorsed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whom he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, did without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, which Robert beget vpon Arlete or Harleuma daughter to a burgessse of Felais, William surnamed the bastard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yeere of Christ 1030, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour, and wisdome governed his dukedom seven yeeres, for performance of a penance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; leaving behind him this William a young prince, whose seven yeeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull favour, louelie grace and presence, at hir dancing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vterance of his mind what he had further to say, would needs that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as widdesse should have lien alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should have laid hir selfe naked, it might have seemed not so maidenlie a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner is) to have lift vp hir linnen, she in an humble modestie staid hir
under the Saxons,  
THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.  

lords hand, and rent downe hir smocke asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Heere-
at the duke all smiling did ask the hir what thereby she meant? In great lowlines, with a feate 
question she answered againe; "My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments depend-
dant about me downward, should presume to be mountant to my soveraignes mouth upward? 
Let your grace pardon me." He liked his answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voyage, calling at Tiscam all his nobilitie unto him, caused them to 
swear sealtie vnto his young sonne William, whom he then at his journey betooke vnto the 
gouverneance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king.
So Robert passing forth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magna-
nimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Iurie not well at 
ease, in a litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon Saracens shoulders, & meeting with a subject 
of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy 
returne aske after me, tell them that thou savest their lord carried to heaven by diuels. The 
Norman nobilitie during duke Robertes life, did their dutie to the young prince faithfullie, but 
after they heard of his fathers death, thy nicated apace, euerie one shifting for himselfe: as 
he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their soveraigne. 
Whereby no manie yeeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childest coosine germane, 
was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselves was sore 
troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince William his 
sonne for part of his tender yeeres.

An notable advertisement touching the summe of all the foresaid historie, wherein the foure 
great and notable conquests of this land are brefflie touched, being a 
conclusion introductorie, as is said in the argument.

In the former part of this historie it is manifest to the heedful reader, that (after the opinion 
of most writers) Brute did first inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, 
Britaine, in the yeere after the creation of the world 2955, and in the yeere before the incarn-
ation of Christ 1108. 
Furthermore the said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Iulius 
Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yeere before the natuittie of Christ, and 
so continued 483 yeeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, 
from Brute, vntill the fourth yeere of the regine of king Cadwalladar, which was in the yeere 
of our Lord 686. And so the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the 
space of 1794 yeeres. Then was the regine of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, dividied into 
seven kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Christ in the 7 yeere of the regine 
of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yeere after the birth of Christ. 
Next after the Britains 
entered the Saxons, in the third yeere of king Vortiger; and in the yeere of our Lord 450, 
and they gouerned vntill the last yeere of king Athelstane, which was in the yeere of Christ 
938. So that the time of the Saxons first entrance into this realme, and the time of their 
regiment was the space of 487 yeeres. Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the 9 yeere of king Britnic, which was in the yeere of our Lord 387, the Danes 
entred into this land, spoiling and persecuting the people therin most greuouslie. At the 
last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obtained possession roiall, in the yeere of Grace 1012, whose 
time of regiment lasted about three yeeres. After whom his sonne Canutsus succeeded, and 
reigned 19 yeeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled three yeeres: and after him 
Hardicute the sonne of Canutsus, whose gouernement continued but three yeeres. This Hardi-
cute was the last king of the Danes, at the time the Danes were expelled and hunted out 
of the realme, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this col-
lection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the space of 28 yeeres. Hereby also it is 
evident, that from the time of the first entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their last 
expulsion
expulsion & riddance, was 255 yeeres. And finallie the Normans entred this land likewise, and conquered the same as before is expressed, in the yeere of our Lord 1067, which is since, untill this present yeere of our Lord 1585, drawing hicer to the number of 600 and od yeeres.

Now let these alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduersion in the description of Britaine, pag. 49,50,51] and teach vs that therein the judgements of God revealed themselves to speciall purposes. And whatsoeuer hath bëene mentioned before, either concerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of provinces, the overthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diverslie happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as manie as will reapae fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yeeres past to be present, and apply the profit and commoditie of the same unto our selues: knowing (as one wisely said) Post sacram paginam chronica vivum veritatis typum gerere, that next vnto the holie scripture, chronicles doo carie credit. But now to the sequele, and first to duke William of Normandie.

Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his soomes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the first yeere of the said dukes reigne over this land, untill the 25 yeere of the Queens most excellent maestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God in mercie prolong,

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