

# **Chronicles (1 of 6): The Historie of England (6 of 8) eBook**

## **Chronicles (1 of 6): The Historie of England (6 of 8) by Raphael Holinshed**

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# Page 1

## OF THE

*Historie of England.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole monarchie of the realme falleth into their hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to haue destroyed, he & his coosen Nun fight with Gerent king of the Britains, and Cheolred king of Mercia, and Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuise to persuade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the setting vp of images in this land authorised by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subiects by the suggestion of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.*

*The first chapter.*

[Sidenote: *Inas*. 689.] 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 Iustinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and [Sidenote: The Britains ceasse to reigne in this land] 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 appeereth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the particular dooings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

[Sidenote: *Fabian. H. Hunt.*] This Inas, whome some (mistaking N for V) doo wrongfullie name Iue or Iewe, prooued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his woorthie person, than for the successiue ofspring of which he was descended. The first voiage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to reuenge the death of his coosen [Sidenote: *Matt. Westm. Wil. Malm.*] Mollo, the grieue whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie.



But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obtained their purpose, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer.

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[Sidenote: Anno 708 as is noted by *Matt. West. H. Hunt.*] After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his coosen 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 [Sidenote: *Matt. West. saith 718*] 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 iudged whether part susteined greater losse. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southsaxons with a mightie armie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinius king of [Sidenote: *Matth. West. saith 722. The end of the kingdome of the Southsaxons.*] the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Westsaxons: so that from thencefoorth the kingdome of those Southsaxons ceased, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the space of five kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aldinius or Ealdbright.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 10 or 11 od moneths, [Sidenote: Inas went to Rome and there died.] he renounced the rule of his kingdome, 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 verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement 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 Iohn Day, in the yeere 1568, together with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appeere.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.*] Moreouer, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glastenburie, where Ioseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the gospell heere to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, 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 [Sidenote: *Ethelburga.*] translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had beene earnest with him a long time to persuade him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manor [Sidenote: *Will. Malmes.*] place in the countrie, where all prouision had beene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houshold, as also in costlie viands,



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and all other things needfull, or that might serue for pleasure, [Sidenote: The deuse of queene Ethelburga to persuade hir husband to forsake the world.] and when they were departed, the queene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remooue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had been brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting foorth 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. Heerevpon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

Now when he was returned to that house, which before seemed 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 behold the same, she tooke occasion therevpon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, together with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lumpe of claie, after it should once be disolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to mooue 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 hir woords lastlie tooke effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his coosen 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 hir [Sidenote: Peter pence.] 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 houshold within his dominion a penie.

[Sidenote: King Ethelred becommeth a moonke.] In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yeeres, became a moonke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had [Sidenote: Ostrida.] to wife one Ostrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Vulfher to succeed him in the kingdome. The said [Sidenote: *Beda in Epit.* 697.] Ostrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, [Sidenote: King Kenred.] about the yeere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of maners. In the fift yeere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, together with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where [Sidenote: 711.] he was made a moonke: and finallie died there, in the yeere of our [Sidenote: *Naucerus.* Egwin bishop of Worcester.] Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a moonke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Eueshame, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.



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[Sidenote: A fabulous and trifling deuse.] ¶ 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. Wherevpon the pope approuing 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 vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of [Sidenote: *Bale.* 712.] excommunication. This synod was holden about the yeere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

After Kenred succeeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncler Edilred, & died [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] 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 gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped [Sidenote: *Ran. Cestren.*] diuerslie. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, he besieged Sommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

[Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and [Sidenote: *Bereford.* 755.] ioined as confederats with Cuthred K. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yeere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yeere of his reigne he was [Sidenote: *Three miles from Tamworth. Wil. Malm.* 758.] slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement 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 Ripton. [Sidenote: *Matth. West.*]

[Sidenote: *The historie of Magd.*] Bonifacius the archbishop of Mentiz or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the reliefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdooers: but in that he abstained from mariage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most



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part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept [Sidenote: Nuns kept for concubines.] in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other espistle wich he wrote vnto Cutbert the [Sidenote: Pilgrimage of nuns.] archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, bicause there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whordome.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a moonke, succession in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Northumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becommeth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two diocesses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.*

### THE SECOND CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Kings of the Eastsaxons. *Beda lib. 5. cap. 20.* Offa king of Eastsaxons.] In this meane time Sighard and Seufred, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome, a man of great towardnesse, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a religious deuotion, 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 [Sidenote: King Selred.] continued till he died. After him one Selred the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eastsaxons the tearme of 38 yeeres. After Aldulfe the [Sidenote: 688.] 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 twelue yeeres. After whose decease one Beorne was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about 26 yeeres. In this [Sidenote: 705. *Wil. Malm.* Osred king of Northumberland.] 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 kingdome, and reigned 11 yeeres, spending his

time when he came to ripe yeeres in filthie abusing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.



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About the seuenth yeere of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeere of [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.* Picts ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.] our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obtaining the victorie, slue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Osred by the traitorous means of his coosens that arreared warre against [Sidenote: King Osred slaine in batell.] him, was slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leauing to those that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yeeres, and Osricke ten yeeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie punished for shedding the bloud of their naturall prince and souereigne lord, they finished their liues with dishonourable deaths, as they had well deserued. Osricke before [Sidenote: 729.] his death, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceolwolfe the brother of his predecessor Kenred, to succeed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the space of 8 yeeres currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a moonke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

[Sidenote: *Beda.* Acca bishop of Hexham.] In this meane while, bishop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of Hexham. The said Wilfride had beene bishop by the space of 45 yeeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For first being archbishop of Yorke, and exercising his iurisdiction ouer 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 fiue 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 Sauieur 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Rippon. Moreouer, after Iohn the archbishop of Yorke had resigned, one Wilfride surnamed the second was made archbishop of that see: which Wilfride was chapline to the said Iohn, and gouerned that see by [Sidenote: 710.] the space of fifteene 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 comming thither.

[Sidenote: Two bishops sees *Matth. West.* Bishop Daniell.] 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, hauing vnder him [Sidenote: Bishop Aldhelme.] Sussex, Southerie and Hamshire. And Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall. This Aldhelme was a learned [Sidenote:



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The abbeie of Malmesburie.] 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 aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scotish man, but of so small reuenues afore Aldhelms time, that the moonks were scarce able to liue thereon. Also the same Aldhelme was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glastenburie.

[Sidenote: ETHELARD. 728. *Matth. West.* saith 727.] Ethelard, the coosen of king Inas, to whome the same Inas resigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Westsaxons in the yeere of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yeere of the emperor Leo Isaurus, in the second yeere of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yeere of Mordacke king of the Scots. In the first yeere of Ethelards reigne, he was disquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oswald a noble man, descended of the roiall bloud of the Westsaxon kings, procured against him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was too strong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in rest.

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.* 729. Blasing stars.] In the yeere 729, in the moneth of Ianuarie there appeered two comets or blasing starres, verie terrible to behold, the one rising in the morning before the rising of the sunne, and the other after the setting thereof: so that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the closing of the night, stretching forth their fierie brands toward the north; and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the space of a fortnight together, menacing as it were some great destruction or common mishap to follow. The Saracens shortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of foureteene yeeres currant, he departed this life.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* ] Now when Wichtred 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 obserued amongst them, as well concerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporal, he departed this life, leauing behind him three sonnes, who successiuelie 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 obseruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vsed for the more part their fathers good lucke and [Sidenote: *Beda. lib. 5. cap. 24.*] fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie 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 [Sidenote: 731.] put out of remembrance. In the yeere of

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our Lord 731, Betrwald 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 Tacwine was ordeined archbishop, that before was a priest in the monasterie of Bruidon within the prouince of Mercia. He was consecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester, Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwin bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe bishop of Rochester, the tenth day of Iune being sundaie. [Sidenote: Bishops what parishes they gouerned.] ¶ As touching the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the ecclesiasticall state by archbishop Tacwine, and bishop Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Eastsaxons by bishop Ingwald. The prouince of Eastangles by bishop Eadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeeded next after Aldhelme in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yeere of our Lord 738, [Sidenote: *Matth, West.*] left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the queene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, together with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuier of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisferne, Acca bishop of Hexham, and Pecthelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernours in that season.

[Sidenote: Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puissance he was.] And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolvulfe had the souereigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald 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 veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues 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



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the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiECTION of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (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 285 yeeres, according to his account.

[Sidenote: 732. *Wil. Malm.*] In the yeere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered 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 simplie but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got together a great number of good books, [Sidenote: 733.] which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yeere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible penthouse.

[Sidenote: 735 *Beda* departed this life] In the yeere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of Iune, and 26 of Maie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert moonke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint Iohn into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Geruie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholar to John of Beuerley. How throughlie he was seene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which hee wrote doo manifestlie beare witnesse. His judgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certain questions



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mooued there, which without his opinion might seeme to rest doubtful. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Geruie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop Iohn, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man, borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should proue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole [Sidenote: *Crantzius.*] earth, and went neuer out of his natiue countrie to seeke 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, hauing in them diuerse 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 townes and villages adjoining.

[Sidenote: 735.] The same yeere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yeere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus 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, Fruidberd, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yeere 744.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.*

### THE THIRD CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: CUTHRED.] After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his coosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeeres. He began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord [Sidenote: 740.] 740, in the twentie fourth yere of the emperour Leo Isaurus, in the 14 yeere of the reigne of the second Theodorus Cala K. of France, and about the 6 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to [Sidenote: *Matt. West. Hen. Hunt.*] 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 subtile practises sought to disquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, a peace



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was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers together, they went against the Welshmen, & gaue them a great ouerthrow, as [Sidenote: Kenric the kings sonne slaine.] before is partlie touched. In the 9 yeere of this Cuthreds reigne, his sonne Kenric was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman yoong in yeeres, but of a stout courage, and [Sidenote: 749.] verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

[Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] [Sidenote: 751.] In the 11 yeere of his reigne, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the smaller number of men, and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant receiued, his periurie had not beene punished, and the kings [Sidenote: 752 *Matt. West.*] iust cause aduanced to triumph ouer his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yeere of his reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to susteine the proud exactions and hard doings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant prowesse he put great hope to attein victorie: neither was he deceiued, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the loftie pride of king [Sidenote: K. Edilbald put to flight.] Edilbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after sore and terrible fight continued and maintained euen to the vttermost point. In the 24 yeere of his reigne, this Cuthred fought eftsoones with the Welshmen, and obtained the vpper hand, without anie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easilie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yeere after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yeere of his reigne he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

[Sidenote: SIGIBERT. 755.] After him succeeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie neere ended. 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 cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: wherevpon the rest of his nobles assembled themselues 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 reigne. 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 Priuets-floud found him out, and perceiuing what he was, slue him in reuenge of his maisters death.



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¶ Lo here you may see how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked dooings 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 deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouernement 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 torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his misdemeanour may speedilie receiue due punishment.

[Sidenote: Ethelred. 738.] After Beorne king of Eastangles one Ethelred succeeded in gouernment 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 prooued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

[Sidenote: Egbert king of Northumberland. 758.] After that Ceolvulfe king of Northumberland was become a moonke in the abbie of Lindesferne, his vncler sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Ceolvulfe) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right woorthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a moonke, by the example both of his predecessor the forsaid Ceolvulfe, [Sidenote: Changing of crownes for moonkes cowles. 756.] and also of diuers other kings in those daies, so that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a moonks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and Vngust king of Picts came to the cite of Alclud with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first-day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Ouan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part lost and destroyed. ¶ The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the moone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to hir accustomed shew, after a maruellous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like dist[=a]nce as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

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*Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and Westsaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eastangles by a policie or subtill devise of profered curtesie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is depriued by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he alieth himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.*



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### THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: OFFA. 758.] After that Offa had slaine Bernred the vsurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa tooke vppon him the [Sidenote: *Matth. West. Wil. Malm.*] gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoever he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His dooings were great and maruellous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to [Sidenote: The victories of king Offa. *Matth. West. 779.*] ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Kenvulfe king of Westsaxons 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 capteine.

[Sidenote: Falsehood in fellowship.] Againe, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded 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 founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. [Sidenote: The archbishops see remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield. 785.] He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preheminance of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by [Sidenote: *Matt. West.*] great gifts and rewards obtained it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning 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, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elsham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.



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[Sidenote: The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.] This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to mainteine his prerogatiue. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuenues that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also tooke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of [Sidenote: Offa alieth himselfe with other princes.] Malmesburie of a part of hir reuenues. Because of these & other his hard dooings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the [Sidenote: *Matt. Westm.*] Westsaxons 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 [Sidenote: The intercourse of merchants staid.] before there had depended a peece of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staid for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles [Sidenote: Alcwine an Englishman.] (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing moonkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as [Sidenote: 775.] before he had doone at saint Albons. Moreouer 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 subiect by way of tribute [Sidenote: Peter pence, or Rome Scot. *Will. Malmes.* 797.] 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 paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, [Sidenote: Offa departed this life.] he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.



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Amongst other the doings 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 diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. [Sidenote: Offditch.] 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 riuier falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is [Sidenote: Egfrid king of Mercia.] called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approoued good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued 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 offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

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*Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murdered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen 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 missehaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouuslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Friswide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.*

### THE FIFT CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EADBERT king of Northumberland. 758.] When Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a moonke, his sonne Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murdered by his owne seruants at Mikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succeeded one Moll, [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.* Edilwold king of Northumberland. *Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt.*] 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 sauour 759.

This man prooued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Eadwines Cliue, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.



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[Sidenote: *Simon Dun. 764.*] 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 beene 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 liuelie 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 whome Beda did dedicate his booke of [Sidenote: Moonks licenced to drinke wine.] histories of the English nation. After that he was become a moonke in the monasterie of Lindesferne, 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, Doncaster, &c.

After that Moll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Altrede* began his reigne in the yeare 765 as *Sim. Dun. saith.*] other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Altrede. This Altrede reigned ten yeares ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt. Matth. West. Ethelbert.*] 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 driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who mouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Helatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt. Iohn Capgraue. Matth. West.* and others. Ethelbert king of Eastangles.] After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better atteining to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saiengs & dooings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not [Sidenote: *The saieng of king Ethelbert.*] be a man more honorable, thankfull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.



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Moreouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staiednesse of maners, and continencie 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 mariage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue 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 affianced 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 hir fathers house.

Manie strange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this [Sidenote: Tokens of mishap to follow.] iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no sooner mounted on his horsse, but that (as seemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on ech side, that he could not see nor discern for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night asleepe, 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 [Sidenote: The innocent mistrustfull of no euill.] iournie, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourable receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & streightwaies went about to persuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murder king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but [Sidenote: *Iohn Capgr. Winnebert.*] 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 [Sidenote: *Sim. Dun. saith 771.*] before time, the which feining as though he had beene sent from Offa [Sidenote: Offa conquereth Eastangles.] to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderstood 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 [Sidenote: Alfreda a nun. *Beda. Matth. West.*] according to hir woords it came to passe, for hir mother died miserablie within



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three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselfe 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 himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of moonks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neere to the banke of a riuier called Lug.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thencefoorth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appeere.) After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succeeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yeere that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceased and tooke end.

[Sidenote: Friswide a virgine.] ¶ About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Friswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. 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 cite of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

\* \* \* \* \*

*Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard 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 councill holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for crueltie, Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects 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.



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[Sidenote: KINEWULF. *Hen. Hunt.* 756.] After that the Westsaxons had deprived their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced 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 [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. saith* 755.] the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe prooued a right woorthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obtained [Sidenote: *The Britains vanquished.*] great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the suertie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled together a knot of vngracious companie, and returning priuillie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept a paramour at Merton, wherevpon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous words to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, 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 [Sidenote: *Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.*] 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 themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuerthesse sore wounded and hurt.



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The brute of such an heinous act was streightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Osrike, for his age and wisdom accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their souereigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Wherevpon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to please his cause, to make large promises, to pretend coosenage, and so foorth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he encouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Heerevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their liues, and the other to atteinne 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 murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, together with [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. H. Hunt*] fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeeres.

[Sidenote: *Eccle. hist. Magd. 786*] In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, leanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eaubald archbishop of Yorke. [Sidenote: *H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.*] These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were contained in the popes letters.

[Sidenote: Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.] There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeieng of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yeerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior 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 horne of an oxe, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to doo.



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Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articed, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot [Sidenote: Nuns concubines.] in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie to the order [Sidenote: Curtailing of horssees.] of christanitie, as curtailing of horssees, and eating of horssees flesh. These things with manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as we haue said) were first concluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a councell 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, Aldulfe bishop of Mieth, Ethelwine also another bishop by his deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and lords also of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke Segwulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was also a councell holden in Mercia at Cealtide, in the which these persons subscribed, Lambert or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Offa king of Mercia, Hughbright bishop of Lichfield, Edeulfe bishop of Faron, with Vnwone bishop of Ligor, and nine other bishops, besides abbats; and three dukes, as Brorda, Farwald, and Bercoald, with earle 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 [Sidenote: 764.] archbishop there, and in the yeere 766, the archbishop of Yorke Egbert [Sidenote: *Sim. Dun.* saith 780] departed this life, in whose place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yeere of Kenwulf king of Westsaxons, the Northumbers hauing to their capteine two noble men, Osbald and Ethelherard, burned one [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] of their iudges named Bearne, bicause he was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reason required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were so seuerer 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

[Sidenote: *Ouid. lib. 2. de art. am.*]

-----capit indulgentia mentes,  
 Asperitas odium saeuaque bella mouet.  
 Odimus accipitrem, quia uiuit semper in armis,  
 Er pauidum solitos in pecus ire lupos.  
 At caret insidijs hominum, quia mitis hirundo est,  
 Quasque colat turre Chaonis ales habet.

At the same time, one Aswald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the [Sidenote: He began



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his reigne *ann.* 779, as saith *Simon Dun.* and reigned but ten yeeres.] same Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeeres, he was traitorouslie and without all guilt made away; the cheefe conspirator was named Siga. The same Alfwald was a iust prince, and woorthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praise and commendation. He was murdered 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.

[Sidenote: 788. *Matth. West. Simon Dun.* 792.] In the yeere 792, Charles king of France sent a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from Constantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a synod (wherein were present aboute 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 vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holie scripture, which treatise, with the booke in [Sidenote: *Sim. Dunel.* 800.] name of all the bishops and princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeere 800, on Christmasse eeven chanced a maruellous tempest of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerse places, and trees in great number, beside other harmes 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 Danes that arriued on the English coasts, and the cause of their comming; fire dragons flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field, and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people therevpon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.*

### THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *BRITRICUS. Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.* saith 787. *Simon Dun.* saith 786.] After Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Westsaxons, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeere of the gouernment of the empresse Eirene with hir son Constantinus, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was descended of the line of Cerdicus the first king of Westsaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous



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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, stroue to be king and supream gouernour. 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 [Sidenote: Egbert banished.] power and lustie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, banished him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderstanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie should aduance him in time, obeyed the kings pleasure.

[Sidenote: A strange woonder.] About the third yeere of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, crosses of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some tooke this woonder for [Sidenote: *Matt. West. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Danes.*] a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortlie after, in the yeere insuing, there arriued three Danish ships vpon the English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the parties adjoining made foorth, to apprehend those that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries 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. These were the first Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coasts of the same, to vnderstand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade 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 yeere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were seene in the aire fire dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. First a great [Sidenote: *Famin & war signified.*] dearth and famine: and secondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which shortlie followed, as ye shall heare.

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yeeres, he [Sidenote: *Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap. 25.*] departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainful. She bare [Sidenote: *Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.*] hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.



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It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yoong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yoong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and [Sidenote: A decree of the kings of the Westsaxons against their wiues.] vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the Westsaxons would not suffer their wiues to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bee shewed) manie yeeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished [Sidenote: The end of Ethelburga. *Simon Dun.*] in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselve so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne counciemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Kenulfe.*] Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his coosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisdom, and vpright dealing, was woorthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reprooue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became [Sidenote: The archbishops see restored to Canturburie.] victorious, he restored the archbishops see againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and thervpon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and [Sidenote: The king of Kent taken prisoner.] spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Prenne, ouerthrew 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 the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great prooffe of his good nature.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred 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 reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus [Sidenote: Kenulfs liberalitie towards churchmen which was not forgotten by them in their histories.] restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed



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great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie moonke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue 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 yeeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Iulie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Osrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, Osred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his wife and marieth another, his people rise against him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men afflict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.*

### THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: OSRED. 788.] When Aswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alred tooke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.*] Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked 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) [Sidenote: Duke Ardulf taken and wounded.] 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 moonks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald 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 taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yeere of our [Sidenote: 792] Lord 792, Osred vpon trust of the others and promises of diuerse noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsooke him, and

so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandment put to death at Cunbridge on the 14 day of September.



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The same yeere king Ethelbert married the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, wherby his people tooke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yeeres, or (as other say) seuen yeeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subjects at Cobre, the 18 of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after [Sidenote: Holie Iland.] was expelled, and constrained to flie first into the Ile of Lindesferne, and from thence vnto the king of the Picts.

[Sidenote: Ardulfe.] Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumhald, and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yeere [Sidenote: 796.] 796. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798 one duke Wade, and other conspirators which had beene also partakers in the [Sidenote: Walalege.] murdering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardulfe, and fought a battell with him at Walleg, but king Ardulfe got the vpper hand, and chased Wade and other his enimies out of the [Sidenote: 799.] field. In the yeere 799, duke Aldred that had murdered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Chorthmond in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about the same time that Brightrike king of Westsaxons departed this life, there was a sore battell foughten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irkesome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard [Sidenote: The English men afflicted each other with ciuill warre.] and high-minded, continuallie scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seuen yeeres after this battell, king Ardulfe 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 gouernors, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops and other of the chieffest nobles of the countrie disdaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thencefoorth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kinglie gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue thereof, as if it had beene Scians horsse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is heeretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm, it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.



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Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie murtherings and banishments of their kings and dukes giue vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sorie obedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie 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 [Sidenote: This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 700, as *Simon Dun.* saith.] abbeie of Lindesferne otherwise called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulnessse of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to inuade it (bicause that through their priuate quarelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their comming home, [Sidenote: The Danes inuade Northumberland.] entised their councitriemen to make voiaiges into England, and so landing in Northumberland did much hurt, and obtained a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, bicause there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to incounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongst the nobles and people themselues, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find [Sidenote: The Danes vanquished. This was in anno 794 as *Simon Dun.* saith.] that the nobles and capteines of the countrie assembling together at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, constrained 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 losse of men, and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one supereminent, vnto whome all the residue should stoope: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as souereigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of a king in his kingdome; otherwise he may be called “Rex a regendo, as Mons a mouendo.” For there is not a greater enimie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the historie.



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After that Alrike (the last of king Witchreds sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble ofspring of the kings there so decaied, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got rithes together, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to vsurp the title of king, abusing by vnworthie means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Edbert or [Sidenote: Edelbert.] Edelbert, surnamed also Prenne, gouerned 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 liued in captiuitie; and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinevulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Edbert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

[Sidenote: Lambert.] After that lambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primasie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken awaie 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 see. After that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constreined by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie. 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 perceiued 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 countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Brightriks death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all [Sidenote: Egbert receiued a king of Westsaxons His linage.] conuenient speed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlle for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his woorthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Inigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alkemound, that was the sonne of one Eaffa, which Eaffa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Inigils.

\* \* \* \* \*



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*Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, his practise or exercise in the time of his exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercommeth, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a Warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.*

### THE NINTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EGBERT. 802 as *Simon Dunel.* and *M.W.* hath noted but 801.] This Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Eirine 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. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had beene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice 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, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.*] as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in somuch that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but [Sidenote: Bernulf king of Mercia.] namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to doo with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with 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



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therevpon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him [Sidenote: A battell fought at Ellendon.] to giue place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred together at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which 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, [Sidenote: Egbert won the victorie.] but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfs [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* 826.] souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainlie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelwulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongst his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan [Sidenote: Alstan bishop of Shireborn a warrior.] bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct therof, 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 themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to [Sidenote: The conquests of the Westsaxons.] passe over the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Essex, Southerie, and Sussex. The Eastangles also about [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had doone to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it [Sidenote: Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.] came to passe, incountring 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 eftsoones 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 successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yeere next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of [Sidenote: These were the Cornish men as is to be supposed.] Mercia was slaine by

the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.



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King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led foorth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not [Sidenote: King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland. The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.] how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolved to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection 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 countrie, for the space of manie yeeres, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the greuous damage of the people.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.* Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.] he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with the citie 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 heere in this land, he caused a councill to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as souereigne gouernour and supream lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed foorth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and [Sidenote: The name of this ile when it was changed.] likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appeere (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 settled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced [Sidenote: The Danes.] out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient speed got together an armie, and went foorth to giue battell to the enimies. Heerevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten 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 haue [Sidenote: The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. *Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West.*] 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 chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Vigferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yeere of king Egberts reigne.



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[Sidenote: 834.] In the yeere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both [Sidenote: Danes and Welshmen vanquished.] the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yeere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew [Sidenote: 836.] another armie of Danes which came against him, as one autor writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 [Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] yeeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his [Sidenote: Egbert departeth this life. 837.] kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of woorthie praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined together. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athaulfe and [Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] Adelstan. The first he appointed to succeed him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

¶ Heere we see the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a fowle discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and heedtaking; for

Saepius incautae nocuit victoria turbae.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sister Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise; his death prophesied or foreshewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.*



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### THE TENTH CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] When Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yeeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but sorilie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easilie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment 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. Suithred or Suthred [Sidenote: The end of the kingdome of Kent. 827.] king of Essex was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome 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 verie [Sidenote: The end of the kingdome of Essex.] shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeeres, from the yeere 614, vnto the yeere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set foorth by Alexander Neuell appeereth. After the deceasse of Kenwulfe king [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* 821] of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen 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) [Sidenote: The wickedness of Quendred.] Quendred, of a malicious mind, mooued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Ashbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Ashbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yoong king foorth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yeeres and innocent age, vnto the world [Sidenote: King Kenelm murdered.] void of gilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murdered without cause or crime: he was afterwards reputed for a martyr.

[Sidenote: *See legenda aurea. fol. 165.* in the life of S. Kenelme.] 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 doue 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 the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it woorthie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the yoong prince innocentlie lost his life.



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[Sidenote: Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia 823.] After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vnclce Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yeere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe 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 haue 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 reuenge 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, [Sidenote: *Matt. Westm.* 728.] succeeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht 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 paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland [Sidenote: 828.] 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 appeere.

[Sidenote: ETHELWULFUS] Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons in the yeere 837, which was in the 24 yeere of the emperor Ludouicus 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 haue beene a priest, entered into the orders [Sidenote: *Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.*] as subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolved of his voves 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 liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] manie 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 aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.



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[Sidenote: Foure especiall destructions of this land.] But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecution vused by these [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.*] Danes seemed more greeuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded 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 aduance it to a flourishing estate.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet 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, ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new nauie, and a greater armie [Sidenote: The Danes sought the destruction of this land.] was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other 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 [Sidenote: How long the persecution of the Danes lasted. *Will. Malmes.*] 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 sequele of this booke it shall appeere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and speciallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and [Sidenote: Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.] wisdom. Amongst other, there were two notable prelates, Suithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Suithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in things appertaining to his soules health: but Adelstan tooke in hand to order matters appertaining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing foorth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath beene recorded. He gouerned the see of Shireborne the space of 50 yeeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelates.



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King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.*] great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome 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 [Sidenote: Danes discomfited. *Matth. West.*] victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, [Sidenote: Englishmen put to flight. They are eftsoones vanquished.] 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, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yeere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yeere of his reigne, with a part of his [Sidenote: Carrum.] armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of [Sidenote: The Danes wan the victorie in battell. Danes are vanquished. *Simon Dun. 851.*] men of warre, in so much that they obtained the victorie at that time, and put the king to the woorse. About the tenth yeere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, 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 Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled all their powers together, gaue battell at Ocley, [Sidenote: Ocley. Two hundred and fiftie ships saith *Hen. Hunt.*] to an huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arriued at Thames mouth, and destroyed the famous cities of London and Canturburie, 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 beleued on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.



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[Sidenote: The Danes eftsoones vanquished. Danes ouercome by sea.] Thus king Ethelwulfe obtained a glorious victorie in so mightie a battell, as a greater had not beene lightlie heard of to chance within the English dominions. The same yeere also Athelstan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by sea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ships, and chased the residue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the [Sidenote: The Deuonshire men vanquish the Danes.] power of Deuonshire, fought with the Danes at Winleshore, 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 heere all the winter, vsing afore time but to come and make an inuasion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

[Sidenote: *Simon Dun.* 852.] In the 18 yeere of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gawe to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The same yeere king Ethelwulfe sent his sonne Alured as then but fife yeeres of age to Rome, where he was consecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had beene his owne sonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or [Sidenote: Great slaughter of Danes at Tenet.] rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought against the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen preuailing 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 ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be free from all tribute, duties, or seruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yeere: he tooke with him his sonne [Sidenote: The Saxons schoole.] Alured, who had beene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxons schoole, which Offa king of Mercia had sometime founded in that citie, and latelie had beene sore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from [Sidenote: King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches. *Will. Malmes. Simon Dun. Mancusae.*] thence-foorth 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 paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer 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.



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[Sidenote: The ladie Iudith.] In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Iudith, 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 deed he offended so the minds of his subiects, bicause 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 [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] 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 constrained to content himselfe with the east part being the woorst.

[Sidenote: 857.] 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 beyond the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelstane bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alfride, the mariage of Iudith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he seemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelstane and his son, should proceed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or else this vnequall partition should neuer haue beene made.

But howsoeuer 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 Alsred or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A little before his [Sidenote: Onelie Westsex saith *Matt. Westm.* and *Sim. Dunel.* saith that Ethelbright had Sussex also, and so dooth *H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.*] death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succeed him in the whole regiment 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 sojourned all the winter season in the Ile of Shepie.

¶ The old Saxons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following.



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Ethelwulfe the sonne of Egbert, the son of Alcmund, the son of Eaffa, the son of Eoppa, the son of Ingils, the son of Kenred, the son of Coelwald, the son of Cudwine, the son of Ceawlin, the son of Kenric, the son of Cerdic, the son of Eslic, the son of Gewise, the son of Wingie, the son of Freawin, the son of Fridagare, the son of Brendie, the son of Beldegie, the son of Woden, the son of Frethelwold, the son of Freolaffe, the son of Frethewolfe, the son of Finnie, the son of Godulfe, [Sidenote: *De quo Sedulius in car. pasch\_*] the son of \*Geta, the son of Teathwie, the son of Beame, the son of Sceldie, the son of Seafe, the son of Heremod, the son of Itermod, the son of Hordie, the son of Wale, the son of Bedwie, the son of Sem, the son of Noah, and so foorth to Adam, as you shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse vnto the first of the fift chapter of Genesis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also haue obserued; as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mixed with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from [Sidenote: *\_John Castor.\_ \_Simon Dun.\_ \_Matt. Parker\_*. A kings son and heire a bishop.] the children of Gwiston; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was so well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he vnderooke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seuen yeeres before he was king.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the Westsaxons, the fame of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroyed by the Danes, they plaid the trucebreakers and did much mischiefe 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 successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred; Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella 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 ELEUENTH CHAPTER.



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[Sidenote: Bertwolfe. of Mercia.] After Wightlafe 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 countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which married Ethelswida [Sidenote: *Matt. West.* saith the daughter. *Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgrau.*] the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowned in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Pouleswoorth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yeeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, 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 Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestine, and elsewhere.

[Sidenote: ETHELBALD AND ETHELBRIGHT. 857.] Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuiding 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 emperor 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 [Sidenote: *The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. Wil. Malm.*] of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch tooke to wife his mother in law queene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yeeres in gouernement of the kingdome, 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 loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.



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[Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.* Winchester destroyed by Danes.] In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroyed the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe [Sidenote: Danes vanquished.] with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and wasted all the east part of Kent: wherevpon the Kentishmen assembled together, made towards those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons fiue yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

[Sidenote: *ETHELRED. 867.*] 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 emperour 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 courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what appertained to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

[Sidenote: *Foure yeeres six moneths saith Harison. Wil. Malm.* Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yeere.] For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath beene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with diuers 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 ouerthrew. 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 vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilst Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of [Sidenote: *The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.*] Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and tooke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to susteine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.



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[Sidenote: The Danes grow in puisance.] 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 conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, [Sidenote: Hungar and Vbba.] there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowned capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of maruellous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce vpon certeine 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 armies into Yorkshire, finding the country vnprouided of necessarie defense bicause of the ciuill discord that reigned [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.* King Osbright deposed and Ella placed.] among the Northumbers, the which had latelie expelled king Osbright, that had the gouernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constreined to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countrie euen to the riuier of Tine, were lodged.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by [Sidenote: Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine.] reason whereof a sore battell insued 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 constreined to take truce with the [Sidenote: It must be vpon the 10 kalends of Aprill, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. See *Mat. West.*] 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) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the [Sidenote: Yorke burnt by Danes.] citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fier and burnt, together with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer 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 sort six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuier of Tine. In the same yeare, Adelstane



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bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that see the [Sidenote: The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shirborne.] terme of 50 yeares. This Adelstane was a man of high wisdom, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had doone in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, wherevpon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulfe was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie enriched the see of Shireborne, [Sidenote: Bishop Adelstan couetous. *Hen. Hunt.*] and yet though he was feruentlie set on couetousnesse, he was neuertheless verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable; yet simplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which biddeth that none should doo euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelstane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnes, which is termed the root of all mischief, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten together, he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

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*Burthred king of Mercia with aid beseegeth the Danes in Notingham, Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers inuade the Westsaxons, they are incountred by Ethelwulfe earle of Barkeshire; King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one luarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Osbright rauisheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell insueth therevpon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.*

### THE TWELFT CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: BURTHRED king of Mercia.] In the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yeere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish capteines Hungar and Vbba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had woon the towne for the winter season. Wherevpon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their [Sidenote: Danes besieged in Notingham.] powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselues in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they

obtained, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they soiourned the most part of all that yeare.



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In the sixt yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force [Sidenote: Basreeg and Halden.] and power came into the countrie of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the [Sidenote: Edelwulfe, erle of Barkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.] earle of Berrockshire Edelwulfe fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

[Sidenote: The Danes wan the victory at Reading.] 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 incounter with the earles. Herevpon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on caused them to deferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred staid in his tent to heare diuine seruice, whilst his brother vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staid his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finallie [Sidenote: The Danes discomfited.] were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Osreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yoonger, 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 eftsoones with the Danish armie at Basing, [Sidenote: A battell at Merton.] 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 woorse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund [Sidenote: He was bishop of Shireborne as *Matt. West.* saith.] bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of woorthie fame and good account.



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In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, [Sidenote: *Polyd. Virg. Iuarus.*] 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 inuaded the countrie adjoining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day together, and was in danger to haue beene put to the woorse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they ioined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, [Sidenote: Danes put to flight.] discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues together, and [Sidenote: Agnerus and Hubba.] found but a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsoones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters 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. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe 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 trueth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers doo record of these matters, and namelie touching the dooings 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 receiued in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter [Sidenote: Winborne abbeie.] departed this life, in the sixt yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish [Sidenote: Agnerus. *Fabian*. 870.] capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came [Sidenote: Edmund K. of the Eastangles.] vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his



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people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of [Sidenote: Framingham castell.] Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yeilded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the [Sidenote: King Edmund shot to death.] christian faith, they bound him to a tree, and shot arrowes 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 [Sidenote: Eglesdon.] 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 Edmundsburie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* Eastangles without a gouernour.] 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 tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they [Sidenote: Guthrun a Dane king of Eastangles.] appointed a king to rule ouer 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 [Sidenote: *Polychron.*] hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongst other cruell deeds, they destroyed the citie of Acluid, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers dooth [Sidenote: *Caxton.*] manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Northumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his coosin of the iniurie doone to him by king Osbright. Wherevpon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished foorth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder 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 slaine 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 fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

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*Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and the greatest part of England, the Danes afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.*

### THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: ALURED OR ALFRED. 871. as *Mat. West. & Sim. Dunelmen.* doo note it. *Henr. Hunt.*] After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succeeded him, and began his reigne ouer 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 reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth 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 haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the yoongest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

[Sidenote: Alured persecuted by Danes. *Matt. Westm.*] In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miseries, speciallie by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and greuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroieng the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was [Sidenote: The Danes obtaine the victorie.] made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the woorse, yet in the end they obtained the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the [Sidenote: The Danes wintered at London. 874.] Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued 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 Lindseie, and there lodged all that winter at [Sidenote: Repton.] Torkseie. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Esketell, & [Sidenote: Burthred king of Mercia.] Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeeres, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: wherevpon he was constreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, neere to the English schoole.



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[Sidenote: 875.] In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter, season neere to [Sidenote: The Danes went into Northumberland.] the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongst his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preis out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders [Sidenote: The Danes at Cambridge. 876.] came vnto 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 insuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to doo [Sidenote: The Danes tooke an oth. *Hen. Hunt.*] to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, susteined great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanewicke.

[Sidenote: The Danes went to Excester.] Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Excester, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] such couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Esketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents. [Sidenote: 877.]

[Sidenote: *Polydor.*] King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie neere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came foorth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon an other, and so of force were constrained to retire: and therewithal did cast themselues into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged together



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on heaps, that they had no roome to stir their weapons. Which [Sidenote: Hubba slaine.] disaduantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongst other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capteins. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed [Sidenote: The victorie doubtful.] them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be brieft, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which [Sidenote: Abington.] doone, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had beene discomfited by the Danes, bicause that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. [Sidenote: The Danes and Englishmen fight neer to Abington.] On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies slacke, on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it seemed the Englishmen men had not to doo with those Danes, which had beene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horssemen alighting on foot, and putting their horssees from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the sorest foughten [Sidenote: Vncerteine victorie Thus farre *Polydor.*] fields that had beene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was vtterlie vncerteine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seuen times that yeere [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] did the English and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue [Sidenote: A peace agreed vpon.] 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 new supplie of souldiers 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 themselues with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the [Sidenote: The Danes sojourned at London.] inhabitants. The same yeere the Danes soiorned in the winter season at London, according as they had doone often times before.



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*Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giueth him batell, Rollo saileth ouer into France; who first inhabited Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behaiour unsuspected, assalteth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.*

### THE XIIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: Ann. 876. saith *Simon Dun.*] 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 countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischief, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue 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 fauourable to him, that he obtained in that region for him and his [Sidenote: 30 yeeres after this he was baptised.] people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie 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 [Sidenote: King Alured driuen to his shifts.] king Alured but onlie the three countries 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 Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called [Sidenote: Edlingsey.] Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes.



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[Sidenote: A vision if it be true.] Whiles he was thus shut vp within this lland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath beene said, saint Cuthbert appeared to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. 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 foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the vittelling of them at that season.

[Sidenote: King Alured disguiseth himselfe. *Polydor, Fabian.*] Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon 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 tarrieng there certeine daies together, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Wherevpon they conceiuing a maruellous 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 doone, and certificat [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.* 877.] made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

[Sidenote: 878.] About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie [Sidenote: *Matth. West.*] and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.



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King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a [Sidenote: Athelney.] fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeere of his reigne, king Alured went to Eglerighston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he [Sidenote: Edantdune. This battell should seeme the same that *Polydor* speaketh of fought at Abingdon. *Polychron. Iohn Pike.*] went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of foureteene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome [Sidenote: Gurthrun or Gurmund baptised, and named Adelstan is made king of Eastangle.] 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 gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, 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 Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set foorth thus: "First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so foorth streight vnto Bedford: and finallie going alongst by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet."

This league being made with the aduise 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.

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*Th' English called diuers people Danes whom the French named Normans, whervpon that generall name was giuen them; Gurmo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Froto was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth foorth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourable giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.*



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### THE XV. CHAPTER.

Here is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie 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) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade 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 [Sidenote: Gurmo.] writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, bicause he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

[Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.* 878.] In the eight yeere of king Alfred his reigne, 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 [Sidenote: 879.] king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his reigne, part [Sidenote: *Simon Dun. Matth. West*] of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into [Sidenote: Rochester beseiged. 885.] England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approached to the reskue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nauie of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuier called Sture, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their prises, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished. In the yeere following, [Sidenote: 889.] king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof [Sidenote: London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.] gladlie receiued him, reioising 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 deliuered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had married his daughter [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphas.*] Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an [Sidenote: Limer, now Rother. Andredeslegia. A castell built at Appledore. 893] armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuier of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere 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.



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In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.* At Milton. Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth.] builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuerthelesse this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going foorth to spoile and wast the kings [Sidenote: *Beamfield* saith *M. West.*] countries, Alfred tooke that castle, with his wife, children, ships [Sidenote: This enterprise was atchiued by Etheldred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as *Matth. West.* hath noted] and goods, which he got together of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, bicause he was their godfather.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of [Sidenote: *Excester* besieged.] Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore inuaded Essex, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell [Sidenote: *Seuerne.*] neere vnto the riuier of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Essex. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking preies. [Sidenote: *Chester* taken by Danes.] Besides this, other armies there were sent foorth, which comming out of Northumberland tooke the citie of Chester, but there they [Sidenote: *Great famine*] were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horssees. At length, in the 24 yeere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about Northwales, and so [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Essex, and in the winter following drew their ships by [Sidenote: *The water of Luie, now Lee.*] 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 diuerse of their ships.



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In the yeere following, the other armie which had brought the ships [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell neere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came [Sidenote: The Londoners victors against the Danes.] thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. 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 Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanel, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went [Sidenote: Quathbridge or Wakebridge.] into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

Thus for the space of three yeeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Luie, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues susteined more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and [Sidenote: The Danish armie diuided into parts.] spoiling. In the fourth yeere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon 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.

[Sidenote: The death of king Alfred.] Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yeeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at [Sidenote: His issue.] Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three [Sidenote: Elfleda.] daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

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*How Elflæda king Alfreds daughter (being married) contemned fleshlie pleasure; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholars, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.*

### THE XVJ. CHAPTER.

In the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elflæda, who (as you haue heard) was married vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie plesure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, [Sidenote: The notable saieng of Elflæda.] she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great foolishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great grieffe.

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 beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was [Sidenote: *Will. Malmes.*] (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to see his subiects gouerned in [Sidenote: King Alfred his lawes.] good and vpriight iustice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greeued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offenders.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining together, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before



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he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, shuld be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils 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 relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a peece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

[Sidenote: Foundation of monastaries.] Moreouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Sumersetshire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiua abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie esteemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he tooke in hand about the 23 yeere of his reigne, which was in the yeere [Sidenote: 895.] of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded [Sidenote: *Polydor*. The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.] before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as *Polydor* gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yeere of our Lord 630.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English toong, gathered together and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius*, *Pastorale Gregorij*, *Beda de gestis Anglorum*, *Boetius de consolatione philosophiae*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented 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 [Sidenote: The vertuous zeale of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of life.] possible to instruct his subiects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yeeres of age before he could read [Sidenote: He is persuaded by his mother, to applie himselfe to learning.] a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

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Herevpon 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 fauorer of learned men, that he delighted most in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerse to come [Sidenote: Asserius Meuenensis. Werefridus. Iohn Scot.] vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Meneuensis bishop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into English. Also I. Scot, who whiles he was in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was schoolemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murdered by his scholars with penknives. He had diuerse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Pleimond afterward [Sidenote: Grimbold.] archbishop of Canturburie, Grimbold gouernor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

[Sidenote: Alured diuides the time for his necessarie vses.] But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reading, and making his praier, other eight he emploied in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the sexton, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle warned the king euar how the time [Sidenote: His last will and testament.] passed away. A little before his death, he ordeined his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods iustlie gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants in houshold, the second to such labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of sundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to strangers. The second whole part of his reuenues 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 inquirie how the iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He married his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstride vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the first succeeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.



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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 remoued it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the woorthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a maner word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no litle labor hath beene diligentlie imploied in supplieng sundrie insufficiencies found in this huge volume.

NOBILITAS innata tibi probitatis honorem *Nobilitie by birth to the (o Alfred strong in armes) (Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitasque laborem, Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toilesome harmes, Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori And toilesome harmes an endlesse name, whose ioies were alwaies next Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori. With sorow, and whose hope with feare was euermore perplex.* Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas, *If this day thou wert conqueror, the next daies warre thou dredst,* Si modo 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 dailie swet, whose blade with bloudie stainte,* Tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare probarunt, *Do proue how great a burthen tis in roialtie 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 abide,* Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum, *And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,* Aut gladio potuit vitae finisse labores: *Or with the sword the toilesomnesse of life by death diuide.* Iam post transactos regni vitaeque labores, *Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)* Christus ei fit vera quies sceptrumque 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 Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the [Sidenote: Cewulfe.] countrie into their possession, made one Cewulfe K. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer keepe the state with their pleasure, and further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cewulfe was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure 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.



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The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obtained all the dominion of [Sidenote: 886. *Matth. West.*] that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, 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 reigne vnder the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these dales were vnder subiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which [Sidenote: Guthrun K. of the eastangles died 890.] before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that gouerned 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 [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] 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 [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] their old accustomed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion against [Sidenote: 872. Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.] their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their archbishop [Sidenote: Egbert departed this life. Riesig.] Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Rigsig or Ricsige succeeded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home.

[Sidenote: The Danes winter in Lindsie.] 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 [Sidenote: 975.] in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as [Sidenote: Riesig departed this life.] before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Riesig the king of [Sidenote: 983.] Northumberland departed this life: after whome another Egbert succeeded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose [Sidenote: Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.] Guthrid the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Witingham. But now by the aduise 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 abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthrid king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons.



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[Sidenote: The bishops see removed fr[=o] holie lland to Chester in the street.] When Guthrid was established king, he caused the bishops see to be removed from holie lland vnto Chester in the street, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and mistie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and peeres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and professe (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to enrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to seeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townships for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles; but like good and gracious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

[Sidenote: Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.] Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer 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 freedome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthrid, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthrid departed this life in the [Sidenote: 894.] yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of 11 yeares, or somewhat [Sidenote: *Polydor. Will. Malmes.*] more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthrid, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Sithrike.*] receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthrid or Gurmo 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.

\* \* \* \* \*



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*Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, 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 recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof 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 Elfreda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.*

### THE XVIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDWARD THE ELDER. 901.] After the deceasse of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer 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 yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, and about the eight yeare or Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined 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 glorie and high commendation.

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother [Sidenote: Winborne.] Adelwold, which tooke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and married a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Wherevpon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.* Adelwold fleeth to the Danes. *Wil. Malm.*] of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king tooke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vnclcs sonne.



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After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of [Sidenote: The English nation practised in wars go commonlie awaie with the victorie.] souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so invred with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen [Sidenote: Essex yeelded to Adelwold. *Ran. Higd.*] at the first the Essex men yeelded themselues vnto him. In the yeere following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, wasting and spoiling the same vnto Crikelade, and there passing ouer [Sidenote: *Brittenden.*] the Thames, rode foorth till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some bookes haue) *Brittenden*, harieng the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great ioy and triumph.

[Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] King Edward awakened heerewith assembled his people, and followed the enimies, wasting all the countries betwixt the riuier of Ouse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should staie behind him, but come backe together for [Sidenote: The Kentishmen disobeying the kings commandement, are surprised by the enimies. Adelwold king Edwards brother.] doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seuen messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came together, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselues. 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 diuerse of the chiefe capteins amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlem or Sigbelme, 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 Itingford. But in the yeere following, he sent an armie against them [Sidenote: Fortie daies saith *Simon Dun.*] of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and tooke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of fife weekes.



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The yeere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome 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 capteins and [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils, earle Vter, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yeere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Etheldred departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elflada to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still retained in his owne hand. This Elflada was wife to the said duke Edred or Etheldred, as before you haue heard: of whose woorthie acts more shall be said heereafter.

In the ninth yeere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at [Sidenote: Wightham.] Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Essex at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Meauldun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yeere following, the armie of [Sidenote: Chester, or rather Leicester, as I thinke. Digetune.] the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxfordshire. And shortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, 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 horssees.

In the 11 yeere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so tooke preies in Wales: they also tooke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camelgaret, [Sidenote: Irchenfield.] at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ransome. After that the armie of Danes went forth to spoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout assembled together, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and slue one of their [Sidenote: Danes discomfited.] noble men called earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Vter, with a great part of their armie, & draue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stale wise into the borders: neuerthelesse they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to [Sidenote: The Ile of Stepen. Deomedun.] their ships. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, bicause they could not go abroad to [Sidenote: Danes saile into Ireland.] get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.



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The same yeere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Ouse, and the other vpon the other side of the [Sidenote: Turketillus an earle.] same riuer. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yeere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought together at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish rouers 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 reigne.

[Sidenote: *Anno 911. Simon Dun.*] After this, other of the Danes assembled themselues together, and in Staffordshire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the woorse in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, [Sidenote: *Polydor. Ericke king of Eastangles.*] gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agreement they might set vpon the English nation, and vtterlie subdue them.

[Sidenote: King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eastangles.] King Edward hauing intelligence heereof, purposed to preuent him, and therevpon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing already his people in armor through displeasure conceiued heereof, and desire to be reuenged, hasted forth to incounter his enimies: and so they met in [Sidenote: Ericke put to flight.] the field, and fiercelie assailed ech other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Ericks 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, bicause of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eastangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue doone: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to submit themselues vnto [Sidenote: The kingdom of the Eastangles subdued by K. Edward.] king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.



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*Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for government, what a necessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repared, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were emploied, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first curssed and why; a prouinciall councill summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth another.*

### THE XVIIJ. CHAPTER.

Not without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and politike order vsed in all hir dooings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but speciallie in reparing and building of townes & castels, [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dun.*] 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 repare these towns, whose [Sidenote: Tamwoorth was by hir repared, anno 914. Eadsburie and Warwike. 915.] names here insue: Tamwoorth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Eliilsburie or rather Eadsburie, in the forrest of De la mere besides Chester, Brimsburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the riuer Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had [Sidenote: Chester repared, 905. *Sim. Dun.*] beene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie enlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Moreouer she boldlie assalted hir enimies 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 [Sidenote: Queene of the Welshmen taken. *Brecenamere. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.* 918. Darbie won from the Danes.] of the Welshmen at Bricenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adioining. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was woon: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constrained them of Yorkeshire to agree

with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subjects: some vowed to aid hir, and some sware to be at hir commandement.



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[Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Anno Christie 919.*] Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elflada, the supporter of hir councitriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamwoorth about the 12 of lune, in the 18 or rather 19 yeere of [Sidenote: *Matt. West. Simon Dun.*] hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Matth. West it should appeere. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceased in the yeere of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yeere of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Glocester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswill from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroyed by Danes. But [Sidenote: *Ranul.*] Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elflads magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir toome.

*O Elflada potens, o terror virgo virorum, O Elflada potens, nomine digna viri. Te quoque splendidior fecit natura puellam, Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri. Te mutare decet sed solum nomina sexus, Tu regina potens rexque trophea parans. Iam nec Caesareos tantum mirere triumphos, Caesare splendidior virgo virago, vale.*

[Sidenote: Translated by *Abraham Fleming.*]

O puissant Elflad, o thou maid  
of men the dread and feare,  
O puissant Elflad woorthie maid  
the name of man to beare.  
A noble nature hath thee made  
a maiden mild to bee,  
Thy vertue also hath procurde  
a manlie name to thee.  
It dooth but onelie thee become,  
of sex to change the name,  
A puissant queene, a king art thou  
preparing trophes of fame.  
Now maruell not so much at Caesars  
triumphs [trim to vieu;]  
O manlike maiden more renowmd  
than Caesar was, adieu.

[Sidenote: This Alfwen was sister to Edelfled, as *H. Hunt.* saith.] After the deceasse of Elflada, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his neece Alfwen or Elswen, the daughter of Elflada, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all [Sidenote: Stratcluid or Stretclad, a kingdome in Wales.] this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Stretclad, 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 [Sidenote: K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes.] against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to applie the building and repairing of cities, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new



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towne at Notingham on the southside [Sidenote: Notingham bridge built. *Matt. West.*] of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne [Sidenote: Manchester repared. Anno 816. *Simon Dun.*] and the new. He also repared Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: [Sidenote: *Henr. Hunt.*] diuerse other townes and castels he built, 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 built or new repared the townes of Tocetor and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yeere of his reigne. Some also he destroyed which seemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat about the tearme of 23 yeeres, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wiues, or (as some haue [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succeeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath beene reported) dreamed [Sidenote: *A dreame.*] on a time that there rose a moone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine thereof gaue 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.

Heerevpon when she came to ripe yeeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, vpon the first sight was streight rauished 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 Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was married [Sidenote: *Matt. West. Polydor.*] vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. of Northumberland. The Scottish writers name hir Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not married to Eguina mother to Adelstan) was called Elfleda or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and [Sidenote: *The issue of K. Edward.*] Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their father; and six daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgiua. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also liued in perpetuall virginitee, but yet in a laie habit.



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[Sidenote: *Alias Edgiua. Wil. Malm.*] Edgitha was married to Charles king of France, surnamed Simplex. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie esteemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgiua and Elgiua 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 Edgiua, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adestan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine.

[Sidenote: *Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. West.*] Whilest 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 apperteining to [Sidenote: *England first accursed.*] the church. Wherevpon the pope had accursed the English people, because they suffred the bishops sees to be vacant so long a time. [Sidenote: *Anno 903.*] King Edward to auoid the curse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be diuided into fiue diocesses, euerie of them to haue 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 ordeined [Sidenote: *Winchester. Cornewall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercia.*] seuen bishops, as fiue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the see of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwall, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Sussex he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus.



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[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* saith that pope Formosus pronounced this cursse. 904.] ¶ Heere ye must note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other doo affirme, that pope Formosus did accurse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sees to be vacant, it can not stand with the agreement or the time, vnlesse that the cursse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne 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 [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] Edward came to the crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decreed & doone, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sees, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chieflie vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appeereth, 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.

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightwold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the see, succeeded Taduin, that sat three yeeres, Notelin fiue yeeres, Cuthbert 18 yeeres, Brethwin three yeeres, Lambert 27 yeeres, Adelard 13 yeeres, Wilfred 28 yeeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yeeres, Celuotus or Chelutus 10 yeeres. Then succeeded Aldred, of whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he was [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] predecessor to Pleimond. A litle before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Nigellus, and then king Reinold conquered the citie of Yorke.

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*Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward in the kingdome, Alfred practising by treason to keepe him from the gouernement, sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he did to satisfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter married to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangellie put to death by hir stepsons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.*

THE XIX. CHAPTER.



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[Sidenote: ADELSTAN. *Matt. West. Will. Malmes.* 924.] Adelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yeere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 31 yeere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, three moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yeere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop 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 [Sidenote: Alfred striueth in vaine to keepe Adelstane from the gouernment. *Wil. Malm.* See more hereof in the acts and monuments set foorth by *M. Fox*, vol. 1. leafe 195.] beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: 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 oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie 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 Iohn 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 kinsfolks, 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 mooued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. 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 indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people; which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First [Sidenote: *Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.*] therefore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yeere after he had so married hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him.



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There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succeeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to mooue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, 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 Reignold which wan Yorke, after that [Sidenote: *H. Hunt.*] Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mentioned.

[Sidenote: *Hect. Boetius.* The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.] ¶ The Scotish 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 mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor 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 iolie 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 reioising of all the Danes, least if he had suruiued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

[Sidenote: Adelstane flieth the realme.] 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 vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Aualassus, 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 [Sidenote: Beatrice put to death by hir stepsons.] vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted eggs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, 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 reuenge of his daughters death mooued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Thus haue the Scotish 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 leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers deceasse was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yeere of his reigne, giuen in mariage



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(as before ye haue 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 againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserable ended his life. Whervpon the yoong ladie, hir [Sidenote: Editha a virgine.] virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoorth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and dooing of almesdeedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scottish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.

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*Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe unsuspected, he is discovered after his departure, be assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, be subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.*

### THE XX. CHAPTER.

After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] Huduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him. Herevpon with all conuenient speed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Vimer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselues vnto him, who shortlie after moued with pitie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* The noble saieng of king Adelstane. 926.] to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.



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Ye must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotish chronicles) the Scotishmen 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 neere adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in deed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey 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, besiged the citie of Duresme, solliciting the citzens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue doone, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King [Sidenote: 934.] Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

[Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint Iohn of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeeme the same with a woorthie price: and so proceeded and went [Sidenote: *Sim. Dun.*] forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, wasted the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his nauie by sea destroyed the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catnesse, and so he brought the [Sidenote: *The Scots subdued.*] king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

[Sidenote: *A token shewed miraculously that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.*] It is said, that being in his iournie neere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he praied vnto God, that at the instance of saint Iohn of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing neere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an elme, which remained to be shewed as a wnesse of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redeemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

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[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Matt. Westm.* 934.] After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, wherevpon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, onelie accompanied with one esquier, so that being lanced foorth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Canturburie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders saith, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a creeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his coosin germane, and honorable 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 hartilie thanked [Sidenote: Repentance too late.] earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelstane 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 neuer abide the man that had giuen the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recouered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saieng, "One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other:" which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue beene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] In this meane while, Aulafe the sonne of Sitherike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarcked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of [Sidenote: 937.] Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had married the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulafe [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] tooke in hand this iournie. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient speed hasted towards them, and approching neerer vnto them, pitcht downe his [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.*] field at a place called by some Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and also Brunaubright, and by the Scottish writers Browmingfield.



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[Sidenote: *Matth. West. Hector Boet. Ran. Higd.* Aulafe disguised, cometh to view the English camp.] When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offring himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This doone, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to 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 haue giuen vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therefore if I should haue betraied him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter doo the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, remoue your tent, least happilie he assaile you vnwares." The king did so, and as it chanced in the [Sidenote: Aulafe assaileth the English camp.] 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 pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine, which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane 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 [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie preased foorth vpon his enimies, 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 [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* The enimies discomfited.] them an huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welneere 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 Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.



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[Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.*] 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 [Sidenote: Tribute. The Cornish men subdued.] 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 [Sidenote: Excester repaired. 940.] quite out of the same, and repaired the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Englishmen and them. [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.* The decease of king Adelstane.] 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.

[Sidenote: The description of king Adelstane.] He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stooping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion 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 Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new peece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of [Sidenote: Wolstan archbishop of Yorke. His estimation in forain realmes.] 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 themselues happie if they might haue 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, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt 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 sauieur was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuille saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth.



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Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine woorkmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane [Sidenote: *Harding.*] 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 succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scottish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.*

### THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDMUND.] After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succeed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* 940.] 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 ordeined Aulafe to [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] 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 Norwaie, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched foorth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land [Sidenote: A peace concluded. 941.] which lieth from Watlingstreet southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulafe [Sidenote: *Matth. West.* Aulafe deceaseth. Another Aulafe taketh upon him to rule.] tooke to wife the ladie Alditha,



daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obtained the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroyed the church of saint Balter, and burned Tinningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, tooke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.



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[Sidenote: 942.] 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 Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Notingham, constreining them to receiue the christian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. This doone, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Gurmo, who (as you haue heard) [Sidenote: Gurmo or Godfrey. *Wil. Malm.*] subdued Yorke, as a meane the sooner to obteine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselues vnto him: wherevpon he receiued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissance, as through the preaching of the gospell, 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. Neuerthesse, their wicked natures could not rest in quiet, [Sidenote: 944.] so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] were therefore in the yeare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne estate.

[Sidenote: Leolin king of Southwales aided king Edmund in this enterprise. 946.] Moreouer, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon consideration either of such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scottish chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme 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 Indulfe, who succeeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chronicles name Aualassus, 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 Malcolme began not his reigne till after the deceasse of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare



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of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulfe 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 satisfie the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.* The lawes of king Edmund.] But now to the other dooings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholsome lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers 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 haue beene recouered for the more part, & by maister [Sidenote: Five yeares and 7 months hath *Si. Dun.*] 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 espieng where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongst his enimies 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) Michelsbourgh.

[Sidenote: *Pridecire.* saith *Si. Dun. Will. Malm. Matth. West.* 946.] 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 moued with high disdain, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The theefe was hewen in peeces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dispatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie to the English people, which by the ouertimelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie eident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.



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There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified [Sidenote: *Capgraue*. A vaine tale.] aforehand to Dunstane, who about the same time attending vpon the same king, as he remooued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elstane, and as they rode together, behold suddenlie Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the kings musicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a reioising maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he said to the duke; Is it possible that you may see that which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing otherwise than [Sidenote: Crossing bringeth sight of the diuels, and crossing driueth them away.] he ought to see. Then said Dunstane, Blesse your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when he had doone as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the feend in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian dancing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill hap was towards some of the companie: but when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule spirit vanished out of their sight.

[Sidenote: Dunstane an interpreter of dreames.] Now after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, the duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobles sit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie together, the king chanced to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and those of his councill that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie declared that this dreame signified [Sidenote: Dunstan seeth the diuell often, but now he was become a waiter at the table when Dunstane sat with the king.] the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and insensible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme should decline from the waie of truth, and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

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*Edred succedeth his brother Edmund in the realme of England, the Northumbers rebell against him, they and the Scots sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assaltd by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king, Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.*



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THE XXIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDRED. 946.] Edred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yeere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelwe yeere of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yeere of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] and annoited the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yeere of his [Sidenote: The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.] reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, wherevpon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This doone, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, [Sidenote: Aulafe returned into Northumberland.] but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one [Sidenote: Hirke or Hericius. *Wil. Malm.* The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.] Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroyed the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing 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 enimies brake out of Yorke, [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.* Easterford.] and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obtained pardon. But bicause that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his councitmen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred tooke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Matth. Westm. reciteth an other [Sidenote: The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. *Matth. West.* 951.] cause of Wolstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yeere of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in close prison, bicause of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniustlie slaine and murdered.



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[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and [Sidenote: Edredus departeth this life.] fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Heere is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most [Sidenote: Dunstane in fauour.] especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels 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 perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sicknesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose [Sidenote: But was not this a deuise thereby to deteine the treasure? for I doo not read that he deliuered it out of his hands.] 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 deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sicknesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; 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 vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which [Sidenote: An angell, or as some think a woorse creature.] it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

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*Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome of England, his beastlie and incestuous carnalite with a kinswoman of his on the verie day of his coronation, he is reprovod of Dunstane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his unlawfull lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile,*



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*the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a faouurer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his faouuring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Wincester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of wolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.*

THE XXIIJ. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDWIN. 955.] After the deceasse of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne ouer the same in the yeere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yeere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yeere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelue yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in councell about weightie matters touching [Sidenote: *Will. Malmes. Polydor.*] the gouernment 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 hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before named abbat of Glastenburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reprooue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constreine him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

[Sidenote: *Iohn Capgrave.*] There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome 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 hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the [Sidenote: *Dunstane banished the realme.*] king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell 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 roring [Sidenote: *Dunstane seeth not the diuell.*] maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and ioifull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, doo not so greatly reioise at the matter, for thou dooest not now so much reioise at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.



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[Sidenote: Dunstane departed into exile.] Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular preists in their roomes.] 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 liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which tooke vp the bones of saint Aldelme, [Sidenote: Rebellion raised against king Edwine. *Simon Dun.*] 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 haue the gouernement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine tooke such grieffe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortlie after, when he had [Sidenote: Edwin departeth this life.] reigned somewhat more than foure yeeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.

[Sidenote: EDGAR. 959.] Edgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decease of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yeere of our Lord God 959, in the 22 yeere of the emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriual of the Danes, and in the last yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 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. [Sidenote: Edgar a fauorer of moonks.] He was a great fauorer of moonks, and speciallie had Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie and aduancement of his subiects.

[Sidenote: The diligent prouision of K. Edgar for defense of the realme.] 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, diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to waft about the coast, that no forren enemie should approach the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yeere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble together in their due places: and then would he with the east nauie saile to the



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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 scowre the seas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enimies.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and [Sidenote: Mascutius.] faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Mascutius an archpirat, or (as we may [Sidenote: Kings of Welshmen.] call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Duffnall, Girffith, Duvall, Iacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie therof, he [Sidenote: King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.] hauing 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 princelie prerogatiue and roial magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And therevpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successours account themselues kings of England, when they inioied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

The fame of this noble prince was spred ouer 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 [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd.* King Edgar faouureth Danes.] became verie familiar with him. He faoured in deed the Danes (as hath beene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarce was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas [Sidenote: English learned to quaffe of the Danes. *Will Malm.*] the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, [Sidenote: Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.] Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disordered fiercenesse of mind, or the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.



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Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the [Sidenote: Ethelwold made bishop of Winchester.] king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a moonke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doo verie much with [Sidenote: Oswald. Floriacum.] the king. Also Oswald, which had beene a moonke in the abbeie of Florie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remooued to the see of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice [Sidenote: Moonks must needs write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimati[=o].] in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offenders, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed ludweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him three hundred [Sidenote: A tribute instituted of woolf-skins.] woolues yeerelie in name of a tribute, but after three yeeres space, there was not a wolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yeere after it began to be paid.

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*The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a fowle offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold cooseneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull eies; 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 incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, 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, moonks 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 vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplenesse of his dominions.*

THE XXIIIJ. CHAPTER.



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[Sidenote: *Osborne* and *Capgrau*e hold that she was not his wife but a nun.] In this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome 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, [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.* Horger.] that Horgerius duke of Cornwall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornwall or Deuonshire, to see if the yong ladies 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 iournie into Cornwall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far in loue, [Sidenote: Erle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.] 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. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought woorthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Shortlie after perceiuing 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, bicause of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obtained Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was married and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre [Sidenote: King Edgar seeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.] wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and married his wife.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euil fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband [Sidenote: King Edgar a murtherer.] fourth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called



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Warlewood, & after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him 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 indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yoong, and Etheldred or Egelred.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaid another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, mooued also by wanton loue, with a yoong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he tooke hir foorth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to [Sidenote: His licentious life & incontinencie.] conuenient 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 lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing 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 defloured: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, 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 hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my daies worke 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 free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (saith she) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe and rough mistresse.

The king then being mooued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the dooings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the poore wench. But yet in fine (turning earnest to a iest) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that she ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vsed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foresaid Alfred.



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For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauishing of Wilfride (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed heinous, for [Sidenote: Note the deep hypocrisie of Dunstane.] that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed vnder that habit) he greatlie displeased Dunstane, so that by him he was put to his seuen yeeres penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yeere [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd. Fabian* out of *Guido de Cobeman. Wil. Malm.*] of his reigne or more. For some write that he was not crowned nor annoited 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 kingdome 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 Dunstane archbishop of [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Higd.*] Canturburie, and Oswold archbishop of Yorke. But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediatlíe vpon the death of Edridus, [Sidenote: *Polydor.*] affirme that he was crowned and annoited king by the archbishop Odo, Dunstane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlíe reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath beene said) and after the decease of Odo was aduanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that [Sidenote: *Matt. West. Simon Dun.*] Dunstane was reuoked out of exile immediatlíe vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yeere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue 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 Brighthelme bishop of Dorchester was elected archbishop. But bicause he was not able to discharge so great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

[Sidenote: *Fabian. Ran. Higd.* The Welshmen rebel and are chastised.] Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen mooued some rebellion against him. Wherevpon he assembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie 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 horsse's necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, wherevpon in sleepe there appeared one vnto 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 [Sidenote: *Will Malmes.* King Edgar departeth this life.] king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forceth not. 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.



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[Sidenote: Wherefore Edgar is praised of some writers.] This Edgar is highlie renowned of writers for such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chieflie for that he was so beneficiall to the church, namelie to moonks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie sought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in reparing those that were decaied: also by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monasteries, remoouing secular priests, and bringing in moonks in their places. There passed no one yeere of his reigne, wherin he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glastenburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeie of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeies 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 [Sidenote: *Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.*] abbeies and monasteries, in some of which he placed moonks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeies and monasteries: as Adelwold bishop of Winchester builded [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] the abbeie of Elie, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also earle [Sidenote: *Hen. Hunt.*] Ailewin, at the exhortation of the same bishop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramsey, though some attribute the dooing thereof vnto Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and some to king Edward the elder.

[Sidenote: *Matt. West.* Moonks esteemed & secular priests little regarded.] To conclude, the religious orders of moonks and nuns in these daies florished, and the state of secular priests was smallie regarded, insomuch that they were constrained to auoid out of diuerse colleges, and to leaue the same vnto moonks, as at Worcester and Winchester, wherein the new monasterie, bicause the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the prebends were taken [Sidenote: *Ran. Higd. lib. 6 cap. 9*] from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vse themselues 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 John the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vsed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.*] He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie [Sidenote: Edgar small of stature but strong and hardie.] he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little



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a personage such strength, that he durst incounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to doo with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes men vse their toongs more [Sidenote: Kenneth king of Scots.] liberallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certeine words in this maner: "It may (saith hee) seeme a maruell that so manie countries and prouinces should be subiect to such a little sillie bodie as Edgar is." These words being borne awaie by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiselie 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 hauing caused one of his seruants 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 [Sidenote: The noble courage of king Edgar.] laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scottish king, willing him now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by prooffe whether of them ought to be subiect 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 easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordiner, by whome 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 whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] 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 plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was mainteined, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the [Sidenote: Ireland subiect to king Edgar.] realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it dooth and may appeare.



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*Contention amongst the peeres and states about succession to the crowne, the moonkes remoued and the canons and secular priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his adherents, a blasing starre with the euentz insuing the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betwene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir step-sonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, dooth penance, and imploiet hie substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten up with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.*

### THE XXV. CHAPTER.

[Sidenote: EDWARD.] After the deceasse of king Edgar, there was some strife and [Sidenote: Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succeed him. *Simon Dun. Iohn Capg.*] contention amongst the lords & peeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled together, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elflada the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for lieng with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be [Sidenote: Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediately upon Edgars death before the crowne was established, renouced the moonks and restored the canons. *Simon Dun.*] 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 likelie inough 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 earle 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 gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of [Sidenote: 975.]



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the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great grieffe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was [Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] seene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongst the people, and morraine of cattell.

[Sidenote: Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia.] Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroyed the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold 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 wrongs that were doone to them, in that they had beene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of dooing could not please God, not yet be allowed of anie good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue beene another mans vndooing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had [Sidenote: *Iohn Capg. Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simon Dun.*] wrong. In so much that they remoued the moonks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brightnode earle of Essex, withstood this dooing, & gathering an armie, with great valiancie mainteined the moonks in their houses, [Sidenote: *Simon Dun.*] within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were counceles holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

[Sidenote: *Polydor.*] At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered [Sidenote: A pretie shift of the moonks to disappoint the priests. *Polydor.*] certeine woords in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the moonks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) bicause the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had beene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the trouble was ceased. So the moonks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.



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[Sidenote: *Wil. Malm.*] The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, sat in an vpper loft. The king by reason of his yoong yeeres was spared, so that he came not there. Heere as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himselfe what could be said, Dunstane was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioists of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstane alone [Sidenote: Dunstane by woorking miracles had his will, when arguments failed.] standing vpon one of the ioists that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controuersie betweene the priests and moonks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

In this meane 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 began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, [Sidenote: *Polydor. Will. Malms.*] and a brotherlie loue to hir sonne Egelred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forrest neere the castell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egelred then soiourned, when all his companie were spred abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he [Sidenote: The wicked purpose of queene Alfred.] tooke the waie streight 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 woorke that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to slea the king hir sonne in law, that hir owne sonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alight, which he in no wise would yeeld 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 forrest againe to see some more sport.

[Sidenote: The shameful murther of K. Edward.] The queene perceiuing that he would not alight, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir seruants stroke him into the bodie with a knife, wherevpon feeling himselfe wounded, he set spurres to the horsse thinking to gallop awaie, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horsse, so as one of his feet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horsse drew him foorth through [Sidenote: *Matth. West. Fabian. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm.*] woods



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and launds, & the bloud which gushed out of the wound shewed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horsse had left him. That place was called Corphes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie solemne funeralls at Warham. For they which enuied that he should inioy the crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not so 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 [Sidenote: Miracles.] reported) for there was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilier to be told than beleued.

Queene Alfred also would haue ridden to the place where he laie, mooued with repentance (as hath beene said) but the horsse wherevpon she rode would not come neere the graue, for anie thing that could be doone to him. Neither by changing the said horsse could the matter be holpen: for euen the same thing happened to the other horsse. Heerevpon the woman perceiued hir great offense towards God for murthuring the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir bodie in fasting, and other [Sidenote: Building of abbeies in those daies was thought to be a full satisfaction for all manner of sinnes.] 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 Ambresburie, 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 remooued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried [Sidenote: Elferus.] there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe, in that he had beene 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 [Sidenote: Polydor.] death with lice (if the historie be true.) King Edward came to his [Sidenote: Will. Malmes.] death after he had reigned three yeeres, or (as other write) three yeeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatsoeuer hath beene 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 appeere he was in deed) great occasion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto queene Alfred to seeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of hir son Egelred from his rightfull succession to the crowne:



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but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpose, and not so to haue procured the murther of the young prince in such vnlawfull maner. For hir dooing therein can neither be woorthilie allowed, nor throughlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischief by aduancing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

*Thus farre the sixt booke comprising the first arriual of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 652, at which time the most miserable state of England tooke beginning.*