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Stoker Wilde Christie Maupassant Haggard Chesterton Molière Eliot Grimm
Garnett Engels Schiller Byron Maupassant Schiller
Goethe Hawthorne Smith Kafka
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Baum Henry Nietzsche Dumas Flaubert Turgenev Balzac Crane
Leslie Stockton Vatsyayana Verne
Burroughs Tocqueville Gogol Busch
Curtis Homer Tolstoy Darwin Thoreau Twain Plato
Potter Zola Lawrence Stevenson Dickens Harte
Kant Freud Jowett Andersen London Descartes Cervantes Burton Hesse
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**Chronicles of England, Scotland
and Ireland (2 of 6) England (1 of
12) William the Conqueror**

Raphael Holinshed

Imprint

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HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF
CHRONICLES,
BEGINNING AT
DUKE WILLIAM THE NORMAN, COMMONLIE CALLED THE
CONQUEROR;
AND
DESCENDING BY DEGREES OF YEERES
TO ALL THE
KINGS AND QUEENES OF ENGLAND
IN THEIR
ORDERLIE SUCCESSIONS:
FIRST COMPILED BY
RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,
AND BY HIM EXTENDED TO THE
YEARE 1577.

NOW NEWLIE RECOGNISED, AUGMENTED, AND CONTINUED
(WITH OCCURRENCES AND ACCIDENTS OF FRESH MEMORIE)
TO THE YEARE 1586.

WHEREIN ALSO ARE CONTEINED MANIE MATTERS OF SIN-
GULAR DISCOURSE

AND RARE OBSERUATION,
FRUITFULL TO SUCH AS BE STUDIOUS IN ANTIQUITIES,

OR
TAKE PLEASURE IN THE GROUNDS OF ANCIENT HISTORIES.

*With a third table (peculiarlie seruing this third volume) both of names
and matters memorable.*

HISTORIÆ PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ
TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE AND HIS SINGULAR GOOD LORD,
SIR WILLIAM CECILL,

BARON OF BURGHLEYGH, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENG-
LAND, MAISTER OF THE COURTS OF WARDS AND LIUERIES,
AND ONE OF THE QUEENES MAIESTIES PRIUIE COUNCELL.

Considering with my selfe, right Honorable and my singular
good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuse me of
vaine presumption, for enterprising to deale in this so weightie a
worke, and so far aboue my reach to accomplish: I haue thought
good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first in-
duced to vndertake the same, although the cause that moued me
thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lord-
ship.

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen Reginald Wolfe late
Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowne and beholden
to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall
Cosmographie of the whole world, and therewith also certaine par-
ticular histories of euey knowne nation, amongst other whom he
purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he
procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories, and
hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accom-
plishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him
to his mercie, after fiue and twentie yeares trauell spent therein; so
that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that per-
formed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse those
whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence,
wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that
whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue

mine indeuour for their furtherance in the same. Which although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answeere that trust which the deceased reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection: yet when the volume grew so great as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression, were not willing to go through the whole, they resolued first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, bicause they were not in such readinesse, as those of forren countries, they were inforced to vse the helpe of other better able to doo it than my selfe.

Moreouer, the Charts, wherein Maister Wolfe spent a great part of his time, were not found so complet as we wished: and againe, vnderstanding of the great charges and notable enterprise of that worthie Gentleman maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charts of the seuerall prouinces of this realme to be set foorth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectly, as shall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deserved praise. If any well willer will imitate him in so praiseworthy a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeouour with all the helps we may.

The histories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greatest part with Maister Wolfe in his life time, to his liking, who procured me so manie helps to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increase the readers knowledge, which causeth the booke to grow so great. But receiuing them by parts, and at seuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not so orderlie disposed them, as otherwise I ought; choosing rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderstanding might seeme to satisfie his expectation.

I therefore most humblie beseech your Honour to accept these Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wisdome and accustomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, bicause you were euer so especiall good Lord to Maister Wolfe, to whom I was singularlie beholden; and in whose name I humblie present this rude worke vnto you; beseeching God, that as

he hath made you an instrument to aduance his truth, so it may please him to increase his good gifts in you, to his glorie, the furtherance of the Queenes Maiesties seruice, and the comfort of all hir faithfull and louing subiects.

Your Honours most humble to be commanded,

Raphael Holinshed

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

It is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in so large a field as I haue here vndertaken, while so manie sundrie men in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to surpasse me; but seeing the best able doo seeme to neglect it, let me (though least able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natiue countries praise (which is their dutie) the incouragement of their woorthie countriemen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and histories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may shew mine vttermost good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders dispensation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the least able are readiest to find fault in matters of least weight, and therefore I esteeme the lesse of their carping, but humblie beseech the skilfull to supplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeuour. For it may please them to consider, that no one can be eie-witnesse to all that is written within our time; much lesse to those things which happened in former times, and therefore must be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene so carefull, that I haue spared no paines or helpe of freends to search out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witnesses for the true setting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find such want in writers for the necessarie knowledge of things doone in times past, and lacke of meanes to obtaine sufficient instructions by reporters of the time present; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countriemen so manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the same to posteritie (as I wished) to their well deserued praise. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My speech is plaine, without any rhetoricall shew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to simple truth, than to decking words. I wish I had beene furnished with so perfect instructions, and so many good gifts, that I might haue pleased all kinds of men, but that same being so rare a thing in

any one of the best, I beseech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meanest.

But now for thy further instruction, to vnderstand the course of these my labours. First concerning the historie of England, as I haue collected the same out of manie and sundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and rashnesse sometime is found in their reports; I leaue to the discretion of those that haue perused their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather chosen to shew the diuersitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vsing a peremptorie censure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuerthesse to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he seeth cause. If some-where I shew my fansie what I thinke, and that the same dislike them; I craue pardon, speciallie if by probable reasons or plainer matter to be produced, they can shew mine error; vpon knowledge whereof I shall be readie to reforme it accordinglie. Where I doo begin the historic from the first inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that first peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters so vncerteine, if I cannot sufficientlie content my selfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I should satisfie others. That which seemeth to me most likelie, I haue noted, beseeching the learned (as I trust they will) in such points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my skill: sith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but still they are in controuersie about it, and as yet Sub iudice lis est. Well, howsoeuer it came first to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the first the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans set any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongst them: which hath brought so manie good policies and states to ruine and decaie.

The Romans hauing once got possession of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not rest (as it appeareth) till they had brought the same also vnder their subiection: and the sooner doubtlesse, by reason of the factions amongst the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accustomed skill) could turne verie well to their most aduantage. They possessed it almost fieve hundreth yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their insufferable

tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people as well here as else-where; either that their ciuill discord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not so weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the same against the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in histories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land stood in verie weake state: being spoiled of the most part of all hir able men, which were led [1] awaie into forren regions, to supplie the Romane armies; and likewise (perhaps) of all necessarie armour, weapon, and treasure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons against the Scots and Picts then inuading the same, ministred to them occasion to attempt the second conquest, which at length they brought to passe, to the ouerthrow not onelie of the British dominion, but also to the subuersion of the Christian religion here in this land: which chanced (às appeareth by Gildas) for the wicked sins and vnthankfulnessse of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occasions and causes of the transmutations of kingdoms, Nam propter peccata, regna transmutantur à gente in gentem.

The Saxons obtaining possession of the land, gouerned the same, being diuided into sundrie kingdoms, and hauing once subdued the Britons, or at the least-wise remooued them out of the most part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines; fell at diuision among themselves, and oftentimes with warre pursued ech other, so as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puissance, either to mooue warres abroad, or sufficientlie to defend themselues against forren forces at home: as manifestlie was perceiued; when the Danes and other the Northeasterne people, being then of great puissance by sea, began misserable to afflict this land: at the first inuading as it were but onelie the coasts and countries lieng neere to the sea, but afterwards with manie armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the English people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to resist the enimies; yet at length those Danes subdued the whole, and had possession thereof for a time although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to those of the Saxon line: till shortlie after, by the insolent dealings of the gouernours, a

diuision was made betwixt the king and his people, through iust punishment decreed by the prouidence of the Almighty, determining for their sinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a stranger; and therevpon when spite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in succession appertained, the Conquerour entred, and they remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie so cleerelie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to stand vp against him. And herewith altering the whole state, he planted such lawes and ordinances as stood most for his auaille and securitie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke such effect, that the state hath euer sithens continued whole and vnbroken by wise and politike gouernement, although disquieted sometime by ciuill dissention, to the ruine commonlie of the first mouers, as by the sequele of the historie you may see.

For the historie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed Hector Boece, Iohannes Maior, and Iouan Ferreri Piemontese, so far as they haue continued it, interlaced somtimes with other authours, as Houeden, Fourdon, and such like; although not often, bicause I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne histories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprise to their owne countrimen: so that whatsoeuer ye read in the same, consider that a Scotishman writ it, and an Englishman hath but onelie translated it into our language, referring the reader to the English historie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he seeth cause. For the continuation thereof I vsed the like order, in such copies and notes as Maister Wolfe in his life time procured me; sauing that in these last yeares I haue inserted some such notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, bicause I got them not till that part of the English historie was past the presse.

For Ireland, I haue shewed in mine epistle dedicatorie in what sort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to signifie, that I had not Giraldus Cambrensis, and Flatsburie, vntill that part of the booke was vnder the presse, and so being constrained to make post hast, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet dispose it so orderlie as had beene conuenient, nor pen it with so apt words as might satisfie either myselfe, or those to whose view it is now like to come. And by rea-

son of the like haste made in the impression, where I was determined to haue transposed the most part of that which in the English historie I had noted, concerning the conquest of Ireland by Hen. the second, out of Houeden & others, I had not time thereto; and so haue left it there remaining where I first noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Irish histories, because the same commeth there well enough in place, as to those that shall vouchsafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes aduise followed Functius; but after his deceasse, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following Gerardus Mercator, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue set them downe according to such authors as seeme to be of best credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but the learned and skilfull in histories it shall appeare. Moreouer, this the reader hath to consider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the surest order (in my fansie) that can be followed.

For the names of persons, townes, and places, as I haue beene diligent to reforme the errours of other (which are to be ascribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authors) so may it be that I haue some-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to restore them to their full integritie as I wished. But what I haue performed, aswell in that behalfe as others, the skilfull reader shall easily perceiue, and withall consider (I trust) what trauell I haue bestowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompense thereof he will iudge the best, and to make a freendlie construction of my meaning, where ought may seeme to haue escaped my pen or the printers presse, otherwise than we could haue wished for his better satisfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offense in time present, which referred to the time past when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable, but also allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beseech thee to weigh the causes and circumstances of such faults and imperfections, and consider that the like may creepe into a far lesse volume than this, and shew me so much fauour as hath beene

shewed to others in like causes. And sithens I haue doone my good will, accept the same, as I with a free and thankfull mind doo offer it thee; so shall I thinke my labour well bestowed. For the other histories, which are alreadie collected, if it please God to giue abilitie, shall in time come to light, with some such breefe descriptions of the forren regions whereof they treat, as may the better suffice to the readers contentation, and vnderstanding of the matters contained in the same histories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I cease further to trouble thy patience, wishing to thee (gentle reader) so much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie spirit may endue thee with.

FINIS.

THE
POLITIKE CONQUEST
OF
WILLIAM THE FIRST.

Anno 1. This William Duke of Normandie, base son of Robert the sixt Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto Edward king of England, surnamed the Confessor, hauing vanquished the English power, and slaine Harold in the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the historie of England) began his reigne ouer England the xv. daie of October being Sundaie, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033, (as 1066. W. Harison gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauieur 1066, which was in the tenth yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, in the sixt of pope Alexander the second, in the sixt of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, king of Scotland.

Sim. Dun. Immediatlie after he had thus got the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) he first returned to Hastings, and after set forward towards London, wasted the countries of Sussex, Kent, Hamshire, Southerie, Middlesex, and Herefordshire, burning the townes, and sleaing the people, till he came to Beorcham. In the meane time, immediatlie after the discomfiture in Sussex, the two earles of Northumberland and Edwin and Marchar.

Quéene Aldgitha sent to Chester.

Wil. Mal. Simon Dun. Mercia, Edwin and Marchar, who had withdrawne themselues from the battell together with their people, came to London, and with all speed sent their sister quéene Aldgitha vnto the citie of Chester, and herewith sought to persuade the Londoners to aduance one of them to the kingdome: as Wil. Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham saith, that Aldred archbishop of Yorke, and the said earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Howbeit, whilst manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to

make themselves redie to giue a new battell to the Normans (how or whatsoever was the cause) the said earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great discomfourt *Wil. Malm.* The bishops blamed. of their freends. *Wil. Malm.* séemeth to put blame in the bishops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpose in aduancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the bishops (saith he) refused to ioine with the lords in that behalfe, and so through enuie and spite which one part bare to another, when they could not agréé vpon an The archbishop of Yorke & other submit themselves to king William. Englishman, they receiued a stranger, insomuch that vpon king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Aldred archbishop of Yorke, Wolstane bishop of Worcester, and Walter bishop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foresaid earles Edwin and Marchar came and submitted themselves vnto him, whom he gentlie receiued, and incontinentlie made an agréement with them, taking their oth and hostages (as some write) and yet neuerthesse he permitted his people to spoile and burne the countrie.

But now, when the feast of Christs natiuitie (commonlie called Christmas) was at hand, he approched to the citie of London, and comming thither, caused his vauntgard first to enter into the stréets, where finding some resistance, he easilie subdued the citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withstand him, though not without some bloudshed *Gemeticensis.* (as *Gemeticen.* writeth) but as by others it should appéere, he was receiued into the [2] citie without anie resistance at all; and so being in possession thereof, he spake manie fréendlie words to the citizens, and promised that he would vse them in most liberall William Conquerour crowned 1067, according to their account which begin the yeare on the daie of Christ his natiuitie. & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requisite) he was crowned king vpon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke. For he would not receiue the crowne at the hands of Stigand archbishop of Canturburie, because he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd person and a naughtie liuer.

At his coronation he caused the bishops and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they should be his true and loiall subiects (according to the maner in that case accustomed.) And being required thereto by the archbishop of Yorke, he tooke his personall

oth before the altar of S. Peter at Westmister, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the same, to gouerne the people in iustice as became a king to doo, to ordeine righteous lawes & kéepe the same, so that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongful iudgements should for euer after be abolished.

Polydor. 1067. After this, he tooke order how to keepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, fortifieng the necessarie places, and furnishing them with garisons. He also appointed officers and councellers, such as he thought to be wise and discrét men, and appointed ships to be in the hauens by the coast for the defense of the land, as he thought moste *Iohn Stow.* expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by some authours it should *Thos. Spot.* seeme) euen presentlie vpon obtaining of the citie of London, he tooke his iourney towards the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also: which when the archbishop Stigand and Egel-sin the abbat of S. Augustines (being as it were the chiefest lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and considered that the whole realme was in an euill state; & that whereas in this realme of England, before the Seruitude & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonaltie to the Normans. comming in of the foresaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonaltie were without respect made subject to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occasion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the safegard of themselues and their countrie. They caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and grieffe of bondage and seruile estate. Whereupon all the people rather choosing to end their vnfortunate life, than to submit themselues to an vnaccustomed yoke of seruitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to méet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countrie. Also, the foresaid Stigand the archbishop, and the abbat Egelsin, choosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabées, became captains of the armie. And at a daie appointed, all the people met at

Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, laie priuillie in wait for the comming of the foresaid duke William.

Now, bicause it cannot hurt to take great héed, and to be verie warie in such cases, they agréed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the passages on euerie side stopped, to the end he should no waie be able to escape, euerie one of them, as well horssemen as footmen should beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories néere vnto Swanescombe, and saw all the countrie set and placed about him, as it had beene a stirring and moouing wood, and that with a meane pace they approched and drew neare vnto him, with great discomfort of mind he woondered at that sight. And assoone as the capteins of the Kentishmen sawe that duke William was inclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounded, their banners to be displaid, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their swords drawne, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched foorth, they shewed themselues readie to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) sore astonied, and amazed: [3] so that he which thought he had alreadie all England fast in his fist, did now despaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentishmen, were sent vnto duke William the archbishop Stigand, and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines, who told him their message in this sort.

"My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to méet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which pertaine to peace, and that vnder this condition; that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their ancient liberties, and may for euermore vse the lawes and customes of the countrie: otherwise they are readie presentlie to bid battell to you, and them that be with you, and are minded rather to die here altogether, than to depart from the lawes and customes of their countrie, and to submit themselues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience."

The duke séeing himselfe to be driuen to such an exigent & narrow pinch, consulted a while with them that came with him, prudentlie considering, that if he should take anie repulse or displeasure at the hands of this people, which be the key of England, all that