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THE WORKS OF

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PROSE WORKS.

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The History of Britain,
That part especially now called England.

From the first Traditional Beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the Antientest and best Authors thereof.

Book I.

HE beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemish't with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the monuments of more ancient civility have bin some destroy'd, some lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise men, and of best abilitie have forbore to write the Acts of thir own daies, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how pervers, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the persons and

thir actions were; who either by fortune, or som rude election had attain’d as a fore judgment, and ignominy upon the Land, to have cheif sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any law, or superftition of our old Philosophers the Druids forbad the Britans to write thir memorable deeds, I know not why any out of Caesar¹ should allege: he indeed faith, that thir doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most matters else, both privat, and public, among which well may History be reck’nd, they us’d the Greek Tongue: and that the British Druids who taught those in Gaule would be ignorant of any Language known and us’d by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into higheft, would for want of recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. What ever might be the reason, this we find, that of British affairs, from the first peopling of the Iland to the coming of Julius Caesar, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a modern Fable.

Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos’d Author, men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquitie, who admitt that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction, and seeing that oft-times relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many foot-steps, and reliques of somthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev’d, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not fain’d; I have therfore determin’d to bestow the telling over ev’n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else

¹ Caes. 1. 6.
but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livie and others of the Latines, Polydore and Virunnius accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath bin upheld, but shall endeavor that which hitherto hath bin needed most, with plain, and lightsom brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the Britifh Nation, I now begin.

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground, from those effectual words of God in the Creation, may be more then conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her stories, eev'n in that old World those many hundred years, with much reason we may infer. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leasurely from the East, Gomer the eldest Son of Japhet, and his off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinitie of divers names is generally beleev'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northren Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Iland, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain Samothes or Dis, a fourth or fixt Son of Japhet, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies; first the Continent of Celtica, or
Gaule, and next this Island; Thence to have nam'd it Samothea, to have reign'd heer, and after him lineally four Kings, Magus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus. But the forg'd Berofus, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or send thir people hither. So that this outlandish figure may easily excuse our not allowing it the room heer so much as of a British Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that the Samotheans under the Reign of Bardus were subdu'd by Albion a Giant, Son of Neptune: who call'd the Island after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his Brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his Brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath bin anciently term'd Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela the Geographer makes mention of a stone shoar in Languedoc, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably grofs is that fond invention that wafted hither the fifty daughters of a strange Dioclesian King of Syria; brought in doubtles by som illiterat pretender to somthing mistak'n in the Common Poetical Story of Danaus King of Argos, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These Daughters by appointment of Danaus on the marriage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except Linceus, whom his Wives loialty sav'd, were by him at the suit of his Wife thir Sifter, not put to death, but
turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incur'd the hate; and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on this Island. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as som write, or as others, a lawless crew left her by Albion without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd the Ile, till Brutus came.

The Eldest of these Dames in thir Legend they call Albina; and from thence, for which cause the whole scene was fram'd, will have the name Albion deriv'd. Incredible it may seem so sluggishe a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder Ninnius, reputed to have liv'd above a thousand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that Hiftion sprung of Japhet, had four Sons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Britto, of whom the Britans;² as true, I beleve, as that those other Nations whose names are resembld, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselues have giv'n us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of Brutus and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common beleif have wrought no small impression: defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though Brutus, and the whole Trojan pretence were yeelded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from som noble Ancestor were content at first with Brutus the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to re-

² Holinshed.
move it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan Tales in affection to make the Briton of one Original with the Roman, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in this lives at least som part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps alooff from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age or before him have deliver'd the same matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in this, that Brutus was the Son of Silvius; he of Ascanius; whose Father was Æneas a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son Ascanius, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandring on the Sea, arriv'd in Italy. Where at length by the assistence of Latinus King of Latium, who had giv'n him his Daughter Lavinia, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to Ascanius, whose Son Silvius (though Roman Histories deny Silvius to be Son of Ascanius) had maried secretly a Neece of Lavinia.

She being with Child, the matter became known to Ascanius. Who commanding his Magicians to enquire by Art, what sex the Maid had conceiv'd, had answer, that it was one who should be the death of both

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his Parents; and banish’d for the fact, should after all in a farr Country attain to hisbeft honour. The pre-
diction fail’d not, for in travel the Mother di’d. And
Brutus (the Child was so call’d) at fifteen years of
Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an ar-
row unfortunately kill’d him.

Banish’d therefore by his kindred he retires into
Greece. Where meeting with the race of Helenus
King Priams Son, held there in serfvice condition by
Pandrasus then King, with them he abides. For
Pirrhus in revenge of his Father slain at Troy had
brought thither with him Helenus, and many others
into serfvice. There Brutus among his own flock
so thrives in vertue and in Arms, as renders him be-
lov’d to Kings, and great Captains above all the
Youth of that Land. Wherby the Trojans not only
beginn to hope, but secretly to move him, that he
would lead them the way to liberty. They allege
their numbers, and the promis’d help of Assaracus a
Noble Greektish Youth, by the Mothers side a Trojan;
whom for that cause his Brother went about to dis-
poffes of certain Caftles bequeath’d him by his Fa-
ther. Brutus considering both the Forces offer’d
him, and the strength of those Holdes, not unwil-
ingly consents.

First therfore having fortifi’d those Caftles, he with
Assaracus and the whole multitude betake them to
the Woods and Hills; as the fafeft place from whence
to expoftulate; and in the name of all sends to Pan-
drasus this Message; That the Trojans holding it un-
worthy thir Anceftors to serv in a Foren Kingdom, had
retreated to the Woods; choofing rather a Savage life
then a flavish; If that displeas’d him, that then with
his leave they might depart to some other foil.

As this may pass with good allowance, that the
Trojans might be many in these parts, for Helenus
was by Pirrhus made King of the Chaonians, and the
Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache Heòllors Wife* could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, so much the more it may be doubted, how these *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Freinds and Country-men so Potent. But to examin these things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island, is equally under Question. Be how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call’d *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Towne, but certaine of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the *Greeks* pursues him to the passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*; where at the Ford he overlaiseth them afresh. This victory obtain’d, and a sufficient strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother and his Freind *Anacletus*, whom he had tak’n in the fight, returns to the residue of his freinds in the thick Woods. While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, besieges the Town. *Brutus* to releive his men besiegd, who earnestly call’d him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his freind *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he should goe at the second howr of night to the Greekish Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain woody Vale; unable through the weight of his Fetters to move furder: entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to save both himself and his freind *Antigonus* swears this; and
at fit howr setts on alone toward the Camp: is mett, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him: and they now fully affir'd, with a credulous rashness leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the Camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the Kings Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the besieged also now sallying forth, on the other side affaile. Brutus the while had special care to seize and secure the Kings Person; whose life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the Kings Treasury, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave men he summons to Counsell, what they should now demand of the King.

After long debate Mempricius, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in Greece, unlese they meant to be deluded with a suttle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose freinds they had slain, advises them to demand first the Kings Eldest Daughter Innogen in marriage to thir Leader Brutus, with a rich dowry, next shipping, mony, and fitt provision for them all to depart the Land.

This resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breifly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free, not grant-ed, he must prepare to die.

Preft with fear of death the King readily yeelds:
especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confessed so noble and so Valiant: offers them also the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be thir Hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The Marriage therfore solemniz'd, and shipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a Fleet, no less writ'n then three hunderd fourt and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a prosperous course two daies and a night bring them on a certain Iland long before dispeopl'd and left waft by Sea-Roavers; the name wherof was then Leogecia, now unknow'n. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City; where was a Temple and Image of Diana that gave Oracles: but not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Withing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his Diviner, and twelv of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward shrine of the Goddes, in Verse, as it seems the manner was, utters his request, Diva potens nemorum, &c.

Goddes of Shades, and Huntresses, who at will Walk'st on the rowling Sphear, and through the deep, On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell What Land, what Seat of rest thou bidst me seek, What certain Seat, where I may worship thee For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.

To whom sleeping before the Altar, Diana in a Vision that night thus answer'd, Brute sub occasum Solis, &c.

Brutus far to the West, in th' Ocean wide Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy people; the other bend
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise,
And Kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

These Verses Originally Greek, were put in Latin, faith Virunnius, by Gildas a British Poet, and him to have liv'd under Claudius. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verses are much better, then for the Age of Geoffrey ap-Arthur, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the only smooth Poet of those times, befreinded him; in this Diana over-shot her Oracle thus ending, Ipsis totius terrae subditus orbis erit, That to the race of Brute Kings of this Iland, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But Brutus guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after some encounters on the Afric side, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhen Sea; where he hap'n's to find the Race of those Trojans who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus a man much fam'd, was thir Cheif: though by surer Authors it be reported, that those Trojans with Antenor, were seated on the other side of Italie, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhen shoar. But these joyning Company, and pass the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania cast Anchor. Where after som discovery made of the place, Corineus Hunting nigh the shoar with his Men, is by Messengers of the King Goffarius Pictus mett, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to thir mind, Imbertus, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, flaes him: and the Pictavian himself heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by Brutus, and Co-
Hiftory of England. Bk. i.

rineus; who with the Battell Ax which he was wont to manage against the Tyrrhen Giants is said to have done marvells. But Goffarius having draw'n to his aid the whole Country of Gaul, at that time govern'd by twelve Kings, puts his Fortune to a second Trial. Wherin the Trojans over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and besieged in thir own Camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly issuing out, and Corineus in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had conveyd his men the night before: The Trojans are again Victors, but with the loss of Turon a Valiant Nefew of Brutus; whose Ashes left in that place, gave name to the City of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his powers much lesn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leavs Aquitain, and with an easie course, arriving at Totnes, in Devonshire, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his labours.

The Island not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of Giants; whose excessive Force and Tyranie had consum'd the rest. Them Brutus destroies, and to his people divides the Land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugest Giants, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And heer, with leave bespoken to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best Poets; while Brutus on a certain Festival day solemnly kept on that shoar, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the suddain another
fort of Game then at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goëmagog the hugest, in hight twelv Cubits, is reserv’d alive; that with him Corineus, who desir’d nothing more, might try his strength; Whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: nevertheless Corineus enrag’d, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him head-long all shatter’d into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call’d ever since Langoëmagog, which is to say, the Giants leap.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Troia nova, chang’d in time to Trinovantum, now London: and began to enact Laws; Heli béeing then high Preist in Jудæa: and having govern’d the whole Ile 24 Years, dy’d, and was buried in his new Troy. His three Sons Locrine, Albanaë, and Camber divide the Land by consent. Locrine had the middle part Loëgria; Camber possesse’d Cambria or Wales; Albanaë Albania, now Scotland. But he in the end by Humber King of the Hunns, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his people driv’n back into Loëgria. Locrine and his Brother goe out against Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown’d, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and Estridis, above the rest, passing fair; the Daughter of a King in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went wafting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive: whom Locrine, though before contracted to the Daughter of Corineus, resolvs to marry. But beeing forc’d and threatn’d by Corineus, whose Autority, and power he fear’d, Guendolen the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in secret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to som privat Sacrifice, through
Vaults and passages made under ground; and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose name was Sabra. But when once his fear was off by the Death of Corineus, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Efrildis now his Queen. Guendolen all in rage departs into Cornwall; where Madan, the Son she had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Freinds and Subjects, gives Battail to her Husband by the River Sture; wherein Locrine shot with an Arrow ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen; for Efrildis and her Daughter Sabra, she throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Fifteen Years she governs in behalf of her Son; then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This faith my Author, was in the daies of Samuel. Madan hath the praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the space of 40 years; leaving behind him two Sons, Mempricius, and Malim. Mempricius had first to doe with the ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therfore at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery which his cause needed not, he flew.

Nor was he better in the sole possefion, wherof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly giv'n over to unnaturall lust, in the twentieth of his Reigne, hunting in a Forest, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son Ebranc a man of mighty strength and stature, Reign'd 40 Years. He first after Brutus wasted Gaul; and returning rich and prosperous, builded Caerebranc, now York; in Albania Alchud,
Mount Agned, or the Castle of Maydens, now Edin-
burgh. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20
Wives. His Daughters he sent to Silvius Alba into
Italy, who bestow’d them on his Peers of the Tro-
jan Line. His Sons under the leading of Assaracus
thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in Ger-
many; thence call’d, from these Brethren Germania:
a derivation too hastily suppos’d, perhaps before the
word Germanus or the Latin Tongue was in use.
Som who have describ’d Henault, as Jacobus Bergo-
mas, and Leffabeus, are cited to affirm that Ebranc in
his Warre there, was by Brunchildis Lord of Henault
put to the worse.

Brutus therfore surnamed Greenshield succeeding,
to repair his Fathers losses, as the same Leffabeus re-
ports, fought a second Battail in Henault with Brun-
child at the mouth of Scaldis, and Encamp’d on the
River Hania. Of which our Spencer also thus Sings.

*Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,*
*And let the Marsh of Efhambruges tell*  
*What colour were thir Waters that same day,*  
*And all the Moar twixt Elversham and Dell,*  
*With blood of Henalois which therin fell;*  
*How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see*  
*The Greenshield dy’d in dolorous Vermeil,* &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greensheild,
seeme newer names then for a Story pretended thus
Antient.

Him succeeded Leil, a maintainer of Peace and
Equity; but slackn’d in his latter end, whence arose
from civil discord. He built in the North Cairleil;
and in the daies of Solomon.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras appeasing the commo-
tions which his Father could not, fownded Caerkeynt
or Canterbury, Caerguent, or Winchester, and Mount
Paladur, now Septonia or Shaftesbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built Caerbadus or Bathe, and those medicinable Waters he dedicated to Minerva, in whose Temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but Leir who next Reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: govern'd laudably, and built Caer-Leir, now Leicester, on the Bank of Sora. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. Gonorill th' Eldest apprehending too well her Fathers weakness, makes answer invoking Heav'n, That she lov'd him above her Soul. Therefore, quoth the old man overjoy'd, since thou so honourest my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm. So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to Regan the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that she lov'd him above all Creatures; and so receav's an equal reward with her Sister. But Cordelia the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid
purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. Father, faith she, my love towards you, is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter. When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but somthing on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, then speaking her own mind, Two waies only, faith she, I have to answer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I shoud recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou, quoth Leir now all in passion, what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou haft not reverenced thy aged Father equall to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reck'n to have none. And without delay gives in marriage his other Daughters, Gonorill to Maglaunus Duke of Albania, Regan to Heminus Duke of Cornwall; with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom, and other Graces of Cordeilla, insomuch that Aganippus a great King in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receavs her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this King Leir, more and more drooping with Years, became an easy prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by dayly encroachment had seis'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the old King is put to sojorn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continuall Guests, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: but there also discord soon arising between
the Servants of differing Masters in one Family, five only are suffer’d to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs: but she now refuses to admitt him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest Cordeilla comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had so injur’d, be it but to pay her the last recom pense she can have from him, his con fe ssion of her wise fore warning, that so perhaps his misery, the proof and experiment of her Wisdom, might som thing soft’n her, he takes his Journey into France. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or down-right spok’n affection of som Children to thir Parents, and the talkative obe que ious ness of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges thir duty. Cordeilla out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her Father in distress, powrs forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar’d, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convey him privately toward som good Sea Town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendance and State, as be seem’d his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband Aganippus. Which don with all mature, and requisite contrivance, Cordeilla with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had news of his passing the Sea, goe out to meet him; and after all honour able and joyfull entertainment, Aganippus, as to his Wives Father, and his Royall Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power, and disposal of
his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife Cordeilla to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety so prosper’d, as that she vanquish’d her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and Leir again, as faith the story, three years obtain’d the Crown. To whom dying, Cordeilla with all regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of Leicesestre. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul’d the Land five years in Peace. Untill Marganus and Cunedagius her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern’d by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis’d to suffer, she there, as is related, kill’d her self. The Victors between them part the Land: but Marganus the Eldest Sisters Son, who held by agreement from the North-side of Humber to Cathness, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on Cunedagius; who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern’d with much praise many years; about the time when Rome was built.

Him succeeded Rivello his Son, wise also and fortunat; save what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and swarmes of stinging Flies, whereof men dy’d. In order then Gurgustius, Jago or Lago, his Nefew; Sisillius, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two Sons, Ferrex, and Porrex. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who should succeed, Porrex attempting by treachery his Brothers life, driv’s him into France; and in his return, though aided with the force of that Country, defeats and

flaies him. But by his Mother Videna who less lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of Brutus. Whereupon, the whole Land with civil broils was rent into five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other; and som say 50 Years. At length Dunwallo Molmutius the Son of Cloten King of Cornwall, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour, and goodlinefs of person, after his Fathers deceafe found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy: subduing the rest at opportunities. First Ymmer King of Loegria whom he slew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterius of Al-bania, confederat together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 Stout men, bids them put on the Armour of thir slain Enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themfelves in fight, from that part which they thought secureft, affaults, and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensignes which before he had concealf'd, and fending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This Dunwallo was the firft in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and threfore by som reputed the firft King. He established the Molmutine Laws, famous among the English to this day; writ'n long after in Latine by Gildas, and in Saxon by King Alfred: so faith Geoffrey, but Gildas denies to have known aught of the Britans before Caefar; much lefs knew Alfred. These Laws, whoever made them, beffow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities also, and the waies thether leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge: and made fuch riddance of Theeves and Robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple
of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restored, had built in Trinovant.

His two Sons Belinus and Brennus contending about the Crown, by decision of Freinds came at length to an accord; Brennus to have the North of Humber, Belinus the Sovrانتie of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose valour had so oft repell'd the invasion of Ceulphus the Morine Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Deigne fails into Norway; enters League and Affinitie with Elsing that King; which Belinus perceiving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. Brennus with a Fleet of Norwegians makes toward Britain; but encounter'd by Guithlac the Danish King, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his haft was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the fight by a sudden Tempest, was by the Danish King driv'n on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in Albania, and gives Battell to his Brother in the Wood Calaterium; but loosing the day, escapes with one single Ship into Gaul. Mean while the Dane upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the administering of Justice, and the perfecting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-waies might enjoy the forefaid privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roades to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus on the other side soliciting to his aid the Kings of Gaul, happ'ns at last on Seginus Duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and complines of person wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Hoft through the length of Gaul, gets footing once
again in Britain. Nor was Belinus unprepar'd, and now the Battell ready to joyn, Conuvenna the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to Brennus her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after imbracements and teares, affails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against Belinus.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counfel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all Gallia was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, if these be they, and not Gauls, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which heer against the stream of Hisstory carries up and down these Brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, pursuing Gabius and Porphena, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this Brennus, and another famous Captain, Britomarus, whom the Epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls but Britans; the name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King; and of the other a Great Britan. However Belinus after a while returning home, the rest of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was Caerose upon Osca, since Caerlegion; beautifying others, as Trinovant with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top wherof his Ashes are said to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he subdu'd the Dacian, or Dane, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to Belinus for his enlargement.
In his return finding about the Orkneies 30 Ships of Spain, or Biscay, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also Bartholinus wrong-fully banish'd, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay unpeopled; and gave them that Island to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guitheline his Son, is also remember'd, as a just and good Prince, and his Wife Martia to have excell'd so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws. Which King Alfred translating call'd Marchen Leage, but more truly thereby is meant, the Mercian Law; not translated by Alfred, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her Son she had the rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculin Births, but by the advice of her fagest Counselors; and therein she might doe vertuoufly, since it befell her to supply the non-age of her Son: else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

Hir Son Sislius comming to Yeares receav'd the Rule; then in order Kimarus, then Danius or Elanus his Brother. Then Morindus, his Son by Tan-guejela a Concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruell; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Freind, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain King of the Morines or Picards invaded Northumberland; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame: But dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel usage of his Prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence put all to several Deaths: well
fitted to such a bestiall Cruelty was his end; for
hearing of a huge Monster that from the Irish Sea
infested the Coaft, and in the Pride of his Strength
foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a
Brute vaftness, when his Weapons were all in vain,
by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and de-
vour'd.

Gorbonian the Eldest of his five Sons, then whom
a Jufter man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder
of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due; to
his Gods devout Worship, to men of desert honour
and preferment, to the Commons encouragement in
thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection
from injuries and oppreffions, fo that the Land flo-
rish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong
feldom was heard of: his Death was a general los:{
he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo the second Brother follow'd not his
Example; but depress'd the ancient Nobility, and
by peeling the wealthier fort, stuff'd his Treasury,
and took the right way to be depos'd.

Elidure the next Brother, furnam'd the Pious, was
set up in his place; a mind so noble, and so moderat,
as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For
having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day
in the Forest of Calater, he chanc'd to meet his de-
posed Brother, wandring in mean condition: who had
bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren
aides to his Restorement: and was now in a poor
Habit, with only ten followers, privatly return'd to
find subsistence among his secret freinds. At the
unexpected sight of him, Elidure himself also then
but thinly accompanied, runns to him with open
Arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings,
convaies him to the Citty Alchud; there hides him in
his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself
fick, summons all his Peers as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weaknes endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them willing, or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to Archigallo. Whom after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmeft hold with the admiration of a deed so Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 1o Years; dy'd, and was Buried in Caerleir. Thus was a Brother fav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that so often dazzles, and vitiats mortal men, for which, thousands of nearest blood have destroy'd each other, was in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-assumes the Government, and did as was worthy such a man to doe. When providence, that so great vertue might want no sort of trial to make it more illustrious, stirs up Vigenius, and Peredure his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that relation, as left of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Imprison in the Towe of Trinovant, and divide his Kingdom; the North to Peredure, the South to Vigenius. After whose Death Peredure obtaining all, so much the better us'd his power, by how much the worse he got it. So that Elidure now is hardly mis't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place wherof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first: and Elidure after many years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted course of his mild, and just Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end.

After these five Sons of Morindus, succeeded also
The History of England.  

thir Sons in Order.  1Regin of Gorbonian, Mar-ga-nus of Archigallo, both good Kings.  But Enniaunus his Brother taking other courses, was after six years depos’d.  Then Idwallo taught by a neer Example, Govern’d soberly.  Then Runno, then Geruntius, He of Peredure, this last the Son of Elidure.  From whose Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu’d a long descent of Kings, whose names only for many successions without other memory stand thus register’d, Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Cherin, and his three Sons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his Son Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oênus, Sifillius, twentie Kings in a continu’d row, that either did nothing, or liv’d in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermisson in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself wearie, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for his Silence, Blegabredus next succeeding, is recorded to have excell’d all before him in the Art of Music; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his 20 Predecessors doings.

Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; His Brother Archimailus, Eldol, Redion, Rederchius, Samulius, Penissel, Pir, Capoirus, but Cliguellius, with the addition of Modest, Wise, and Jufi.

His Son Heli Reign’d 40 Years, and had three Sons, Lud, Caffibelaun, and Nennius.  This Heli seems to be the same whom Ninnius in his fragment calls Minocan; for him he writes to be the Father of Caffibelan.  Lud was he that enlarg’d, and wall’d about Trinovant, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call’d it from his own name Caerlud, or Luds Town, now London.  Which, as is all-leg’d out of Gildas, became matter of great diffen-

1 Matthew Westmin.
tion betwixt him, and his Brother Nennius; who took it hainously that the name of Troy thir ancient Country should be abolish'd for any new one. Lud was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, faith Huntingdon, and was buried by the Gate which from thence wee call Ludgate. His two Sons Androgeus, and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Caffibelan; whose bounty, and high demeanor so wraught with the common people, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, conferrs freely upon Androgeus, London with Kent, upon Tenuantius, Cornwall: reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the Romans for a while circumscrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his assertors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the beleif of other person, nor over-haftily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing, or collating years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things wherof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrivs on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a cleer dawn, representing to our view, though at a farr distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit, Caesar, whose Authority we are now firft to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of mif-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars against Pompey, much more, may wee think, in the British af-

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2 Huntingd. l. i.
fairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss from one hand or other to be sufficiently inform'd as of things past so long agoe. But this will better be referr'd to a second discourse.

The End of the First Book.

The History of Britain.

The Second Book.

AM now to write of what befell the Britans from fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somwhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the civilest, and the wiseft of European Nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that Puiſſant Citty. For worthy deeds are not often deſtitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the fame Ages. 'Tis true that in obscureſt times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indiftinct noife of many Battels, and devastations, of many Kingdoms over-run and loft, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath ftrir'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wait-
ing and ruining Warrs, which to posterity have left the work of Wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather then the Deeds and Monuments of men and Conquerours. But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of Warr and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things else, he cannot Conquer. Time, or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want, as well as of his worth not to be forgot'tn or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his frendliest and best supply; by whose immortal Record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over Envoy, Death, and Time, also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of Science, and liberal study waxes low in the Common-wealth, wee may presume that also there all civil Vertue, and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were were comforted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of vertue corrupts also and fades; at least resignes her office of relating to illiterat and frivolous Historians; such as the persons themselves both deserv, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and searching stile of an intelligent, and faithfull Writer to the survey of thir unsound exploits, better befreinded by obscurity then Fame. As for these, the only Authors wee have of Britifh matters, while the power of Rome reach'd hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Roman times noe Britifh Writer was in his daies extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the Pictifh and Saxon invasions) these therefore only Roman Authors there bee who in the English Tongue have
laid together, as much, and perhaps more then was requisite to a History of Britain. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so neer to the beginning, I should have judg'd this labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by diligence may bee added, or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more express'd, I shall assay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the Roman Free State, more then what appertains, is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of Gallia, which by a potent faction, he had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for many years, stirr'd up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole Roman Empire to his ambition, som' say, with a farr meaner and ignobler, the desire of Britifh Pearls, whose bigness he delighted to ballance in his hand, determins, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to trie his force in the Conquest also of Britain. For he understood that the Britans in most of his Gallian Wars had sent supplies against him, had receiv'd fugitives of the Bellovaci his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Citties of Armorica, which had the year before consipr'd all in a new Rebellion. Therfore Cæsar, [B. c. 53.] though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the Ile, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were eev'n to the Gauls thir Neighbours almoost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to Travel thether; and to those that doe, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to Gallia, nothing else is known.

1 Suetonius vit. Cæs.
2 Suetonius. Cæsar Com. I. i.
But heer I must require, as Pollio did, the diligence, at least the memory of Cæsar: for if it were true, as they of Rhemes told him, that Divitiacus, not long before, a Puissant King of the Soiffons, had Britain also under his Command, besides the Belgian Colonies which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if also the Britans had so frequently giv'n them aid in all their Wars, if lastly the Druid learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of Britain, and they who soonest would attain that Discipline, sent hether to learn; it appears not how Britain at that time should be so utterly unknow'n in Gallia, or only know'n to Merchants, yea to them so little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæsar of what bigness the Ile, what Nations, how great, what use of Warr they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends Caius Volusenus, in a long Galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. Hee in the meantime with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine Coast, whence the shortest passage was into Britain. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the Armorican's, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedience to the Roman Empire. Them, after Audience giv'n, Cæsar as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a Roman party among the Britans, in as many Citties as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself

3 Cæsar Com. I. 4.
was speeding thether. Volusenus with what discovery of the Iland he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five daies returns to Cæsar. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of burden, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, setts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the Port with a sufficient strength. But the Horse whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound 8 mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. Cæsar now within sight of Britain beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his landing; and Cicero⁴ writes to his friend Atticus, that the accesses of the Iland were wondrously fortify'd with strong workes or moles. Heer from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet. Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns consulting, and giving order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in such a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shoar 8 mile distant; commonly suppos'd about Deal in Kent.⁵ Which when the Britans perceav'd, thir Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, thir main powr speeding after, som thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be aflail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and assault the Romans eev'n under thir Ships; with such a bold, and free hardihood, that Cæsar himself between confessing and excusing that his Souldiers were to come down from thir Ships, to

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⁴ Cic. Att. l. 4, ep. 17. ⁵ Camden.
stand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terror of such new and resolute opposition made them forget their wonted valour. To succour which, he commands his Gallies, a fight unusual to the Britans, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the op'n side of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea Castles, bearing up so neer, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurting of Oares, the battering of fierce Engines against their bodies barely expos'd, did the Britans give much ground, or the Romans gain; till he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his gods, said thus aloud: leap down Souldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the Commonwealth and my General. This utter'd, overboard he leaps, and with his Eagle fiercely advances upon the Enemy; the rest harrying one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh loosing their chief Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew their own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the shallows, now on the Sand, still as the Romans went trooping to their Ensigns, receav'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of their Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But Cæsar causing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; Whereby at length all the Foot now dis-imbark't, and got together in some order on firm ground, with a more steady charge put the Britans to flight: but wanting all their Horse, whom the winds yet withheld from Sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight Scaeva a Roman Souldier, having press'd too
farr among the Britans, and besett round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherein valour, and ingenuity so much out-weigh'd transgression, easily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. Caesar also is brought in by Julian, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make Caesar less understand what became him then Scæva. The Britans finding themselves maister'd in fight, forthwith sent Embassadors to treat of peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras also return'd; whom hitherto since his first coming from Caesar, they had detain'd in Prison as a spy: the blame wherof they lay on the common people; for whose violence, and thir own imprudence they crave pardon. Caesar complaining they had first sought peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: wherof part they bring in strait, others farr up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few daies. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many Princes, and cheif men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Citties to the dispose of Caesar, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on Baram down. Thus had the Britans made thir peace; when suddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counsels into thir minds. Four daies after the coming of Caesar, those 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the Roman Horse,
born with a soft wind to the very Coast, in sight of the Roman Camp, were by a sudden tempest scatter'd, and driv'n back, some to the Port from whence they los'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no safety either to land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubl'd Sea; and as Orosius reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the Romans, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of Caeser, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay here, intending to have winter'd in Gallia. All this the Britans well perceiving, and by the compass of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one slyly withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all provisions, and to draw out the business till Winter. Caeser though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and thir other hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happ'n: laies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his Souldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forrage, as was accustom'd, and no suspicion of Warr, while some of the Britans were remaining in the Country about, others also going and coming freely to the Roman Quarters, they who were in station at the Camp Gates sent speedy word to Caeser, that from that part of the Country, to
which the Legion went, a greater dust then usual was seen to rise. Caesar guessing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in thir stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march’d long, when Caesar discerns his Legion fore overcharg’d: for the Britans not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow, would be in that place which only they had left un reap’d of all thir Harvest, had plac’d an Ambush; and while they were dispers’d and busiest at thir labour, set upon them, kill’d som, and routed the rest. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherin riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clatter of thir Horse, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters in the mean while somwhat aside from the Battell, set themselves in such order, that thir Maisters at any time oppress’d with odds, might retire safely thether, having perform’d with one person both the nimble service of a Horse-man, and the stedfast duty of a Foot Soldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by use, and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swifly, now running on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the Romans now overmatch’d, and terrify’d, Caesar with opportune aid appears; for then the Britans make a stand: but he considering that now was not fitt time to offer Battell, while his men were scarce recover’d of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Further action for many days following was hinder’d on both sides by foul weather; in which time the Britans dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the Romans were reduc’d, what hope of prize and
booty, and now if ever of freeing themselves from the fear of like invasions hereafter by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their enemies, at this intimation multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the Romans. Cæsar foreseeing that the Britans though beat'n and put to flight would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horse, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to Battell, puts again the Britans to flight, poursues with slaughter, and returning burns and laies waste all about. Whereupon Embassadors the same day being sent from the Britans to desire peace, Cæsar, as his affairs at present flood, for so great a breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages, to be sent after him into Gallia: And because September was nigh half spent, a seafon not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia; whether two only of the Britan Citties sent Hostages, as they promis'd, the rest neglected. But at Rome when the news came of Cæsar acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, supplication of 20 days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both Cæsar and the Romans glori'd not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Commonwealth.

The Winter following, Cæsar, as his custom was, going into Italy, when as he saw that most of the Britans regarded not to send their Hostages, appoints his Legats whom he left in Belgia, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby easier both to fraught, and to hale ashoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tyde so often changing, was observ'd to

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8 Dion. Cæsar Com. 5.
make the Billows less in our Sea then those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended chiefly to that end. These all about 600. in a readiness, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, Cotta one of the Legates wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all 1000, Caesar from Port Icicius, a passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about sun sett hoyling faile with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n of from the Ile, which now they could descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tugg the Oare, and kept course with Ships under sayl, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the same place where he had landed the yeer before; where about noon arriving no Enemy could be seen [b. c. 52]. For the Britans, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at fight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. Caesar forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by thoshe took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole power, save only ten cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to Quintus Atrius for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the same night marches up twelv mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the Stowre in Kent, espies embattail'd the British Forces. They with thir Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the Romans in thir March, and begin the fight; but repuls't by the Roman Cavalrie give back into the Woods to a place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had bin a Fort, or
Hold of strength rays'd heertofore in time of Warrs among themselvs. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these the Britans did thir utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Soulsdiers of the seventh Legion locking all thir Sheilds together like a rooff close over head, and others rayfing a Mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknow'n; and now ev'nig came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning Caesar had but newly sent out his men in three bodies to pursue, and the laft no furder gon then yet in fight, when Horsemen all in Poste from Quintus Artrius bring word to Caesar, that almost all his Ships in a Tempeft that night had suffer'd wrack, and lay brok'n upon the shoar. Caesar at this news recalls his Legions, himself in all haft riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and loft, the residue so torn, and shak'n as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints Labienus on the Belgian side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting his Soulsdiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and en-trench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the Britans: who preventing him with greater powers then before, had now reposse'd themselvs of that place, under Caffibelan thir cheif Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by
the River Thames about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Citties had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choyse of him to be thir Generall. Heer the British Horfe and Charioters meeting with the Roman Cavalrie fought stoutly; and at first, somthing overmatch'd they re-treat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the Romans, make head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pâufe, while Cæsar, who thought the days work had bin don, was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce aflault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarme, stood within a small distance of each other terrify'd at the newness and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune: the Britans hav-ing fought thir fill at the very entrance of Cæsars Camp, and sustai'n'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the aflault. Cæsar heer ac-knowledges that the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitt'd againft this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by an-cient Discipline fîrr from thir Ensigne; and the Horfe alone, disjoyn'd from the Legions, againft a foe that turn'd suddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horfe and Foot, were in equall danger both following and retirîng. Bësides thir fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions, and open distances to make thir onset; appointîng others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Armes. Next day the Britans afarr off upon the Hills begin
to shew themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the Roman Horse. But at Noon Caesar having sent out 3 Legions, and all his Horse with Trebonius the Legat, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Forragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chase, beeing well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from thir Chariots as they were wont, flew many. From this overthrow, the Britans, that dwelt farther off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against Caesar. Whereof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of Caffibelan, which on this side were bounded by the Thames, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about Coway stakes neer Oatlands, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the bank sett all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water; whereof the marks in Beda's time, were to be seene, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were tak'n, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over; then his Foot, who wadeing up to the neck went on so resolutely, and so fast, that they on the further side not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. Caffibelan noe more now in hope to contend for Victorie, dismissing all but 4000. of those Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waiies attends thir motion; where the Romans are to pass, drives all before him; and with continuall fallies upon the Horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compells them soe close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey.

9 Camden.
or bootie without ill success. Whereupon Cæsar strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil’d and burnt. Meane while the Trinobantes a State, or Kingdome, and perhaps the greatest then among the Britans, less favouring Cassibelan send Embassadors, and yeild to Cæsar upon this reason. Immanuentius had bin thir King: him Cassibelan had slaine, and purpos’d the like to Mandubratius his Son, whom Orofius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth escaping by flight into Gallia, put himself under the protection of Cæsar. These entreat that Mandubarcius may be still defended; and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. Cæsar sends him, demands 40 Hostages and provision for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi (so I write them for the modern names are but guess’d) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of Cassibelan, suppos’d to be Verulam, was not farr distant; fenc’t about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff’t with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in Britain were only Woody places Ditch’t round and with a Mud Wall encompass’d against the intrudes of Enemies. Thether goes Cæsar with his Legions, and though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The Britans after some defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. Cassibelan for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his authoritie so much impair’d, but that in Kent, though in a manner posseft by the Enemie, his Messengers and commands finde obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction Cingetorix,
Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segonax, four Kings Reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the Romans had entrench'd thir Shipping: but they whom Cæsar left there, issuing out flew many, and took Prisners Cingetorix a noted Leader, without loss of thir own. Caßibelan after so many defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Citties from him, thir inconstancie and falshood one to another, uses mediation by Comius of Arras to send Embassadors about treatie of yeilding. Cæsar who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that Gallia was unsettl'd and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Trinobants, or Mandubratius; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, haveing at twife embark't his whole Armie. 

At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterprize, he offers to Venus the Patronefs of his Family, a Corslet of Britifli Pearles.¹⁰

Howbeit other antient writers have spok'n more doubtfully of Cæsars Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common verse in Lucan with divers passages heer and there in Tacitus is alleg'd. Paulus Orojisus,¹¹ who took what he wrote from a Historie of Suetonius now loft, writes that Cæsar in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp fight lost no small number of his Foot, and by tempest night all his Horse. Dion affirms that once in the second expedition all his Foot were routed, Orojis that another time all his Horfe. The Britifli Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial discourses of Cæsars beeing heer, which are best omitted. Nor

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¹⁰ Pliny. ¹¹ Orof. lib. 6. c. 7 & 8.
have wee more of Cassibelan, then what the fame 
florie tells, how he warr'd soon after with Androgeus, 
about his Nefew slain by Evelinus Nefew to the 
other; which busines at length compos'd, Cassibelan 
dies and was buried in Yorke, if the Monmouth Booke 
Fable not. But at Cæsars coming hither, such like-
liest were the Britans, as the Writers of those times,12 
and thir own actions represent them; in courage and 
warlike readiness to take advantage by ambush or 
sudden onset, not inferiour to the Romans, nor Cassi-
belan to Cæsar, in Weapons, Armes, and the skill of 
Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; 
thir Weapons were a short Speare and light Target, 
a Sword also by thir side, thir fight sometimes in 
Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir 
bodies most part naked, only painted with woad in 
sundrie figures to seeme terrible13 as they thought, 
but pourfu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting 
to run into Bogs, worse then wild Irish up to the 
Neck, and there to stay many daies holding a certain 
morsel in thir mouths no bigger then a bean, to suf-
face hunger;14 but that receit, and the temperance it 
taught, is long since unknown among us: thir Towns 
and strong holds15 were spaces of ground fenc't about 
with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each 
other, thir buildings within were thatch't Houses for 
themselves and thir Cattell: in peace the Upland In-
habitants besides hunting tended thir flocks and 
heards, but with little skill of Countrie affaires;16 the 
makeing of Cheefe they commonly knew not, Woole 
or Flax they spun not, gard'ning and planting many 
of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what 
the skins of Beasts afforded them,17 and that not al-
waies; yet gallantrie they had,18 painting thir own

12 Dion. Mela. Cæsar. 13 Herodian. 14 Dion. 
15 Cæsar. Strabo. 16 Dion. Strabo. 
17 Herodian. 18 Solinus.
Bk. 2. The History of England.

skins with several Portratures of Beast, Bird, or Flower, a Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and gewgawes; towards the Sea side they till'd the ground and liv'd much after the manner of Gaules thir Neighbours, or first Planters: thir money was brazen pieces or Iron Rings, thir best Merchandife Tin, the rest trifles of Glass, Ivory and such like, yet Gemms and Pearles they had, faith Mela, in some Rivers: thir Ships of light timber wicker'd with Oyser betweene, and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not therefore to tranceport them farr, and thir commodities were fetch't away by Foren Merchants: thir dealing, faith Diodorus, plaine and simple without fraud; thir civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustfull, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the Romans: thir Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd Druides from the Greek name of an Oke, which Tree they had in greate reverence, and the Miftele especially growing theron; Plinie writes them skil'd in Magic no les then those of Persia: by thir abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, faith Dion, and thir opinion of the Soules passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied Pythagoras; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending somtimes about the archpriesthood not without civil Warr and slaughter; nor restrain'd they the people under them from a lew'd adulterous and incestuous life, ten or twelve men absurdly against nature, possessing one woman as thir common Wife,

19 Cæsar. 20 Tacitus, Diodor. Strabo, Lucan. 21 Tacitus. Mela. 22 Cæsar. 23 Cæsar.
though of neereft Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sifter; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach't heer, abolisht such impurities, and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, then that they beate us into some civilitie; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After Julius (for Julius before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the Roman Common-wealth, and was slaine in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, either contemning the Island, as Strabo would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome state maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildie, made no attempt against the Britans. But the truer cause was partly civil Warr among the Romans, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after [B. c. 32], all which time the Britans had liv'd at thir own dispose, Augustus in imitation of his Uncle Julius, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was com into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia divert'd him: about 7 year after [B. c. 25] in the same resolution, what with the unsettle'dness of Gallia, and what with Embassadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year [B. c. 24], difference arrisng about Covnants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spaine. Nevertheless som of the British Potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by guifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious addressses. Infomuch that the whole Island became eev'n in those daies well known to the Romans; too well perhaps

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24 Strabo, l. 2.  
25 Dion, l. 49.  
26 Dion, l. 53. 24.  
27 Strabo, l. 4.
for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the Britans paid none to Augustus, except what easy customs were levied on the slight commodities where-with they traded into Gallia.

After Cassibelan, Tenantius the younger Son of Lud, according to the Monmouth Storie was made King. For Androgeus the Elder, conceiving himself generally hated, for siding with the Romans, forsook his claim heer, and follow’d Cæsars Fortune. This King is recorded just and Warlike.

His Son Kymbeline or Cunobeline succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of Augustus, and with him held friendly correspondences to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief seat Camalodunum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coines, yet to be seen, appears. Tiberius the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of Augustus, and of himself less careing to extend the bounds of his Empire, sought not the Britans; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of Germanicus, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the Britan shoar. But Caligula [A. D. 16] his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, haveing past the Alpes with intent to rob and spoile those Provinces, and stirr’d up by Adminius the Son of Cunobeline; who by his Father banish’d, with a small number fled thether to him, made semblance of marching toward Britain; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaving himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting letters to the Senate, as if all Britain had bin yeilded him [A. D. 40]. Cunobeline now dead, Adminius the Eldest by his Father banish’d from his Country, and by his own practice against it, from the Crown, though by an old coine seeming to have

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98 Tacit. an. 1. 2. 99 Dion, Sueton. Cal.
also reign'd; Togodumnus, and Caractacus the two younger, uncertaine whether equal or subordinat in power, were advanc'd into his place. But through civil discord, Bericus (what he was furder, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome, persuaded Claudius the Emperor to an invasion. Claudius now Conful the third time [A.D. 43], and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the Britans demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cause had deny'd furder amity with Rome, makes choise of this Iland for his Province: and sends before him Aulus Plautius the Praetor, with this command, if the business grew difficult to give him notice. Plautius with much ado persuaded the Legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they must be put to make Warr beyond the Worlds End; for so they counted Britain; and what welcom Julius the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoyffing saile from three several Ports, left thir landing shou'd in any one place be resifted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartn'd: till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fansi'd, directing thir course, they took heart againe to try the Sea, and without opposition landed. For the Britans haveing heard of thir unwillingness to come, had bin negligent to provide against them; and retireing to the Woods and Moares, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had serv'd Cæsar before. Plautius after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the Boduni, who then were subject to the Catuellan, and leaving there a Garri---

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30 Dion. 31 Sueton.
fon, went on toward a River; where the Britans not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side carelessly and secure. But he sending first the Germans, whose custom was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the Horses, whereby the Chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent Vespatian, who in his later days obtain'd the Empire, and Sabinus his Brother; who unexpectedly affailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britans dismay'd; but reuniteing the next day fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victorie: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he receav'd high honours. After this the Britans drew back toward the mouth of Thames, and acquainted with those places, crofs'd over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry Alarmes and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the Britans more enrag'd at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, Plautius fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends to Claudius. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through Gallia. So full of perill was this enterprise esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger terrors then Roman Armies to meet the native and the naked Britis...
lour defending their Country. Joyn'd with Plautius who encamping on the Bank of Thames attended him, he passe the River. The Britans, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old Cassibelan, laying all Stratagem aside, in down right manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole power of the Roman Empire. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. Claudius therefor who took Camalodunum the Royal Seat of Cunobeline, was oft'n by his Armie saluted Imperator; a Militarie Title which usually they gave thir Generall after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the fame Warr; as if Claudius by these acts had deservd more then the Laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Haveing therefore disarm'd the Britans, but remitted the confiscation of thir goods, for which they worship'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving Plautius to subdue what remain'd; he returnes to Rome [A. D. 44], from whence he had bin absent only fix moneths, and in Britain but 16 daies; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Iland. To whom the Senate, as for atchievements of higheft merit, decree'd excessive honours; Arches, Triumphs, annual Solemnities, and the Sirname of Britannicus both to him and his Son.

Suetonius writes that Claudius found heer no re- sistance, and that all was done without Stroke: but this seems not probable. The Monmouth Writer names these two Sones of Cunobeline, Guiderius, and Arviragus; that Guiderius beeing slaine in fight, Arviragus to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his person held up the Battel to a Victorie; the rest, as of Hamo the Roman Captaine, Genuiffa the Emperors Daughter, and such like stuff, is too pal-

pably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of Truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found worke enough to deserve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into the Capitol side by side with the Emperour. Vespatian also under Plautius had thirtie conflicts with the Enemie; in one of which encompass’d and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu’d by his Son Titus: two powerfull Nations he subdu’d heer, above 20 Townes and the Ile of Wight; for which he receav’d at Rome Tryumphal Ornaments, and other great dignities [A.D. 47]. For that Citty in reward of vertue was ever magnificent: and long after when true merit was ceas’t among them, left any thing resembling vertue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allow’d to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. [A.D. 50] Octavius in the room of Plautius Vice-prætor, met with turbulent affaires; the Britans not ceasing to vex with inrodes all those Countries that were yeilded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly, supposing that the new Generall unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter, would not haftily oppose them. But he weighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand sets out against them: whome having routed, so close he followes, as one who meant not to be everie day molest’d with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldn’d Enemie. Left they should make head againe, he disarmes whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Icenians, a stout people untouch’d yet by these Warrs, as haveing before fought alliance

32 Tacit. an. 12.
with the Romans were the first that brook'd not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, senc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily Encampe. Ostorius, though yet not strenthen'd with his Legions, causes the auxiliar Bands, his Troops also allighting, to assault the rampart. They within though pester'd with thir own number, stood to it like men resolv'd, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpower'd at last, and others by thir success quieted, who till then waver'd, Ostorius next bends his Force upon the Cangians, wasting all eeven to the Sea of Ireland, without foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handled; when the Brigantes attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whome the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiv'n, soon gave over, but the Silures no way tractable were not to be repress'd without a set Warr. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a Colony of Veteran Souldiers; to be a firme and readie aid against revolts, and a means to teach the Natives Roman Law and Civilitie. Cogidunus also a Britifh King, thir fast friend, had to the same intent certain Citties giv'n him: a haughtie craft, which the Romans us'd, to make Kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the Silures hardie of themselves, rely'd more on the valour of Caractacus; whome many doubtfull, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in Britain. He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his Warr among the Ordovices; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every access he fortifi'd with heapes of Stomes, and guards

36 Tacit. vit. Agric.
of men; to come at whom a River of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer-Caradoc on the West edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that this was the day, this the field either to defend thir Libertie, or to die free; calling to mind the names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove Caesar the Dictator out of Britain, whose valour hitherto had preserved them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam’d with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz’d the Roman Generall; but the Souldier less weighing, because less knowing, clamourd to be led on against any danger. Ostorius after wary circumpection bidds them pass the River: the Britans no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrowes, Darts, and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other side closeing thir ranks, and over head closeing thir Targetts, threw down the loose rampires of the Britans, and persue them up the Hills both light arm’d and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavie strokes, the Britans who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a famous Victorie; wherein the Wife and Daughter of Caractacus were tak’n, his Brothers also reduc’d to obedience; himself escaping to Cartismandua Queene of the Brigantes, against faith giv’n was to the Victors deliverd bound: having held out against the Romans nine year, faith Tacitus, but by truer computation, Seaven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev’n to Italy and Rome: many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Roman Puissance: and Caesar to extoll his own Victorie, extoll’d the man whom he had vanquish’d. Beeing brought to Rome, the people as to a
Solemn spectacle were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard stood in Armes. In order came first the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive standing at the Tribunal of Claudius, briefly spake to this purpose. If my mind, Cæsar, had bin as moderate in the hight of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a friend rather then a Captive into this Citie. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many Nations. My present estate to me disgracefull, to thee is glorious. I had Riches, Horses, Armes, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to loose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessitie ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yeild, my misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had bin less renown'd; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgot't. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour. Cæsar mov'd at such a spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissely thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina the Emperors Wife, who sat by in State: a new and disdain'd fight to the manly Eyes of Romans, a Woeman sitting public in her Female pride among Ensignes and Armed Cohorts. To Ostorius Triumph is decreed; and his acts esteem'd equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to Rome famouslest Kings. But the same prosperitie attended not his later actions heer. For the Silures, whether to reveng thir loss of Caractacus, or that they saw Ostorius, as if now all were done, les earneft to restrain them, besett
the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionarie Bands to appoint Garrisons: and had not speedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles, had cutt them all off; notwithstanding which, the Praefect with 8 Centurions, and many thir stoubest men were slain: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman Forragers, then with other Troops hafting to thir relief, utterly foyl'd and broke them also. Ostorius sending more after, could hardly stay thir flight; till the wafty Legions coming on, at first poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the Britans without much loss; for by that time it grew night. Then was the Warr shiverd as it were into small frayes and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the Silures, was a report of certaine words cast out by the Emperor, that he would root them out to the verie name. Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too securely pillageing, they quite intercepted: and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, whereof they took plentie; drew other Countries to joyne with them. These losse falling so thick upon the Romans, Ostorius with the thought, and anguish thereof ended his daies: the Britans rejoycing, although no Battel, that yet adverse Warr had wore out so great a Soule.

Cæsar in his place ordaines Aulus Didius: but ere his coming, though much haftn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour; the Silures had giv'n an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater then was true, by the Silures to amate the new Generall; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he queld them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Meanetime the Silures forgett not to infest the Roman pale with
wide excursions; till Didius marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Caractacus should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of Warr, Venutius a Prince of the Brigantes merited to be thir chief. He at first faithfull to the Romans, and by them protected, was the Husband of Cartismandua Q. of the Brigantes, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd Caractacus and her Countrie to adorn the Triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerfull and gracious with the Romans, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying Vellocatus one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdome also. This deed so odious and full of infamie, disturb'd the whole State: Venutius with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the example of so foule a fact, and with all the uncomeliness of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woeman, a pece of manhood not every day to be found among Britans, though shee had got by subtle train his Brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter she escap'd the punishment which was readie to have seis'd her. Venutius thus debar'd the authority of ruling his own Houfhold, justly turns his anger against the Romans themselves; whose magnanimitie not wont to undertake dishonorable caufes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domestic affaires, to uphold the Rebelion of an adulteress against her Husband. And the Kingdome he retain'd against thir utmost opposition; and of Warr gave them thir fill: first in a sharpe conflict of unceraine event, then against the Legion of Caesius Nutica. Infomuch that Didius growing old and managing the Warr by Deputies, had worke enough to
stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And Nero\(^{37}\) (for in that part of the Isle things continu'd in the same plight to the Reigne of Vespasian) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman Forces out of Britain: In other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befall.\(^{38}\) Verannius, whom Nero sent hither to succeed Didius, dying in his first Year, save a few inrodes upon the Silures, left only a great boast behind him, that in two years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all. But Suetonius Paulinus who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equall to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At laft over confident of his present actions, and æmulat- ing others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as farr as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they it seemes had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good assistence to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow frith: his Foot so pass'd over, his Horse waded or swom. Thick upon the shoar stood several gros bands of men well weapn'd, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit with hair loose about thir shoulders, held Torches in thir hands. The Druids, those were thir Priests, of whome more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direfull praiers, astonish'd the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in a-maze though wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd by thir Generall, not to feare a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch't and roulng in thir own fire. Then were they yok'd with Garrifons, and the places consecrate to thir bloodie superftitions destroied. For

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\(^{37}\) Tacit. Vit. Agric.  
\(^{38}\) Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.
whom they took in Warr they held it lawful to Sacrifice; and by the entrails of men us'd divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of loosing more behind. For the Britans urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a generall revolt. The particular causes are not all writ'tn by one Author; Tacitus who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes that Præfutagus King of the Icenians abounding in wealth had left Cæsar Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out farr otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperors new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a prey to Centurions, his House to rav'ning Officers, his Wife Boadicea violated with stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the will and testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his kindred made little better then slaves. The new Colony also at Camalodunum took House or Land from whome they pleas'd; terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to Claudius as a badge of thir eternal slaverie, stood a great Eye sore; the Priests whereof under pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and imbezl'd each mans substance upon themselves. And Catus Decianus the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compass of a new confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of Claudius. Lastly, Seneca in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the Britans unwillingly to borrow of him vast summs upon faire promises of

59 Dion.
easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provok't by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their Example the Trinobantes, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in Armes. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signs appear'd: the image of Victoria at Camalodunum fell down of itself with her face turn'd as it were to the Britans; certaine women in a kind of ecstatie foretold of calamities to come; in the Counsel-House were heard by night barbarous noises, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid fights betok'ning the destruction of that Colony; heerto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the Britans new courage, in the Romans unwonted feares. Camalodunum, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather then defensively, was not fortifi'd: against that therefore the Britans make first assault. The Souldiers within were not very many. Decianus the Procurator could send them but 200, those ill arm'd: and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favour'd the insurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not Armes; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest rifi'd and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to his succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the Roman Camp. Decianus, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius at these tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Countrie marches to London (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of Roman Inhabitants, and for the frequency of
trade and other commodities, a Town eev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the feat of Warr. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of Petilius, he chooses rather with the loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the Enemie; so did Verulam a Roman free Town. For the Britans omitting Forts and Castles, flew thether first where richest bootie, and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this massacre, about 70 thousand Romans and thir associats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, lost thir lives. None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted all either a present or a lingering Death; no crueltie that either outrage or the insolence of success putt into their heads, was left unacted. The Roman Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Breasts cut off, and sow'd to thir mouthes; that in the grimnes of Death they might seem to eat thir own flesh; while the Britans fell to feasting and carousing in the Temple of Andate thir Goddes of Victorie. Suetonius adding to his Legion other old Officers, and Souldiers thereabout, which gatherd to him, were neer upon ten thousand; and purpofin with those not to deferr Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambush: the Legionaries stood thic in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The Britans in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never;

40 Dion, 1. 62.
Bk. 2. The History of England.

no less reckon'd then 200 and 30 thousand, so fierce and confident of Victorie, that thir Wives also came in Waggons to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing Romans: a folly doubtless for the serious Romans to smile at, as a sure tok'n of prospering that day: a Woeman also was thir Commander in Chief. For Boadicea and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that with the Britans it was usual for Woemen to be thir Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier silence, retirment, and a Vail, then for a Woeman to repeat, as don to hir own person, or to hear repeated before an hoft of men. The Greek Historian setts her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her bosome, which after a long circumlocution she was to let flip among them for lucks sake, then praying to Andate the British Goddes, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir Historie with the strangeness of our manners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in Britain Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not set speeches in a Historie, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an abuse of posteritie, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons then were true. Much less therefore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to Copie out tedious Orations without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to

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41 Dion.
my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Cassibelan, Togadumnus, Venetiws, and Caractacus hath bin full of magnanimity, sobberness, and martial skil: but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole business, the Britans never more plainly manifested themselves to be right Barbarians; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of thir Enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seem'd likeft not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a distracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heele. Therefore Suetonius contemning thir unruly noises, and fierce looks, heart'ns his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood neereft, the rest would be a purchase, rather then a toil. And so it fell out; for the Legion, when they saw thir time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out thir necks to the slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggons were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The Roman slew all; men, women, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd alon the Field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fou'recore thousand Britans are siaid to have bin slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce 400 and not many more wounded. Boadicea poysfond her self, or, as others say, sick'nd and dy'd. 42 She was of Stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of bright colour flowing down to her hipps; she wore a plighted Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the craftie lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doeings. Dion sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficultie, nor without intention

42 Dion.
of the Britans to give another Battel, had not the
Death of Boadicea come betweene. Howbeit Suet-
tonius to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the re-
liques of Warr, lodg'd with all his Armie in the op'n
field; which was supply'd out of Germany with 1000
Horse, and 10000 Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter,
and with incursions to wast those Countries that stood
out. But to the Britans famin was a worse afflic-
tion; having left off during this uproar, to till the
ground, and make reck'ning to serve themselves on
the provisions of thir Enemie. Nevertheless those
Nations that were yet untamed, hearing of some dis-
cord ris'n betweene Suetonius, and the new Procu-
rator Clappicianus, were brought but slowly to terms
of peace; and the rigor us'd by Suetonius on them
that yeilded, taught them the better course to stand
on thir defence. For it is certaine, that Suetonius,
though else a worthie man, over-proud of his Vic-
torie, gave too much way to his anger against the
Britans. Clappician therefore sending such word to
Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an
endless Warr, Polycletus, no Roman but a Courtier,
was sent by Nero to examin how things went. He
admonishing Suetonius to use more mildness, aw'd the
Armie, and to the Britans gave matter of Laughter.
Who so much eeven till then were nur'sd up in thir
native libertie, as to wonder that so great a Generall
with his whole Armie should be at the rebuke and
ordering of a Court Servitor. But Suetonius a while
after having lost a few Gallies on the shoor [A.D. 62],
was bid resigne his command to Petronius Turpilianus,
who not provoking the Britons, nor by them prov-
ok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of
peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth.
Trebellius Maximus follow'd his steps, usurping the
name of gentle Government to any remissness or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first licence, next disobedience into his Camp; incens’d against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of Roscius Cælius Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil Warr began in the Empire, he fell to op’n discord; charging him with disorder, and sedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; insomuch that Trebellius hated, and deserted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by base entreaty, and forc’d at length to fly the Land. Which notwithstanding remain’d in good quiet, govern’d by Cælius and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithfull to Vitellius then Emperour; who sent hither Vellius Bolanus [A. D. 69]; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britans nothing was done, nor in thir own Discipline reform’d. Petilius Cerealis by appointment of Vespasian succeeding [A. D. 70], had to doe with the populous Brigantes in many Battails, and som of those, not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was Venusius who eeven to these times [A. D. 74], held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquish’d, and some part of his Countrie not so much as reach’t. It appeares also by several passages in the Histories of Tacitus, that no small number of Britishe Forces were commanded over Sea the year before to serve in those bloodie Wars betweene Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Vespasian contending for the Empire. To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in the Government of Britain, who by tameing the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation [A. D. 79]. But Julius Agricola, whom

46 Calvis. 47 Tacit. Hist. 3. & vit. Agric.
Vespasian in his last year sent hither, train'd up from his youth in the British Wars, extended with victories the Roman Limit beyond all his Predecessors. His coming was in the midst of Summer; and the Ordovices to welcome the new General, had hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon thir bounds, few escapeing. Agricola, who perceav'd that the noise of this defeat had also in the Province desirous of novelty, stirr'd up new expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions with a competent number of Auxiliars, not beeing met by the Ordovices, who kept the Hills, himself in the head of his men hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the same current of succefs, what Paulinus had left unfinish'd he Conquers in the Ile of Mona: for the Ilanders altogether fearles of his approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw theirselves invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Countrie use had taught them to swimm over with Horfe and Armes, were compel'd to yeild. This gain'd Agricola much opinion; who at his verie entrance, a time which others bestowed of course in hearing complements and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardeft enterprises. But by farr not fo famous was Agricola in bringing Warr to a speedie end, as in cutting off the causes from whence Warr arises. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own houfe; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to doe at all in public af- fairs: laies on with equalitie the proportions of corn and tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier then the tribute it self. For the Countries had bin com-
pell’d before, to fitt and wait the op’ning of public Granaries, and both to sell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fitt; the Pourveyers also commanding when they pleas’d to bring it in, not to the neerest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus’d, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These greevances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as Warr [A. D. 80]. The Summer following, Titus then Emperor, he so continually with inroads disquieted the Enemie over all the Ile, and after terror so allur’d them with his gentle demeanour, that many Citties which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the institutes and customes of civil life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter’d, and by that the proner to Warr, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praysing the forward, quick’ning the flow, affisting all, turn’d the name of necessitie into an emulation. He caus’d moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of Britan, before the Studies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the Roman fashions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher fort call’d civilitie, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for bondage [A. D. 81]. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous expedition wafted as farr Northward as the Frith of Taus all that obey’d not; with such a terror, as he
went, that the Roman Army, though much hindered by tempestuous weather, had the leisure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, Agricola had this excellence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No sconce, or fortresses of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by seige, or in that case duly releev'd, with continual irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemie, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had loft, was now alike in both seasons kept short, and streit'n'd. For these exploits then esteem'd so great, and honourable, Titus in whose Reign they were atcheev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him Agricola receav'd triumphal honours. The fourth Summer [A. D. 82], Domitian then ruleing the Empire, he spent in settlng and confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of Britain. For Glota, and Bodotria, now Dunbritton, and the Frith of Edinburrow; two opposite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the Enemie driv'n as it were into another Iland. In his fift year [A. D. 83] he pass'd over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch Iles; discovering and subdueing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming also to conquer that Iland; where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by civil Warrs, comming to him, he both gladly receav'd, and retain'd him as against a

[48 Dion, 1.66.]
fitt time. The Summer ensuing [A.D. 84], on mistrust that the Nations beyond Bodotria would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caus'd his Fleet, makeing a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning moft commonly at night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At fight whereof the Britans, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledoni-ans with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of thir fear to the Romans themselves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under shew of sage advice, counsel'd the General to retreat back on this side Bodotria. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemie would fall on in many Bodies, devided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the Britans quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the Roman Armie, which they knew to be the weakeft; and breaking in upon the Camp surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some Execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the Roman Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the Britans: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pursu'd a while by the Romans, that day else in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trem-
bl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was British ground. The Britans also not acknowledging the loss of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of their Captaine, abated nothing of their stoutness; but arming thir youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safty, in frequent assemblies, and by solemn covnants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of Germans having slain thir Centurion with other Roman Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tide or weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as thir skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that Britain was an Island. [A. d. 85.] The following Summer, Agricola having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with fundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and disunite the Britans, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many Britans, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain Grampius, where the British, above 30 thousand, were now lodg'd, and still encreasing: for neither would thir old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lufty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with some badge, or cognisance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight; testifi'd by thir shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the others side

49 Dion, l. 66.
Agricola exhorts his soldiers to Victorie and Glorie; as much the soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seise the Victorie won without their own hazard, or to keep up the Battaile if it should need. The British powers on the Hill side, as might best serve for shew and terrour, stood in their Battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the Hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of Horfemen and Chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be over wing'd, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions: yet he not altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensignes. The fight began aloof, and the Britans had a certain skill with their broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withall to send back showers of their own. Until Agricola discerning that those little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three Batavian Cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exercis'd and arm'd for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy-strokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hasty omitting furder Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mixe themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of thir Horse also fall'n in dif-
orderly, were now more a mischief to thir own, then before a terour to thir Enemies. The Battaile was a confus’d heap; the ground unequal; men, horses, Chariots crowded pelmel; sometimes in little roome, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, overbearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos’d the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv’d for such a purpose, repell’d them back as fast: and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly Maifters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britans in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands, one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn’d and flew, the rest so hamper’d, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receiv’d a foyle in the midst of Victorie; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the Britans fled again, and were totally scatter’d; till night and wearinesse ended the chase. And of them that day 10 thousand fell; of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his Horse too far on. The Romans jocund of this Victorie, and the spoile they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandring about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling thir lost friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forfaking, some burning thir own Houfes; and it was certain enough, that
there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injurie. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav’d; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whether: such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a Warr, the Roman General leads his Armie among the Horeftians; by whom Hostages being giv’n, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navie to faile round the Coaft of Britain: himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquer’d Nations; beftowes his Armie in their Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch’t a prosperou’s and speedy compafs about the Ile, put in at the Haven Trutulentis, now Richborrow neer Sandwich, from whence it first set out: and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mention’d, the Romans might discover and subdue the Iles of Orkney; which others with less reason following Eusebius and Orosius, attribute to the deeds of Claudius. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame; with Domitian, under whom great virtue was as punishable as op’n crime, won him hatred. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis’d his ruin. Agricola [A. D. 86] therefore commanded home for doing too much, of what he was sent to doe, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Salustius Lucullus, or before him some other, for Suetonius only names him Legat of Britain under Domitian; but furder of him, or ought else done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly

50 Camden. Juvenal, sat. 2. 51 Eutrop. l. 7. 52 Dion, l. 66.
to be found. Some gather by a Preface in Tacitus to the Book of his Histories, that what Agricola won here, was soon after by Domitian either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And Juvenal the Poet speaks of Arviragus in these days, and not before, King of Britain: who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if Domitian could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also Claudia Rufina the Daughter of a Britain, and Wife of Pudence a Roman Senator, liv'd at Rome; famous by the Verse of Martial for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of Britain, is that when Trajan was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. Under Adrian, Julius Severus, faith Dion, govern'd the Island, a prime Souldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left things at such pass, as caus'd the Emperor in person to take a journey [A. D. 122] hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as Augustus, and Tiberius counsel'd to gird the Empire within moderate bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great stakes driv'n in deep, and fast'n'd together, in manner of a strong mound, four-score mile in length, to devide what was Roman from Barbarian: no antient Author names the place, but old inscriptions, and ruin it self yet testifies where it went along between Solway Frith by Carlile, and the mouth of Tine. Hadrian having quieted the Island, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coine, the Restorer of Britain. In his time also Priscus Licinius, as appears by an old inscription, was Lieutenant heer. Antoninus Pius reigning, the Brigantes ever least patient of Foren servitude, breaking in upon Genovinia (which Camden gues's to be Guinethia or North-Wales) part of the Roman Province, were with the

53 Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.
54 Spartianus, Ibid.
55 Camden.
56 Paufan. archad.
loss of much territory driv'n back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another Wall of Turves;\(^{57}\) in likelihood much beyond the former [A. D. 144], and as Camden proves, between the Frith of Dunbritton, and of Edinborrow; to hedge out incursions from the North. And Seius Saturninus, as is collected from the digests,\(^{58}\) had charge heer of the Roman Navie [A. D. 162]. With like success did Marcus Aurelius next Emperor by his Legate Calphurnius Agricola finish heer a new Warr:\(^{59}\) Commodus after him obtaining the Empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, Lucius\(^{60}\) a suppos'd King in some part of Britain, the first of any King in Europe, that we read of, receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profess'd it: a high and singular grace from above, if sinceritie and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true sentence, the first shall be last. And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King Lucius than common to the Nation; whose first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true faith; which had appear'd more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth Storie is made the second by descent from Marius, Marius the Son of Arviragus is there said to have overthrown the Picts then first coming out of Scythia, slain Roderic their King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a monument of Stone in the Country since call'd Westmaria; but these things have no foundation. Coitus the Son of Marius, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left

\(^{57}\) Capitolin. vit. Anton. \(^{58}\) Capitolin. Marc. Ant. Philos. \\
\(^{59}\) Digest. l. 36. \(^{60}\) Beda.
it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to Eleutherius then Bishop of Rome, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover [A. D. 181], desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive Christianitie. From whome two religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: yet Lucius to have had the surname of Levermaur, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the later daies of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by Simon Zelotes, as others by Joseph of Arimathæa, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiaftic Historians can best determin: as the best of them do, with little credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write, that after a long reigne he was buried at Glofster; but dying without issue left the Kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony we find that the greatest Warr which in those days busy'd Commodus, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman Province, wasted wide; and both the Army and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd; which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, Ulpius Marcellus [A. D. 183]. He a man endu'd with all nobleness of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes, what with

61 Nennius. 62 Geff. Mon. 63 Dion, l. 72.
his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the Roman Legions fell to sedition among themselves; 15 hundred of them went to Rome in name of the rest [A.D. 186], and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that to please them he put to death Perennis the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd heer to set up another Emperor against him; and Helvius Pertinax who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and was fain at length to seek a dismission from his charge. After him Clodius Albinus took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers made an Oration against Monarchie, by the appointment of Commodus was bid resign to Junius Severus [A.D. 193]. But Albinus in those troublesome times ensuing under the short reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus found means to keep in his hands the Government of Britain; although Septimius Severus who next held the Empire, sent hither Heraclitus to displace him; but in vain, for Albinus with all the British powers and those of Gal- lia met Severus about Lyons in France, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain. The Government of Bri- tain, Severus divided between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought sufficient; the North he committed to Virius Lupus. Where the Meate rising in Arms, and the Caledonians, though they had

64 Lamprid. in comm. 65 Capitolin. in Pert.
66 Capitolin. in Alb. 67 Dion, Did. Jul. 68 Spartian. in Sever.
69 Herod. i. 3. 70 Ibid. 71 Digest. i. 28, tit. 6.
promis'd the contrary to Lupus, preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compell'd to buy his peace, and a few of Pris'ners with great Sums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the state of things herer, that the Britans of the North made Warr upon him, broke into the Province, and harrafs'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person. Severus though now much weak'nd with Age and the Gout, yet desirous to leav som memorial of his warlike acheevements herer, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the pleasures of Rome, and his Souldiers from idleness, with a mighty power far sooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain [A. D. 208]. The Northern people much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, fend Embassadors to treat of peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loath to returne home without some memorable thing don, whereby he might assume to his other titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his answér and quick'n's his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismis'st without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rott'n Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watrie places half naked. He alfo being past Adrians wall [A. D. 209], cut down Woods, made way through Hills, faft'nd and fill'd up unsound and plashy Fens. Notwith-

72 Dion. 73 Herod. 1:3.
standing all this industrie us'd, the Enemie kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the Caledonians. Thus lost Severus, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than 50 thousand men: and yet desisted not, though for weakness carried in a Litter, till he had march't through with his Armie to the utmost Northern verge of the Ile: and the Britans offering peace were compell'd to lose much of thir Country not before subject to the Romans. [A. D. 210] Severus on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd, builds a Wall cross the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd the stile of Britannicus; in length 132 Miles. Orofus adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain spaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place whereof som will have to be in Scotland, the same which Lollius Urbicus had wall'd before. Others affirm it only Hadrians work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the ancient tract yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these Antiquities to be discuss't more at large. While Peace held, the Empress julia meeting on a time certain British Ladies, and discoursing with the Wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, cast out a scoff against the looseness of our Iland Women; whose

74 Dion. 75 Spartanus in Sever. 76 Eutropii Pean. Orf. 1. 7. Caffiodor. chro. 77 Buchanan.
manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the British Woman boldly thus answer'd: \textit{Much better do we Britans fulfill the work of Nature than you Romans; we with the best men accustom op'ny; you with the basest commit private adulteries.} Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her Countrie, as when vices are compar'd, the greater seems to justify the les, or whether the law and custom where-in she was bred, had wip't out of her conscience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the shame; certain it is that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the Britans\textsuperscript{78} altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was Severus return'd into the Province, then the Britans take Arms again. Against whom Severus worn out with labours and infirmity, sends Antoninus his eldest Son; expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But Antoninus who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a safer Enemie then a Son, did the Britans not much detriment. Whereat Severus more overcom with grief than any other maladie, ended his life at York.\textsuperscript{79} After whose decease Antoninus Caracalla [A. D. 211] his impious Son concluding peace with the Britans, took Hostages and departed to Rome. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr Scottish Writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman Empire declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensu-

\textsuperscript{78} Caesar. \textsuperscript{79} Spartianus in Sever.

Under Gordian the Emperour we find by the Inscription\(^{80}\) of an Altar stone, that Nonius Philip-pus govern'd heer [A. D. 242]. Under Galienus we read there was a strong and general revolt from the Roman Legat [A. D. 259]. Of the 30 Tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of Emperor,\(^{81}\) by many Coins found among us, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici and Marius are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Island [A. D. 267].\(^{82}\) Whence Porphyrius a Philosopher then living, said that Britain was a soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the Scottifh Nation. [A. D. 282] While Probus was Emperor,\(^{83}\) Bonofus the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a Spaniard, though by descent a Britan, and a matchless drinker, nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the German shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscalculated, trusting on his power with the Western Armies, and join'd with Proculus, bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquish't by Probus he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking; Heer hangs a Tankard, not a man. After this,\(^{84}\) Probus with much wisdom prevented a new rising heer in Britain by the severe loyaltie of Victorinus a Moor, at whose entreatie he had plac't heer that Governour which rebell'd. For the Em-peror upbraiding him with the disloyaltie of whom he had commended, Victorinus undertaking to set all right again, hastes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend sedition, by som contrivance not mention'd in the storie, flew him, whose name\(^{85}\) som

\(^{80}\) Camd. Cumber.
\(^{81}\) Eumen. Paneg. Conf.
\(^{82}\) Camden, Gildas, Hieronym.
\(^{83}\) Vopisc. in Bonof.
\(^{84}\) Zozim. l. 1.
\(^{85}\) Camd.
imagin to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Britons* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the *Romans* when any insurrection happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to govern among other Western Provinces this Iland with imperial authority [*A.D. 283*]; but him *Dioclesian* saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies overcame and slew. About which time *Carusius*, a man of low parentage [*A.D. 284*], born in *Menapia*, about the parts of Cleves and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pyrats [*A.D. 285*], neither restoring to the owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be les than an Emperor: for fear and guiltiness in those days made Emperors ofter than merit: And understanding that *Maximianus Herculis*, *Dioclesians* adopted Son, was com against him into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navie which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Iland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion [*A.D. 286*], got into his power the Legion that was left heer in Garrison, other outlandish Cohorts detain'd, lifted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurement of spoile invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea service, wherein the

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86 Zozimus. 87 Vopisc. in Carin. 88 Aurel. victor. de Caesar. 89 Eutrop. Orof. 90 Eumen. Paneg. 2.
Romans at that time were grown so out of skill, that Carausius with his Navie did at Sea what he lifted, robbing on every Coast; whereby Maximian, able to come no neerer than the shoar of Boloigne, was fore't to conclude a Peace with Carausius, and yeild him Britain; as one fitteft to guard the Province there against inroads from the North. But not long after [A.D. 291] having assum'd Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of Caesar, sent him against Carausius; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the Land and without. Galfred of Monmouth writes that he made the Piets his confederates; to whom lately com out of Scythia he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is observ'd that before his time the Piets are not known to have bin any where mentioned, and then first by Eumenius a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of Severus with 7 Caftles, and a round House of smooth ftone on the Bank of Carron, which River, faith Ninnius, was of his Name so call'd; he built also a Triumphal Arch in remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In France he held Gesforiacum, or Boloigne; and all the Franks which had by his permission feated themselves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Constantius hafting into Gallia, besieges Boloigne, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by Carausius. Who ere Constantius with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by Aleétus one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place [A.D. 292]; when he 7 years, and worthily, as som fay, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did Constantius prosecute that opportunity, before Aleétus could well strengthen his Af-

91 Victor. Eutrop. 92 Buchanan. 93 Paneg. 2. 94 Paneg. Sigonius.
fairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the British Fleet unseen, that lay scouting neer the Ile of Wight, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. Alestus also, though now much dismaid, transfers his fortune to a Battel on the shoar; but encountered by Asclepiodotus Captain of the Praetorian Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the Romans, but great execution on the Franks. His Body was found almost naked in the field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, left it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to London, and purposing with the pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another part of the Roman Armie, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The Britans, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet Constantius, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by Eumenius, who then liv'd, and was of Constantius household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd action; so also thinks Sigonius a learned Writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alestus. In these days were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the Æduans in Burgundie entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. Dioclesian having hitherto successfully us'd his valour against the

95 Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3. 96 Eumen.
Enemies of his Empire, uses now his rage in a bloodie persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them heer who suffer'd gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Usk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renown'd: The story of whose Martyrdom soild, and worse martyr'd with the faling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer digression. Constantius after Dioclesian, dividing the Empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with victorie from an expedition against the Caledonians, he di'd at York. His Son Constantine, who happily came Poft from Rome to Boloigne just about the time, faith Eumenius [A.D. 306], that his Father was setting fail his laft time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that Constantine was born in this Iland, his Mother Helena the Daughter of Coilus a British Prince, not sure the Father of King Lucius, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an hundred years to be the Mother of Constantine. But to salve this incoherence, another Coilus is feign'd to be then Earl of Colchester. To this therefore the Roman Authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the Panegyrics, about the fense whereof much is argu'd: others neerest to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of Helena, a mean Woman at Naifus in Dar-

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The History of England.

dania. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he seems to have had some bickerings in the North [A.D. 307], which by reason of more urgent affairs compos’d, he passes into Gallia;¹ and after 4 years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here [A.D. 311]; until a new Warr against Maxentius call’d him back, leaving Pacatianus his Vicegerent. He deceasing,² Constantine his eldest Son enjoy’d for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the Alpes, this Island also. But falling to Civil Warr with Constans his Brother [A.D. 340], was by him slaine; who with his third Brother Constantius coming into Britain, seiz’d it as Victor.³ Against him rose Magnentius [A.D. 343], one of his chief Commanders, by som affirm’d the Son of a Britan,⁴ he having gain’d on his side great Forces, contested with Constantius in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish’t, in the end flew himself. ⁵Some before this time [A.D. 350], Gratianus Funarius, the Father of Valentinian, afterwards Emperor, had chief command of those Armies which the Romans kept here. ⁶And the Arrian Doctrine which then divided Christendom [A.D. 353], wrought also in this Island no small disturbance: a Land, faith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last Constantius [A.D. 359], appointed a Synod of more than 400 Bishops to assemble at Ariminum on the Emperors charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the British, poverty conftreining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer’d to have born thir charges: esteeming it more honourable to live on the publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age;

¹ Sigon. ² Camd. Ammian. l. 20. et in eum Valeius. ³ Libanius in Basilico. ⁴ Camd. ex Firmico. ⁵ Camden. ⁶ Ammian.
who like well to fit in Assembly on the publick stipend, but lik’d not the poverty that caus’d these to do so. After this Martinus was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquifitor sent from Constantius, exercis’d in his enquiring after those Military Officers who had conspir’d with Magnentius, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag’d he runs at Paulus with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess’d, Alipius was made Deputy. In the mean time Julian, whom Constantius had made Cæsar, having recover’d much Territory about Rhine, where the German inrodes before had long insulted, to relieve those Countries almost ruin’d, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch’d in from Britain; which eev’n then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as French and Saxon Pirats hinder’d not the transportation. While Constantius yet reign’d [A.D. 360], the Scots and Picts breaking in upon the Northern confines, Julian, being at Paris, sends over Lupicinus, a well try’d Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a power of light arm’d Herculians, Batavians, and Meæians, in the midst of Winter failing from Boloigne, arrives at Rutupiae seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to London, to consult there about the Warr; but soon after was recall’d by Julian then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happening heer; only that Palladius one of his great Officers was hither banish’d. This year [A.D. 364] Valentinian being Emperor, the Attacots, Picts, and Scots roaming up and down, and left the Saxons with perpetual landings and in-

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8 Amm. 1. 23. 9 Amm. 1. 20. 10 Amm. 1. 26, 27.
vasions harryed the South Coast of Britain; slew Nectariidus who govern'd the Sea Borders, and Bulchobaudes with his Forces by an ambush. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, sends first Severus high Steward of his House, and soon recalls him, then Jovinus, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length Theodosius, a man of try'd valour, and experience, father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts [A.D. 367], crosses the Sea from Bologne to Rutupiae; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians, and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to London; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemie, lad'n with spoile; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters London victoriously; which before in many straits and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the Warr scatter'd: which Theodosius, getting daily from intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprifals rather than set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Iland, and Dulcitius a famous Captain. Thus was Theodosius busy'd, besetting with ambushes the roving Enemie, repref ting his Rodes, restoring Cities and Castles to thir former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when [A.D. 368] Valentinus a Pannonian for some great offence ba-
nished into Britain,\textsuperscript{11} conspiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers against Theodosius, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the Ile into his power, is discover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign punishment: against the rest, Theodosius with a wise lenity suffer'd not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, left the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettl'd. This don, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches; and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly Roman, new nam'd Valentina of Valentinian, and the City of London Augusta. Thus Theodosius nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to Valentinian. Who about 5 years [A.D. 373] after sent hither Fraomarius, a King of the Almans,\textsuperscript{12} with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good service were in high esteem. Against Gratian who succeeded in the Western Empire, Maximus a Spanyard, and one who had serv'd in the Britisli Warrs with younger Theodosius\textsuperscript{13} (for hee also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done somthing in this Iland) and now General of the Roman Armies heer, either discontented that Theodosius was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Souldiers who hated Gratian, assumes the imperial Purple,\textsuperscript{14} and having attain'd Victorie against the Scots and Picts, with the flowr and strength of Britain, pass'd into

\textsuperscript{11} Amm. I. 28. Zozim. I. 4. \\
\textsuperscript{12} Amm. I. 29. \\
\textsuperscript{13} Zozim. I. 4. Sigon. \\
\textsuperscript{14} Prosper. Aquitanic. chron.
France [A.D. 383]; there slays Gratian, and without much difficulty, the space of 5 years [A.D. 388], obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by Theodosius. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had giv’n them to possess, the South of Britain by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of Roman Soldiers on the Confiners drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions; of Scots from the Irish Seas [A.D. 389], of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first Chrysanlthus the Son of Marcian a Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demean’d himself worthily: then Stilicho a man of great power, whom Theodosius, dying, left Protector of his Son Honorius, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repress’d them, and as it seems new fortifi’d the Wall against them. But that Legion being call’d away, when the Roman Armies from all parts hasted to relieve Honorius [A.D. 402], then besie’d in Aosta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left expos’d as before, to those Barbarous Robbers. Left any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish Sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many years before had been driv’n all out of Britain by Maximus; and thir King Eugenius slain in fight; as thir own Annals report: whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv’d by scumming those Seas and shoars as Pyrats. But more authentic Writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and nam’d it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name. About this

16 Socrat. 1. 7. Claudian de laud. fil. 1. 2. et de bello Get.  
17 Ethelwerd. Sax. an. Bede epit. in the year 565; and Bede, l. 2. c. 4.
time [A.D. 405], though troublesome, Pelagius a Britan
found the leisure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against
by St. Austin. But the Roman powers which were
call'd into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was
over, made return into several Provinces: and per-
haps Victorinus of Tolosa, whom Rutilius the Poet
much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland:
if it were not he whom Stilicho sent hither. Bucha-
nan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Piets
into a Province, he gave the occasion of this calling
back Fergusius and the Scots, whom Maximus with
this help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and in-
deed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin
active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd
him later by Buchanan after Gratianus Municeps, by
Camden, after Constantine the Tyrant, accords not
with that which follows in the plain course of His-
torie. For the Vandals having broke in and wasted
all Belgia [A.D. 407], eev'n to those places from
whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman
Forces heer, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were
all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up Mar-
cus, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him
not found agreeable to this heady courses, they as
haftily kill: for the giddy favour of a mutining
rout is as dangerous as this furie. The like they do
by Gratian, a British Roman, in four Months ad-
vanc't, ador'd, and deestroy'd. There was among
them a common Souldier whose name was Constan-
tine, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon
the conceit put in them of a luckiness in his name,
as without other visible merit to create him Empe-
ror. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for
nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good

18 Zozim. l. 6. 19 Sozom. l. 9. 20 Oros. l. 7.
use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the Province, and what of British was able to bear Arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the Empire. Where by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Britan, and partly by perswasion gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles [A.D. 408]. With like felicity by his Son Constans, whom of a Monk he had made a Caesar, and by the conduct of Gerontius he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But Constans after this displacing Gerontius, the affairs of Constantine soon went to wrack: for he by this means alienated, set up Maximus one of his friends against him in Spain [A.D. 409]; and passing into France, took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that City, calls on the Vandals against Constantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had bin repress't, breaking forward, over-run most part of France. But when Constantius Comes, the Emperors General, with a strong power came out of Italy; Gerontius deserted by his own Forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private dore, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife Non-nichia, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and de-

21 Sozom. l. 9.  
22 Olympiodor. apud Photium.
laying, yet by her entreated and importun’d, refusing

to outlive her Husband, he dispatches: for which

her resolution Sozomenus an Ecclesiastic Writer gives

her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian.

Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but

missing the mortal place, with his poinard finishes

the work. Thus farr is pursu’d the story of a fa-
mous Britan, related negligently by our other Histori-

ans. As for Constantine, his ending was not an-
swerable to his setting out: for he with his other

Son Julian besiegd by Constantius in Arles, and mis-

trusting the change of his wonted success, to save

his head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing

him, is carried into Italy, and there put to death;

having 4 years acted the Emperor. While these

things were doing, the Britans at home destitute

of Roman aid, and the cheif strength of their own

youth, that went first with Maximus, then with

Constantine, not returning home, vex’d, and harras’d

by thir wonted Enemies, had sent messages to Hono-

rius; but he at that time not being able to defend

Rome it self, which the fame year was taken by Ala-

ric, advises them by his Letter to consult how best

they might for their own safety, and acquits them of

the Roman jurisdiction. They therefore thus relin-

quish’t, and by all right the Government relapsing

into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themselves
to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds

as well as they were able, and the Armoricans, who

not long after were call’d the Britans of France, fol-

low’d thir Example. Thus expir’d this great Em-

pire of the Romans; first in Britain, soon after in Italy

it self: having born chief sway in this Iland, though

never throughly subdu’d, or all at once in subjection,

if we reck’n from the coming in of Julius to the

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taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote those Letters of discharge into Britain, the space of 462 years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was chiefly Roman; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and even Language itself, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of Authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own Countrie, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and trooked with superstitition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstance each man as his judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

25 Calvin. Sigon.

The End of the Second Book.
His third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermission or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britans then were in, when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this intereign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of State, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledg of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britans generally are in matters of so high enterprise, how by nature, industry, or custom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puff up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of self knowledge, to enterprize rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings.

[Of these who sway'd most in the late troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to thir wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not thir skill.

To other causes thersfore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood in the Britans, both those,
and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty so long desir'd, like a bridle into thir hands. Of which other causes equally belonging to Ruler, Priest, and People, above hath bin related: which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which, rightly us'd, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expens, to ridiculous frustration: in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously appear'd, with vices not less hateful or inexcus'able.

For a Parlament being call'd, to address many things, as it was thought, the People with great courage, and expectation to be eas'd of what discontented them, chose to thir behoof in Parlament, such as they thought best affected to the public good, and som indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, (to be sure the greater part,) whom Wealth or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition (rather then Merit) had commended to the same place.

But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted thir New Magistracy were cool'd, and spent in them, strait every one betook himself (setting the Commonwealth behind, his privat ends before) to doe as his own profit or ambition ledd him. Then was justice delay'd, and soon after deni'd: spight and favour determin'd all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field: ev'ry where wrong, and oppression: foull and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintain'd, in secret, or in open. Som who had bin call'd from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in Supreme Councills and Committees, (as thir breeding was) fell to huck-fter the Commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could soothe and humour them best; so hee who would give most, or, under covert of hypocriticall
zeale, insinuat baseft, enjoy'd unworthily the rewards of lerning and fidelity; or escap'd the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Thir Votes and Ordinances, which men looked should have contain'd the repealing of bad laws, and the immediat constitution of better, refounded with nothing els, but new Impositions, Taxes, Excises; yeerly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the Offices, Gifts, and Preferments bestow'd and shar'd among themselves: they in the mean while, who were ever faithfull to this Cause, and freely aided them in Person, or with thir Substance, when they durst not compell either, flighted and bereev'd after of thir just Debts by greedy Sequestrations, were toss'd up and down after miserable attendance from one Committee to another with Petitions in thir hands, yet either mis'd the obtaining of thir suit, or though it were at length graunted, (meer shame and reason oft-times extorting from them at least a show of Justice) yet by thir Sequestrators and Sub-committees abroad, Men for the most part of infatiable hands, and noted disloyalty, those Orders were commonly disobeyed: which for certain durst not have bin, without secret compliance, if not compact with som superiours able to bear them out. Thus were thir Freinds confiscate in thir Enemies, while they forfeited thir Debtors to the State, as they call'd it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable Theives in Office: yet were withall no les burden'd in all extraordinary affesments and oppressions, then those whom they took to be disaffected: nor were wee happier Creditors to what wee call'd the State, then to them who were sequefter'd as the States Enemies.

For that faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing holy, "the Publick Faith," after infinit Summs receav'd, and all the Wealth of the Church not better employ'd, but swallow'd up into a privat Gulph, was not ere long asham'd to con-
fess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetnes of Bribery, and other Gain, with the love of Rule, thir own guiltiness and the dreaded name of Juft Account, which the People had long call’d for, discover’d plainly that there were of thir owne number, who secretly contriv’d and fomented those Troubles and Combustions in the Land, which openly they fat to remedy; and would continually find such worke, as should keep them from being ever brought to that Terrible Stand of laying down thir authority for lack of new busines, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole Nation.

And if the State were in this plight, Religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of Divines were call’d, neither chosen by any Rule or Cuftome Ecclesiafticall, nor eminent for either Piety or Knowledg above others left out; onely as each Member of Parlament in his privat fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such, as had preach’d and cri’d down, with great show of zeale, the avarice and pluralities of Bishops and Prelats; that one Cure of Souls was a full employment for one Spirituall Pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather above humane strength. Yet these conscientious Men (ere any part of the worke don for which they came together, and that on the Publick salary) wanted not boldnes, to the ignominy and scandall of thir pastorlike profession, and especially of thir boasted Reformation, to seize into thir hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the beft Livings) Collegiate Masterships in the Universities, rich Lectures in the Citty, fetting fail to all Winds that might blow gain into thir covetous Bofomes: by which meanes these great Rebukers of Nonresidence, among so many distant Cures, were not asham’d to bee seen so quickly Pluralists and Nonresidents themselvs, to a fearfull
condemnation doubtles by thir own mouths. And yet the maine Doctrin for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence then gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that thir Doctrin was worth nothing, and the spirituall power of thir Ministry less available then bodily compulsion; persuading the Magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in Conscience, then Evangelicall persuasion: distrustfing the virtue of thir own spirituall Weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without conviction, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly, against themselves; these intents are clear to have bin no better then antichristian: setting up a spirituall tyranny by a secular Power, to the advancing of thir own authority above the Magistrate, whom they would have made thir executioner, to punish Church-delinquencies, wherof Civil Laws have no cognizance.

And well did thir Disciples manifest themselves to bee no better principled then thir Teachers, trusted with Committeeships and other gainfull Offices, upon thir commendations for zealous, (and as they stick'd not to term them) godly Men; but executing thir Places like Children of the Devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that betweene them the Teachers, and these the Disciples, there hath not bin a more ignominious and mortall wound to Faith, to Piety, to the work of Reformation, nor more Cause of blaspheming giv'n to the Enemies of God and Truth, since the first preaching of Reformation.

The People therfore looking one while on the Statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of thir
own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways thir disaffection; som despising whom before they honoured, som deserting, som inveighing, som conspiring against them. Then looking on the Churchmen, whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy to have preach'd thir own follies, most of them not the Gospel, timeservers, covetous, illiterat persecutors, not lovers of the Truth, like in most things wherof they accus'd thir Predecessors: looking on all this, the People which had bin kept warm a while with the counterfeit zeale of thir Pulpits, after a fals heat, became more cold and obdurat then before, som turneing to lewdnes, som to flat Atheifm, put beside thir old Religion, and fouly scandaliz'd in what they expected should be new.

Thus they who of late were extoll'd as our greatest Deliverers, and had the People wholly at thir devotion, by foe discharging thir Trust as wee see, did not onely weaken and unfit themselvs to bee dispensers of what Liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the People, now grown worse and more disordnat, to receave or to digest any Liberty at all. For stories teach us, that Liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerat Age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery: for Liberty hath a sharp and double edg, fit onely to bee handled by just and vertuous Men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischeif unwieldy in thir own hands: neither is it compleatly giv'n, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a People, and how to remove it wisely; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good Men may enjoy the freedome which they merit, and the bad which they neede. But to doe this, and to know these exquifite proportions, the heroick Wisdom which is requir'd, furmounted far the principles of
these narrow Politicians: what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunat Britans before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above thir straine and temper? For Britan, to speak a truth not oft’n spok’n, as it is a Land fruit-full enough of men stout and courageous in warr, soe it is naturally not over-fertill of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting onely in thir Motherwit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the Publick good, more then of money or vaine honour, are to this soile in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in mindes well implanted with solid and elaborat breeding, too impolitic els and rude, if not headstrong and intrac-table to the industry and vertue either of executing or understanding true Civill Goverment. Valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious, and un-wise: in good or bad succes, alike unteachable. For the Sun, which wee want, ripens wits as well as fruits; and as Wine and Oil are imported to us from abroad, soe must ripe understanding, and many Civill Ver-tues, be imported into our mindes from Foren Writ-ings, and Examples of best Ages; we shall els mis-carry still, and com short in the attempts of any great enterprize. Hence did thir Victories prove as fruitles, as thir Losses dang’rous; and left them still conq’ring under the same greevances, that Men suffer conquer’d: which was indeed unlikely to goe otherwise, unles Men more then vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledg of antient and illustrious deeds, in-vincible against many and vaine Titles, impartial to Fréindships and Relations, had conducted thir Af-fairs: but then from the Chapman to the Retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious then the rest, were admitted with all thir fordid Rudiments to bear no meane sway among them, both in Church and State.
From the confluence of all thir Errours, Mischiefs, and Misdemeanours, what in the eyes of Man could be expected, but what befell those antient Inhabitants, whom they so much resembr'd, confusion in the end?

But on these Things, and this Parallel, having anough insifted, I returne to the Story, which gave us matter of this digression.]

The Britans thus as we heard being left without protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves through long subjection, servile in mind,¹ floathful of body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustaine'd but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of change,² and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a shew of diligence in thir new affairs, som secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and maintain true libertie, they soon remitted thir heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of thir owne libertie, than before under a foren yoke. In-fomuch that the residue of those Romans which had planted themselves heer, despairing of thir ill deportment at home, and weak resistence in the field by those few who had the courage, or the strength to bear Arms, nine years after the sacking of Rome remov'd out of Britain into France [A. D. 418], hiding for haste great part of thir treasure, which was never after found.³ And now again the Britans, no longer

¹ Gild. Bede. Malins.
² Zozim. l. 6.
³ Ethelwerd. annal. Sax.
able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemy, solicit Honorius to their aid, with mournful Letters [A.D. 422], Embassages and vows of perpetual subjection to Rome if the Northern Foe were but repuls’t. He at their request spares them one Legion, which with great slaughter of the Scots and Piets drove them beyond the Borders, rescu’d the Britans, and advis’d them to build a Wall cross the Island, between Sea and Sea, from the place where Edinburg now stands to the Frith of Dunbritton, by the City Alcuith. But the material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, avail’d them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy spoilers returning, land in great numbers from their Boats and Pinaces, wafting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are messengers again posted to Rome in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy’d, and the Roman name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of barbarian scorn and insolence. The Emperor, at their sad complaint, with what speed was possible sends to their succour [A.D. 423]. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprize them with a terrible slaughter. They who escap’d, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad’n with booties. But the Romans who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of their Affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their Country, their Wives, their Children, and what was to be dearer than

4 Gildas.  
6 Bede, l. i. c. 2.  
5 Diaconus, l. 14.  
7 Gildas.
life, thir liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if thir own sloth and cowardise had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receave bonds. They gave them also thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the Ile in direct line from East to West between certain Cities plac'd there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where Severus had wall'd once before. They rais'd it 12 Foot high, 8 broad. Along the South shoar, because from thence also like hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea side at certain distances, for safety of the Coast. Withall they instruct them in the art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the Romans, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of Beda, and Diaconus, the two last years of Honorius. Thir Leader, as som modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and brings against him to this Battel Fergus first King of Scots after thir second suppos'd coming into Scotland, Durflus King of Picts, both there slain, and Dioneth an imaginary King of Britain, or Duke of Cornwall, who improbablie sided with them against his own Countrie, hardlie escaping. With no less exactness of particular circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuarie inrodes of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of fight, number of slain,
Articles of Peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, Authors to whom the Scotch Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare assertions, however quaintly dreft, than our Goftry of Monmouth when he varies most from authentick storie. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond zeal of praising thir Nations above truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off thir Historie, or magnifie thir Countrie.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoile, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from thir Gorroghs, or Leathern Frigats, pour out themselves in swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very wall side, then first took possession as inhabitants; while the Britans with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloodie pursuer, who follows killing, wafting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a Famin, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the Britans: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all stores were consum'd and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only susteiment. To the heaps of these evils from without, were added new divisions within the Church. For Agricola the Son of Severianus a Pelagian Bishop had spread his
Doctrine wide among the Britans not uninfected be-
fore. The sounder part neither willing to embrace
his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able
to refute him, crave assistance from the Churches of
France: who send them Germanus Bishop of Auxerre,
and Lupus of Troyes. They by continual preaching
in Churches [A.D. 429], in Streets, in Fields, and
not without miracles, as is writ’t, confirm’d som, re-
gain’d others, and at Verulam in a public disputation
put to silence thir chief adversaries. This refor-
ation in the Church was believ’d to be the cause
of thir success a while after in the field. For the Saxons
and Picts with joint force [A.D. 430], which was no
new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwel-
ing in this Iland, during the abode of Germanus heer,
had made a strong impression from the North. The
Britans marching out against them, and mistrusting
thir own power, send to Germanus and his Colleague,
reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two
men, than in thir own thousands arm’d. They came,
and thir presence in the Camp was not less than if a
whole Army had com to second them. It was then the
time of Lent, and the people instructed by the daily
Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receave
Baptifm. There was a place in the Camp set apart as a
Church, and trick’d up with boughs upon Easter-day.
The Enemy understanding this, and that the Britans
were tak’n up with Religions more than with feats of
Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a cer-
tain Victorie. German who also had intelligence of
thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day;
and riding out with selected Troops to discover what
advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley
compa’s’t about with Hills, by which the Enemy

15 Constant. vit. German.
was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries Halleluia; which answered by the Souldiers with a sudd'n burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Hoast, throw themselves into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britans plenty of spoile, and to the person and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the Writer of his life in the next age, had resolv'd us how the British Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before, in the Land we read not, or that Pelagianism was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in Flintshire, by a Town call'd Guid-crue, and the River Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But so soon as German was return'd home, the Scots and Picts [A.D. 431], though now so many of them Christians, that Palladius a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by Celestine the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well re-claim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to thir Neighbours, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britans who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Ile, send Letters to Ætius, then third time Consul of Rome [A.D. 446], with this super-

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inscription; To Ætius thrice Consul, the groanes of the Britans. And after a few words thus: The barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea. But the Empire at that time overspread with Hunns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos’d to wants, keeping within Woods, and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in Divine assistance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foresaid deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long heer, the Writers of his life assent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or Irish Robbers, for so they are indifferently term’d, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Iland, using now and then to make inrodes upon the Britans. But they in the mean while thus ridd of thir Enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief

20 Gildas.
perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac’d for good, wickedness honour’d and esteem’d as virtue. And this quality their valour had, against a foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow, in falsehood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness; or swoln with pride and willfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish’d with judgment, and for manners thus qualified both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, faith he, not of Gods anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess’d, either this Year [A.D. 447] or the following,\(^\text{21}\) when they saw

\(^{21}\text{Constant. Bede.}\)
the Romans had quite deserted thir claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British Clergie too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time German to thir assistance. Who coming with Severus a Disciple of Lupus that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continu’d right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver’d to German [A.D. 448]; who carrying them over with him,22 dispos’d of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same year dy’d in Italy; and the Britans not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that thir old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepar’d a strong invasion, purpofing to kill all and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the instruments of Divine justice had bin at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserv’d the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessioners, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the Britans23 nothing better’d by these heavy judgments, the one threaten’d, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they suddenly fear’d, from the Pictish invasion. Vortigern, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of Monmouth to have procur’d the death first of

22 Sigon. Gildas. 23 Malms. 1. 1.
Constantine, then of Constance his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how Constantine with his Son Constance the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other Cæsar, perish'd in France, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, because his vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in Warr, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the public Treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general Council, to provide some better means than heeretofore had been us'd against these continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the Saxons be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witness that military force which the Roman Emperors maintain'd heer purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the Saxon shoar in Britain; and the many mischiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath bin related, witness as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be descended of the Saca, a kind of Scythian in the North of Asia,

24 Notitiae imperii.  
thence call'd Sacapons, or Sons of Sacæ, who with a
Flood of other Northern Nations came into Europe,
toward the declining of the Roman Empire; and using
Pyraey from Denmark all along these Seas, posses'd
at length by intrusion all that Coaf of Germany²⁶ and
the Nether-lands, which took thence the name of old
Saxony, lying between the Rhene and Elve, and from
thence North as far as Eidora, the River bounding
Holfatia, though not so firmly, nor so largely, but that
thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation.
Such guesfts as these the Britans resolve now to fend
for, and entreat into thir houses and possesfions, at
whose very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off.
So much do men through impatience countever that
the heaviest which they bear at present, and to re-
move the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on
a greater: as if variety and change in evil also were
acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the def-
pair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from
one misery to another.

The Britans therefore,²⁷ with Vortigern, who was
then accounted King over them all, resolve in full
Council to fend Emfaffadors of thir choicest men
with great gifts, and faith a Saxon Writer in these
words, defiring thir aid. Worthy Saxons, hearing the
fame of your prowefs, the distressed Britans wearied out,
and overpræst by a continual invading Enemy, have fent
us to beseech your aid. They have a Land fertile and
spatious, which to your commands they bid us surrender.
Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obe-
dience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to
them we know none worthier than your selves; and
therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us
not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you im-
pos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet Ethelwerd writes

²⁶ Ethelwerd. ²⁷ Ibid. Mahnsb. Witichind, gest. Sax. l. i, p. 3.
not that they promised subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the Britans, to that which gladly they would have wish't to obtain of them by entreating, to the British Embassy return this answer. Be assure'd henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful friends to the Britans, no less ready to stand by them in their need, than in their best of fortune. The Embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their Country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. The Saxons, consulting first their Gods (for they had answer, that the Land whereeto they went, they should hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chosen company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, Hengist and Horfa; descended in the fourth degree from Woden; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, most Kings of those Nations derive their pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, Jutes and Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen by the City of Slewich, both Provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first year of Martian the Greek Emperor, from the birth of Christ, 450, receav'd with much good will of the people first, then of the King, who after some assurances giv'n and tak'n, bestows on them the Ile of Tanet, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against the Picts, when they fought as for their own Country, and more loyal to the Britans, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The British Nennius writes that these Brethren were driv'n
into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans, and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the Hav’n. For it was the custom in old Saxony, when thir numerous off-spring overflow’d the narrowness of thir bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings, wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forct. But whether fought, or unsought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the Scots and Picts were now come down, som say, as far as Stamford in Lincoln-shire, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: slaying in fight, as some Scotch Writers affirm, thir King Eugenius the Son of Fergus. Hengift perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other inhabitants giv’n to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with 17 Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain’d without suspicion on these terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the Picts, receaving stipend and some place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of Hengift, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, Rowen the British call her: she by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in presence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wiv’d, as to demand her in mariage upon any conditions. Hengift at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a

33 Malmf. 34 Henry Huntingd. 35 Ethelwerd. 36 Bed. Nen. 37 Nenn.
necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarg’d to the Circuit of Kent, had it streit by donation: though Guor-rangonus till then was King of that place: and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of Vortiger, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the Kings favour, got furder leave to call over Oéta and Ebissa, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv’n them, would fit there as a continual defence against the Scots, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sayling with forty Ships eev’n to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Piets, posses’d that part of the Ile which is now Northumberland. Notwithstanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the Britans found means to satisfie, though alleging withall that they to whom promise was made of wages, were nothing so many in number, quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that thir pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening op’n Warr unless it be augmented. Guortimer the Kings Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray’d, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the Piets and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, wasted without resistance almost the whole Land eev’n to the Western Sea, with such a horrid devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn’d, Preists and people slain, Temples, and Palaces, what with fire and Sword lay altogether heap’d in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfullness that brought this upon them, Gildas adds that few or none were likely to be other then lew’d and wicked persons.

The residue of these, part overtak'n in the Mountains were slain; others subdu'd with hunger preferr'd slavery before instant death; some getting to Rocks, Hills, and Woods inaccessibl[e, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the shame of a secure slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low water not far from Leiden; either built, as Writers of their own affirm, or seiz'd on by those Britans in their escape from Hengist. Others into Armorica, peopled, as some think, with Britans long before; either by guilt of Constantine the Great, or else of Maximus to those British Forces which had serv'd them in Forein Wars; to whom those also that mis-carried not with the latter Constantine at Arles; and lastly, these exiles driv'n out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But the antient Chronicles of those Provinces attest their coming thereto be then firft when they fled the Saxons, and indeed the name of Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives who had quitted without stroke their own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to some party of their own settl'd there before. Vortiger nothing better'd by these calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of Clercs, and Laics, and partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into Wales, and built him there a strong Castle in Radnorshire by the advice of Ambrosius a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Nevertheless Faustus, who was

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39 Primord. pag. 418. 40 Malmesb. l. i. c. i. 41 Huntingd. l. i. 42 Nenn. Malmesb. 43 Nenn.
the Son thus incestuously begott’n under the instructions of German or some of his Disciples, for German was dead before, prov’d a religious man, and liv’d in devotion by the River Remnis in Glamorganshire. But the Saxons, though finding it so easy to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return’d home: when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call’d in more. Which makes more probable that which the Britifh write of Guortemir. For he coming to Reigne, instead of his Father depos’d for incest, is said to have thrice driv’n and besiegd the Saxons in the Ile of Taneth; and when they issu’d out with powerful supplies sent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other Battells, wherof three are nam’d; the first on the River Darwent, the second at Episford, wherein Horfa the Brother of Hengift fell, and on the Britifh part Catigern the other Son of Vortiger. The third in a Feild by Stonar then call’d Lapis tituli in Tanet, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have so scap’d and not venturing to land again for 5 years after. In the space wherof Guortemir dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of Stonar; perswaded that his bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: they, faith Nennius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, antientest annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. In the year 455, Hengift and Horfa fought against Vortiger, in a place called Eglefhrin, now Ailsford in Kent; where Horfa lost his life, of whom Horfled, the place of his burial, took name.

After this first Battel and the Death of his Bro-

44 Gildas.  
45 Nenn.  
ther, Hengift with his Son Eilca took on him Kingly Title, and people'd Kent with Jutes; who also then or not long after possess'd the Ile of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. Two years after [A.D. 457] in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengift and his Son flew of the Britans four Chief Commanders, and as many thousand men: the rest in great disorder flying to London, with the total loss of Kent. And 8 years passing between [A.D. 465], he made new Warr on the Britans; of whom in a Battel at Wippeds-fleot, 12 Princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon Earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter was at a place not mention'd [A.D. 473], where he gave them such an overthow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to thir Enemies. And these perhaps are the 4 Battells, according to Nennius, fought by Guortemir, though by these Writers far differently related; and happen'ning besides many other bickerings, in the space of 20 years, as Malmbury reck'ns. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withall in Kent, thir own allotted dwelling, and somtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word Wippeds-fleot seems to intimat. But Guortemir now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, Vortigern either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reasumes the Goverment: and Hengift thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restoration of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to Vortigern whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son in Law, now that the only Author of dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of.

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47 The Kingdome of Kent. 48 Nennius.
new league and amity. The King both for his Wives sake and his own sottishness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yield'd; and the place of parly is agree'd on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. Hengift, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was Nemet eour Saxes, that is, Draw your Daggers; which they observing, when the Britans were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatch'd with those Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in Custody, untill he granted them for his ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex. Who thus dismissed, retiring again to his solitary abode in the Country of Guorthigirniaun, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in North-Wales, by the River Tiebi; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Towre by fire from Heav'n at the Praier, as some say, of German, but that coheres not; as others, by Ambrofius Aurelian; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the Saxons. Who whether by constraint or of thir own accord after much mischief don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the Britans of avenging themselves the easier on those that flaid behinde. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and

under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a virtuous and modest man, the last heer of *Roman* stock, advancing now onward against the late Viftors, defeat them in a memorable Battell. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: who both lost thir lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the express words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* hav- ing heer born regal dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Wars and commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that prophe- ci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a Roman Consul; but con- ceal'd by his mother, as fearing that the King therafore fought his life; yet the youth no sooner had confess'd his parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first,\(^{51}\) according to surest Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writ't. This is cer- tain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against thir whole powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambrose* as chief Monarch of the Ile succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies

\(^{51}\) *Gildas*. *Bede.*
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faith Nennius, the Saxons prevail’d not much: against whom Arthur, as beeing then Cheif General for the British Kings, made great War; but more renown’d in Songs and Romances, then in true stories. And the sequel it self declares as much. For in the year 477, Ella the Saxon, with his three Sons, Cymen, Pleting, and Ciffa, at a place in Sussex call’d Cymen-shore, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the Britans, chasing them that remain’d into the Wood Andrews Leage. Another Battell [A. D. 485] was fought at Mercreds-Burnamsted, wherein Ella had by far the Victory; but Huntingdon makes it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrain’d to send home for supplies. Four year after dy’d Hengift [A. D. 489] the first Saxon King of Kent, noted to have attain’d that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather then proceeding by mildness or civility. His Son Oeric furnam’d Oisc, of whom the Kentish Kings were call’d Oiscings, succeeded him, and fate content with his Fathers winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, then to enlarge his bounds: he reign’d 24 years. By this time [A. D. 492] Ella and his Son Cissa, besieging Andredchester, suppos’d now to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword.

Thus Ella 3 years after the death of Hengift, began his Kingdome of the South-Saxons, peopling it with new inhabitants, from the Country which was then old Saxony, at this day Holstein in Denmark, and had besides at his command all those Provinces which the Saxons had won on this side Humber. Animated with these good successes, as if Britain

52 Nenn. 53 Sax. an. Ethelw. Florent. 54 Florent. 55 Huntingd. 56 Malmf. Bed. l. 2, c. 5. 57 Camden. 58 The Kingdome of South-Saxons. 59 Bed. l. 1, c. 15, & l. 2, c. 5.
were become now the field of Fortune, Kerdic another Saxon Prince, the tenth by Linage from Woden an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of Kerdic-shoar [A. D. 495], with 5 Ships, and Kenric his Son, the very fame day overthrew the Britans that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. After him [A. D. 501] Porta another Saxon with his two Sons Bida and Megla, in two Ships arrive at Portsmouth thence call'd, and at thir landing flew a young British Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. The Britans [A. D. 508] to recover what they had lost, draw together all thir Forces led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain King in Britain, and the greatest faith one; but him with 5000 of his men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in Hantshire, as far as Kerdisford, now Chardford, was call'd of old Nazaleod. Who this King should be, hath bred much question; som think it to be the British name of Ambrose; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Sirname of Uther, which in the Welch Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in Britain there were as Uther Pendragon, for so also the Monmouth Book surnames him, this in all likely-hood must be he. Kerdic by so great a blow giv'n to the Britans had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desir'd to make great; for

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which cause, and withall the more to strengthen himself, his two Nefews Stuf, and Withgar, in 3 Vessels [A. D. 514] bring him new levies to Kerdic shoar.  

Who that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by thir own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at thir first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy: and so well they did it, that the Britans after a hard encounter left them Maifters of the field.  

About the same time, Ella the first South-Saxon King dy'd; whom Ciffa his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or less then about this time, for it was before the West-Saxon Kingdome, that Uffa the 8th. from Woden made himself King of the East-Angles, who by thir name testifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they came in such multitudes, that thir native soil is said to have remain'd in the daies of Beda uninhabited.  

Huntingdon deferrs the time of thir coming in, to the ninth year of Kerdic's Reigne: for faith he, at first many of them strove for principality, feising every one his Province, and for som while so continu'd making petty Warrs among themselves; till in the end Uffa, of whom those Kings were call'd Uffings, overtop'd them all in the year 571, then Titilus his Son, the Father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the East-Angles, began also the East-Saxons to erect a Kingdom under Sleda the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it later by 11 years, and Erchenwín to be the first King.
Kerdic the fame in power, though not so fond of title, forbore the name 24 Years after his arrival [A.D. 519]; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of West-Saxons,\(^71\) that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchie of England. The same year he had a Victory against the Britans at Kerdics-Ford, by the River Aven:\(^72\) and after 8 years [A.D. 527], another great fight at Kerdics Leage, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found register'd, and no more then barely register'd in annals of best note; without describing after Huntingdon the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this disease hath bin incident to many more Historians: and the age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more then any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharg'd with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the British valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before, to have bin foyl'd not seldomer then the Britans. For besides that first Victory of Ambrose, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow which they receav'd at Badon Hill, was not the least; which they in thir oldest annals mention not at all. And because the time of this Battell, by any who could do more then gues, is not set down, or any foundation giv'n from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to

\(^{71}\) The Kingdom of West-Saxons. \(^{72}\) Sax. an. omn.
infert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praise of this exploit to Arthur; and that this was the last of 12 great Battells which he fought victoriously against the Saxons. The several places writ’n by Nennius in thir Welsh names, were many hunder’d years ago unknown, and so heer omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reign’d in Britain, hath bin doubted heertofore, and may again with good reason. For the Monk of Malmjbury, and others whole credit hath s’way’d moft with the learn-eder fort, we may well perceave to have known no more of this Arthur 500 years past, nor of his doe-nings, then we now living; And what they had to say, transcrib’d out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a Britifh Book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the World, till more then 600 years after the dayes of Arthur, of whom (as Sigeberit in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both Foren and Domeftic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have fought to affert him by old legends and Cathedrall regefts. But he who can accept of Legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnish’d with two only necessaries, lea-fure, and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to Artur, no less is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as Nennius or his notift avers, that Artur was call’d Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierfenesse that men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much, it might well be that som in after ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word Uther into a proper name, and so

73 Nenn.
fain'd him the Son of Uther; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person liv'd, till Geryon of Monmouth set him off with the surname of Pendragon. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that Victory at Badon Hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Ambrose in the former. Next, if it be true as Caradoc relates, that Melwas King of that Country which is now Summerset, kept from him Guenever his Wife a whole year in the Town of Galeston, and restor'd her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather then for any enforcement, that Artur with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin answerable to the fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd such an affront, nor he bin so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the Saxons gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd reign, which began, as som write, in the tenth year of Kerdic [A.D. 529], who wrung from him by long Warr the Countries of Summerset, and Hampshire; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelyhood of those great Acts that are ascrib'd him. This only is alleg'd by Nennius in Artur's behalf, that the Saxons, though vanquisht never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of Germany. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcom at last with endless overcomming. But as for this Battell of Mount Badon where the Saxons were hemm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by Artur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have

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giv’n a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have stop’d thir proceedings for a good while after. Gildas himself witnessing that the Britans having thus compel’d them to fit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this Battell was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon War, from whence a longer peace ensu’d, then from the fight at Kerdics Leage in the year 527, which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to Kerdic; and give us argument from the custome they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occasions, to presume heer his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, ev’n to the 44th year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little War between the Britans and Saxons. This only remains difficult,77 that the Victory first won by Ambrose, was not so long before this at Badon Seige, but that the same men living might be eye-witneses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Artur, unless we reck’n him a grown youth at least in the daies of Ambrose, and much more then a youth, if Malmibury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambrose, to have bin done cheifly by Artur as his General, which will add much unbelieif to the common affertion of his reigning after Ambrose and Uther, especially the fight at Badon, being the laft of his twelve Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kerdics Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the same by all effects; Kerdic 3 years after [A. D. 530], not proceeding onward,78 as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Isle of Wight;

77 Gildas. 78 Sax. an. omn.
which with the slaying of a few only in Withgarburg, he soon maistres; and not long surviving, left it to his Nephews by the Mothers side, Stuff and Withgar [A. D. 534]; the rest of what he had subdued, Kenric his Son held; and reign'd 26 years, in whose tenth year [A. D. 544], Withgar was buried in the Town of that Island which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikeliness of Artur's Reign and great achievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of Edward the Confessor, Artur the famous King of Britans, is said not only to have expell'd hence the Saracens, who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquer'd Freeeland, and all the North East Isles as far as Russia, to have made Lapland the Eastern bound of his Empire, and Norway the Chamber of Britain. When should this be done? from the Saxons, till after twelve Battels, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britains contented with the quiet they had from thir Saxon Enemies, were so far from seeking Conquests abroad, that, by report of Gildas above cited, they fell to civil Wars at home. Surely Artur much better had made War in old Saxony, to repress thir flowing hither, then to have won Kingdoms as far as Russia, scarce able heer to defend his own. Buchanan our Neighbour Historian reprehends him of Monmouth and others for fabling in the deeds of Artur, yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit, shews not whence he had but from those Fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Piets may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his Wars, and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by any credible story, as of that which he most counts Fabulous. But not furder to contest about such uncertainties.

In the year 547, Ida the Saxon, sprung also from
Woden in the tenth degree, began the Kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland; built the Town Bebbanburg, which was after wall'd; and had 12 Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. Hengist by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had sent Osta and Ebissa to seek them seats in the North, and there by warring on the Picts, to secure the Southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those Countries; and though so far distant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as inferiour Governors, they and their off-spring gave obedience to the Kings of Kent, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no less then Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of their Nation, to assume Royalty. Of whom Ida was the first, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aspiring or by free choice, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his virtues, made him not less noble then his birth, in War undaunted, and unfoil'd; in peace tempering the aw of Magistracy, with a natural mildness he reign'd about 12 years. In the mean while [A.D. 552], while Kenric in a fight at Searesbirig, now Salisbury, kil'd and put to flight many of the Britans; and the fourth year after [A.D. 556], at Beranvirig, now Banbury, as some think, with Keaulin his son put them again to flight. Keaulin shortly after succeeded his father in the West-Saxons. And Alla descended also of Woden, but by another line, set up a second Kingdom [A.D. 560] in Deira the South part of

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Northumberland, and held it 30 years; while Adda the son of Ida, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelbert the next year began [A. D. 561]. For Efa the son of Hengist had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace 53 years. But Ethelbert in length of reign equal'd both his progenitors, and as Beda counts, 3 years exceeded. Young at his first entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the first raiser of civill War among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengist took possession here, a kind of right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to thir Confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadfull, became almost contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his Son, persuing him into his own Territory [A. D. 568], slew there in Battel, at Wibbandun 2 of his Earls, Oslac, and Cnebban. By this means the Britans, but cheifly by this Victory at Badon, for the space of 44 years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill using it, prov'd more destructive to them then War. For being rais'd on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thraldome, they whose Eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by Ambrofè, and this at Badon, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magistrates, Preists, and privat men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with past Evils, and only sensible of thir present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the left footstep, or impression of goodness left

83 Annal. Florent. 84 Malmf. 85 Ann. omn. 86 Gildas.
remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And first thir Kings, among whom also, the Sons or Grand-Children of Ambrofe, were fouly degenerated to all Tyranny and vicious life. Wherof to hear some particulars out of Gildas will not be impertinent. They avenge, faith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they swear oft, but perjure; they wage War, but civil and unjust War. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high way; but those grand Robbers that sit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of Judgment, but goe seldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominablest crimes; they stuff thir Prifons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, then any just cause. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the same pass or rather worse, then when the Saxons came first in; Unlerned, Unapprehensive, yet impudent; suttle Prowlers, Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselves: not call'd, but seizing on the Ministry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: teaching the people, not by sound Doctrin, but by evil Example: usurping the Chair of Peter, but through the blindness of thir own worldly lufts, they stumble upon the Seat of Judas: deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies: looking on the poor Christian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame: great
promoters of other mens Alms with thir set exhortations; but themselves contributing ever leaft; slightly touching the many vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as don to Christ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more then after Heav'n; and fo gain'd, make it thir whole study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet left they shou'd be thought things of no use in thir eminent places, they have thir niceties and tri-vial points to keep in aw the superflitious multitude; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay forbidding and silencing them that know; but in worldly matters, praftis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only art and fymony, great Clercs and Maifters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shou'dst thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly? shal these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings? shalt thou see with their Eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, left ye fall both blind-fold into the same perditation. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not fo grofely. But what avail'd it Eli to be himself blameles, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? who of them hath bin envi'd for his better life? who of them hath hated to confort with these, or withstood thir entring the Ministry, or endeavours'd zealously thir casting out? Yet som of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the state of Goverment, this of Religion among the Britans, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon Hill had brought forth. Wherby it came to pafs, that fo fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Citties were not reinhabited,
but lay ruin'd and waft; nor was it long ere domestic War breaking out, wafted them more. For Britain, as at other times, had then also several Kings. Five of whom Gildas living then in Armorica, at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name; First Constantine (fabl'd the Son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, Arturs half Brother by the Mothers side) who then reign'd in Cornwall and Devon, a Tyrannical and bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries: he got into his power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected: and after solemn Oath giv'n of thir safety the year that Gildas wrote, slew them with thir two Governours in the Church, and in thir Mothers Arms, through the Abbots Coap, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of Mordred, Arturs Nefew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his Deaths wound, and by him after to have bin slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in Constantine, revenging Artur on the Sons of so false a Mordred. In another part, but not express'd where, Aurelius Conanus was King: him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide; cruelties worse then the former; to be a hater of his Countries Peace, thirsting after civil War and Prey. His condition it seems was not very prosperous; for Gildas wishes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in thir youth. The third reigning in Demetia, or South Wales, was Vortipor, the Son of a good Father; he was when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only,
but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falsehood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy’d in divorce, he became, if we mistake not Gildas, inceftuous with his Daughter. The fourth was Cuneglas, imbru’d in civil War; he also had divorc’d his Wife, and tak’n her Sister, who had vow’d Widdowhood: he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was Maglocune, and greatest also in wickedness; he had driv’n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the Island Dragon, perhaps having his seat in Anglesey; a profuse giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: then touch’t with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profession of a Monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also, which for that vow he had left, making love to the Wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that entic’d, found means both to dispatch her own Husband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man reputed of all Britain, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the Britans from the time of their useles Victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote, that is to say, as may be guess’t, from 527 to 571, is here set down altogether; not to be reduc’t under any certainty of years. But now the Saxons, who for the most part all this while had bin still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain’d on this side Wales. For Cuthulf
The History of England.  Bk. 3.

the Brother of Keaulin [A. D. 571], by a Victory obtain'd at Bedanford, now Bedford, took from them 4 good Towns, Liganburgh, Egleburh, Befington, now Benson in Oxfordshire, and Ignesham; but outliv'd not many months his good succes. And after 6 years more [A. D. 577], Keaulin, and Cuthwin his Son, gave them a great overthrow at Deorrham in Glostershire, flew three of thir Kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile, and took three of thir Cheif Citties; Gloucester, Cirencester, and Badencester. The Britans notwithstanding, after some space of time [A. D. 584], judging to have out-grown thir losses, gather to a head, and encounter Keaulin with Cutha his Son, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting, they flew among the thickest, and as is said, forc'd the Saxons to retire. But Keaulin reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout, and following his advantage, took many Towns, and return'd lad'n with rich booty.

The laft of those Saxons who rais'd thir own acheivments to a Monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, firft founder of the Mercian Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were, in my opinion, to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of Wodens 3 Sons, from the Eldeft ifu'd Hengif, and his succession; from the second, the Kings of Mercia; from the third, all that reign'd in West-Saxon, and most of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the firft King of Deira; which, after his death, the race of Ida feis'd, and made it one Kingdom, with Bernicia, usurping on the Childhood of Edwin, Alla's Son. Whom Ethelric the Son of Ida expel'd [A. D.

88 Camden. Annal. omn. 89 Huntingd.
91 Malmgb. l. 1, c. 3. 92 Florent. ad ann.
Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more [A.D. 588] the Britans,\(^{93}\) ere they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Wodens Beorth, that is to say, Wodens Mount in Wiltshire [A.D. 592],\(^{94}\) whether it were by thir own Forces, or assisted by the Angles, whose hatred Keaulin had incur'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty; Who a little before, was the most potent and indeed sole King of all the Saxons on this side Humber. But who was cheif among the Britans in this exploit, had bin worth remembering, whether it were Maglocune, of whose prowess hath bin spok'n, or Teudric King of Glamorgan, whom the regest of Landaff recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight; to have reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduc'd to extremes, taking armes again, he defeated them at Tinterne by the River Wye; but himself receav'd a mortal wound. The same year with Keaulin [A.D. 593], whom Keola the Son of Cuthulf, Keaulins Brother succeeded, Crida also the Mercian King deceas'd, in whose room Wibba succeed'd; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric; reigning 24 years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the veiw of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in Britain, since the Romans forsook it. Wherin we have heard the many

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\(^{93}\) Annal. omn.
miseries and desolations, brought by divine hand on a perverse Nation; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity professed, then Christian Faith and Religion dis honoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounce'd thir Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

The End of the Third Book.

The History of Britain.

The Fourth Book.

The Saxons grown up now to 7 absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by succession, finding thir power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the Britons, and as little fearing to be displaced by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's greatness. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealousies; till the West Kingdom at length grown over powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripen'd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his los'ß, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between Kent and

1 Bed. Malmes.
Humber, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of West-Saxons, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shak’n by thir over-throw at Wodens-beorth, and the Death of Keaulin, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the rest yeilded not subjection, but as he earn’d it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Bertha the French Kings Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her Faith, under the care and instruction of Letardus a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his people retaining thir own Religion. Beda out of Gildas laies it sadly to the Britans charge, that they never would voutsafe thir Saxon Neighbours the means of conversion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood from thir first arrival, is not now easie to determin. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach’t to them by a Nation more remote, and (as a report went, accounted old in Bedas time) upon this occasion.

The Northumbrians had a custom at that time, and many hunder’d yeares after not abolisht, to sell thir Childern for a small value into any Foren Land. Of which number, two comly youths were brought to Rome, whose fair and honest countnances invited Gregory Arch-Deacon of that Citty, among others that beheld them, pittyng thir condition, to demand whence they were; it was answerd by som who stood by, that they were Angli of the Province Deira, subjects to Alla King of Northumberland, and by Religion Pagans. Which laft Gregory deploring, fram’d on a sudden this allusion to the three names

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2 Bed. l. 1, c. 25. 5 Malmf. l. 1, c. 3.
4 Ibid. l. 2, c. 1.
he heard; that the Angli so like to Angels should be snatch't de ira, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing Hallelujah: and forthwith obtaining licence of Benedict the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the Roman people, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after [A.D. 596], succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admonisht, faith Beda, by divine instinct, he sent Augustine whom he had design'd for Bishop of the English Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on thir way, discouraged by some reports, or thir own carnal fear, sent back Austin, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose tongue they understood not. Gregory with pious and Apostolic persuasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic story, I omit heer, as not professing to relate of those matters more then what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The Abbot Austin, for so he was ordain'd over the rest, reincourag'd by the exhortations of Gregory, and his fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Ile of Tanet [A.D. 597], in number about 40, besides some of the French Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. Ethelbert the King, to whom Austin at his landing had sent a new and wondrous message, that he came from Rome to proffer Heav'n and eternal happiness in the knowledge of another God then the Saxons knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And
after certain days coming into the Island, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possesst with an old perswasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side call'd to his presence, advancing for thir Standard, a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing thir solemn Litanies: which wrought in Ethelbert more suspiration perhaps that they us'd enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the English Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endur'd so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompense you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entreat ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in Doroverne or Canturbury his chief Citty, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the Citty, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remain'd heer: in which Bertha the Queen
went out usually to pray: Heer they also began firft to preach [A.D. 598], baptize, and openly to exercice divine worship. But when the King himself convinc't by thir good life and miracles, became Christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, the multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had bin taught by them who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time Kelwulf the Son of Cutha Keaulins Brother reign'd over the West-Saxons after his Brother Keola or Kelric [A.D. 601], and had continual War either with English, Welch, Piets or Scots. But Austin, whom with his fellows, Ethelbert now had endow'd with a better place for thir abode in the City, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into France, was by the Archbishop of Arles, at the appointment of Pope Gregory, ordain'd Archbishop of the English: and returning, sent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good success in England, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be guess't by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the Altar, Coaps, reliques, and for the Archbishop Austin a Pall to say Mafs in: to such a rank superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emu-

6 Bed. l. 2, c. 5. 7 Sax. an. Malmf. 8 Bed. l. 1, c. 27.
lation of Apostolic zeal: lastly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many presents. Austin thus exalted to Archiepiscopal authority, recover'd from the ruins and other profane uses, a Christian Church in Canturbury built of old by the Romans; which he dedicated by the name of Christ's Church, and joyn-ing to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a Monastery also neer the City Eastward, where Ethelbert at his motion built St. Peters, and enrich't it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings of Kent: so quickly they step't up into fellowship of pomp with Kings. While thus Ethelbert and his people had thir minds intent, Ethelfrid the Northumbrian King, was not less busied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the Britans than any Saxon King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence Edan King of those Scots that dwelt in Britain [A. D. 603], jealous of his succes-sors, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd Degsaftan; but in the fight loosing most of his men, himself with a few escap'd: only Theobald the Kings brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to Ethelfrid less intire. Yet from that time no King of Scots in hostile manner durst pass into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what some years before, Kewulf the West-Saxon is annal'd to have done against the Scots and Picts, passing through the Land of Ethelfrid a King so po-tent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, affisted by Keaulin whom he mistitles King of East-Saxons, had before this time a battel with Aidan, wherein Cutha Keau-

9 Bed. l. 2, 1. 34.

lins son was slain. But Cutha, as is above written from better authority, was slain in fight against the Welch 20 years before. The number of Christians began now to increase so fast [A.D. 604], that Augustine ordaining Bishops under him,\(^{10}\) two of his assistants Mellitus and J ustus, sent them out both to the work of thir miniftry. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East-Saxons, over whom Sebert the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, being born of his sister Ricula, then reign'd. Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great Church of St. Paul in London to be their Bishops Cathedral; as Justus also had his built at Rochester, and both gifted by the same King with fair possessions. Hitherto Austin laboured well among Infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of Ethelbert summoning the Britan Bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, call'd from that time Augustines Oke, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating Easter, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the rites of Rome: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to fight a blind man whom the Britans could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own opinions without furder consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven Britan Bishops, with many other lerned men, especially from the famous Monastery of Bangor, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by thir own labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than 300. One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more then all the rest who went: being demanded, for

\(^{10}\) Bed. l. 2, c. 3.
they held him as an Oracle, how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom Austin being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the Britans, as they were counsel'd by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hark'n'd to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Archbishop: And in name of the rest, Dinotherus then Abbot of Bangor, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the subjection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of Rome, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the Children of God: other obedience then this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters. To which Austin thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have War from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether Austin spake it as his prophecy, or as

11 Spelman, concil. pag. 108.
his plot against the Britans, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past [A. D. 607], when Ethelfrid, whether of his own accord, or at the request of Ethelbert incens't by Aulfin, with a powerful host came to Westchester, then Caer-legion. Where being met by the British Forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discernes a company of men, not habited for War, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon some enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assemble'd thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, faith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies. And with that turns his first charge upon the Monks: Brocmail the Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escap'd, but not so easie work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britans that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers. To excuse Aulfin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Gdfr Monmouth, whose weight we know. The same year Kelwulf made War on the South-Saxons, bloody, faith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the South: and four years after [A. D. 611] dying left the Government of West-Saxons to Kinegils and Cui-

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12 Sax. an. Huntingd. 13 Malm. gest. pont. 1. 1.
14 Sax. an.
chelm the sons of his brother Keola. Others, as Flo-
rent of Worster and Mathew of Westminister, will have
Guichelm son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with
his father, in whose third year [A.D. 614] they are
recorded with joynt Forces or conduct to have fought
against the Britans in Beandune, now Bindon in Dor-
setshire, and to have flain of them above two thou-
sand. More memorable was the second year follow-
ing [A.D. 616], by the death of Ethelbert the first
Christian King of Saxons, and no les a favourer of
all civility in that rude age. He gave Laws and Sta-
tutes after the example of Roman Emperors, written
with the advice of his sageft Counsellors, but in the
English tongue, and observ’d long after. Wherein
his special care was to punish those who had ftofn
ought from Church or Churchman, thereby fhowing
how gratefully he receiv’d at thir hands the Christian
Faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his fon Ead-
bald took the course as faft to extinguifh; not only
falling back to Heathenifm, but that which Hea-
thenifm was wont to abhor, marrying his fathers
second wife. Then soon was perceiv’d what multi-
tudes for fear or countenance of the King had pro-
fefs’t Christianity, returning now as eagerly to thir
old Religion. Nor flaid the Apostacy within one
Province, but quickly spread over to the East-Saxons;
occafion’d there likewise, or fet forward by the death
of thir Christian King Sebert: whose three sons, of
whom two are nam’d Sexted and Seward, neither in
his life time would be brought to baptism, and after
his deceafe re-eftablifh’d the free exercise of Idolatry;
not fo content, they fet themselves in despight to do
fome op’n profanation againft the other Sacrament.
Coming therfore into the Church, where Mellitus
the Bishop was miniftring, they requir’d him in abuse

15 Sax. an. Malmf. 16 Camd. 17 Sax. an. 18 Malmf.
and scorned to deliver to them unbaptiz’d the consecrated bread; and him refuseing, drove disgracefully out of their dominion. Who crossed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Juslus Bishop of Rochester. But Divine vengeance deferred not long the punishment of men so impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil Spirit, fell oft’n into foul fits of distraction; and the Sons of Sebert, in a fight against the West-Saxons perish’d, with their whole Army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Laurence the Archbishop and successor of Austin was preparing to ship for France, after Juslus and Mellitus, the story goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whose Church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next morning he shew’d the marks of what he had suffered, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear dissolved his incestuous marriage, and applied himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely then before, with all his people. But the Londoners addicted still to Paganism, would not be persuaded to receive again Mellitus thir Bishop, and to compell them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubled in Religion [A.D. 617], as much were the North parts disquieted through Ambition. For Ethelfrid of Bernicia, as was touch’d before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and join’d that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav’d him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of Redwald King of East-Angles; under whose protection, after many years wandring obscurely through all the Island, he
had plac'd his safety. Redwald, though having promis'd all defence to Edwin as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of Ethelfrid, yeilded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: but earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and refuge giv'n, preferrs his first promise as the more Religious, nor only refuses to deliver him; but since War was thereupon denouc't, determins to be beforehand with the danger; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprises Ethelfrid, little dreaming an invasion, and in a fight near to the East-side of the River Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamshire, slaies him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet as a testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands, Reiner the Kings Son. His two Sons Oswald, and Oswi, by Acca, Edwins Sifter, escap'd into Scotland. By this Victory, Redwald became so far superior to the other Saxon Kings, that Beda reck'ns him the next after Ella and Ethelbert; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent receav'd Baptism, but coming home and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his Chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it not the worst way, left perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retain'd the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far

19 Malmb. l. 1, c. 3. 20 Camden. 21 Bed. l. 2, c. 15.
exceeded all before him; subduing all, faith Beda, English or British, eev'n to the Iles, then call'd Me-
vanian, Anglesey, and Man; setl'd in his Kingdome by
Redwald, he fought in mariage Edelurga, whom
others call Tate, the Daughter of Ethelbert. To
whose Embassadors, Eadbald her Brother made an-
swer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not
the Chriftian Law. Edwin repli'd, that to her Re-
ligion he would be no hindrance, which with her
whole Houfhold she might freely exercife. And
moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better,
he would imbrace it. These ingenuous offers, op'n-
ing fo fair a way to the advancement of truth, are
accepted [A. D. 625], and Paulinus as a spiritual
Guardian fent along with the Virgin. He being to
that purpose made Bifhop by Juftus, omitted no oc-
casion to plant the Gofpel in those parts, but with
small succefs, till the next year [A. D. 626], Guichelm,
at that time one of the two West-Saxon Kings, en-
vious of the greatness which he saw Edwin growing
up to, fent privily Eumerus a hir'd Sword-man to
affafin him; who under pretence of doing a mef sage
from his Mafter, with a poifon'd Weapon, ftabs at
Edwin, conferring with him in his House, by the
River Derwent in Yorkshire, on an Easter-day;
which Lilla one of the Kings Attendants, at the in-
stant perceaving, with a loyalty that flood not then
to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow;
which notwithstanding made paffage through to the
Kings Person, with a wound not to be fli ghted. The
murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and depe-
rate, fore-revenges his own fall with the Death of
another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. Paulinus
omitting no opportunity to win the King from mis-
beleef, obtain'd at length this promise from him;
that if Chrift, whom he fo magnifi'd, would give
him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Ene-
emies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter Eansled to be bred up in Religion; who with 12 others of his Family, on the day of Pentecost was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound; to punish the Authors of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the West-Saxons: whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspirc'd against him, put some to Death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though Boniface the Pope, by large Letters of exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleef. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring might seem now to have past the maturity of wisedome to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befell him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he rememberd what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, strait fell at his Feet. Behold, faith Paulinus, raising him from the ground; God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receave his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promife claim'd of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related. Redwald, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening overaw'd, having promis'd to yeild up Edwin, one of his
faithfull Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of Redwald, that never shrank from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in haste to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveales to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. Edwin left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness and perplexed thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation, ask'd him why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? Edwin not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within dores, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like? All that I am able, answer'd Edwin. And he, what if the same man should promise to make you greater than any English King hath bin before you? I should not doubt, quoth Edwin, to be answerably gratefull. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hark'n to his Counsel? Edwin without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on Edwin head, when this sign, faith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd, and with these words disappearing, left Edwin much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be.
When suddenly the friend who had bin gon all this while to lift'n furder what was like to be decree'd of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why Edwin admonish't by the Bifhop of a sign which had befaln him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine power, that had assist'd him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes answer, that the Christian Beleef he himself ought by promise, and intended to receave; but would conferr firft with his Cheif Peers and Counsellers, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Counfel what thir opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceav'ing which way the King enclin'd, every one thereafter shap'd his reply. The Cheif-Preift speaking firft, discover'd an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Cheif Preift: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the Kings Creed: whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon Edwin renouncing Heathenism, became Christian: and the Pagan Preift, offring himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With Edwin [A.D. 627], his two Sons Osfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quenburga,
Daughter, as faith Beda, of Kearle King of Mercia, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both Nobles and Commons, easily converted, were baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at York, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. Northumberland thus christ'nd, Paulinus crossing Humber, converted also the Province of Lindsey, and Blecca the Governor of Lincoln, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the Roof in Bedas time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only standing. Mean while in Mercia, Kearle a Kinsman of Wibba, faith Huntingdon, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from Penda Wibba's Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age: with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the West-Saxon Kings, two year after [A.D. 629], having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inrode made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirencester, then made Truce. But Edwin seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much delibera-tion he had receav'd, persuaded Eorpwald the Son of Redwald, King of East-Angles [A.D. 632], to imbrace the same beleef, willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a King. But Eorpwald not long surviv'd his conver-sion, slain in fight by Ricbert a Pagan: whereby the people having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old superstitions for above 3 years after: Edwin in the mean while, to his Faith adding vertue, by the due adminiftration of justice wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, man or woman might have trave-l'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by

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22 Sax. an.  
23 Ibid.  
24 Florent. Genealog.
the way side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having reign'd with much honour 17 years, he was at length by Kedwalla, or Cadwallon, King of the Britans, who with aid of the Mercian Penda, had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son Osfrid, at a place call'd Hethfeild, and his whole Army overthrown or disperst in the year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of man worthy a more peacefull end. His Head brought to York, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthow, both to Church and State of the Northumbrians: for Penda being a Heathen, and the Britifh King, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody then the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; Kedwalla threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the Britans, and, as Beda faith, cev'n to his dayes, accounted Saxon Christianity no better then Paganifm, and with them held as little Communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the Queen and her Children, aided by Bassus, one of Edwin's Captains, made escape by Sea to Eadbald King of Kent: who receav-ing his Sifter with all kindnefs, made Paulinus Bishop of Rochester, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the Kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightfull Heir feising his part; in Deira Osric, the Son of Elfric, Edwin's Uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by Paulinus; in Bernicia, Eanfrid, the Son of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his Brother Oswald, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in Scotland exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gott'n each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant,
fliding back into their old Religion; and both were the same year slain; Ofric by a sudden eruption of Kedwalla, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly besieged; Eanfrid seeking peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. Kedwalla now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest [A.D. 634]; when Oswald the Brother of Eanfrid with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into Tine, near the antient Roman Wall then call'd Deniburn, the place afterwards Heav'n field, from the Cross's reported miraculous for Cures, which Oswald there erected before the Battail, in tok'n of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to instruct again the people in Christianity. Sending thence to the Scotch Elders, Beda to terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptism, requested of them som faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send Aidan a Scotch Monk and Bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to affist him, whom at thir own desire he seated in Lindisfarne, as the Episcopal Seat, now Holy Iland: and being the Son of Ethelfrid, by the Sitter of Edwin, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwins Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather; over all the four British Nations, Angles, Britans, Piets and Scots, exercis'ding regall Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is spok'n; that he disdain'd not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his Nobles and Household Servants; and had the poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after
the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat or of Church contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time [A.D. 635], the West-Saxons, antiently call'd Geviffi, by the preaching of Berinus, a Bishop, whom Pope Honorius had sent, were converted to the Faith with Kinegils thir King: him Oswald receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in mariage. The next year [A.D. 636] Cuichelm was baptiz'd in Dorchester, but liv'd not to the years end. The East-Angles alfo this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for som years paft they had thrown off. But Sigbert the Brother of Eorpwald now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a moft Christian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in France an exile, for some displeasure conceav'd against him by Redwald his Father, lern'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of Felix a Burgundian Bishop.

In the year 640, Eadbald deceasing, left to Ercombert his Son by Emma the French Kings Daughter, the Kingdom of Kent; recorded the first of English Kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception, and the first to have establisht Lent among us, under strict penalty, not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was observ'd heer till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother Ermenred, whose right was precedent to the Crown. Oswald having reign'd 8 years [A.D. 642], worthy also as might seem of longer life, fell into the same fate with Edwin, and from the same hand, in a great Battel overcom and slain by Penda, at a

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25 Sax. an. 26 Mat. West.
place call'd Maserfield, now Oswestry, in Shropshire, miraculous, as faith Beda, after his Death. His Brother Osiri succeeded him, reigning, though in much trouble, 28 years; oppos'd either by Penda, or his own Son Alfred, or his Brothers Son Ethilwald. Next year [A. D. 643] Kinegals the West-Saxon dying, left his Son Kenwalk in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert, King of East-Angles, having lernt in France, ere his coming to Reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the assist-ance of some Teachers out of Kent, instituted a School heer after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of Cambridge then first founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monaftical life; commending the care of Government to his Kinßman Egric, who had sustain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd some years after, that Penda made War on the East-Angles: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought Sigebert, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his pre-fence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refuseing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather then the Captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with Egric, and his whole Army put to flight. Anna of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praife of a vertuous and moft Christian Prince. But Kenwalk the West-Saxon having married the Sister of Penda [A. D. 645], and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a juft cause van-quisht in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to Anna King of the East-Angles, after three years abode in his Court [A. D. 648], he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom.

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Os\textsc{wi} in the former years of his Reign, had sharer
with him, Os\textsc{win} Nephew of Edwin, who rul’d in
De\textsc{ira} 7 years, commended much for his zeal in
Religion, and for comliness of person, with other
princely qualities, belov’d of all. Notwithstanding
which, dissentions growing between them, it came
to Armes. Os\textsc{win} seeing himself much exceeded in
numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his
Army, to reserve himself for some better occasion.
But committing his person with one faithfull attendant
to the Loyalty of Hunwald an Earl, his imagin’d
friend, he was by him treacherously discover’d, and
by command of Os\textsc{wi} slain. After whom within 12
days [A. D. 651], and for greif of him whose death
he foretold, dy’d Bishop Aidan,\textsuperscript{31} famous for his
Charity, meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The
fact of Os\textsc{wi} was detestable to all; which therfore
to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where
it was don, and Prayers there daily offer’d up for the
Souls of both Kings, the slain and the slayer. Ken-
walk by this time re-install’d in his Kingdom, kept it
long, but with various Fortune; for Beda\textsuperscript{32} relates him
oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great losses:
and in 652, by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil
War Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the River
Afene; against whom, and for what cause, or who
had the Victory, they write not. Camden names the
place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the River Avon, and
Cuthred his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought,
but cites no Authority; certain it is, that Kenwalk
four years before had giv’n large possessions to his
Nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now
to have rebell’d. The next year [A. D. 653] Peada,
whom his Father Penda, though a Heathen, had for
his Princely Vertues made Prince of Middle-\textsc{angles},

\textsuperscript{31} Bede.
\textsuperscript{32} Bed. l. 3, c. 7.
belonging to the Mercians, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to Ofwi with request to have in marryage Alfseda his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his people should receive Christianty. Heering therefore not unwillingly what was preach't to him of Resurrection and Eternal life, much persuaded also by Alfrid the Kings Son, who had his Sister Kyniburg to Wife, he easily assented, for the truths sake only as he profes's'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by thir daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himself no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdome to heer or beleive the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who profes'sing to beleive, attested not thir Faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they choose to believe. How well might Penda this Heathen rise up in judgment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these daies! yet being a man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oftentimes one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on Anna [A.D. 654], King of the East-Angles, perhaps without cause, for Anna was esteem'd a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the East-Saxons, who as above hath bin said, had expell'd thir Bishop Mellitus, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of Ofwi thus reconverted. Sigebert surname'd the small, being the Son of Seward, without other memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him Sigebert the Second, who coming oft'n to visit Ofwi his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded

33 Sax. an.
from Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forfake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with him Kedda a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the people were again recover'd from misbeleef. But Sigebert some years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a deed so hainous, gave no other then this barbarous answer; that they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries whenever they besought him. Yet his Death seems to have happ'nd not without some cause by him giv'n of Divine displeaseure. For one of those Earls who slew him, living in unlawfull wedlock, and therfore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at meat with him, the King not regarding this Church cenfure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and faln at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die; and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridi
cally on the contemner thereof. This year 655 prov'd fortunate to Ofsi, and fatal to Penda, for Ofsi by the continual inrodes of Penda, having long endur'd much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire Bebbanburg,34 his strongest City, now Bamborrow Castle, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not

34 Bed. 1. 3, c. 16. Camd.
accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but destruction to that King, though more then once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliverd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and 12 portions of land whereon to build Monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success then his proffered gifts; for heerupon with his Son Alfrid, gathering a small power, he encountered and discomfites the Mercians, 30 times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains: at a place call’d Loydes, now Leeds in Yorkshire. Besides this Ethelwald, the Son of Osvald, who rul’d in Deira, took part with the Mercians, but in the fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat, the Mercians perhaps terrifi’d and misdoubting more danger, fled; thir Commanders, with Penda himself, most being slain, among whom Edilhere the Brother of Anna, who rul’d after him the East-Angles; and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown’d in the River, which Beda calls Winwed, then swoln above his Banks. The Death of Penda, who had bin the Death of so many good Kings, made generall rejoicing, as the Song witness’d. At the River Winwed, Anna was aveng’d. To Edelhere succeeded Ethelwald his Brother, in the East-Angles; to Sigebert in the East-Saxons, Suidhelm the Son of Sexbald, faith Bede, the Brother of Sigebert, faith Malmesbury; he was baptiz’d by Kedda, then residing in the East-Angles, and by Ethelwald the King, receav’d out of the Font. But Oswi in the strength of his late Victory, within three years after [A.D. 658], subdu’d all Mercia,
and of the Pictish Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Peada his Son in Law the Kingdome of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Peada the Spring following [A.D. 659], as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of Oswi, married by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of Easter, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian Nobles, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, throwing off the Government of Oswi, set up Wulfer the other Son of Penda to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. Kenwalk, the West-Saxon, now settl’d at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the Britans, joins Battel with them at Pen in Somersetshire, and over coming persues them to Pedridan. Another sight he had with them before, at a place call’d Witgeornesbrug, barely mention’d by the Monk of Malmbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the Son of Penda [A.D. 661], his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at Poffentesburg, on the Easter Holy-days, and as Ethelwerd’s faith, took him Prisner; but the Saxon Annals, quite otherwise, that Wulfer winning the field, wast the West-Saxon Country as far as Eskesdun; nor staying there, took and wasted the Ille of Wight, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz’d, till then unbelievers, gave the Iland to Ethelwald King of South-Saxons, whom he had receav’d out of the Font. The year 664, a Synod of Scotish and English Bishops, in the presence of Oswi and Alfred his Son, was held at a Monastry in those parts, to debate on what Day Easter should be kept; a controversie which long before had disturb’d the Greek and Latin Churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome,

39 Sax. an. 40 Ibid. 41 Bed.
nor yeilding to the disputants on that side, to whom the King most enclin’d, such as were Bishops heer, resign’d, and return’d home with thir Disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an Eclips of the Sun in May, followed by a fore pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all Ireland with great mortality. In which time the East Saxons after Swithelms Decease, being govern’d by Siger the Son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi of Seward, though both subject to the Mercians. Siger and his people unstedie of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the Mercian King Wulfer understanding, sent Jaruman-nus a Faithfull Bishop, who with other his fellow Labourers, by found Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur’d them of thir second relaps. In Kent, Ercombert expiring, was succeeded by his Son Ecbert. In whose fourth year [A. D. 668], by means of Theodore, a learned Greekish Monk of Tarfus, whom Pope Vitalian had ordain’d Archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin Tongue, with other liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomie, and the like; began first to flourish among the Saxons; as did also the whole Land, under potent and religious Kings, more then ever before, as Bede affirms, till his own days. Two years after [A. D. 670], in Northumberland dy’d Oswi, much addicte to Romish Rites, and resolv’d, had his Disease releas’d him, to have ended his days at Rome: Ecfrid the eldeft of his Sons begot in Wedlock, succeeded him. After other three years [A. D. 673], Ecbert in Kent deceasing, left

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42 Malmf. 43 Sax. an. 44 Ibid. 45 Ibid.
nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the slaughter of his Uncles two Sons, Elbert, and Egelbright. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of Tanet, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother Lothair. And much about this time, by best account it should be, however plac'd in Beda, that Ecfrid of Northumberland, having War with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindsey, and the Country thereabout. Sebbi having reign'd over the East-Saxons 30 years, not long before his Death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. Kenwalk also dying, left the Government to Sexburga his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year, driv'n out, faith Mat. West. by the Nobles, disdaining Female Government [A. D. 674]. After whom several petty Kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years space divided the West-Saxons; others name two, Escwin the Nephew of Kinigils, and Kentwin the Son, not petty by thir deeds: for Escwin fought a Battell with Wulfer [A. D. 676], at Bedanhafde, and about a year after both deceas'd; but Wulfer not without a stain left behind him, of selling the Bishoprick of London, to Wini the first Simonist we read of in this story; Kenwalk had before expell'd him from his Chair at Winchester; Ethelred the Brother of Wulfer obtaining next the Kingdom of Mercia, not only recoverd Lindsey, and what besides in thofe parts Wulfer had lost to Ecfrid some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Armes another way, as far as Kent, wafting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also enda-

46 Malms. 47 Bed. l. 4, c. 12. 48 Ibid. 49 Sax. an. Malms. 50 Bed. l. 4, c. 12.
maging the City of Rochester: Notwithstanding what resistance Lothair could make against him. In August 678, was seen a Morning Comet for 3 Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the Christian Faith, upon this occasion. Wilfrid Bishop of the Northumbrians entering into contention with Ecgfrid the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as Rome [A. D. 679], return'd at length into England, but not dareing to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, betought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other Saxons remain'd yet Heathen; but Edilwalk thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in Mercia, persuad'd by Wulfer, and by him, as hath bin saied, receav'd out of the Font. For which relations fake he had the Ile of Wight, and a Province of the Meannari adjoining, giv'n him on the Continent about Meanesborow in Hantsbhir, which Wulfer had a little before gott'n from Kenwalk. Thether Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time plant'd there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is saied, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily perish'd by Famin; till on the first day of thir public Baptism, soft and plentifull showers descending, restor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two years after this [A. D. 681], Kentwin the other West-Saxon King above-nam'd, chac'd the Welch-Britans, as is Chronicl'd without circumstance, to the very Sea shoar. But in the year, by Beda's reck'ning, 683, Kedwalla a West-Saxon, of the Royal Line (whom the Welch will have to be Cadwallader, laft King of the Bri-

51 Bed. l. 4, c. 13. Camd. 52 Sax. an.
tans) thrown out by faction, return'd from banishment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of Kenwalk, slaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who oppos'd him in their aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, Bertune, and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power. But Kedwalla gathering new force, with the slaughter of Bertune, and also of Edric the successor of Edelwalk, won the Kingdome [A. D. 684]. But reduc'd the people to heavy thraldome. Then addressing to Conquer the Ile of Wight, till that time Pagan, faith Beda (others otherwise, as above hath bin related) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fourth part of that Iland, and the spoils therof, to holy uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleeve, he gave his fourth to Bishop Wilfrid, by chance there present; and he to Bertwin a Priest, his Sister's Son, with commission to baptize all the vanquisht, who meant to save thir lives. But the two young Sons of Arwald, King of that Iland, met with much more hostility; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to Kedwalla, who lay then under Cure of some wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to death, which the youths are said above thir Age to have Christianly sufferd. In Kent, Lothair dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight against the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who descending from Ermenred, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half [A. D. 685]: but coming to a violent Death, left the land expos'd a prey either to home-

53 Bed. l. 4, c. 15. 54 Malmf. 55 Bed. l. 4, c. 16. 56 Malmf.
bred usurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from thir civil distempers, and marching easily through the South-Saxons, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harrais'd the Country, untouch'd of a long time by any hostile incursion. But the Kentish men, all parties uniteing against a common Enemy, with joint power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother Mollo in the flight with 12 men of his Company, seeking shelter in a House, was beset and therin burnt by the persuers: Kedwalla much troubl'd at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disorderd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chaseing Enemy [A. D. 686]; nor could be got out of the Province, till both by fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length Victred [A. D. 687] the Son of Ecbert, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus Kedwalla disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, Ecfrid the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a sore Battel by the River Trent; wherein Elfwyn Brother to Ecfrid, a youth of 18 years, much belov'd, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Archbishop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only paid to Ecfrid, as some satisfaction for the loss of his Brothers life. Another adversity befell Ecfrid in his Family, by means of Ethildrith his Wife, King Anna's Daughter, who having tak'n him for hir Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persifted twelve years in the obstinat refual of his bed, therby thinking to live the purer life. So perverfly then was chastity instructed against the Apol-

57 Sax. an. Malmf. 58 Bed.
At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of Ely, dy’d 7 years after of the pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak’n Wedlock, though now canoniz’d St. Audrey of Ely. In the mean while Ecfrid had sent Bertus with a power to subdue Ireland, a harmless Nation, faith Bede, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day: miserably wafted, without regard had to places hallow’d or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtain’d it in thir full avengement upon Ecfrid. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his fagest friends, and especially of Cudbert a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the Picts, who long before had bin subject to Northumberland, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtop with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, faith Bede, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, nor only the Picts till then peaceable, but some part of the Britans also recover’d by Armes thir liberty for many years after. Yet Aldfrid elder, but base Brother to Ecfrid, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall’d from Ireland, to which place in his Brothers Reign he had retir’d, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kingdome. Kedwalla, having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours reign’d over the West Saxons two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr’d, and accordingly, on Easter Day, 689. he was baptiz’d by Sergius the
Pope, and his name chang'd to Peter. All which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he outliv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the space of 5 weeks, in the Thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded Ina of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppress'd the Land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him, info-much that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Viðfred loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, deliver'd up 30 of those that could be found accession, or as others say, pacifi'd Ina with a great sum of money. Meanwhile, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout Monk, Wilbrod a Priest eminent for learning, past over Sea, having 12 others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in Germany. And coming to Pepin Cheif Regent of the Franks [A. D. 694], who a little before had conquer'd the hither Frisia, by his countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier, and Wilbrod the first Bishoprick in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them Hewald by name, and for distinction surname'd from the colour of thir Hair, the black and the white, by his example, piously affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old Saxons, at thir coming thether to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discover'd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspested, they were by him

and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butchered; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offer'd to his Strangers, sending Armed Men, flew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in Mercia [A.D. 697], Osfrid the Queen, Wife to Ethelred, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as Beda's Epitome records; Florence calls them Southimbrians, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following [A.D. 698], Bertred a Northumbrian General was slain by the Piëts. Ethelred 7 years after the violent Death of his Queen [A.D. 704], put on the Monk, and resign'd his Kingdome to Kenred the Son of Wulfer his Brother. The next year [A.D. 705], Aldfrid in Northumberland dy'd, leaving Osred a Child of 8 years to succed him. Four years after which [A.D. 709], Kenred having a while with prais'd govern'd the Mercian Kingdome, went to Rome in the time of Pope Constantine, and thorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. Kelred succeeded him, the Son of Ethelred, who had reign'd the next before. With Kenred went Offa the Son of Siger, King of East-Saxons, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his youth, much desir'd of the people; and such his vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have reign'd. Ina the West-Saxon, one year after [A.D. 710], fought a Battell, at first doubtfull, at last successfull, against Gerent King of Wales. The next year [A.D. 711] Bertfrid, another Northumbrian Captain, fought with the Piëts, and slaughter'd them, faith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrids Death. The fourth year after [A.D. 715], Ina had another doubtfull and cruell Battel at Wodnesburg in Wiltshire, with Kelred the Mercian,
who dy'd the year following [A.D. 716] a lamentable Death; for as he fat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly poffeß'd with an evill Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as Boniface Archbishop of Mens, an English man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to Ethelbald, his next of Kin, who succeeded him. Osred also the young Northum-brian King, slain by his Kindred in the 11. of his Reign, for his vitious life and incest committed with Nuns; was by Kenred succeeded and aveng'd, he reigning two years left Ofric in his room. In whose 7th year [A.D. 718], if Beda calculate right, Victred King of Kent deceas'd, having reign'd 34 years, and some part of them with Suebhard, as Beda testifies [A.D. 725]. He left behind him three Sons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric his Heirs. Three years after which [A.D. 728], appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two weeks in January, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the Saracens furiously invaded France, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same year in Northumberland, Ofric dying or slain, adopted Kelwulf the Brother of Kenred his Successor, to whom Beda dedicates his story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the procefs of his Reign met with many adverse commotions, wherof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while Ina 7 years before; having slain Kenwulf, to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, giv'n usually to none but of the blood Royal, and the 4th. year after overthrown and slain Albright another Clito, driv'n from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid, vanquish't also the East-Angles in more then one Battel, as Malmesbury writes,

63 Sax. an. Huntingd. 64 L. 5, c. 9. 65 Bed. l. 5, c. 24.
but not the year, whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, Malm\textit{b}ury faith, at the pers\textit{s}a\textit{f}ion of Ethelburga his Wife, went to Rome, and there ended his dayes; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of Saxon that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman Edelard bequeath'd the Crown; No less then the whole Monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we beleeeve a digression in the Laws of Edward Confessor, was the first King Crown'd of English and British, since the Saxons entrance; of the British by means of his second Wife, some way related to Cadwallader last King of Wales, which I had not noted being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After Ina [A.D. 731], by a surer Author, Ethelbald King of Mercia commanded all the Provinces on this side Humber, with thir Kings: the Piets were in league with the English, the Scots peaceable within thir bounds, and the Britains part were in thir own Goverment, part subject to the English. In which peacefull state of the land, many in Northumberland, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercife of Armes, betook them to the Cloifter: and not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, Clerks and Laics, Men and Woemen, hafting to Rome in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloisterd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Iland, Beda surceas'd to write. Out of whom cheifly hath bin gatherd, since the Saxons arrival, such as hath bin deliverd, a scatterd story pickt out heer and there, with some trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles; toward the latter end so bare of civill matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a

\textit{65 Bede.}
Calendar rather then a History, tak'n up for the most part with succession of Kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the Saxon Annals. Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Councells carried on, no care was had to let us know: whereby thir strength and violence we understand, of thir wisedom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir Kindly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us uncertain, whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danifh Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles; whom Malmbsury, and Huntingdon, (for neither they then we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt to interline with conjectures and surmisef of thir own: them rather then imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet William of Malmbsury must be acknowledg'd, both for stile and judgment, to be by far the best Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worster, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Mathew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all thir monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail rather then not know at once what may be known of our antient story, sifted from Fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all thir life time, rakeing in the Foundations of old Abbies and
Cathedrals; but to my task now as it befalls. In the year 733,\(^67\) on the 18th Kalends of September, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole Orb as with a black shield. Ethelbald\(^68\) of Mercia, besieged and took the Castle or Town of Somerton: and two years after [A.D. 735], Beda our Historian dy’d, some say the year before. Kelwulf in Northumberland three years after [A.D. 738], became Monk in Lindisfarne,\(^69\) yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from milk and water, to Wine and Ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretense of following (I use the Authors words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were giv’n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us’d to allure them. To Eadbert his Uncle’s Son, he left the Kingdom, whose brother Ecbert, Archbishop of York built a Library there. But two years after [A.D. 740], while Eadbert was busied in War against the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, assaulted part of Northumberland in his absence, as the supplement of Beda’s Epitome records. In the West Saxons, Edelard who succeeded Ina, having been much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of Oswald his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those troubles, dy’d in Peace 741,\(^70\) leaving Cuthred one of the same linage to succeed him: who at first had much War with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various success, but joyning with him in League two years after [A.D. 743], made War on the Welch:\(^71\)
Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great Victory. And Simeon reports, another Battel fought between Britans and Piets [A.D. 744] the year ensuing. Now was the Kingdome of East-Saxons drawing to a Period, for Sigeard and Senfred the Sons of Sebbi having reign'd a while, and after them young Offa, who soon quitted his Kingdome to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been said, the Goverment was conferr'd on Selred Son of Sigebert the good, who having rul'd 38 years [A.D. 746], came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom Swithred was the last King, driv'n out by Ecbert the West-Saxon: but London, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the Mercians till they also were dissolv'd. Cuthred had now reign'd [A.D. 748] about nine years, when Kinric his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own Souldiers. The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his Brother Edilbert reign'd in his stead. But after two years [A.D. 750], the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whose War with the Piets hath bin above-mention'd, made now such Progress there, as to subdue Kyle, so faith the Auctarie of Bede, and other Countries there-about, to his dominion; While Cuthred the West-Saxon had a fight with Ethelbun, one of his Nobles, a stout Warrier, envi'd by him in some matter of the Common-wealth [A.D. 752], as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming; took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelf or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battell with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burford in Oxfordshire; one year after [A.D. 753], against the Welch, which

was the last but one of his life. **Huntingdon**, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the Prowess of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and both in that and the latter conflict, gives Victory to Cuthred; after whom Sigebert, uncertain by what right [A.D. 754], his Kinsman, faith Florent, step'd into the Throne, whom hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kimwulf joining with most of the Nobility, disposess'd of all but Hamshir, that Province he lost also within a year [A.D. 755], together with the love of all those who till then remain'd his adherents, by slaying Cumbran, one of his Cheif Captains, who for a long time had faithfully serv'd, and now disuaded him from incenfing the people by such Tyrranical practices. Thence flying for safety into Andrews Wood, forsak'n of all, he was at length slain by the Swineheard of Cumbran in revenge of his Maiifter, and Kimwulf who had undoubted right to the Crown, joyfully saluted King. The next year [A.D. 756] Eadbert the Northumbrian joining forces with Unuē King of the Picts, as Simeon writes, besie'd and took by surrender the City Alcluith, now Dunbritton in Lennox, from the Britans of Cumberland; and ten days after, the whole Army perifhd about Niwanbirig, but to tell us how, he forgetts. In Mercia, Ethelbald was slain, at a place call'd Secandune, now Seckinton in Warwickshire, the year following [A.D. 757], in a bloody fight against Cuthred, as Huntingdon surmises, but Cuthred was dead two or three years before; others write him murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and the Treafon, as some fay, of Beornred, who succeeded

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him; but ere many Months, was defeated and slain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent Death; not shameing on the vain confidence of his many Alms, to commit uncleanness with consecrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the Archbishop of Mentz in a letter taxes him and his Predecessor, and that by his example most of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothful offspring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not long after. The next year [A.D. 758], Osmund, according to Florence, ruling the South-Saxons, and Swithred the East, Eadbert in Northumberland, following the steps of his Predecessor, got him into a Monks Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that having reign'd worthily 21 years, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, able still to govern, and much entreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yield up to him part of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal Office to Oswulf his Son; who at the years end [A.D. 759], though without just cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd Ethelbert, Son of Vifred, the second of that name in Kent. After Oswulf, Ethelwald, otherwise call'd Mollo, was set up King; who in his third year [A.D. 762] had a great Battel at Eldune, by Melros, slew Oswin a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after [A.D. 765], fell by the treachery of Alcred, who assum'd his place. The fourth year after which [A.D. 769],

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Cataraëta an antient and fair City in Yorkshire, was burnt by Arnred a certain Tyrant, who the same year came to like end. And after five years more [A.D. 774], Alcred the King depos’d and forsak’n of all his people, fled with a few, first to Bebha, a strong City of those parts, thence to Kinot King of the Picts. Ethelred the Son of Mollo, was crown’d in his stead. Mean while Offa the Mercian, growing powerfull, had subdu’d a Neighbouring people by Simeon, call’d Hælings; and fought successfully this year with Alric King of Kent, at a place call’d Uttanford: the Annals also speak of wondrous Serpents then seen in Sussex. Nor had Kinwulf the West-Saxon giv’n small proof of his valour in several Battels against the Welch heretofore; but this year 775, meeting with Offa, at a place call’d Befington, was put to the worse, and Offa won the Town for which they contended. In Northumberland [A.D. 778], Ethelred having caus’d three of his Nobles, Aldwulf, Kinwulf, and Ecca, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv’n into banishment, Elfæwald the Son of Ofwulf succeeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his second year [A.D. 780] Osbald and Ethelheard, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed Bearne his General, and pursuing, burnt him at a place call’d Seletune. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more then mute person in a Scene: what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbeys, and thir doings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their

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83 Sim. Dun. 84 Sax. an. 85 Sim. Dun.
86 Sim. Dun.
propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in Camden, and other Chorographers. Six years [A. D. 786] therefore pass'd over in silence, as wholly of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the West-Saxon; who having laudably reign'd about 31 years, yet suspecting that Kineard Brother of Sigebert the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brothers expulsion, had commanded him into banishment, but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that Kenwulf was in the Country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton in Surrey, at the House of a Woeman whom he lov'd, went by night and beset the place. Kenwulf overconfident either of his Royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs feirfly at Kineard, and wounds him fore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, Osric and Wivert, two Earles hafted with a great number to the House, where Kineard and his fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise of great guifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hunderd. Kinwulf was succeeded by Birthric, being both descended of Kerdic the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of Elfwald in Northumberland, two years after [A. D. 788] slain miserably by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his Nobles, others

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fay of the whole people at *Scilcefter* by the Roman Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some miracles there said to be done,⁹⁰ are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* 5 years after laid violent hands on himself. *Ofred* Son of *Alfred* advanc'd into the room of *Elfwald*,⁹¹ and within one year driv'n out, left his seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo* [A. D. 789], who after ten years of banishment (impris'nm't, faith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand.⁹² The third year of *Birthric* King of West-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this Land. For three Danish Ships, the first that had bin seen heer of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foren Merchants, the Kings gatherer of Custometaking Horse from *Dorchefter*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir ladeing at the Kings Custome House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this Danish first arrival,⁹³ and on a sudden worse then hostile Aggression, the Danish History far otherwise relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir spoilful march far into the Country; though soon repelld by the Inhabitants, they hafted back as fast to thir Ships: But from what cause, what reason of state, what Authority or publick counsell the invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in Denmarke, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet then of warlike matters. These⁹⁴ therefore seem rather to have bin some wanderers at

⁹⁰ Camd. ⁹¹ Malmf. ⁹² Sim. Dun. ⁹³ Pontan. l. 3. ⁹⁴ Pontan. l. 4.
Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any land of Christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. The next year [A.D. 790] Osred in Northumberland, who driv’n out by his Nobles had giv’n place to Ethelred, was tak’n and forcibly shav’n a Monk at Yorke. And the year after [A.D. 791], Oelf and Oelfwin, Sons of Elfwald, formerly King, were drawn by fair promises from the principal Church of Yorke, and after by command of Ethelred, cruelly put to Death at Wonswaldremere, a Village by the great Pool in Lancashire, now call’d Winandermere. Nor was the third year less bloody [A.D. 792]; for Osred, who not liking a shaven Crown, had desir’d banishment and obtain’d it, returning from the Isle of Man, with small Forces, at the secret but deceitfull call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis’d to assist him, was also tak’n, and by Ethelred dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, therupon married Elfled the Daughter of Offa: for in Offa was found as little Faith or mercy. He the same year having drawn to his Palace Ethelbrite King of East-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his Daughter, caus’d him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdome wrongfully seis’d, by the wicked counsel of his Wife, faith Mat. West. annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make attonement, with Fryers at left, he bestows the reliques of St. Alban, in a shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it far’d the next year [A.D. 793] with the reliques in Lindisfarne; where the Danes landing, pillag’d that Monastery, and of Fryers kill’d some, carried away others Captive; sparing neither Preist

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nor Lay: which many strange thunders and fiery Dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judg’d to foresignifie. This year Alric third Son of Vietred ended in Kent his long Reign of 34 years: with him ended the race of Hen- gift: thenceforth whomsoever wealth or faction advance’d, took on him the name and state of a King. The Saxon Annals of 784. name Ealmund then reign ing in Kent; but that consists not with the time of Alric, and I find him no where else mentiond. The year following [A. D. 794] was remarkable for the Death of Offa the Mercian, a strenuous and sullite King; he had much intercourse with Charles the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of Charles himself yet extant, procur’d by Alcuin a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of England in those days had sent Orator into France, to maintain good correspondence between them and Charles the Great. He granted, faith Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdom; for yielding perhaps to translate the Primacy of Canterbury to Lichfeild in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the Britifh Confines, from Sea to Sea. Ecferth the Son of Offa, a Prince of great hope, who also had bin Crown’d 9 years before his Fathers Deceafe, restoring to the Church what his Father had seis’d on: yet within four Months by a sickness ended his Reign. And to Kenuulf next in right of the fame Progeny bequeath’d his Kingdome. Mean while the Danish Pirats who still wafted Northumberland, ventring on shoar to spoil another Monastery at the mouth of the River Don, were assail’d by the English,
thir Cheif Captain flain on the place; then returning to Sea, were most of them Ship-wrack'd; others driv'n again on shoar, were put all to the Sword. Simeon attributes this thir punishment to the power of St. Cudbert, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent. Two years after this [A. D. 796], dy'd Ethelred twice King, but not exempted at laft from the fate of many his predecessors, miserably flain by his people, some say deservedly, as not inconscious with them who train'd Osred to his ruin. Osbald a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in less then a month, deserted and expell'd, was forc'd to fly at laft from Lindisfarne by Sea to the Piflisli King, and dy'd an Abbot. Eardulf whom Ethelred fix years before had commanded to be put to Death at Ripun, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in Yorke created King. In Kent, Ethelbert or Pren, whom the Annals call Eadbright (so different they often are one from another, both in timeing and in nameing) by some means having usurp'd regal power, after two years Reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and soon after, out of pious commif-ration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became of him, Malmjbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this [A. D. 798], they in Northumberland who had conspir'd against Ethelred, now also raising War against Eardulf, under Wada thir Cheif Captain, after much havock on either side at Langho, by Whaley in Lan-

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3 Sim. Dun. 4 Sim. Dun.
cafhire, the Conspirators at last flying, Eardulf return'd with Victory. The same year London, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consum'd. The year 800, made way for great alteration in England, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by Ecberct the famous West-Saxon; him Birthric dying Childless left next to reign, the only survivor of that linage, descended from Inegild the Brother of King Ina. And according to his Birth liberally bred,5 he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more then ordinary worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and with all his juster title to the Crown, secretly fought his life, and Ecberct perceiving, fled to Offa the Mercian: but he having married Eadburg his Daughter to Birthric, easly gave ear to his Embassadors coming to require Ecberct: he6 again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into France; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, Charles the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick voice (for Birthric was newly dead) and with general applause created King of West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kinneresford, passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met by Weolstan another Nobleman with those of Wiltshire, between whom happ'd a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of thir quarrel writ'n; such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it then to Chronicle the Wars of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the Air? The year following [A.D. 801], Eardulf the Northumbrian,7 leading forth an Army againft Kenulf the Mercian, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Armes were laid
aside, and amity soon sworn between them. But Eadburga, the Wife of Birthric, a woeman every way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not or car’d not to appease the general hatred justly conceiv’d against her; accustom’d in her Husband’s days to accuse any whom she spighted [A. d. 802]; and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his Death. It fortun’d that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had temper’d, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip’d therof only, and in a while after still pining away, ended his days; the favourite drinking deeper found speedier the operation. She fearing to be question’d for these facts, with what treasure she had, pass’d over-sea to Charles the Great, whom with rich guifts coming to his presence, the Emperour courtly receav’d with this pleasant proposal: Choose Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son float by him) to be thy Husband. She no dissembler of what she lik’d best, made easie answr. Were it in my choise, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jest and earnest, hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow’d on thee my Son; but since thou hast chos’n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign’d her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that life it may seem, she chose next to profess; but being a while after detected of unchaftity, with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandering poorly up and down with one Servant, in Pavia a City of Italy, she finish’d at last in beggary her shamefull life. In the year 805 Cutbred,
whom Kenulf the Mercian had, instead of Pren, made King in Kent, having obscurely reign'd 8 years, deceas'd. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following [A. D. 806] was driv'n out of his Realm by Alfwold,\(^{11}\) who Reign'd two years in his room; after whom Eandred Son of Eardulf 33 years [A. D. 808]; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better Authors: Much less that which Buchanan relates, the year following,\(^{12}\) of Acaius King of Scots, who having reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) Hungus King of Picts with 10000 Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wasting the Pictish Borders; that Hungus by the aid of those Scots and the help of St. Andrew thir Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his crofs by day, routed the astonisht English, and flew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish Commander, on whom King Alured, or Alfred, had bestow'd Northumberland; but of this I find no footstep in our antient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less then 100 years after; this Athelstan therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of some Legend then any warrantable Record. Mean while Ecbert,\(^{13}\) having with much Prudence, Justice, and Clemency [A. D. 813], a work of more then one year, establisht his Kingdom and himself in the affections of his people, turns his first enterprise against the Britans, both them of Cornwall and those beyond Severn, subduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf the 6th year after [A. D. 819], having reign'd with great praise of his religious mind

\(^{11}\) Huntingd. Sim. Dun. \(^{12}\) Mat. West. 
\(^{13}\) Sim. Dun. Sax. an.
and vertues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son Kenelm, a Child of seaven years, was committed to the care of his Elder Sister Quendrid; who with a female ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writ'n note on the Altar at Rome, is a long story, told, though out of order, by Malmesbury; and under the year 821, by Mat. West. where I leave it to be fought by such as are more credulous then I wish my Readers. Only the note was to this purpose.

Low in a mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of head bereft li'th poor Kenelm King-born.

Keolwulf the Brother of Kenulf, after one years Reign [A. D. 820] was driv'n out by one Bernulf an Usurper: who in his third year [A. D. 823], uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune or Wilton: yet Malmesbury accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in thir computations. Bernulf thence retireing to the East-Angles, as part of his Dominion by the late seizure of Offa, was by thim met in the field and slain: but they doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both King and people to the Sovrancy of Ecbert. As for the Kings of East-Angles, our Annals mention them not since Ethelwald; him succeeded his Brothers Sons, as we find in Malmesbury, Aldulf (a good King, well acquainted with Bede) and Ælwold who left the Kingdome to
Bk. 4. The History of England.

Beorn, he to Ethelred the Father of this Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to Death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year 749, write that Elfwald King of East-Angles dying, Humbeanna and Albert shar’d the Kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former Successions is not easie, nor much material: after Ethelbrite, none is nam’d of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to Ecbert: he from this Victory against Bernulf sent part of his Army under Ethelwulf his Son, with Alstan Bishop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a Chief Commander, into Kent. Who finding Baldred there reigning in his 18th year, overcame and drove him over the Thames; whereupon all Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and lastly Essex, with her King Swithred, became subject to the Dominion of Ecbert. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, the first in order set down in Saxon Annals, being his fight against the Devonshire Welch, at a place call’d Gasulford, now Camelford in Cornwall. Ludiken the Mercian, after two years [A.D. 825] preparing to avenge Bernulf his Kinsman on the East-Angles, was by them with his five Consuls, as the Annals call them, surpris’d and put to the Sword: and Withlaf his successor first vanquisht, then upon submission with all Mercia made tributary to Ecbert. Mean while the Northumbrian Kingdom of it self was fall’n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft’n slain by the people, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of 33 years, after the Death of Ethelred Son of Mollo, as Malmesbury writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the Danes having un-
derstood, oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wafting Towns, Churches, and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen: The Lent before whose coming, on the North-side of St. Peter's Church in Yorke, was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these calamities, and the ruin of that Kingdom, Alcuin, a learned Monk living in those days, attributes in several Epiftles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the Death of Beda, and of Ecbert the Archbishop; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of thir Preifts and Nuns, discovering thir vain and wanton minds, examples are also read, eev'n in Beda's days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with perjuries, Cloifters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, civil diffentions among the people, and finally all the fame vices which Gildas alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the Britans. In this estate Ecbert, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827, (for he was march'd thether with an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Iland) no wonder if they submitted them-selves to the yoke without refiftance, Eandred thir King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his forces the year following [A. D. 828], he subdu'd more throughly what remain'd of North-Wales.  

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20 Mat. West.

The End of the Fourth Book.
The History of Britain.

The Fifth Book.

The summe of things in this Island, or the best part therof, reduc't now under the power of one man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time her before unless in Fables; men might with some reason have expected from such Union, peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; Danes commonly call'd, and somtimes Dacians, by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more; for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; these unfent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmarke, as Danish Writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this invasion, Danes drove out Danes, thir own posterity. And Normans afterwards, none but antienter Normans. Which invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchie stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and people, excited by thir neereft concernsments, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-

1 Calvifius.  2 Pontan.
times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the West-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern’d with their own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they fought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos’d to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britons were at their arrival, brok’n with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms, and the study of all vertuous knowledge, some be-took them to over-worldly or vitious practice, others to religious Idleness and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceav’d such, by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustfull deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow’d as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer sufferings could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of purity were impur’d?

**ECBERT.**

Ecbert in full hight of glory, having now enjoy’d his Conquest seven peacefull years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the exercise of
Armes perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of Danes from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign [A.D. 832], wafted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert the next year [A.D. 833], gathering an Army, for he had heard of their arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battail by the River Carr in Dorsetshire; the event wherof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and encampt where the field was fought; two Saxon Leaders, Dudda and Osmund, and two Bishops, as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time receav’d. For the Danes returning two years after [A.D. 835] with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the Cornifh, who had enter’d League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against Ecbert, the Danish History is not silent; whether out of their own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landifh Chronicles then any Records of their own. The Victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next year [A.D. 836] with glory ended his days, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf the Son of Ecbert succeeded, by Malmesbury describ’d a man of mild nature, not inclin’d to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the antient West-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelflan his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of Kent and Essex. But the Saxon Annalift, whose Authority is Elder, faith

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5 Sax. an. 6 Mat. West.
plainly, that both these Countries and Sufsex, were bequeath’d to Ethelfstan by Ecbert his Father. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwolf, gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year [A.D. 837] with 33 Ships; but Wulfheard, one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at Southampton with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of Ecberts old Commanders, who was sent with Ethelwolf to subdue Kent. Ethelhelm another of the Kings Captains with the Dorsetshire men, had at first like success against the Danes at Portsmouth; but they reinforcing stood thir ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of Earl Herebert at a place call’d Mereswar, slain with the most part of his Army. The year following [A.D. 838] in Lindsey also, East-Angles, and Kent, much mischief was don by thir landing; where the next year [A.D. 839], embold’nd by success, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London it self, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet return’d with the next year [A.D. 840] in 35 Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River Carr, and made good thir ground. In Northumberland, Eandred the Tributary King deceasing, left the same tenure to his Son Ethelred driv’n out in his fourth year [A.D. 844], and succeeded by Readwulf, who soon after his Coronation hasting forth to Battel against the Danes at Alvetheli, fell with the most part of his Army; and Ethelred like in fortune to the former Ethelred, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fourth year after. Osbert

7 Sax. an. 8 Ibid. 9 Ibid. 10 Ibid. Sim. Dun. Mat. Weft.
succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the Danes next year [A. D. 845] after met with some stop in the full course of thir outrageous insolences. For Earnulf with the men of Somerset, Alstan the Bishop, and Ofric with those of Dorsetshire, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of Pedidian, slaughterd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse queld them, for ought we hear, the space of six years [A. D. 851]; Then also renewing thir invafion, with little better success. For Keorle an Earl, aided with the Forces of Devonshire, assaulted and overthrew them at Wigganbeorch with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at Sandwich, by King Ethelstan, and Ealker his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, Affer faith, they then first winter'd in Shepey Ile. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; Hoveden terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheless with 50 Ships (Affer and others add 300) they enterd the mouth of Thames, and made excursions as far as Canterbury and London, and as Ethelwerd writes, destroy'd both; of London, Affer signifies only that they pillag'd it. Bertulf also the Mercian, successor of Withlaf, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over Thames with thir powers into Surrey, and the West Saxons, and meeting there with King Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his Son, at a place call'd Ak-Lea, or Oak-Lea, they receav'd a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year [A. D. 853] to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burhed therfore, who after Bertulf held

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of him the Mercian Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the North-Welch, as then troublesome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in person, and thereby reduc'd them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his Son Alfrid a Child of five years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the Pope both consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son; at home Ealker with the Forces of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fell on the Danes at thir landing in Tanet, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the los's equal on both: which yet hinderd not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of Easter, between Burhed the Mercian, and Ethelswida King Ethelwolf's Daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year [A. D. 854] wintertd again in Shepey. Whom Ethelwolf not finding human health sufficient to refift, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, register'd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole Kingdome, eas'd of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of Ethelwolf and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in William of Malmbury. After faith, he did it for the redemption of his Soul and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter to shew himself at Rome, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thether with young Alfrid again, and there staiies a year [A. D. 855], when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field against Pagan Enemies left wintring in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife Judith Daughter of

15 Malmbs. Sax. an. 16 Affer.
Charles the bald, King of France. But ere his return, Ethelbald his eldest Son, Alstan his trusty Bishop, and Enulf Earl of Somerset conspir'd against him; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him Alfrid his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landish Wife; for which they endeavourd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less then War: but the King abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; division was made, but the matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offering to the King thir utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully diffuading, sat down contented with his portion assign'd. In the East-Angles, Edmund lineal from the antient stock of those Kings, a youth of 14 years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own Crown'd at Burie. About this time, [A. D. 857], as Buchanan relates, the Picts, who not long before had by the Scots bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to Osbert and Ella, then Kings of Northumberland, obtain'd aid against Donaldus the Scotish King, to recover thir antient possession. Osbert who in person undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the Scots, over-secure of thir suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and persu'd his Victory beyond Sterlinbridge. The Scots unable to reftit longer, and by Embassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: the Scots were to quit all they had possesse'd within the
Wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Sterlinbridge to be the River Forth, and on the other side, Dunbritton Frith; from that time so call'd of the British then seated in Cumberland, who had joint with Osbert in this Action, and so far extended on that side the British limits. If this be true, as the Scotch Writers themselv's witness (and who would think them Fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Countries Honour, in letting pafs unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them rememberd and attefted, who are wont ofter to extenuate then to amplifie aught done in Scotland by the English? Donaldus on these conditions releas't, soon after dyes; according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf Chief King in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at Winchester. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his Fathers time he was ordain'd Bishop of Winchester; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; manning therefor his greatest affairs by the activity of two Bishops, Alstan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Winchester. But Alstan is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by William of Malmbury; the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that Ethelwolf at Rome, paid a Tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his dayes. However he were facil to his Son, and seditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The West-Saxons had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga, the infamous Wife of Birthric, that no Queen should fit in State with the King, or be dignified with the

18 Mat. West.
20 Sigon. de regn. Ital. 1. 5.
19 Malmby.
21 Asser.
Title of Queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his Queen should loose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, Ethelbald, and Ethelbert; to the younger Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, to the Elder all the rest; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to Adam.

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

Ethelbald, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his Fathers Wife; and whom at first he oppos’d coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy’d at three years end [A.D. 860], without doing aught more worthy to be remembered; having reign’d two years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be un molested by the Danes; not of Divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. Huntingdon on the other side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburn, with great sorrow of the people, who mIss’d him long after. Mat. West. faith that he repented of his incest with Judith, and dismiss’d her: but Affer an Eyewitness of those times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov’d, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to Ethelbert his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame,
had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peacefull; once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sackt Winchester, were met by Osric Earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after [A.D. 855], about the time of his Death, they set foot again in Tanet; the Kentish men wearied out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money; but ere the peace could be ratif'd, and the money gatherd, the Danes impatient of delay by a sudden eruption in the night, soon wafted all the East of Kent. Mean while or something before, Ethelbert deceasing was buried as his Brother at Sherburne.

**ETHELRED.**

Ethelred the third Son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the Crown [A.D. 866] was entertain'd with a fresh invasion of Danes, led by Hinguar and Hubba, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the East-Angles; there they winterd, and coming to terms of peace with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own: These Pagan, Affer faith, came from the River Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the next year [A.D. 867] to make thir way over land and over Humber, as far as Yorke, them they found to thir hands imbroil'd in civil disfentions; thir King Osbert they had thrown out, and Ella Leader of another faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by thir common danger, towards the years end with united powers made head against

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the Danes and prevail'd; but persueing them over-eagerly into Yorke, then but slenderly wall'd, the Northumbrians were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings also both slain, thir City burnt, faith Malmbury, the rest as they could, made thir peace, over-run and vanquisht as far as the River Tine, and Egbert of English race appointed King over them. Brompton no antient Author (for he wrote since Mat. Weft.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the Danes coming to Yorke: that Bruern a Nobleman, whose Wife King Egbert had ravisht, call'd in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year [A.D. 868] enterd into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they spent the Winter. Burhed then King of that Country, unable to reftift, implores the aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his Brother, they assembling thir Forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offer Battel; the Danes not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians weary of long suspense, enterd into conditions of peace with thir Enemies. After which the Danes returning back to Yorke, made thir abode there the space of one year [A.D. 869], committing, some fay, many cruelties. Thence imbarking to Lindsey, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about September [A.D. 870] they came with like fury into Kefteven, another part of Lincolnshire, where Algar the Earl of Howland now Holland, with his Forces, and two hundred stout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boston, Morcard Lord of Brunne, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd: Ofgot Governour of Lincoln.

27 Affer.  28 Ibid.  29 Sim. Dun.  30 Ingulf.
with 500. of that City, all joyning together, gave Battel to the Danes, flew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and persu’d the rest to thir Tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Baseg, Oske-til, Halfden, and Hamond, five Kings, and as many Earls, Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to flink home. Nevertheless Algar with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the Danes, and sustaıning unmov’d the brunt of thir assaults, could not withhold his men at laſt from persueing thir counter-fitted fight; whereby op’nd and disorder’d, they fell into the snare of thir Enemies, rushing back upon them. Algar and those Captains fore-nam’d with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as follow’d them, manifold thir own number, dy’d at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes thence passing on into the Country of East-Angles, rif’d and burnt the Monastery of Elie, overthrew Earl Wulke-tul with his whole Army, and lodg’d out the Winter at Thetford; where King Edmund assailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself tak’n, bound to a ftake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu’d. The next year [A.D. 871] with great supplies, faith Huntingdon, bending thir march toward the West-Saxons, the only people now left, in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortif’d there between the two Rivers of Thames, and Kenet, and about three dayes after, sent out wings of Horfe under two Earls to forage the Country; but Ethelwulf Earl of Barkshire, at Engle-feild a Village nigh, encounterd them, flew one of
thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himself and his Brother Alfred with the main Battail; and the Danes issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which Earl Ethelwulf loft his life; but the Danes losing no ground, kept thir place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less haft to another conflict at Eftesdunc; or Ashdown, four dayes after, where both Armies with thir whole force on either side met. The Danes were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by Bascai and Halfden, thir two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided thir powers, Ethelred the King stood against their Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Orifons, gave a fierce onset, wherein Bascai (the Danish History names him Erazus the Son of Regiercus) was slain. Alfred was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the field, with such resolution charg'd them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd Sidroc Elder and Younger, Ofbern, Frearn, Harald; at length in both Divisions, the Danes turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonderd to hear next in the Annals, that the Danes 14 days after such an overthrow, fighting again with Ethelred and his Brother Alfred at Babing, under conduct, faith the Danish History, of Agnerus and Hubbo, Brothers of the slain Evacus, shoul obtain the Victory; especially since the new supply of Danes mention'd by Asfer, arriv'd after this action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at Mertun, in two Squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who

33 Pontan. hist. Dan. 1. 4.
had the better; so darkly do the Saxon Annals deliver thir meaning with more then wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for Affer is heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our story, the ground and basis upon which the Monks later in time gloss and comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the Saxon part, not Heamund the Bishop only, but many valiant men lost thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague,\(^{34}\) wherof, as is thought, King Ethelred dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at Winburne, where his Epitaph inscribes that he had his Deaths wound by the Danes, according to the Danish History 872. Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till thir two last Battels with Ethelred, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the Danish History of best credit faith nothing; So little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of thir brutish, rather then manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of Affer, from Danubius, rather then from Denmarke, more probable some barbarous Nations of Prussia, or Livonia, not long before seated more Northward on the Baltic Sea.

ALFRED.

Alfred the fourth Son of Ethelwolf, had scarce perform'd his Brothers obsequies, and the solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the months end in haft with a small power he encounterd the whole Army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the day foyl'd them; but unwarily following the Chafe, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remain'd Mas-

\(^{34}\) Camden.
ters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought against the Danes on the South-side of Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by Alfred and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, so that weary on both sides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year [A. D. 872], the Danes took thir march to London, now expos'd thir prey, there they winterd, and thether came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond Humber, but winter'd at Torksey in Lincolnshire, where the Mercians now the third time made peace with them. Notwithstanding which [A. D. 873], removing thir Camp to Rependune in Mercia, now Repton upon Trent in Darbshire, and there wintring, they constrein'd Burghed the King to fly into Forein parts, makeing seizure of his Kingdome [A. D. 874], he running the direct way to Rome; with better reason then his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the English School. His Kingdom the Danes farm'd out to Kelwulf, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From Rependune [A. D. 875] they dislodg'd, Hafden thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winterd by the River Tine, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the Picts and Britifh beyond: but Guthrun, Ofkitell, and Anwynd, other three of thir Kings moving from Rependune, came with a great Army to Grantbrig, and remain'd there a whole year. Alfred that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglecl of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with 7 Danish Rovers, took one, the rest escaping;

35 Sax. an. 36 Ibid. Camden. 37 Sax. an. 38 Ibid.
an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for
the English at that time were but little experienc'd
in Sea affairs. The next years [A. D. 876] first mo-
tion of the Danes was towards Warham Castle: where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or
their doubt of his power; Ethelwold faith, by money
brought them to such terms of peace, as that they
swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say
upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it seems
which they never voutsaf'd before to any other Na-
tion) forthwith to depart the land: but falsifying
that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had
(After faith, flaying all the Horseman he had) stole
to Exeter, and there winter'd. In Northumberland,
Afsden thir King began to settle, to divide the land,
to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West
who were march'd to Exeter, enter'd the City, cour-
ing now and then to Warham; but thir Fleet the
next year [A. D. 877], failing or rowing about the
West, met with such a tempest near to Swanswic
or Gnavevica, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left
the rest easie to be maisterd by those Gallies which
Alfred had set there to guard the Seas, and streit'n
Exeter of provision. He the while beleagering them in the City; now humbl'd with the los's of thir
Navy (two Navies, faith Affer, the one at Gnavevica,
the other at Swanswine) distress'd them so, as that they
gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as
many Oaths, to keep thir covnanted peace, and kept
it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into
Mercia, wherof part they divided amongst themselves,
part left to Kelwulf thir substituted King. The
twelftide following [A. D. 878], all Oaths forgott'n,
they came to Chippenham in Wiltshire, dispeopleing

39 Sax. an. 40 Florent. 41 Ibid. 42 Sax. an. 43 Affer. 44 Sax. an.
The Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; Alfred himself with a small Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for some time all alone, as Florent faith, sojourn'd with Dunwulf a Swine-heard, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptness to learning, Bishop of Winchester. Hafden and the Brother of Hinguar, coming with 23 Ships from North-Wales, where they had made great spoil, landed in Devonshire, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd Kinwith; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with 12 hundred of thir men. Mean while the King about Easter, not despairing of his affairs, built a Fortress at a place call'd Athelney in Somersetshire, therin valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently sallying forth. The 7th. week after, he rode out to a place call'd Ecbryt-stone in the East part of Sekwood: thether resorted to him with much gratulation the Somerset and Wiltshire men, with many out of Hampshire, some of whom a little before had fled thir Country; with these marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltshire, he gave Battel to the whole Danish power, and put them to flight. Then besieging thir Castle, within fourteen days took it. Malmbury writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the Danish Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining access to the Kings Table, and somtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of thir secrets, thir careles encamping, and thereby this opportunity of asfailing them on a sudden. The Danes by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hostages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King Gytro, or Gothrun, offer'd willingly to receave Baptism, and accordingly came with 30 of his friends,

45 Sim. Dun. 46 After. 47 Camd. 48 Ibid.
to a place call'd Aldra, or Aubre, near to Athelney, and were baptiz'd at Wedmore; where Alfred receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him Athelstan. After which, they abode with him 12 daies, and were dismiss'd with rich presents. Whereupon the Danes remov'd next year [A. D. 879] to Cirencester, thence peaceably to the East-Angles;\(^{49}\) which Alfred, as some write, had bestow'd on Gothrun to hold of him; the bounds wherof may be read among the Laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence pass't over into France and Flanders, both which they enter'd so far conquering or wasting, as witnes's'd sufficiently, that the French and Flemish were no more able then the English, by Policy or prowess to keep off that Danish inundation from thir land. Alfred\(^{50}\) thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing; Three years [A. D. 882] after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, wherof two he took, throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of thir Princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own. After three years [A. D. 885] another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas,\(^{51}\) so huge that one part thought themselves sufficient to enter upon East-France, the other came to Rochester, and beleaguer'd it, they within stoutly defending themselves, till Alfred with great Forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to thir Ships, leaving for haft all thir Horses behind them. The same year\(^{52}\) Alfred sent a Fleet toward the East-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes, which at the mouth of Stour, meeting with 16 Danish Ships, after some flight took them all, and

\(^{49}\) Sax. an. \(^{50}\) Ibid. \(^{51}\) Ibid. \(^{52}\) Sim. Dun.
flew the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careless, were overtak’n by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loss, whereupon perhaps those Danes who were settl’d among the East-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had sworn to Alfred, who spent the next year [A. D. 886] in repairing London, (beseiging, faith Huntingdon) much ruind and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but those who had bin led away Captive, soon return’d to thir dwellings, and Ethred Duke of Mercia, was by the King appointed thir Governour. But after 13 years respite of peace [A. D. 893], another Danish Fleet of 250 Sail, from the East part of France arriv’d at the mouth of a River in East Kent, call’d Limen, nigh to the great Wood Andred, famous for length and brethd; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortres. After whom Haeften with another Danish Fleet of 80 Ships, entring the mouth of Thames, built a Fort at Middleton, the former Army remaining at a place call’d Apeltre. Alfred perceaving this, took of those Danes who dwelt in Northumberland, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in Essex, hostages, left they should joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrymen newly arriv’d. And by the next year [A. D. 894], having got together his Forces, between either Army of the Danes encamp’d so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ’n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assist’d by such as could be spar’d from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter forageing parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion

53 Sax. an. 54 Sim. Dun. 55 Sax. an. 56 Ibid.
rowling up and down, both sides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the Thames to a certain Iland near Coln in Essex, or as Camden thinks, by Colebrooke, were beseig'd there by Alfred till provision fail'd the besiegers, another part staid behind with thir King wounded. Mean while Alfred preparing to reinforce the seige in Colney, the Danes of Northumberland breaking Faith, came by Sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred Ships Coafting Southward, landed in Devonshire, and beseig'd Exeter; thether Alfred hafted with his powers, except a Squadron of Welch that came to London: with whom the Citizens marching forth to Beamflet, where Haesten the Dane had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enterd far into the Country, luckily sur-prize the Fort, maister the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Prifners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of Haesten were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon Haesten gave Oath of Amitie and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a summe of money. Never-theless without regard of Faith giv'n, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joining with the other Danish Army, he built another Castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching Westward by the Thames, aided with Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in thir way. But, Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at Buttingtun, on the Severn Bank in Montgomery-shire, the River running between, and there many weeks
attended; the King mean while blocking up the Danes who beseig’d Exeter, having eat’n part of thir Horses, the rest urg’d with hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encamp’t on the Eaft-side of the River, and were all there discomfitted, with some loss of valiant men on the Kings party; the rest fled back to Essex and thir Fortress there. Then Laf, one of their Leaders, gatherd before Winter a great Army of Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, who leaving thir money, Ships, and Wives with the East-Angles, and marching day and night, fat down before a City in the West call’d Wirheal neer to Chester, and took it ere they could be overtak’n. The English after two days seige hopeless to dislodge them, wafted the Country round to cut off from them all provision, and departed. Soon after which, next year [A.D. 895] the Danes no longer able to hold Wirheal, destitute of Vittles, enterd North-Wales;\(^{58}\) thence lad’n with spoils, part return’d into Northumberland, others to the East-Angles as far as Essex, where they seiz’d on a small Iland call’d Merejig. And heer again the Annals record them to besiege Exeter, but without coherence of fence or story. Others relate to this purpose,\(^ {59}\) that returning by Sea from the Seige of Exeter, and in thir way landing on the Coast of Sussex, they of Cichester fallied out and flew of them many hunderds, taking also some of thir Ships. The same year they who posses’d Merejig, intending to winter thereabout, drew up thir Ships, some into the Thames, others into the River Lee, and on the Bank therof built a Castle twenty miles from London; to assault which the Londoners aided with other Forces march’d out the Summer following [A.D. 896], but were soon put to flight, loosing four of the Kings Captains. Huntingdon writes quite the

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\(^{58}\) Sax. an. \(^{59}\) Sim. Dun. Florent.
contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; In the mean time, suttely devising to turn *Lee* stream several waies; wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceiving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortress and winterd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in safety with the *East-Angles*. The next year [A.D. 897] was pestilent, and besides the common fort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in Kent, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this evill, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King caus'ing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of 60 or 70 Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frifons*, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirats, who had done much harm in the *Ile of Wight* and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtfull and intricate, part on the water, part on the Sands; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The Pirats at length were either slain or tak'n, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer then twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coaft with all thir men. And *Rollo* the *Dane*
or Norman landing here, as Mat. Weft. writes, though not in what part of the Island, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into France and conquer'd the Country, since that time called Normandy. This is the summe of what pass'd in three years against the Danes, returning out of France, set down so perplexly by the Saxon Annalist, ill-guifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the Danes, or of the Saxons. After which troublesome time, Alfred enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idlely or voluptuously, but in all vertuous emploiments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900, the 51st of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried regally at Winchester; he was born at a place call'd Wanading in Berkshire, his Mother Oslurga the Daughter of Osloc the Kings Cup-bearer, a Goth by Nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comlier than all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of Saxon Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosome to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdome, yet leasure he

found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate therof what he could to his people, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius, Boethius, Beda's History* and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth; at twenty years of age not yet reigning, he took to Wife *Egelfwitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a Mercian Earl. The extremities which befell him in the fixt of his Reign, Neothan Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second person in the Kingdome for redress; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowfull Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing caufes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjuft judges or obstinate offenders. Theeves especially and Robbers, to the terour of whom in crofs waies were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were dareing any one to take them thence; so that justice seem'd in his daies not to flourish only, but to triumph: no man then hee more frugal of two preitious things in mans life, his time and his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equall portions: the one was for devotion, the other for publick or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment: how each hour past, he was put in minde by one who had that Office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equall parts; he first he imploi'd to secular uses, and subdivided those
into three, the first to pay his Souldiers, Household-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an Elegant Builder; above the Custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days: the third he had in readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal Arts, some say at Oxford; the fourth was for the relief of Foreign Churches, as far as India to the shrine of St. Thomas, sending the other Sigelm Bishop of Sherburn, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; gifts also and a letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent many to Rome, and for them receav'd relics. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble minde, which render'd him the mirror of Princes; his body was diseas'd in his youth with a great soreness in the Seige, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war.

EDWARD the Elder.

Edward the Son of Alfred succeeded, in learning not equal, in power and extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning of his

63 Malms. 64 Ibid.
Reign had much disturbance by Ethelwald an ambitious young man, Son of the Kings Uncle, or Cozin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward of succession to the Crown [A.D. 901], posses'd himself of Winburne in Dorset, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or dye; but encompass'd with the Kings Forces at Badburie a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the Danish Army beyond Humber. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thereto. About this time [A.D. 902] the Kentish men, against a multitude of Danish Pirats, fought prosperously at a place call'd Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald aided by the Northumbrians with Shipping, three years after [A.D. 905], failing to the East-Angles, perswaded the Danes there to fall into the Kings Territory, who marching with him as far as Crecklad, and passing the Thames there, wafted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with spoils return'd home. The King with his powers makeing speed after them, between the Dike and Ouse, suppos'd to be Suffolk and Cambridge-shire, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waft all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the Kentish men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the Danish Army prevented them, and join'd Battel with the King: where Duke Sigulf and Earl Sigelm, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the Danes part, Eoric thir King, and Ethelwald the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with

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65 Huntingd. 66 Sax. an. 67 Ibid.
great ruin on both sides; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of thir slain. What ever follow’d upon this conflict, which we read not, the King two years after [A.D. 907], with the Danes, both of East-Angles, and Northumberland concluded peace, which continu’d three years [A.D. 910], by whomsoever brok’n: for at the end thereof King Edward raising great Forces out of West Sex and Mercia, sent them against the Danes beyond Humber; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The King offer’d them terms of peace, but they rejecting all, enter’d with the next year [A.D. 911] into Mercia, rendring no less hostility then they had suffer’d; but at Tetnal in Staffordshire, faith Florent, were by the English in a set Battel overthrown. King Edward then in Kent, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The Danes now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond Severn. The King guessing what might imbold’n them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; Then following with the rest, set upon them in thir return over Cantbrig in Glostershire, and slew many thousands, among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar thir Kings, and many other harsh names in Huntingdon; the place also of this fight is variously writ’n by Ethelwerd and Florent, call’d Wodensfeild. The year following [A.D. 912] Ethred Duke of Mercia, to whom Alfred had giv’n London, with his daughter in marriage; now dying, King Edward resum’d that City, and Oxford, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the year after [A.D. 913], built,

68 Sax. an. 69 Ibid. 70 Ibid. 71 Ethelwerd. 72 Sax. an.
or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the Town of Hertford on either side Lee, and leaving a sufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into Essex, and encamp'd at Maldon, while his Souldiers built Witham; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the Danes, yeilded themselves to his protection.

Four years [A.D. 917] after (Florent allows but one year) the Danes from Leister and Northampton, falling into Oxfordshire, committed much rapine, and in some Towns therof great slaughter; while another party wafting Hertfordshire, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people fur'd now to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with some booty from thir Enemies. About the same time Elfled the Kings Sifter sent her Army of Mercians into Wales, who routed the Welch, took the Castle of Bricnam-mere by Brecknock, and brought away the Kings Wife of that Country with other Prifners. Not long after she took Derby from the Danes, and the Castle by a sharp assault. But the yeare ensuing [A.D. 918] brought a new Fleet of Danes to Lidwic in Devonshire, under two Leaders, Otter and Roald; who sailing thence Westward about the lands end, came up to the mouth of Severn; there landing wafted the Welch Coast and Irchenfeild part of Herefordshire; where they took Kuneleac a Britifh Bifhop, for whose ransome King Edward gave forty pound, but the men of Hereford and Gloffershire assembling, put them to flight; slaying Roald and the Brother of Otter, with many more, perfu'd them to a Wood, and there befet, compel'd them to give hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of Severn to Avon; so that op'ly they

73 Sax. an. 74 Ibid. 75 Huntingd. Camd. 76 Sax. an.
The History of England.

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durft not, by night they twice ventur’d to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchord by a small Iland where many of them famish’d; then failing to a place call’d Deomed, they cross’d into Ireland. The King with his Army went to Buckingham, staid there a moneth, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of Ouse ere his departing, and Turkitel a Danish Leader, with those of Bedford and Northampton, yeilded him subjection. Wherupon the next year [A. D. 919] he came with his Army to the Town of Bedford,77 took possession therof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of Ouse. Thence the year following [A. D. 920] went again to Maldon, repair’d and fortif’d the Town.78 Turkitel the Dane having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such prudence were mannag’d against his interest, got leave of the King, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. Early the next year [A. D. 921] King Edward re-ediﬁ’d Tovechester, now Torchester; and another City in the Annals call’d Wizingmore.79 Mean while the Danes of Leisfer and Northampton-shire; not likeing perhaps to be neighbour’d with Strong Towns, laid Seige to Torchester; [but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came] quitted the Seige by night; and persu’d close by the beseig’d, between Birnwud and Ailsbury were surpris’d, many of them made Prisoners, and much of thir baggage lost. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at Temsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excursions; and soon after went forth with desig to asfail Bedford: but the Garrison issuing out, flew a great

77 Sax. an. 78 Ibid. 79 Ibid.
part of them, the rest fled. After this a greater Army of them gatherd out of Mercia and the East-Angles, came and besieg'd the City call'd Winghamere a whole Day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of thir Cat-tel: wherupon the English from Towns and Citties round about joining Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Castle of Temsford, and by assault took both; flew thir King with Toglea a Duke, and Mannan his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather then yeild. Encourag'd by this, the men of Kent, Surrey, and part of Essex, enterprize the Seige of Colchester, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the Town and putting to Sword all the Danes therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of Danes inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the East-Angles, united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguerd Maldon; but that Town also timely releiv'd, they departed, not only frustrate of thir design, but so hotly persu'd, that many thousands of them lost thir lives in the flight. Forthwith King Edward with his West-Saxons went to Passham upon Ouse, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone Wall about Torchester; to him there Earl Thurfert, and other Lord Danes, with thir Army thereabout as far as Weolud, came and submitted. Wherat the Kings Souldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismisse't home; therfore with another part of them he enter'd Huntingdon, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colchester by the next remove of his Army, after which both East and West-Angles, and the Danish Forces among them yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of Danes at Grant-brig, surrendering themselves took the same Oath.
The Summer following [A.D. 922] he came with his Army to Stamford, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the people of those quarters acknowledg'd him supreme. During his abode there, Elfled his Sister a martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave her self to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at Tamworth the Cheif Seat of Mercia, wherof by guift of Alfred her Father, she was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King Edward, as did also North-Wales with Howel, Cleadacus, and Jeothwell thir Kings. Thence passing to Nottingham, he entered and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part English, part Danes, and receav'd fealty from all in Mercia of either Nation. The next Autumn [A.D. 923], coming with his Army into Cheshire, he built and fortif'ed Thelwel; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of Mercia, which he sent to repair and fortifie Manchester. About Midsummer following [A.D. 924] he march'd again to Nottingham, built a Town over against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridg joyn'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd Bedecanwillan in Pictland; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of Scots did him honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole Scotifh Nation; the like did Reginald and the Son of Eadulf, Danish Princes, with all the Northumbrians, both English, and Danes. The King also of a people thereabout call'd Streagtledwalli (the North-Welch, as Camden thinks, of Strat-Cluid in Denbighshire, perhaps rather the Britifh of Cumberland) did him homage, and not undeserv'd. For Buchanan himself confesses, that this King Edward with a small number of men

60 Sax. an. 61 Ibid. 62 Ibid. 63 Buch. I. 6.
compar’d to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole united power both of Scots and Danes, flew most of the Scotish Nobility, and forc’d Malcolm, whom Constantine the Scotch King had made General, and design’d Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight fore wounded. Of the English, he makes Athelstan the Son of Edward Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound times and actions, as to make this Battel the fame with that fought by Athelstan, about 24 years after at Bruneford, against Anlaf and Constantine, wherof hereafter. But here Buchanantakes occasion to inveigh against the English Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm Athelstan to have bin supream King of Britain, Constantine the Scotish King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of Marianus Scotus, any mention is to be found therof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in Marianus, whether by Surname or by Nation Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scotish affairs, till the time of King Dunchad slain by Machetad, or Mackbeth, in the year 1040, which gives cause of suspiration, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Countryman, who liv’d and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honour’d, the year following dy’d [A. D. 925] at Farendon, a builder and restorer eev’n in War, not a destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Childern; his eldest Daughter Edgith he gave in marriage to Charles King of France, Grand-Child of Charles the Bald above-mention’d; of the rest in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchester, in the Monastery by Alfred his Father. And a few days after him dy’d Ethel-

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84 Buch. 1. 6.  
Bk. 5.  The History of England.  221

weld his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown.  He had the whole Island in subjection, yet so as petty Kings reign'd under him. In Northumberland, after Ecberth whom the Danes had set up, and the Northumbrians yet unruly under thir yoke, at the end of 6 years had expell'd, one Ricfig was set up King, and bore the name 3 years; then another Ecberth, and Guthred; the latter, if we beleeeve Legends, of a Servant made King by command of St. Cudbert, in a Vifion; and enjoyn'd by another Vifion of the fame Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and privileges to his Church and Monaftery.  But now to the story.

ATHELSTAN.

A Thelstan next in Age to Ethelward his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great appearance of many vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at Kingstone upon Thames [A. D. 926], and by his Fathers laft Will, faith Malmjbury, yet not without some opposition of one Alfred and his Accomplices; who not likeing he should reign, had conspir'd to seife on him after his Fathers Death, and to put out his Eyes.  But the Conspiratours discoverd, and Alfred denying the Plot, was sent to Rome, to affert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd.  Mean while beyond Humber, the Danes, though much aw'd were not idle.  Inguald one of thir Kings took possession of Yorke, Sitric who some years before had slain Niel his Brother, by force took Davenport in Chesbire;

86 Sim. Dun.  87 Malmf.  88 Sim. Dun.
and however he defended these doings; grew so con-
derable, that Athelstan with great solemnity gave
him his Sister Edgith to Wife: but he enjoy'd her
not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons Anlaf
and Guthfert the Kingdome, driv'n out the next year
[A. D. 927] by Athelstan, not unjustly faith Hunting-
don, as being first raisers of the War. Simeon calls
him Gudfrid a British King, whom Athelstan this year
drove out of his Kingdome; and perhaps they were
both one, the name and time not much differing, the
place only mistak'n. Malmfury differs in the name
also, calling him Aldulf a certain Rebel. Them also
I wish as much mistak'n, who write that Athelstan,
jealous of his younger Brother Edwin's towardly ver-
tues, leaft added to the right of Birth, they might
some time or other call in question his illegitimate
precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea [A. D.
933]; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rott'n
Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the youth far off
land, and in rough weather despairing, threw him-
sel over-board; the Servant more patient, got to land
and reported the success. But this Malmfury con-
feffes to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrant-
able Authors: and Huntingdon speaks as of a sad ac-
cident to Athelstan, that he loft his Brother Edwin by
Sea; far the more credible, in that Athelstan, as is
writ'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the reft of
his Brethren, of whom he had no lefs cause to be
jealous. And the year following [A. D. 934] he pro-
perd better then from so foul a fact, passing into
Scotland with great Puiffance, both by Sea and Land,
and chaceing his Enemies before him, by Land as
far as Dunfeoder, and Wertermore, by Sea as far as
Cathness. The cause of this expedition, faith Malm-

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bury, was to demand Gudfert the Son of Sitric; the
ther fled, though not deny'd at length by Constantine,
who with Eugenius King of Cumberland, at a place
call'd Dacor or Dacre in that Shire, surrender'd him-
selv and each his Kingdome to Athelfatan, who brought
back with him for hostage the Son of Constantine. But Gudfert escaping in the mean while out of Scot-
land, and Constantine exasperated by this invasion,
perfwaded Anlaf the other Son of Sitric then fled into
Ireland, others write Anlaf King of Ireland and the
Iles, his Son in law, with 615 Ships, and the King
of Cumberland with other forces, to his aid. This
within four years [A. D. 938] effect'd, they enterd
England by Humber, and fought with Athelfatan at
a place call'd Wendune, others term it Brunanburg,
others Bruneford, which Ingulf places beyond Hum-
ber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the
Scotch Borders; the bloodieft fight, say Authors, that
ever this Island saw, to describe which, the Saxon
Annalift wont to be sober and succinct, whether the
fame or another writer, now labouring under the
weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on
a sudden into such extravagant fantasies and metaphors,
as bare him quite beside the scope of being under-
stood. Huntingdon, though himfelf peccant enough
in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a
paftime to his Readers. I fhall only summe up what
of him I can attain, in usuall language. The Battel
was fought eagerly from morning till night; some
fell of King Edwards old Army, try'd in many a
Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes,
the ref't fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and 7 of
Anlafs Chief Captains were slain on the place, with
Froda a Norman Leader; Constantine escap'd home,
but lost his Son in the fight, if I understand my Au-

Anlaf by Sea to Dublin, with a small remainder of his great host. Malmesbury relates this War, adding many circumstances after this manner. That Anlaf joining with Constantine and the whole power of Scotland, besides those which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far Southwards, till Athelstan who had retir'd on set purpose to be the surer of his Enemies, enclos'd from all succour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and resolution of Athelstan, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spie in what posture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King Alfred the Age before, in the habit of a Musitian, got access by his lute and voice to the Kings tent, there playing both the minstrel and the spie: then towards Evening dismis'st, he was observ'd by one who had bin his Souldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had giv'n first his military Oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrai'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so don, it happ'nd that a Bishop with his retinue coming that night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the same place, from whence the King had remov'd. Anlaf coming by night as he had design'd, to assault the Camp and especially the Kings tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, flew him with all his followers. Athelstan took the Allarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd the fight till Evening; wherein Constantine himself was slain with five other Kings, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content
with feav'n, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: that *Athelfstan* above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the Bishop and his supplies, allarm'd at the noife, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, over-watch't and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part consisting most of *West-Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The showr of Arrows and Darts over-past, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible ingagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worffershire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithfull second at the same time slain *Constantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd, from *Danish* ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. *Athelfstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with
much more eafe vanquim'd Ludwal the King, and posfeft his land. But Malmbury writes, that com-
miserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he re-
flor'd both him and Constantine to thir Regal State;
for the surrender of King Constantine hath bin above
spok'n of. However the Welch did him homage at
the City of Hereford, and covnanted yearly payment
of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thou-
sand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also
took Exeter from the Cornish Britans, who till that
time had equal right there with the English, and
bounded them with the River Tamar, as the other
Brittish with Wey. Thus dreaded of his Enemies,
and renown'd far and neer, three years after [A. D.
941] he dy'd at Glofter, and was buried with many
Trophiess at Malmbury, where he had caus'd to be
laid his two Cofin Germans, Elwin and Ethelstan,
both flain in the Battel against Anlaf. He was 30
years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wife-
dom from his Childhood, comly of person and be-
hauir; so that Alfred his Grandfather in blessing
him was wont to pray he might live to have the
Kingdome, and put him yet a Child into Souildiers
habit. He had his breeding in the Court of Elsfed
his Aunt, of whose vertues more then female we have
related, sufficient to evince that his mother, though
sai'd to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage
and worth, as the Royal line disdain'd not, though
the Song went in Malmburies daies (for it seems he
refus'd not the autority of Ballats for want of better)
that his mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of ex-
cellent feature; who dreamt one night the brought
forth a Moon that should enlight'n the whole land:
which the Kings Nurfe hearing of, took her home
and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day

to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelstan, a bounteous, just and affable King, as Malmbury sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad, by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great guifts or affinity; that Harold King of Noricum sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of gold, fails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from Noricum, whether meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embassadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the King at Yorke. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princes, Elgif to Otho Son of Henry the Emperour, Egdith to a certain Duke about the Alpes; Edgiv to Ludvic King of Aquitain, sprung of Charles the Great, Ethilda to Hugo King of France, who sent Aldulf Son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, to obtain her. From all these great suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of France, came rich presents, Horses of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of Onyx, and other pretious things, which I leave poetically describ'd in Malmbury, tak'n, as he confesses, out of an old verfifier, some of whose verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother Edwin, who disfavow'd by Oath the treason wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equall hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also that Athelstan, his anger over, soon repented of the fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who flippimg one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recoverying himself on the other leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it prov'd, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart,
and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng’d himself first on the adviser of that fact, took on him seav’n years penance, and as Mat. West. faith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other Saxon Kings to this day.

**EDMUND.**

Edmund not above 18 years old [A. D. 942] succeeded his Brother Athelstan, in courage not inferior. For in the second of his Reign he free’d Mercia of the Danes that remain’d there, and took from them the Citties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Darby, and Leifter, where they were plac’d by King Edward, but it seems gave not good proof of thir fidelity. Simeon writes that Anlaf setting forth from Yorke, and having wafted Southward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leifter; but that ere the Battails join’d, peace was made between them by Odo and Wulstan the two Archbishops, with conversion of Anlaf; for the same year Edmund receav’d at the Font-stone this or another Anlaf, as faith Huntingdon, not him spok’n of before, who dy’d this year (so uncertain they are in the story of these times also) and held Reginald another King of the Northumbers, while the Bishop confirm’d him: thir limits were divided North and South by Watling-street. But spirituall kindred little avail’d to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years after [A. D. 944] driving Anlaf (whom the Annals now first call the Son of Sitric) and Suthfrid Son of Reginald out of Northumberland, takeing the whole Country into subjection. Edmund the next year [A. D. 945] harras’d Cumber-

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97 Sax. an. 98 Sax. an.
land, then gave it to Malcolm King of Scots, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; Mat. West. adds that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin Prince of Northwales, against Dummail the Cumbrian King, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of thir fight. But the year after [A.D. 946] he himself by strange accident came to an untimely Death, feastling with his Nobles on St. Austin's Day at Pucklekerke in Glosstershire, to celebrat the memory of his first converting the Saxons. He spied Leofa a noted Theef, whom he had banish'd, fitting among his Guests; wherat transported with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Theef who doubted from such handling no less then his Death intended, thought to die not unrevenge'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imagin at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at Glaston, wherof Dunstan was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other Saxon Kings.

**EDRED.**

Edred the third Brother of Athelfstan, the Sons of Edmund being yet but Childern, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and

99 Sax. an. 1 Sax. an. Camden.

Crown'd at Kingston. Northumberland he throughly subdu'd, the Scots without refual swore him Allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtfull Faith, soon after chose to themselves one Eric a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before Eric recall'd once more and reign four years [A. D. 950], then again put to his shifts. But Edred entring into Northumberland, and with spoils returning, Eric the King fell upon his rear. Edred turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second inroad: which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, flew Amancus the Son of Anlaf, and with many presents appeasing Edred, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom Osulf was the first. About this time [A. D. 953] Wulstan Archbishop of York, accus'd to have slain certain men of Thetford in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townsmen had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his place. Malmesbury writes that his crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countrymen: but King Edred two years after [A. D. 955] sick'ning in the flowr of his youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at Winchester.

EDWI.

Edwi the Son of Edmund now come to Age, after his Uncle Edred's Death took on him the Government, and was Crown'd at Kingston. His lovely person 'frnam'd him the Fair, his actions are diversly reported, by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But

2 Sim. Dun. 3 Hoved. 4 Sim. Dun. 5 Ibid. 6 Ethelwerd.
Malmesbury and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his near Kinewoman,⁷ some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinately giv'n to his pleasure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this Algiva, so was her name, who had such power over him. Wherat his Barons offended, sent Bishop Dunstan, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd [A.D. 956], and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent Dunstan into banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Wherupon Odo Archbishop of Canterbury pronounc'd a separation or divorce of the King from Algiva. But that which most incited William of Malmesbury against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by secular Preists, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of Clerks; at length these affronts done to the Church were so resented by the people, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and set up Edgar his Brother,⁸ leaving to Edwi the West-Saxons⁹ only, bounded by the River Thames [A.D. 957]; with greif wherof, as is thought, he soon after ended his daies, and was buried at Winchester. Mean while [A.D. 958] Elfsin Bishop of that place after the Death of Odo, ascending by Simony to the Chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the same year for his Pall, was froz'n to Death in the Alps.¹⁰

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⁷ Mat. West. ⁸ Hoved. ⁹ Sax. an. ¹⁰ Mat. West.
EDGAR.

Edgar by his Brothers Death now [A. D. 959] King of all England at 16 years of Age, call'd home Dunstan out of Flanders, where he liv'd in exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet allways well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favour'd the Monks against secular Preists, who in the time of Edwi had got possession in most of thir Covents. His care and wisdome was great in guarding the Coast round with stout ships, to the number of 3600, Mat. West. reck'ns them 4800, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of 1200 sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Forein War; but by thir too frequent resort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir vices unaware. Thence the people, faith Malmesbury, learnt of the out-landish Saxons rudeness, of the Flemish daintiness and softness; of the Danes Drunk'ness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally home-bred heer as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see justice well administred, and the poor

11 Malm.
12 Mat. West.
not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he rooted almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal King of Wales to pay the yearly tribute of 300 Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his Age, but then with great splendor and magnificence at the City of Bath, in the Feast of Pentecost. This year [A.D. 973] dy'd Swarling a Monk of Croyland, in the 142nd year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th; in that Fenny and waterish air, the more remarkable. King Edgar the next year [A.D. 974] went to Chester, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took homage of them: thir names are Kened King of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Iles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Griffth, Jacob, Judethil, these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River Dee, while he himself sat at the Stern: which might be done in merriment and easily obey'd; if with a serious brow, discover'd rather vain glory and insult-ing haughtiness, then moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then utterd, that his successors might then glory to be Kings of England, when they had such honour done them. And perhaps the Divine power was displeas'd with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read that the year following [A.D. 975] he was tak'n out of this life by sickness in the highth of his glory and the prime of his Age, buried at Glaston Abby. The same year, as Mat. West. relates, he gave to Kened the Scottifh King,
many rich presents, and the whole Country of Laudian, or Lotbien, to hold of him on condition that he and his successors should repair to the English Court at high Festivals when the King sat Crown'd, gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of Henry the second were still held by the Kings of Scotland. He was of Stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him for respect or fear to hurt him. Kened King of Scots then in the Court of Edgar, sitting one day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the Kings Ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened; and now faith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject; for it is shamefull for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in fight. Kened much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok'n, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement: wherewith the King was satisfied. Camden in his description of Ireland, cites a Charter of King Edgar, wherein it appears, he had in subjection all the Kingdomes of the Iles as far as Norway, and had subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the City of Dublin: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of Elfrida, Daughter to Ordgar Duke of Devonshire, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl Athelwold, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her
presence, disloyally, as it oft happ'ns in such emploiments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therfore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the Kings mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how Athelwold had foreftall'd the King, and Elfrida's Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in dress or otherwise, left the King, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how Athelwold had stept between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, useing whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and rob'd of her, resolv'd not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his desind spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd Harewood, smote him through with a Dart. Some cenSure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worse treason could have bin committed against him? it chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he submifly answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, muft not displease him;
the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favor'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. Elfrida forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husband's Death, though therin she had no hand, coverd the place of his bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin Wilfrida by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her friends to avoid his persuit, and kept her as his Con-cubine; but liv'd not obstinatly in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by Dunstan he submitted to 7 years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another story there goes of Edgar, fitter for a Novel then a History; but as I find it in Malmesbury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to Andover, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not dareing flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflour'd, at fit time of night sent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhandsom nor unwitty; who suppli'd the place of her young Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rise, but day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why she made such haft, she answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado stayng her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to fet her free from the hard service of her Mistrefs. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be
angry or not, at length turning all to a jeft, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her and accompanied with her only, till he married Elfrida. These only are his faults upon record, rather to be wonder'd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at 16 to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his virtues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however with him dy'd all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praisefs of thir former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more then long enough for another Book.

The End of the Fifth Book.

The History of Britain.

The Sixth Book.

Edward the Younger.

Edward the eldest Son of Edgar by Egelfleda his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke Ordmer, was according to right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; Elfrida his second Wife, and her faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son Ethelred a Child of 7 years, preferr'd before him; that she under that pretence might have rule'd all. Mean while Comets
were seen in Heav'n, portending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The troubles begun in Edw's daies, between Monks and secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into parties. For Elsere Duke of the Mercians, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with guifts,.drive the Monks out of those Monasteries where Edgar had plac'd them, and in thir stead put secular Priests with thir Wives. But Ethelwin Duke of East-Angles, with his Brother Elfwold, and Earl Britnoth oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of East-Angles from such intruders. To appeafe these tumults, a Synod was call'd at Winchester, and nothing there concluded, a general Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at Can in Wiltshire, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against Dunstan, the room wherein they fat fell upon thir heads, killing some, maiming others, Dunstan only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This accident quieted the controversy, and brought both parts to hold with Dunstan, and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son Ethelred: to whom she displease'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King Edward out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodg'd at Corvesgate (Corfe Castle, faith Camden, in the Ile of Purbeck) innocently went thether. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he

1 Florent. Sim. Dun.
lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poignard. The poor youth who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reign'd about 3 years [A.D. 978]; but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by Duke Elfer (who, as MalmSBury faith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally interr'd at Skepton or ShaftSBury. The murdrefs Elfrida at length repenting spent the residue of her daies in sorrow and great penance.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred second Son of Edgar by Elfrida (for Edmund dy'd a Child) his Brother Edward wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed [A.D. 979], and accordingly Crown'd at Kingston: reported by some, fair of vifage, comly of person, elegant of behaviour; but the event will shew that with many sluggisht and ignoble vices he quickly sham'd his outside; born and prolong'd a fatal mischief of the people, and the ruin of his country; whereof he gave early signes from his first infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunstan much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, By God and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Child-hood; which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother Edwards cruel Death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother offended therwith,

2 MalmSB. 3 Ibid. 4 Florent. Sim. Dun.
and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. Dunstan though unwilling set the Crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold op'ny, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengment of his Brothers innocent blood. And about the same time, one mid-night, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all England; and within three years [A.D. 982] the Danish Tempest, which had long surcease, revolv'd again upon this Island. To the more ample relating whereof, the Danish History, at least thir latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of Danes, in the Reign of West-Saxon Brithric, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more then anough to make out the bare names and successions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir small actions at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what hee takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the fadder wittnesses of thir doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly Barbarous. For the Danes well understanding, that England had now a slothfull King to thir wish, first landing at Southampton from 7 great Ships, took the Town, spoil'd the Country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was Devonshire and Cornwall uninfected on the shore; Pirats of Norway also harried the Coast of West-Chester: and to add a worse calamity, the City of London was burnt, casuallly or not, is not writ'n. It chanc'd fourr years after [A.D. 986], that Ethelred besiegd Rochester, some way or other offended by the Bishop therof. Dunstan not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew

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5 Sim. Dun. 6 Malmf. 7 Eadmer. Florent. 8 Hoved. 9 Sim. Dun. Hoved. 10 Malmf. Ingulf.
the Patron of that City, nor waft his Lands; an old craft of the Clergy to secure thir Church Lands, by entailing them on some Saint; the King not hark'ning, Dunstan on this condition that the seige might be rais'd, sent him a hundred pound, the money was accepted and the seige dissolv'd. Dunstan reprehending his avarice, sent him again this word, because thou hast respected money more then Religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my days, for so God hath spok'n. The next year [A.D. 987] was calamitous, bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murren upon Cattel. Dunstan the year following [A.D. 988] dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for ought appeers, the best of many Ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King Athelstan, and Edmund who succeeded, much implo'd in Court affairs, till envi'd by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidd'n the Court, but by the earnest mediation, faith Ingulf, of Turkitul the Chancellour, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of Glaston, lastly by Edgar and the generall Vote, Archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after his Death, the Danes arriving in Devonshire were met by Goda Lieutenant of that Country, and Strenwold a valiant Leader, who put back the Danes, but with loss of thir own lives. The third year following [A.D. 991], under the conduct of Justin and Guthmund the Son of Steytan, they landed and spoil'd Ipswich, fought with Britnoth Duke of the East-Angles about Maldon, where they flew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resift, by counsell of Siric then Archbishop of Canterbury, and two Dukes, Ethel-
ward and Alfric; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with their Iron; and Ten Thousand pound was paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next year but one [A.D. 993] they took by storm and rif'd Bebbanberg an antient City nigh Durham: failing thence into the mouth of Humber, they wasted both sides thereof, Yorkshire and Lindsey, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, Frana, Frithegift, and Godwin, but being all Danes by the Fathers side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less treachery was at Sea; for Alfric the Son of Elfer Duke of Mercia, whom the King for some offence had banish'd but now recall'd, sent from London with a Fleet to surprife the Danes, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence therof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, faith Florent, perceaving, persu'd, took the Ship, but mis'd of his person; the Londoners by chance grappling with the East-Angles made them fewer, faith my Author, by many thousands. Others say [A.D. 994], that by this notice of Alfric, the Danes not only escap'd, but with a greater Fleet set upon the English, took many of thir Ships, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to besiege London: for Anlaf King of Norway, and Swane of Denmarke, at the head of these, came with 94 Gallies. The King for this treason of Alfric, put out his Sons Eyes; but the Londoners both by land and water, so valiantly resist'd thir besiegers, that they were forc't in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Coun-

tries round about, wafting with Sword and fire all Essex, Kent, and Sussex. Thence horfing thir Foot, diffus’d far wider thir outrageous incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothfull King instead of Warlike opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another payment; the sum promis’d was now 16 thousand pound; till which paid, the Danes winterd at Southampton; Ethelred inviteing Anlaf to come and visit him at Andover: where he was royally entertain’d, fome fay baptiz’d, or confirm’d, adopted Son by the King, and dismiss’d with great presents, promising by Oath to depart and mo- lest the Kingdome no more; which he perform’d, but the calamity ended not fo, for after fome inter- mission of thir rage for three years [A. D. 997], the other Navy of Danes failing about to the West, enterd Severn, and wafted one while South-Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they winterd about Tavistoc. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallow’d up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what defolations left behinde them, easie to be imagin’d. In fumm, the next year [A.D. 998] they afflicted Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and the Ile of Wight; by the English many resolutions were tak’n, many Armies rais’d, but either betray’d by the falf- hood, or discourag’d by the weakenes of thir Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Souldiers moft commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or lefs wisely disciplin’d and conducted. The following year [A. D. 999] brought them back upon Kent, where they enterd Medway, and besiegd Rochester; but the Kentifh men assem-

17 Malmf.  18 Ibid.  19 Hunting.  20 Sim. Dun.  21 Ibid.  22 Ibid.
bling, gave them a sharp encounter, yet that suffic’d
not to hinder them from doing as they had done in
other places. Against these depopulations, the King
levied an Army; but the unskillfull Leaders not know-
ing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive
out time, burd’ning and impoverishing the people, con-
suming the publick treasure, and more imboldn-
ing the Enemy, then if they had sat quiet at home.
What cause mov’d the Danes\textsuperscript{23} next year [A.D. 1000]
to pass into Normandy, is not recorded; but that they
return’d thence more outrageous then before. Mean-
while the King, to make some diversion, undertak’s
an expedition both by Land and Sea into Cumberland,
where the Danes were most planted; there and in the
Ile of Man, or as Camden faith, Anglesey, imi-
tating his Enemies in spoiling and unpeopleing; the
Danes from Normandy arriving in the River Ex
[A.D. 1001], laid seige to Exeter,\textsuperscript{24} but the Cittizens,
as those of London, valorously defending themselves,
they wreck’d thir anger, as before, on the Villages
round about. The Country people of Somerset and
Devonshire assemblng themselves at Penho, shew’d
thir readiness, but wanted a head; and besides, be-
ing then but few in number, were easily put to
flight; the Enemy plundring all at will, with
loaded spoils pass’d into the Ile of Wight; from
whence all Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, felt again
thir fury. The Saxon Annals write, that before thir
coming to Exeter, the Hampshire men had a bickering
with them [A.D. 1002], wherein Ethelward the
Kings General was slain,\textsuperscript{25} adding other things hardly
to be understood, and in one antient Copy; so end.
Ethelred, whom no adversity could awake from his
soft and sluggisht life, still coming by the worse at
fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike him-

\textsuperscript{23} Sim. Dun. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{24} Ibid. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
self, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hark'n, but the sum is enhaunce't now to 24 thousand pound, and paid; the Danes therupon abstaining from hostility. But the King to strengthen his House by some potent affinity, marries Emma, whom the Saxons call Elgiva, Daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had War or no good correspondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope John the 15th, who made peace between them about eleaven years before; put up now with his suppos'd access of strength by this affinity, he caus'd the Danes all over England, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both Men, Women, and Childern; sending privat Letters to every Town and Citty, whereby they might be ready all at the same hower; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of July) was conceal'd with great silence, and perform'd with much unanimity; so generally hated were the Danes. Mat. West. writes, that this execution upon the Danes was ten years after; that Huna one of Ethelreds Chief Captains, complaining of the Danish insolencies in time of peace, thir pride, thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this massacrer, which in the madness of rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, Gunhildis the Sifter of Swane was not spar'd, though much deserving not pitty only, but all protection: the with her Husband Earl Palingus, coming to live in England, and receaving Christianity, had her Husband and young Son slain before her face, her self then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost England dear. Some say this was

26 Malms. 28 Florent. Huntingd. 27 Calvis. 29 Calvisius.
done by the Traitor Edric, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacrer was some years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it seems to contradict the privat correspondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane breathing revenge, hasted the next year [A. D. 1003] into England, and by the treason or negligence of Count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the Government of Devonshire, sack'd the City of Exeter, her Wall from East to West-gate brok'n down: after this wafting Wiltshire, the people of that County, and of Hampshire, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him, but Alfric thir General, whose Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he should have orderd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himself tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great discontent, de- flitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who freight took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the pillage therof to his Ships. Thence the next year [A. D. 1004] landing on the Coast of Norfolk, he wafted the Country, and set Norwich on fire; Ulfketel Duke of the East-Angles, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the Dane, which he breaking within three weeks, issu'd silently out of his Ships, came to Thetford, staid there a night, and in the Morning left it flameing. Ulfketel hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not dareing or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrefie and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a feirce onset retreating

30 Mat. West. 31 Sim. Dun. 32 Sim. Dun.
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to their ships; but much inferior in number, many of
the chief East-Angles, there lost their lives. Nor did
the Danes come off without great slaughter of their own;
confessing that they never met in England with so
rough a charge. The next year [A.D. 1005], whom
War could not, a great Famin drove Swane out of
the Land. But the Summer following [A.D. 1006],
another great Fleet of Danes entered the Port of Sand-
wich, thence powrd out over all Kent and Sussex,
made prey of what they found. The King levying
an Army out of Mercia, and the West-Saxons, took
on him for once the Manhood to go out and face
them; But they who held it safer to live by rapine,
than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place
to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy Camp,
following their wonted course of robbery, then run-
ing to their ships. Thus all Autumn they wearied
out the Kings Army, which gone home to winter,
they carried all their pillage to the Ile of Wight, and
there staid till Christmas; at which time the King
being in Shropshire, and but ill employ'd (for by the
procurement of Edric, he caus'd, as is thought, Alfhelm
a noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and
the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came
forth again, over-running Hamshire, and Barkeshire,
as far as Reading and Wallingford; thence to Ash-
dune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor
of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another
way, found many of the people in Armes by the River
Kenet; but making their way through, they got safe
with vast booty to their ships. The King and his
Courtiers wearied out with their last Summers jaunt
[A.D. 1007] after the nimble Danes to no purpose,
which by proof they found too toilsome for their soft

33 Sim. Dun.
35 Florent.
34 Ibid.
36 Sim. Dun.
Bones, more us’d to Beds and Couches, had recourse to thir last and only remedy, thir Coffers; and fend now the fourth time to buy a dishonorable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under 36 thousand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk such easie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the people over all England, already half begg’d, was extorted and paid. About the same time Ethelred advanc’d Edric, surnam’d Streon, from obscur condition to be Duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the Kings Daughter. The cause of his advancement, Florent of Worfter, and Mat. Weft. attribute to his great wealth, gott’n by fine polices and a plausible tongue: he prov’d a main accessary to the ruin of England, as his actions will soon declare. Ethelred the next year [A.D. 1008] somewhat rowing himself, ordain’d that every 310 Hides (a Hide is so much land as one Plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corflet and Head-peice: new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl’d, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissension among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. Bitbric the Brother of Edric, falsly accus’d Wulnoth a great Officer set over the South-Saxons, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with 20 Ships got to Sea, and practis’d piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris’d, Bitbric sets forth with 80 Ships; all which driv’n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by Wulnoth. Difheart’nd with this misfortune, the King returns to

36 Sim. Dun.
London; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Wherupon Turkill, a Danish Earl, came with a Navy [A. D. 1009] to the Ile of Tanet, and in August a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf join’d with him. Thence coasting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault Canterbury, but the Citizens and East Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pound, they departed thence to the Ile of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exercising their wonted Robberies. It happ’nd that the Danes one day were gone up into the Country, far from their Ships, the King having notice therof, thought to intercept them in their return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. Edric with little arguments that had a fiew of deep policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his Fellow Counsellers, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the Danes pass without ambush or interception. The Danes where they expected danger, finding none, pass’d on with great joy and booty to their Ships. After this, failing about Kent, they lay that Winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to contribution, oft-times attempting the City of London, but repuls’t as oft to their great loss. Spring begun, leaving their Ships [A. D. 1010], they pass’d through Chiltern Wood into Oxfordshire, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided forces wasted on both sides the Thames; but hearing, that an Army from London

was marcht out againft them, they on the North-side, passing the River at Stanes, join’d with them on the South into one body, and enrich’t with great spoils, came back through Surrey to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair’d. After Easfer, failing to the East-Angles they arriv’d at Ipswich, and came to a place call’d Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketell with his Forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertain’d them; but his men at length giving back, through the suttlety of a Danish Servant among them who began the flight, loft the field; though the men of Cambridgehìre fled to it valiantly. In this Battel Ethelfstan the Kings Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; whereby the Danes without more resiflance, three months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens, burnt Thetford and Grantbrig, or Cambridge; thence to a hilly place not far off, call’d by Huntingdon Balefham, by Camden Gogmagog Hills, and the Villages therabout they turn’d thir fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danish Army. They therefore so leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horfe by land through Essex, return’d back lad’n to thir Ships left in the Thames. But many daies pass’d not between, when fayling again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Denns, they plunderd over again all Oxfordshire, and added to thir prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordshire; then like wild Beast’s glutted, returning to thir Caves. A third excursion they made into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the West-Saxons, and in like fort haraffing all Wiltshire, return’d, as I said before, like wild Beast’s or rather Sea-

39 Huntingd.
Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by Christmas the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhuman Nation, who receaving or not receaving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of thir livelihood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year [A. D. 1011] repeating the same cruelties on both sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltshire and Southampton, sollicited again by the King for peace, and receaving thir demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted thir faith; and in the beginning of September laid seige to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the Archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport; some they threw over the Wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members, infants pull'd from thir mothers breasts, were either tost on spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the hair drag'd and ravish't. Alsfage the grave Archbishop, above others hated of the Danes, as in all Counsells and actions to his might thir known opposer, tak'n, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship; the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next year [A. D. 1012] before Easter, while Ethelred and his Peers were assembld'at London, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to 48 thousand pound, the Danes at Canterbury propose to the Archbishop, who had bin now seav'n months thir Prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thousand pound; which he refuseing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tennants, is permitted till the next Sunday to consider; then hal'd

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40 Sim. Dun.
41 Eadmer. Malms.
42 Sim. Dun.
43 Eadmer.
before thir Counsel, of whom Turkill was Cheif, and still refufing, they rise most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one Thrum a converted Dane, pittyng him half dead, to put him out of pain; with a pious impiety, at one stroak of his Ax on the head dispatch’d him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterward remov’d to Canterbury. By this time the tribute paid, and peace fo oft’n violated sworn again by the Danes, they dispers’d thir Fleet; forty five of them, and Turkill thir Cheif staid at London with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land againſt all Strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloth’d by him. But this voluntary friendship of Turkill was thought to be deceitfull, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to Swane, when moſt it would be ſeareable to come. In July therfore of the next year [A. D. 1013], King Swane ar- riving at Sandwich, made no ſtay there, but failing first to Humber, thence into Trent, landed and en-camp’d at Gainſburrow: whither without delay re-pair’d to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred thir Earl; thoſe of Lindſey also, then thoſe of Fisburg, and laſtly all on the North of Watling-street (which is a high way from Eaſt to Weſt Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horses and provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of thir choicest men; and committing to his Son Canute the care of his Fleet and hostages; he marches towards the South Mercians, commanding his Souldiers to exercife all Acts of hostility; with the terror wherof fully exe-cut, he took in few daies the City of Oxford, then Wincheſter; thence tending to London, in his haſty

44 Sim. Dun.
passage over the Thames, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against London prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was stoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his course, after usual havoc made, he sate a while and refresh'd his Army. There Ethelm an Earl of Devonshire, and other great Officers in the West yeild'd him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of England, if a Tyrant, faith Simeon, may be call'd a King. The Londoners also sent him hostages and made thir peace, for they fear'd his fury. Ethelred thus reduc'd to narrow compass, sent Emma his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his treasure to Richard the 2d. her Brother, Duke of Normandy; himself with his Danish Fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then sailing to the Isle of Wight, pass'd after Christmas into Normandy; where he was honourably receav'd at Roan by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards Emma his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other women. Mean while Swane\(^45\) ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when he lifted; besides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning [A.D. 1014], Swane sickens and dyes,\(^46\) some say terrifi'd and smitt'n by an appearing shape of St. Edmund arm'd, whose Church at Bury he had threat'nd to demolish; but the authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of St. Edmund. After his Death the Danish Army and Fleet made his Son Canute thir King; but the Nobility and States of England sent Messengers to Ethelred,

\(^{45}\) Malm. \(^{46}\) Sim. Dun. Mat. West.
declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Na
tive Sovran, if he would promise to govern them
better then he had done, and with more Clemency.
Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son Ed-
ward with Embassadors to court both high and low,
and win thir love, promising largely to be thir mild
and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir will,
follow thir counsel, and whatever had been
done or spok'n by any man against him, freely to
pardon; if they would loyally restore him to be thir
King. To this the people cheerfully answer'd, and
amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides.
An Embassy of Lords is sent to bring back the King
honourably; he returns in Lent and is joyfully re-
ceav'd of the people, marches with a strong Army
against Canute; who having got Horses and joyn'd
with the men of Lindsey, was preparing to make spoil
in the Countries adjoining; but by Ethelred unex-
pectedly coming upon him, was soon driv'n to his
Ships, and his Confederates of Lindsey left to the an-
ger of thir Country-men, executed without mercy
both by fire and Sword. Canute in all haft failing
back to Sandwich, took the hostages giv'n to his Fa-
ther from all parts of England, and with slit Nores,
Ears cropt, and hands chop't off, setting them ahoare,
departed into Denmarke. Yet the people were not
disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them 30 thou-
sand pound to pay his Fleet of Danes at Greenwich.
To these evills the Sea in October pass'd his bounds,
overwhelming many Towns in England, and of thir
inhabitants many thousands. The year following
[A. D. 1015] an Assembly being at Oxford, Edric of
Streon, having invited two Noblemen, Sigeferth, and
Morcar, the Sons of Earngrun of Seav'nburg to his
Lodging, secretly murderd them: the King, for what

47 Sim. Dun.
cause is unknown, feis’d thir Estates, and caus’d All-gith the Wife of Sigeferth to be kept at Maidulfsburg, now Malmbury; whom Edmund the Prince there married against his Fathers minde, then went and posses’d thir lands, making the people there subject to him. Mat. West. faith, that these two were of the Danes who had seated themselves in Northumberland, slain by Edric under colour of Treason laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of thir Maifters, were beat’n back; and driv’n into a Church, and defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while Canute returning from Denmarke with a great Navy, 200 Ships richly gilded and adorn’d, well fraught with Arms and all provision; and, which Encomium Emmae mentions not, two other Kings, Lachman of Sweden; Olav of Norway, arriv’d at Sandwich; And, as the fame Authour then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on land was to be expected; who return’d with certain report, that a great Army of English was in readinefs to oppose them. Turkill, who upon the arrival of these Danish Powers, kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with Canute, as it were to reingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or complotted, council’d him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thosse which arriv’d with Canute, landing to thir with encounter’d the English, though double in number, at a place call’d Scoraflan, and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his men with rage only and despair, obtain’d a clear Victory, which won him great reward

50 Encom. Em.
and possessions from Canute. But of this action no other writer makes mention: from Sandwich therefore sailing about to the River Frome, and there landing, over all Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, he spread waftfull hostility. The King lay then sick at Caflham in this County; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, rais’d Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor Edric being found to practice against the life of Edmund, he remov’d with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. Edric easily enticing the 40 Ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to Canute, the West-Saxons also gave pledges and furnished him with Horses. By which means the year ensuing [A. D. 1016], he with Edric the Traytor, passing the Thames at Creclad, about twelftide, enter’d into Mercia, and especially Warwickshire, depopulating all places in thir way. Against these, Prince Edmund, for his hardiness call’d Ironside, gather’d an Army; but the Mercians refus’d to fight unless Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every man return’d home. After the Festival, Edmund gathering another Army besought his Father to come with the Londoners, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gott’n together, but being come, and in a hopefull way of good success, it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the Enemy, disbarding his Army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl Uthred on the one side, and Canute with

51 Camden. 52 Sim. Dun.
Edric on the other, did little else but waft the Pro-
vinces; Canute to Conquer them, Edmund to punish
them, who flood neuter; for which cause Stafford,
Shropshire, and Leicestershire, felt heavily his hand;
while Canute, who was ruining the more Southern
Shires, at length march’d into Northumberland; which
Edmund hearing dismiss’d his Forces and came to
London. Uthred the Earl hafted back to Northum-
berland, and finding no other remedy, submitted him-
self with all the Northumbrians, giving hostages to
Canute. Nevertheless by his command or connivence,
and the hand of one Turebrand a Danish Lord; Uthred
was slain, and Iric another Dane made Earl in his
stead. This Uthred Son of Walteof, as Simeon writes,
in his treatise of the Seige of Durham, in his youth
obtain’d a great Victory against Malcolm Son of Kened
King of Scots, who with the whole power of his
Kingdome was fall’n into Northumberland, and laid
seige to Durham. Walteof the old Earl unable to re-
sist, had secur’d himself in Bebbanburg, a strong Town,
but Uthred gathering an Army rais’d the Seige, slew
most of the Scots, thir King narrowly escaping, and
with the heads of thir slain fixt upon Poles beft round
the Walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Si-
meon cleers not, for in 969, and in the Reign of
Ethelred as he affirms, it could not bee. Canute by
another way returning Southward, joyfull of his suc-
cefs, before Easter came back with all the Army to
his Fleet. About the end of April ensueing, Ethelred
after a long, troublesome and ill govern’d Reign,
ended his daies at London, and was buried in the
Church of St. Paul.
After the decease of Ethelred, they of the Nobility who were then at London together with the Citizens, chose Edmund his Son (not by Emma, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl Thored) in his Fathers room; but the Archbishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected Canute; and coming to Southamton where he then remain'd, renounce'd before him all the race of Ethelred, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But Edmund with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King, and of many other Provinces by their example. Mean while Canute about mid May came with his whole Fleet up the River to London; then causing a great Dike to be made on Surrey side, turn'd the stream and drew his Ships thether West of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep trench, asfail'd it on every side; but repulst as before by the valorous Defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the West-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to assemble all his powers: who yet with such as were at hand invoking divine aid, encounterd the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After midsummer, encreaft with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd Sherstan, now Sharstan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hamshire and Wiltshire men, then sideing with the Danes, he only maintain'd the fight, obstinatly fought on both sides,
till night and weariness parted them. Day light returning renew'd the conflict; wherein the Danes appearing inferiour, Edric to dishart'n the English cuts off the Head of one Osmer, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which falacy Edmund perceaving, and op'nyly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a spear thrown at Edric, that missing him yet flew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recoverd heart, and lay sore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute sensible of his los's, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at London, renewing there his lea'gre. Some would have this Battle at Sherafstan the same with that at Scoraftan before mention'd, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the Procefs of things appears: from Sherafstan or Sharfstan, Edmund return'd to the West-Saxons, whose valour Edric fearing, least it might prevail against the Danes, sought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it swore loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the West-Saxons to London, rais'd the Seige, chafing Canute and his Danes to thir Ships. Then after two daies passing the Thames at Branford, and so coming on thir backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his West-Saxons, and Canute to his Seige, but still in vain; rising therefor thence, he enterd with his Ships a River then call'd Arenne; and from the Banks therof wasted Mercia; thence thir Horse by land, thir Foot by Ship came to Medway. Edmund in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of

55 Malmesb.
many Shires, crossing again at Branford, came into Kent, seeking Canute; encountered him at Otford, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who esca’ed fled to the Ile of Sheppey; and a full Victory he had gain’d, had not Edric still the Traytor by some wile or other detain’d his persuit: and Edmund who never wanted courage, heer wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsak’n of his wonted Fortune. Canute crossing with his Army into Essex, thence wafted Mercia worse then before, and with heavy prey return’d to his Ships: them Edmund with a collected Army persueing, overtook at a place call’d Assandune, or Asseshill, now Ashdown in Essex; the Battel on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceaving the Victory to incline towards Edmund, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis’d Canute, and left the King over-match’t with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, Duke Alfric, Duke Godwin, and Ulfketel the valiant Duke of East-Angles, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not receav’d a greater blow. Yet after a while Edmund not absurdly call’d Ironside, preparing to try again his Fortune in another feild, was hinderd by Edric and others of his faction, advising him to make peace and divide the Kingdome with Canute. To which Edmund over-rul’d, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually giv’n, both Kings met together at a place call’d Deorhirst in Gloshtershire; Edmund on the West side of Severn, Canute on the East with thir Armies, then both in person wafted into an Iland, at that time call’d Olanege, now Alney in the midst of the River; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes

Camden. 56  Ibid. 57  Ibid. 58
and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause therof, others write otherwise; Malmesbury, that Edmund grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to Canute, offering him single Combate, to prevent in their own cause the effusion of more blood than their own; that Canute though of courage enough, yet not unwise doubting to adventure his body of small Timber, against a man of Iron sides, refused the Combate, offering to divide the Kingdom; this offer pleasing both Armies, Edmund was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary Kingdom should rule the West-Saxons, and all the South, Canute the Mercians, and the North. Huntingdon follow'd by Mat. West. relates, that the Peers on every side wearied out with continuall warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'ly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Island was their lifts, the Combate Knightly; till Knute finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King Edmund about the Feast of St. Andrew, unexpectedly deceased at London, and was buried neer to Edgar his Grandfather at Glaston. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, faith Malmesbury, laies the guilt therof upon Edric, who to please Canute, allure'd with promise of reward two of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at first abhoring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. Huntingdon, and Mat. West. relate it done at Oxford by the Son of Edric, and something vary in the manner, not worth

recital. Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign sole King of England, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the Kingdome, whether the Sons and Brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living? they who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his anger, timorously answer'd, that Edmund they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they attest'd what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

Canute having thus founded the Nobility [A. D. 1017], and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the Danish Nobles; wherupon the House of Edmund was renounc't, and Canute Crown'd. Then they enacted, that Edwi Brother of Edmund, a Prince of great hope, should be banish't the Realm. But Canute not thinking himself secure while Edwi liv'd, consulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. Ethelward sent for, and tempted by the King in privat, with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promised to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But Edwi afterwards receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false freinds,
Canute contriving it, the same year slain. Edric also counsel'd him to dispatch Edward and Edmund, the Sons of Ironside; but the King doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in England, sent them to the King of Sweden, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better safety to Solomon King of Hungary; where Edmund at length dy'd, but Edward married Agatha Daughter to Henry the German Emperor. A digression in the Laws of Edward Confessor under the Title of Lex Noricorum faith, that this Edward for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Malefclot King of the Rugians, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. Canute settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the West Saxons to himself, the East Angles to Earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Eric; then made peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in July married Emma the Widow of King Ethelred. The Christmas following was an ill Feast to Edric, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at London in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of Edric fixt on a pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of London, as in a double fence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King Edmund to exalt him above all the Peers of England. Huntingdon, Malmesbury, and Mat. West. write, that suspecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his Mercian Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the Thames. Another writes,
that Eric at the Kings command struck off his head. Other great men though without fault, as Duke Norman the Son of Leofwin, Ethelward Son of Duke Agelmar, he put to death at the same time, jealous of thir power or familiarity with Edric: and notwithstanding peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next year [A. D. 1018], he squee’d out of the English, 61 though now his subjects, not his Enemies, 72, some say, 82 thousand pound, besides 15 thousand out of London. Mean while great War arose at Carr, between Uthred Son of Waldef, Earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm Son of Kened King of Scots, with whom held Eugenius King of Lothian. But heer Simeon the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before, and set Eric in his place: Eric therefore it must needs be, not Uthred, who manag’d this War against the Scots. About which time in a Convention of Danes at Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the Laws of Edgar; Mat. West. faith, of Edward the Elder. The next year [A. D. 1019] Canute fail’d into Denmarke, and there abode all Winter. 62 Huntingdon and Mat. West. say, he went thither to repress the Swedes, and that the night before a Battel to be fought with them, Godwin stealing out of the Camp with his English, assaulted the Swedes, and had got the Victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against Discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the Spring [A. D. 1020] at his return into England, 63 he held in the time of Easter a great assembly at Chirchesteer, and the same year was with Turkill the Dane at the dedication of a Church by them built at Assendune, in

62 Sim. Dun.
63 Ibid.
the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following [A. D. 1021] banished him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by Eric the Northumbrian Earl upon the same jealousy. Nor yet content with his Conquest of England [A. D. 1028], though now above ten years enjoy'd, he pass'd with 50 Ships into Norway, dispossession'd Olave thir King, and subdued the land, first with great sums of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an Army to compel the rest. Thence returning King of England, Denmark, and Norway [A. D. 1029], yet not secure in his mind, under colour of an Embassy he sent into banishment Ha-cun a powerful Dane, who had married the Daughter of his Sister Gunildis, having conceived some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by contrivance the next year [A. D. 1030] in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus established himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, failing [A. D. 1031] again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usual tribute of Romfot, giving great Alms by the way, both therethere and back again, freeing many places of Custom and Toll with great expence, where strangers were wont to pay, having vowed great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter writ'tn from Rome yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to St. Edmund at Bury [A. D. 1032], whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the

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61 Sim. Dun. Malm. 62 Sim. Dun. 63 Sim. Dun. 64 Ibid. 65 Ibid. 66 Ibid. 67 Ibid. 68 Ibid. 69 Huntingd. 70 Sim. Dun.
secular Preists who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir stead; then going into Scotland,\textsuperscript{71} sub- 
du'd and receav'd hommage of Malcolm, and two other 
Kings there, Melbeath, and Jermare. Three years 
after [A. D. 1035] having made Swane his suppos'd 
Son by Algiva of Northamton,\textsuperscript{72} Duke Alshelms 
Daughter (for others say the Son of a Preist whom 
Algiva barren\textsuperscript{73} had got ready at the time of her 
seign'd labour) King of Norway, and Hardecnute his 
Son by Emma King of Denmark, and design'd Harold 
his Son by Algiva of Northamton King of England, 
dy'd at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester in 
the old Monastry.\textsuperscript{74} This King, as appears, ended 
better then he began, for though he seems to have 
had no hand in the Death of Ironside, but detested 
the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to 
him in hope of great reward, forth among his Cour-
tiers, as it were to receave thanks, after they had 
op'ny related the manner of thir killing him, deli-
ver'd them to deserved punishment, yet he spar'd 
Edric whom he knew to be the prime Author of 
that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, 
grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, 
and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, 
then extinguisht Edmund for his sake; angry to be 
so upbraided, therefor said he with a chang'd count-
nance, Traytor to God and to me, thou shalt die; 
thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Mas-
ter my confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. 
Whereupon\textsuperscript{75} although present and privat Execution 
was in rage done upon Edric, yet he himself in cool 
blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and 
Childern of Edmund, who had better right to be the 
Lords Anointed heer then himself. When he had

\textsuperscript{71} Huntingd. \textsuperscript{72} Sim. Dun. \textsuperscript{73} Florent. \textsuperscript{74} Ibid. \textsuperscript{75} Malmf.
obtain'd in England what he desir'd, no wonder if he fought the love of his conquer'd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state, for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard Duke of Normandy her Brother might the less care what became of Elfred and Edward, her Sons by King Ethelred. He commanded to be observ'd the antient Saxon Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of Edward the Confessor, not that hee made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from Rome professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by Denmarke, to compose matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attain'd the utmost of thir ambitions and desires; then to think God appeas'd by thir seeking to bribe him with a share however large of thir ill-gott'n spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit Canute was famous through Europe, and much honour'd of Conrad the Emperour, then at Rome, with rich guifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from Toll and Cushtome. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great Scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small power of Kings in respect of God; which,
unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the state that Royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the Sea: Thou Sea belongeth to me, and the Land wheron I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunish't resisted my commands: I charge thee come no further upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and dash'd him. Wherat the King quickly rising, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court Flatterers who would not else be convinc't, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD.

Harold for his swiftnesse surname'd Harefoot, the Son of Canute by Algiva of Northampton (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a Shoo-makers Wife, as Swane before of a Preist; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenness) in a great Assembly at Oxford, was by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his Fathers Testament, elected King; but without the Regal Habilitments, which Ælnot the Archbishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of Emma, for which Harold ever

after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to inferr) all Religion. Godwin Earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons with him stood for Hardecnute. Malmesbury faith, that the conteft was between Dane and English; that the Danes and Londoners grown now in a manner Danish, were all for Hardecnute; but he being then in Denmarke, Harold prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdom should be divided between them; the West and Southpart reserv'd by Emma for Hardecnute, till his return. But Harold once advanc't into the Throne, banish'd Emma his Mother-in-law, feis'd on his Fathers Treasure at Winchester, and there remain'd. Emma not holding it safe to abide in Normandy while Duke William the Baftrard was yet under Age [A. D. 1036], retir'd to Baldwin Earl of Flanders. In the mean while Alfred and Edward Sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit thir mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how the people were inclin'd to restore them thir right; Elfred was sent for by the King then at London; but in his way met at Guilford by Earl Godwin, who with all seeming freindship entertain'd him, was in the night surpris'd and made Prifn'er, most of his Company put to various Sorts of cruell Death, decimated twice over, then brought to London, was by the King sent bound to Eely, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in thir Custody. Malmesbury gives little credit to this story of Elfred, as not Chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which Emma however hearing, sent away her Son Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all Speed into Normandy. But the Authour of Encomium Emmae, who seems plainly (though

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78 Sim. Dun.
nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for op'ly he durft not) against the life of Emma, fought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of thir mother, inviting them into England, the Copy of which Letter he produces writ'tn to this purpose.

Emma in name only Queen, to her Sons Edward and Alfrid imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, most Dear Sons, and while daily yee are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counfel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, then to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privatly; to receive from me wholsom Counfel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplisht. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own Heart.

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in Normandy, by express Messengers, with presents also as from thir mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Alfrid therefore the younger (for so it was thought beft) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him appearing

on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of Earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her faithfulness adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling assign'd at Bruges by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years [A. D. 1039], she was visited out of Denmarke by Hardecnute her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every Port at 8 marks of Silver to 16 Ships, dy'd at London, some say at Oxford, and was buried at Winchester [A.D. 1040]. After which, most of the Nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send Embassadors to Hardecnute still at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the Scepter, who before Midsomer came with 60 Ships, and many Souldiers out of Denmarke.

HARDECNUTE.

Hardecnute receav'd with acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the injuries done to him or his Mother Emma in the time of Harold; sent Alfric Archbishop of Yorke, Godwin and others, with Troud his Executioner to London, commanding them to dig up the body of King Harold, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second order, into the Thames. Whence tak'n up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in London, belonging to the Danes, it was enterr'd again with honour. This done he levied a fore Tax, that 8 marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet should be paid throughout England; by which time

they who were so forward to call him over, had anough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account Godwin Earl of Kent, and Leving Bishop of Worlter, about the Death of Elfred his Half-Brother, which Alfric the Archbishop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd Leving of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round summe restor'd it to Leving. Godwin made his peace by a sumptuous present, a Gally with a guilded stem bravely rigg'd, and 80 Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of gold on each Arm, weighing 16 ounces, Helmet, Corflet, and Hilts of his Sword guilded; a Danish Curtax lifted with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a Sheild with bofs and nailes guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own counsell or will, but by the command of Harold he had done what he did, to the putting out of Elfreds Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next year [A. D. 1041], Hardecnute sending his Housecarles, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were slain at Worlter by the people; wherat the King enrag'd, sent Leofric Duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, and waft the whole Province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Citizens to a small Iland in Severn, call'd Beverege, which they fortifi'd and defended stoutly, till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But thir City they found lack'd and burnt; wherwith the King was appeas'd. This

81 Malmf. 82 Sim. Dun.
was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he shew’d himself alwayes tenderly affection’d; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindness receav’d, remain’d safely and honorably in his Court. But Hardecnute the year following [A. D. 1042], at a Feast wherein Ofgod a great Danish Lord gave his Daughter in marriage at Lambeth, to Prudon another potent Dane; in the midst of his mirth, found and healthfull to fight, while he was drinking fell down speechles, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good chere; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Dishes and superfluity to all Commers. Wheras, faith Huntingdon, in our time Princes in thir houses made but one meal a day. He gave his Sister Gunildis, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to Henry the Alman Emperour; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our Historians, if they deserve that name, shoulde in a matter so remarkable, and so neer thir owne time, so much differ. Huntingdon relates against the credit of all other records, that Hardecnute thus dead, the English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish yoke, sent over to Elfred the Elder Son of Emma by King Ethelred, of whom we heard but now, that he dy’d Prisner at Eely, sent thether by Harold six years before; that he came now out of Normandy, with a great number of men to receave the Crown; that Earl Godwin aiming to have his Daughter Queen of England by marrying her to Edward a simple youth, for he thought Elfred of a higher Spirit then to accept her, perfuaded the Nobles that Elfred had

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83 Sim. Dun.
brought over too many Normans, had promis’d them lands heer, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and sulttle Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handl’d as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; therupon by common consent of the Nobles, both Elfred and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for Edward out of Normandy, with hostages to be left there of thir faithfull intentions to make him King, and thir desires not to bring over with him many Normans; that Edward at thir call came then first out of Normandy; wheras all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining then in C Cree at the time of his Death. For Hardecnute dead, faith Malmesbury, Edward doubting greatly his own safety, determin’d to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl Godwin, desiring therefor by messengers to have privat speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at last asfenting, Prince Edward came, and would have fall’n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whether out of the Land. Godwin soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of Ethelred, the Grandchild of Edgar, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the power and authority which he had in England, promis’d it should be all his to set him on the Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. Edward,
as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever Godwin requir'd. An Assembly of States therupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and by the powerfull influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Bromton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time was fled into Denmarke, for what he had done to Elfred, return'd and submitted himself to Edward then King, was by him charg'd op'ny with the Death of Elfred, and not without much ado, by the interceffion of Leofric and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

EDWARD the Confessor.

Glad were the English deliverd so unexpectedly from thir Danish Maisters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following [A.D. 1043], Crown'd at Winchester, the same year accompanied with Earl Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thether on a sudden, and by thir Counfel seis'd on the treasure of his Mother Emma. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd Ethelred her former Husband, and thereafter the Childern by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profufe to Monasteries. About this time also King Edward, according to promise, took to Wife Edith or Egith Earl Godwins Daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. Ingulf then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. Edward the next year but one [A.D.

84 Sim. Dun. 85 Malmes.
1045], made ready a strong Navy at Sandwich against Magnus King of Norway, who threat'nd an invasion; had not Swane King of Denmarke diverted him by a War at home to defend his own land [A.D. 1046], not out of good will to Edward, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the Danes, banishing Gunildis the Niece of Canute with her two Sons, and Ofgod by surname Clapa, out of the Realm. Swane over-powred by Magnus, sent the next year [A.D. 1047] to entreat aid of King Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him 50 Ships fraught with Souldiers; but Leofric and the general voice gain-saying, none were sent. The next year [A.D. 1048] Harold Harvager King of Norway sending Embassadors, made peace with King Edward, but an Earthquake at Worfter and Darby, Pestilence and Famin in many places, much lessen'd the enjoyment therof. The next year [A.D. 1049] Henry the Emperour displease'd with Baldwin Earl of Flanders, had streit'nd him with a great Army by land; and sending to King Edward, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by sea. The King thercfere with a great Navy coming to Sandwich, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl Baldwin. Mean while Swane Son of Earl Godwin, who not permitted to marry Edgiva the Abbess of Chester by him deflour'd, had left the land, came out of Denmarke with 8 Ships, feigning a desire to return into the Kings favour; and Beorn his Cousin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earl dome might be restor'd him. Godwin thercfere and Beorn with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to Pevensey (but Godwin soon departing thence in pursuit of 29 Danish Ships who had got

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36 Sim. Dun.  37 Ibid.  68 Ibid.  69 Ibid.  90 Ibid.
much booty on the Coast of Essex, and perish'd by tempest in their return) Swane with his Ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. Beorn mistrusting no evill where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but Swane set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took Beorn now in his power and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of Hastings took six of his Ships and brought them to the King at Sandwich; with the other two he escap'd into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred Bishop of Worster by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the King. About this time King Edward sent to Pope Leo, desiring absolution from a vow, which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to Rome, if God vouchsaf'd him to reign in England; the Pope dispenc'd with his vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monastery built or re-edifi'd to St. Peter: who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose Westminster, which King Edward thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revenues. The same year, faith Florent of Worster, certain Irish Pirats with 36 Ships enterd the mouth of Severn, and with the aid of Griffin Prince of South-Wales, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the River Wey, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred Bishop of Worster, with a few out of Gloster and Herefordshire, went out in haft: but Griffin to whom the Welch and Irish had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the English with his whole power by night, and early in the morning

91 Mat. West.
suddenly assaulting them, flew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one [A. D. 1051], King Edward remitted the Danish Tax, which had continu'd 38 years heavy upon the land since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes, and what remain'd therof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices heer, whom better he might have repaid out of his privat purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conquest. Robert a Monk of that Country, who had bin serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of London, then of Canterbury; William his Chaplain Bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside thir own antient Customes, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great Peers to speak French in thir Houses, in French to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, asham'd of thir own: a presage of thir subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many troubles ensuing, happ'nd this year, and upon this occasion. Eustace Earl of Boloign, Father of the famous Godfrey who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and Husband to Goda the Kings Sister, having bin to visit King Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take Ship at Dover, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by force in a House there, provok'd so the Master therof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole train going to the House where his Servant had bin kill'd, flew both

the slayer and 18 more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the slaughter of 21 more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escapeing; ran back with clamour to the King; whom seconded by other Norman Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great anger against the Cittizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haft is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Cittizens thereof as Enemies. Godwin, sorry to see strangers more favour'd of the King then his native people, answer'd, that it were better to summon first the Cheif men of the Town into the Kings Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfy the King whose peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own County unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeas'd with this refusal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at Glofser, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to summons; but Godwin mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries; with his two Sons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gather'd out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contain'd most of the South-East and West parts of England, came no furder then Beverstan, giving out that thir Forces were to go against the Welch, who intended an irruption into Herefordshire; and Swane under that pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The Welch understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the King, left Godwin detected
of false accusation in great hatred to all the Assembly. Leofric therefore and Siward Dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond Humber, both ever faithfull to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of thir Provinces. Which Godwin not knowing, sent boldly to King Edward, demanding Count Eustace and his followers together with those Bolognians, who as Simeon writes, held a Castle in the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The King as then having but little force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays, till his summond Army drew nigh; then rejected his demands. Godwin thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But Leofric and the wiser fort detesting civil War; brought the matter to this accord, that Hostages giv'n on either side, the whole cause should be again debated at London. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, sent to Godwin and his Sons (who with thir powers were come as far as Southwarke) commanding thir appearance unarm'd with only 12 attendants, and that the rest of thir Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction deny'd; but to dismiss thir Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with honour and the just regard of thir safety. This answer not pleasing the King, an edict was presently issu'd forth, that Godwin and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, Toffi, Swane, and Gyrrha, with as much treasure as thir Ship could carry,
embarking at Thorney, fail'd into Flanders to Earl Baldwin, whose Daughter Judith Tofti had married: for Wulnod his fourth Son was then hostage to the King in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking Ship at Brisfow, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, pass'd into Ireland. King Edward persueing his displeasure, divorc'd his Wife Edith Earl Godwins Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to Warewel with one waiting Maid, to be kept in custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, that she only, while her neerest relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, William Duke of Normandy with a great number of followers coming into England, was by King Edward honorably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, faith Ingulf, no mention thereof pass'd between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next year [A. D. 1052] Queen Emma dy'd, and was buried at Winchester. The Chronicle attributed to John Bromton a Yorkshire Abbot, but rather of some nameless Author living under Edward the 3d or later, reports that the year before, by Robert the Archbishop she was accus'd both of consenting to the Death of her Son Alfred, and of preparing poyson for Edward also; lastly of too much familiarity with Alwin Bishop of Winchester; that to approve her innocence, praying over-night to St. Swithun, she offer'd to pass blindfold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King therupon receav'd her to honour, and from her and the Bishop, penance for

95 Malmf.  
96 Sim. Dun.
his credulity; that the Archbishop afham'd of his accusation fled out of England: which besides the silence of antienter Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspension, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning Plow-shares, Queen Emma gave to the Abbey of St. Swithune nine Mannors, and Bishop Alwin other nine. About this time Griffin Prince of South-Wales wasted Herefordshire; to oppose whom the people of that Country with many Normans, garrisoned in the Castle of Hereford, went out in Armes, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driv'n away by the Welch. Soon after which, Harold and Leofwin, Sons of Godwin, coming into Severn with many Ships, in the Confines of Somerset and Dorsetshire, spoil'd many Villages, and refus'd by thofe of Somerset and Devonshire, flew in fight more than 30 of thir principal men, many of the common fort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King Edward on the other side made ready above 60 Ships at Sandwich well stord with men and provision, under the conduct of Odo and Radulf two of his Norman Kindred, enjoying them to find out Godwin, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himself lay on ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirats. But Godwin, whether in a mist, or by other accident, pass'ing by them, arriv'd in another part of Kent, and dispersing secret messengers abroad, by fair words allur'd the cheif men of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex to his party; which news coming to the Kings fleet at Sandwich, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to London. Godwin advertif'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the
Ile of Wight; where at length his two Sons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hoffility then to furnish themselves with fresh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they set forward to Sandwich, using all fair means by the way to encrease thir numbers both of Mariners and Souldiers. The King then at London, startl’d at these tydings, gave speedy order to raife Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for Godwin within a few days after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River Thames to Southwark, and till the tide return’d had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row’d up in his Gallies along the South bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of battel stood on the shore, then turning toward the North side of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in some readiness, and Land-forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the souldiers on either side soon declar’d thir resolution not to fight English against English. Thence coming to treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil’d, both armies were dissolv’d, Godwin and his sons restor’d to their former dignities, except Swaine, who touch’t in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn his kinsman, was gone bare-foot to Jerusalem, and returning home, dy’d by sickness or Saracens in Lycia; his wife Edith, Godwins daughter, King Edward took to him again, dignify’d as before. Then were the Normans, who had done many unjust things under the Kings authority, and giv’n him ill counsel against his people, banisht the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, William of London, Ulf of Lincoln, all
Normans, hardly escaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Archbishop went with his complaint to Rome; but returning, dy'd in Normandy at the same Monasterie from whence he came. Osbern and Hugh surrender'd thir Castles, and by permission of Leofric pass'd through his Counties with thir Normans to Macbeth King of Scotland. The year following [A. D. 1053] [98] These brother to Griffin, Prince of South Wales, who by inrodes had done much damage to the English, tak'n at Bulendun, was put to death by the Kings appointment, and his head brought to him at Glofør. The same year at Winchester on the second holy-day of Easter, Earl Godwin fitting with the King at table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three sons Harold, Tofti, and Gyrtha, forthwith carried him into the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so feis'd him, that the fifth day after he expir'd. The Normans who hated Godwin give out, faith Malmbury, that mention happ'ning to be made of Elfred, and the King thereat looking fowerly upon Godwin, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these words, Thou, O King, a tvery mention made of thy brother Elfred, look'st frowningly upon me: but let God not suffer me to swallow this morseI, if I be guilty of ought done against his life or thy advantage; that after these words, choak't with the morseI tak'n, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first wife was the sister of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up English Youths and Maids to sell in Denmarke, whereof she made great gain; but ere long was struck with thunder, and dy'd. The year ensuing [A. D. 1054], Siward Earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the Kings appointment, made

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98 Sim. Dun.  99 Ibid.
an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the Tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots with those Normans that went therewith, and placed Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his Sons Death,1 he ask'd whether he receav'd his Deaths wound before or behind? when it was answer'd before, I am glad, faith hee; and shou'd not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King Edward being without Issue to succeed him, sent Al- dred Bishop of Winchester with great presents to the Emperor, entreatyng him to prevail with the King of Hungary, that Edward the remaining Son of his Brother Edmund Ironside, might be sent into England. Siward but one year surviving his great Victory [A. D. 1055], dy'd at Yorke;2 reported by Huntingdon a man of Giant like stature, and by his own demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer soul-dierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with battel-ax and shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War sooneft by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on Tofi the Son of Earl Godwin: and soon after in a Convention held at London, banish'd without visible cause, Huntingdon faith for treason, Algar the Son of Leofric; who passing into Ireland, soon return'd with eighteen ships to Griffin Prince of South Wales, requestyng his aid against King Edward. He assembling his Pow-

1 Huntingd.  
2 Sim. Dun.
ers, enter'd with him into Hereford-shire; whom Ra-
dulf a timorous Captain, Son to the Kings Sister, not
by Eusface, but a former husband, met two miles
distant from Hereford; and having hors'd the English
who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he
with his French and Normans beginning to flie, taught
the English by his example. Griffin and Algar follow-
ing the chase, flew many, wounded more, enter'd
Hereford, flew seven Canons defending the Minster,
burnt the Monasterie and Reliques, then the City;
killing some, leading captive others of the Citizens,
return'd with great spoils; whereof King Edward
having notice, gather'd a great Army at Glofter
under the conduct of Harold now Earl of Kent; who ftren-
uously pursuing Griffin, enter'd Wales, and encamp'd
beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying before him
farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part
of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if oc-
casion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and forti-
fi'd Hereford with a wall and gates. Mean while
Griffin and Algar dreading the diligence of Harold,
after many messages to and fro, concluded a Peace
with him. Algar discharging his fleet with pay at
West Chester, came to the King, and was restor'd to
his Earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the
next year [A.D. 1056] set upon Leofgar the Bishop
of Hereford and his Clerks then at a place call'd
Glasbriag with Agelnoth Vicount of the shire, and flew
them; but Leofric, Harold, and King Edward by
force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, re-
duc'd him to Peace. The next year [A.D. 1057]
Edward Son of Edmund Ironside, for whom his Uncle
King Edward had sent to the Emperour, came out
of Hungary, design'd Successor to the Crown; but
within a few days after his coming dy'd at London,

3 Sim. Dun.  
4 Ibid.
leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also *Edgar Atheling* in a good old age, a man of no less vertue then power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a woman of great praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with *King Edward*, again banish't the year after his Fathers death [A. D. 1058]; but he again by the aid of *Griffin* and a fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom. The next year [A. D. 1059] *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to visit *King Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tofti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore brotherhood: yet the next year but one [A. D. 1061], while *Tofti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly harrafs'd *Northumberland*. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inrodes and robberies of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, *King Edward* sent against him after *Christmas* *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons* [A. D. 1062] with no great body of Horse from *Glofler*, where he then kept his Court, whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap't hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Glofler* the same day: But by the middle of May [A. D. 1063] setting out with a fleet from *Brislow*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his brother *Tofti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welch* giving pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next year [A. D. 1064].

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5 Sim. Dun. 6 Ibid. 7 Ibid. 8 Ibid. 9 Ibid.
tak'n and slain by *Griffin* Prince of North Wales;\(^{10}\) his head with the head and tackle of his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his gentlenes made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his stead; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King swore fealty and tribute. Yet the next year [A. D. 1065] *Harold* having built a fair house at a place call'd *Portasceith* in Monmouth-shire,\(^{11}\) and storr'd it with provision, that the King might lodge there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* slain the year before, came with a number of men, flew all he found there, and took away the provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tofti* their Earl, flew more then 200 of his Souldiers and Servants, pillag'd his Treasure, and put him to flie for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tofti*'s behalf, *Gospatric* a noble man of that Country to be treacherously slain in the Kings Court; and that *Tofti* himself the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir noble men, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their grievances, met with *Harold* at Northampton, whom the King at *Tofti*'s request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyrannie of any Governour whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reason, all the accomplices of *Tofti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself ba-nish't the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead.  

\(^{10}\) *Sim. Dun.*  
\(^{11}\) *Ibid. Camden.*

tells another cause of coast’s banishment, that one
day at Windsor, while Harold reach’d the Cup to
King Edward, coast envying to see his younger Bro-
ther in greater favour then himself, could not forbear
to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair,
the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rush-
ing between, and coast forbid’n the Court. He
with continu’d fury rideing to Hereford, where Har-
old had many Servants, preparing an entertainment
for the King, came to the House and set upon them
with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Armes, 
Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into
Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in
for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg’d them to send him this word, that of other
fresh meats he might bring with him to his Farm
what he pleas’d, but of Soufe he should find plenty
provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act
the King pronounc’d him banisht; that the North-
umbrians taking advantage at the Kings displeasure
and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng’d of
his cruelties done to themselves; but this no way
agrees, for why then should Harold or the King so
much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit
him, if he were a banisht man for his Crimes done
before? About this time it happ’nd that Harold
putting to Sea one day for his pleasure, in a Fisher
Boat, from his Mannor at Bosham in Sussex, caught
with a Tempest too far off land, was carried into
Normandy; and by the Earl of Pontieu, on whose
Coast he was driv’n, at his own request brought to
Duke William; who entertaining him with great
courtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by
Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of Dover
then in his tenure, but the Kingdome also after King

12 Malm. 
Edwards Death to his utmost endeavour, therupon betrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that King Edwards himself after the Death of Edward his Nephew, sent Harold thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke William with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but Malmesbury accounts the former story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that King Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of Godwins Sons, who would never obey him; Duke William on the other side of high merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that King Edward upon such considerations had sent one or other; but Archbishop Robert was fled the land, and dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the Kings permission or connivence, to get free his Brother Wulnod and Nephew Hacun the Son of Swane, whom the King had tak'n hostages of Godwin and sent into Normandy; that King Edward foretold Harold, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England and his own reproach; that Duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward ere his coming to the Crown had promised, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke William Successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold to get free of Duke William, affirm'd his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that privat manner to enter with him into secret confederacie; so variously

13 Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor.
are these things reported. After this [A.D. 1066] King Edward grew sickly,⁴ yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the Dedication of St. Peters Church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of Epiphanie, or Twelftide, deces’d much lamented, and in the Church was Entoomb’d. That he was harmless and simple, is conjecturd by his words in anger to a Peasant who had cross’d his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) by God and Gods Mother, said hee, I shall do you as shrew’d a turn if I can; observing that Law-Maxim, the best of all his Successors, that the King of England can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining that Robert the Archbimop was a fower of dissention between the King and his people, a traducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equall share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity,⁵ that through thir power in the land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose inheritance they took a likeing, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his Sons did many things boistrously and violently, much against the Kings minde; which not able to resift, he had, as some say, his Wife Edith Godwins Daughter in such averlation, as in bed never to have touch’d her; whether for this cause or mistak’n Chasitie, not commendable, to enquire further is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after desir’d by the English of thir Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puft up with the costly Robes he

⁴ Sim. Dun. ⁵ Huntingd.
wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almif-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charitie. He is said to be the first of English Kings that cur’d the Diseafe call’d thence the Kings Evil; yet Malmfbury blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie; said also to have cur’d certain blinde men with the water wherein he had waft’d his hands. A little before his Death, lying speechlefs two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Vifion, not an Illufion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in Normandy, to have liv’d and dy’d well, who appearing told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretell, that because the great ones of England, Dukes, Lords, Bifhops, and Abbots, were not Minifters of God but of the Devil, God had deliver’d the Land to thir Enemies; and when he desir’d that he might reveal this Vifion, to the end they might repent, it was anfwer’d; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them; at this relation others trembling, Stigand the Simonious Archbifhop, whom Edward much to blame had suffer’d many years to fit Primate in the Church, is said to have laugh’t, as at the feavourish Dream of a doteing old man; but the event prov’d it true.

**HAROLD, Son of Earl Godwin.**

Harold, whether by King Edward a little before his Death ordain’d Successor to the Crown, as Simeon of Durham, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his faction, excluding Edgar the right Heir, Grandchild to Edmund Ironfide, as Malmfbury
and Huntingdon agree, no sooner was the Funeral of King Edward ended, but on the same day was elected and Crown'd King: and no sooner plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evill doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Theeves, Robbers, and all disturbers of the peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labourd in the defence of his Country: so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing Star, 7 Mornings together, about the end of April, was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great changes approaching: plainlyest prognosticated by Elmer a Monk of Malmbsury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather air, he flew more then a Furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the caufe of his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness therof, I thought worthy anough the placing as I found it plac't in my Authour. But to digress no farther, Toji the Kings Brother coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger Brothers advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therfore them of Wight Ile to contribution, he sail'd thence to Sandwich, committing Piracies on the Coast between. Harold then residing at London, with
a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in person for Sandwich: wherof Tofti having notice, directs his course with 60 Ships towards Lindsey,\(^{17}\) taking with him all the Sea-men he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian Duke, and Morcar his Brother, the Northumbrian Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm the Scottifh King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke William sending Embassadors to admonish Harold of his promise and Oath, to affift him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answver, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath,\(^{18}\) or not Dead, he could not take her now an out-landifh woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the right of the Kingdome; that what he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his Prifner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expec[t of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with univerfal favour and acclamation of the people: to this flat deniall he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, faith Mathew Paris, on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemp- tuoufly put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his cause, which Harold, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to Rome were stop'd, fought not to do. Duke William, besides the promise and Oath of Harold, al- leg'd that King Edward, by the advice of Seward, Godwin himself, and Stigand the Archbishop, had

\(^{17}\) Malmf.

\(^{18}\) Eadmer.
giv'n him the right of succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of Godwin, pledges of the guiſt; the Pope sent to Duke William, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated Banner. Wherupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skil and mature Age, came in August to the Port of St. Valerie. Mean while Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he fails to the Ile of Wight; and having heard of Duke William's preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But ere the middle of September, provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, Harold Harvager King of Norway, with a Navy of more then 500 great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of Tine; to whom Earl Toſi with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set fail with all speed and enter'd the River Humber. Thence turning into Oufe, as far as Rical, landed; and won Yorke by assault. At these tideings Harold with all his power hafts thetherward; but ere his coming, Edwin and Morcar at Fulford by Yorke, on the North side of Oufe, about the Feast of St. Mathew had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn thir backs, more of them perish'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hostages out of Yorke, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fift day after, King Harold with a great and well appointed Army, coming to York,
and at Stamford-Bridge, or Battell-Bridge on Darwent, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with Harfager thir King, and Tosli his own Brother. But Olave the Kings Son, and Paul Earl of Orkney, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, surrendering themselves with Hostages and Oath giv’n never to return as Enemies, he sufferd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the small remnant of thir Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott’n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour against the whole English Army, with his single resistance delai’d thir Victorie; and scorning offered life, till in the end no man dareing to graple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemn’d as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op’nd the passage of persuit to a compleat Victorie. Wherwith Harold lifted up in minde, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deserved share of the spoils. While these things thus past in Northumberland, Duke William lay still at St. Valerie; his Ships were readie, but the wind serv’d not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of thir success; at laft the wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900 Ships with a prosperous gale arriv’d at Hastings. At his going out of the Boat by a flip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that thir Duke had tak’n possession of England. Landed, he restrain’d his Army from waft and spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of Alexander and

50 Camd.  21 Malmf.  22 Sim. Dun.
Caesar, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir story. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Castle of Hastings, or built a Fortres there. Harold secure the while and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but fitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in France, was arriv'd at Pevensey. Harold who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was October; with his Forces much diminish't after two fore conflicts and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haft marches to London. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into Sussex (for he was always in haft since the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, findes the Duke about 9 mile from Hastings, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies: them, discoverd such, the Duke caus'ing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests; for they saw thir faces all over shav'n; the English then ufeing to let grow on thir upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did antiently the Britans. The King laughing anfwer'd, that they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said Girta his Brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy felf to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke William by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may juftly fight in the defence of our Country; thou referv'd to fitter time, maift either re-unite us flying, or revenge
us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, least it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of Duke William sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only answer hastily deliverd, let God judge between us. The offers were these, that Harold would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by single Combate in the fight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope. These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all night, the Normans from confession of thir sins and communion of the hoft. The English were in a streit disadvantagious place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with gold and precious Stones. The Norman Foot, most Bowmen, made the formost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corflet giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, the strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom. Then the whole Army singing the song of Rowland, the remembrance of whose exploits might hart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main body of English Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into op'n disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and
fill’d up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to Evening; when Harold having maintain’d the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unweared Enemy. With Harold fell also his two Brothers, Leofwin, and Githa, with them greatest part of the English Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke presently turn’d out of military service. Of Normans and French were slain no small number; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice Horses kill’d under him. Victory obtain’d, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the body of Harold to his mother without ransom, though she offer’d very much to redeem it, which having receav’d, she buried at Waltham, in a Church built there by Harold. In the mean while, Edwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his Death, came to London; sending Aldgith the Queen thir Sister with all speed to West-Chefser. Aldred Archbishop of York, and many of the Nobles, with the Londoners would have set up Edgar the right Heir, and prepar’d themselves to fight for him; but Morcar and Edwin not likeing the choice, who each of them expected to have been chos’n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return’d home. Duke William contrary to his former resolution, if Florent of Worfier, and they who follow him say true, 23 wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as faith Malmfby, not in hostile but in regal manner came up to London, met at Barcham by Edgar, with the

23 Sim. Dun.
Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave hostages, and swore fidelity, he to them promised peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to London with all his Army, he was on Christmas day solemnly Crown'd in the great Church at Westminster, by Aldred Archbishop of York, having first given his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the people, to defend the Church, well govern the people, maintain right Law; prohibit rapine and unjust judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native King, were constrained to take the Yoke of an out-landish Conquerer. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmesbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in Edward the Confessors daies, had lost all good literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itself no fault, yet to their Consciences was irreligious. The great men gave to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their Daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the Stews, the meaner sort tippling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunk'ness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to William their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to en-
joy prosperous daies with the good, so his severity oft
times exempts not good men from thir share in evil times
with the bad.

If these were the Causes of such misery and thral-
dom to those our Ancestors, with what better close
can be concluded, then here in fit season to remem-
ber this Age in the midst of her security, to fear
from like Vices without amendment the Revolution
of like Calamities.
A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes:

Shewing that it is not lawfull for any power on earth to compell in matters of Religion.

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England with the dominions thereof.

Have prepar'd, supream Council, against the much expected time of your sitting, this treatise; which, though to all Christian magistrates equally belonging, and threfore to have bin written in the common language of Christendom, natural dutie and affection hath confin'd, and dedicated first to my own nation: and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labor and interrup:tion: of two parts usually propos'd, civil and ecclesiastical, recommending civil only to your proper care, ecclesiastical to them only from whom it takes both that name and nature. Yet not for this cause only do I require or trust to finde acceptance, but in a two-fold respect besides: first as bringing clear evidence of scripture and protestant maxims to the Parlament of England, who in all thir late acts, upon occasion, have professed to assert only the true protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the holy scriptures: next, in regard that your power being but for a time, and having in your selves a Christian libertie of your own, which at one time or other may be oppress'd, therof truly sensible, it will concern you while you are in power, so to regard other mens consciences, as you would your own should be regarded in the
power of others; and to consider that any law against conscience is alike in force against any conscience, and so may one way or other justly redound upon your selves.

One advantage I make no doubt of, that I shall write to many eminent persons of your number, alreadie perfe& and resolv'd in this important article of Christianitie. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for several years, at a counsell next in autoritie to your own, so well joining religion with civil prudence, and yet so well distinguishing the different power of either, and this not only voting, but frequently reasoning why it should be so, that if any there present had bin before of an opinion contrary, he might doubtlesly have departed thence a convert in that point, and have confessd, that then both commonwealth and religion will at length, if ever, flourish in Christendom, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or they only who do discern shall be admitted to govern. Till then nothing but troubles, persecutions, commotions can be expected; the inward decay of true religion among our selves, and the utter overthrow at last by a common enemy. Of civil libertie I have written heretofore by the appointment, and not without the approbation of civil power: of Christian liberty I write now; which others long since having don with all freedom under heathen emperors, I should do wrong to suspe& that I now shall with less under Christian governors, and such especially as profess openly thir defence of Christian Libertie; although I write this not other wise appointed or induc'd then by an inward perswasion of the Christian dutie which I may usefully discharge herin to the common Lord and Master of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, first and chieuest to be sought: In the hand of whose providence I remain, praying all success and good event on your publick counsels to the defence of true religion and our civil rights.

John Milton.
A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.

Two things there be which have bin ever found working much mischief to the church of God, and the advancement of truth; force on the one side restraining, and hire on the other side corrupting the teachers thereof. Few ages have bin since the ascension of our Saviour, wherein the one of these two, or both together have not prevaild. It can be at no time therfore unseasonable to speak of these things; since by them the church is either in continual detriment and oppression, or in continual danger. The former shall be at this time my argument; the latter as I shall finde God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. What I argue, shall be drawn from the scripture only; and therin from true fundamental principles of the gospel; to all knowing Christians undeniable. And if the governors of this commonwealth since the rooting out of prelats have made leaft use of force in religion, and moft have favord Christian liberty of any in this Iland before them since the first preaching of the gospel, for which we are not to forget our thanks to God, and their due praise, they may, I doubt not, in this treatise finde that which not only will confirm them to defend still the Christian liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them also to enlarge it, if in aught they yet straiten it. To them who perhaps herafter, lefs experience'd
in religion, may come to govern or give us laws, this or other such, if they please, may be a timely in-
struction: however to the truth it will be at all times
no unneedfull testimonie; at least some discharge of
that general dutie which no Christian but according
to what he hath receiv'd, knows is requir'd of him
if he have aught more conducing to the advancement
of religion then what is usually endeavouurd, freely to
impart it.

It will require no great labor of exposition to un-
fold what is here meant by matters of religion; being
as soon apprehended as defin'd, such things as belong
chiefly to the knowledge and service of God: and are
either above the reach and light of nature without
revelation from above, and therefore liable to be va-
riously understood by humane reason, or such things
as are enjoind or forbidden by divine precept, which
els by the light of reason would seem indifferent to
be don or not don; and so likewise must needs ap-
peer to everie man as the precept is understood.
Whence I here mean by conscience or religion, that
full perswasion whereby we are assur'd that our be-
leef and practife, as far as we are able to apprehend
and probably make appeer, is according to the will
of God and his Holy Spirit within us, which we
ought to follow much rather then any law of man,
as not only his word every where bids us, but the
very dictate of reason tells us. Acts 4, 19. wheth-
it be right in the sight of God, to hearken to you more
then to God, judge ye. That for beleef or practife in
religion according to this conscientious perswasion no
man ought to be punishd or molested by any outward
force on earth whatsoever, I distrust not, through
Gods implor'd assittance, to make plane by these fol-
lowing arguments.

Firft it cannot be deni'd, being the main founda-
tion of our protestant religion, that we of these ages,
having no other divine rule or authoritie from without us warrantable to one another as a common ground but the holy scripture, and no other within us but the illumination of the Holy Spirit so interpreting that scripture as warrantable only to our selves and to such whose consciences we can so perswade, can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the scriptures. And these being not possible to be understood without this divine illumination, which no man can know at all times to be in himself, much less to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows cleerly, that no man or body of men in these times can be the infallible judges or determiners in matters of religion to any other mens consciences but thir own. And therfore those Beroeans are commended, Act. 17, 11, who after the preaching even of S. Paul, searchd the scriptures daily, whether those things were so. Nor did they more then what God himself in many places commands us by the same apostle, to search, to try, to judge of these things our selves: And gives us reason also, Gal. 6, 4, 5, let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall bear his own burden. If then we count it so ignorant and irreligious in the papist to think himself discharged in Gods account, beleeving only as the church beleevs, how much greater condemnation will it be to the protestant his condemner, to think himself justified, beleeving only as the state beleevs? With good cause therfore it is the general consent of all sound protestant writers, that neither traditions, counsels nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the scripture only can be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself. Which protestation made by the first publick reformers of our religion
against the imperial edicts of Charls the fifth, imposing church-traditions without scripture, gave first beginning to the name of Protestant; and with that name hath ever bin receivd this doctrine, which preferring the scripture before the church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture sole interpreter of it self to the conscience. For if the church be not sufficient to be implicitly beleevd, as we hold it is not, what can there els be nam’d of more autoritie then the church but the conscience; then which God only is greater, 1 Job. 3, 20? But if any man shall pretend, that the scripture judges to his conscience forother men, he makes himself greater not only then the church, but also then the scripture, then the consciences of other men; a presumption too high for any mortal; since every true Christian able to give a reason of his faith, hath the word of God before him, the promised Holy Spirit, and the minde of Chrift within him, 1 Cor. 2, 16; a much better and safer guide of conscience, which as far as concerns himself he may far more certainly know then any outward rule impos’d upon him by others whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at least knows nothing of them more sure then this one thing, that they cannot be his judges in religion. 1 Cor. 2, 15, the spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man. Chiefly for this cause do all true protestants account the pope antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this infallibilitie over both the conscience and the scripture; sitting in the temple of God, as it were opposite to God, and exalting himself above all that is called god, or is worshipd, 2 Theff. 2, 4. That is to say not only above all judges and magistrates, who though they be calld gods, are far beneath infallible, but also above God himself, by giving law both to the scripture, to the conscience, and to the spirit it self of God within us. Whenas we
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find, James 4, 12, there is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another? That Christ is the only lawgiver of his church and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well grounded Christian will deny. Thus also S. Paul, Rom. 14, 4, who art thou that judgest the servant of another? to his own Lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand. As therfore of one beyond expression bold and presumptuous, both these apostles demand, who art thou that presum'ft to impose other law or judgment in religion then the only lawgiver and judge Christ, who only can save and can destroy, gives to the conscience? And the forecited place to the Thesalonians by compar'd effects resolvs us, that be he or they who or wherever they be or can be, they are of far lefs autoritie then the church, whom in these things as protestants they receive not, and yet no lefs antichrift in this main point of antichristianism, no lefs a pope or popedom then he at Rome, if not much more; by setting up supremam interpreters of scripture either those doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worse, themselves as a civil papacie assuming unaccountable supremacie to themselves not in civil only but ecclesiastical causes. Seeing then that in matters of religion, as hath been prov'd, none can judge or determin here on earth, no not church-governors themselves against the consciences of other beleevers, my inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviours own, that in those matters they neither can command nor use constraint; lest they run rashly on a pernicious consequence, forewarned in that parable Mat. 13, from the 26 to the 31 verse: leaft while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares &c. whereby he declares that this work
neither his own ministers nor any else can discerningly or judgingly perform without his own immediate direction, in his own fit season; and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirmed 2 Cor. 1, 24. *not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.* If apostles had no dominion or constraining power over faith or conscience, much less have ordinary ministers. 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3. *feed the flock of God not by constraint &c. neither as being lords over Gods heritage.* But some will object, that this overthrows all church-discipline, all censure of errors, if no man can determine. My answer is, that what they hear is plane scripture; which forbids not church-sentence or determining, but as it ends in violence upon the conscience unconvinced. Let who so will interpret or determine, so it be according to true church-discipline; which is exercis’d on them only who have willingly joined themselves in that covenant of union, and proceeds only to a separation from the rest, proceeds never to any corporal enforcement or forfeiture of money; which in spiritual things are the two arms of Antichrist, not of the true church; the one being an inquisition, the other no better then a temporal indulgence of sin for money, whether by the church exacted or by the magistrate; both the one and the other a temporal satisfaction for what Christ had satisfied eternally; a popish commuting of penaltie, corporal for spiritual; a satisfaction to man especially to the magistrate, for what and to whom we owe none: these and more are the injustices of force and fining in religion, besides what I most insist on, the violation of Gods express commandment in the gospel, as hath bin shewn. Thus then if church-governors cannot use force in religion, though but for this reason, because they cannot infallibly determine to the conscience without convincement, much less have
civil magistrates autoritie to use force where they
can much less judge; unless they mean only to be
the civil executioners of them who have no civil
power to give them such commission, no nor yet
ecclesiastical to any force or violence in religion.
To summe up all in brief, if we must beleeve as the
magistrate appoints, why not rather as the church?
if not as either without convencement, how can force
be lawfull? But some are ready to cry out, what
shall then be don to blasphemie? Them I would
first exhort not thus to terrifie and pose the people
with a Greek word: but to teach them better what
it is; being a most usual and common word in that
language to signifie any slander, any malitious or evil
speaking, whether against God or man or any thing
to good belonging: blasphemie or evil speaking
against God malitiously, is far from conscience in
religion; according to that of Marc. 9. 39. there is
none who doth a powerfull work in my name, and can
likely speak evil of me. If this suffice not, I referre
them to that prudent and well deliberated act August
9. 1650; where the Parlament defines blasphemie
against God, as far as it is a crime belonging to civil
judicature, pleniûs ac meliûs Chrysipo & Crantor;
in plane English more warily, more judicioufly, more
orthodoxally than twice thir number of divines have
don in many a prolix volume: although in all like-
lihood they whose whole studie and profession these
things are should be most intelligent and authentic
therin, as they are for the most part, yet neither they
nor these unnerring always or infallible. But we
shall not carrie it thus; another Greek appariotion
stands in our way, herezie and heretie; in like man-
ner also rail’d at to the people as in a tongue un-
known. They should first interpret to them, that
herezie, by what it signifieth in that language, is no
word of evil note; meaning only the choiﬂe or fol-
lowing of any opinion good or bad in religion or any
other learning: and thus not only in heathen authors,
but in the New testament it self without censur e or
blame. 

Aets 15. 5. certain of the heresie of the Pharifes
which beleevd, and 26. 5. after the exacteﬆ heresie of our
religion I livd a Pharifie. In which sense Presbyterian
or Independent may without reproach be called a here-
sie. Where it is mentioned with blame, it seems to
differ little from schism I Cor. 11. 18, 19. I hear that
there be schisms among you &c. for there must also heresies
be among you &c.; though some who write of heresie
after their own heads, would make it far worse then
schism; whenas on the contrarie, schism signifies divi-

tion, and in the worst sense; heresie, choife only of one
opinion before another, which may bee without dis-
cord. In apostolic times therefore ere the scripture was
written, heresie was a doctrin maintaîned against the
doctrin by them deliverd: which in these times can be
no otherwise defin'd then a doctrin maintaîned against
the light, which we now only have, of the scripture.

Seeing therfore that no man, no synod, no session of
men, though calld the church, can judge definitively
the sense of scripture to another mans conscience,
which is well known to be a general maxim of the
Protestant religion, it follows planely, that he who
holds in religion that beleef or those opinions which
to his conscience and utmoﬆ understanding appeer
with mosﬆ evidence or probabilitie in the scripture,
though to others he seem erroneous, can no more be
justly censur'd for a heretic then his censurers; who
do but the same thing themselves while they cenfure
him for so doing. For ask them, or any Protestant,
which hath mosﬆ autoritie, the church or the scrip-
ture? they will answer, doubtleß, that the scripture:
and what hath mosﬆ autoritie, that no doubt but they
will confess is to be followd. He then who to his
best apprehension follows the scripture, though
against any point of doctrine by the whole church receivd, is not the heretic; but he who follows the church against his conscience and persuasion grounded on the scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I shall only borrow a plane similitude, the same which our own writers, when they would demonstrate planeft that we rightly preferre the scripture before the church, use frequently against the Papift in this manner. As the Samaritans beleevd Christ, first for the womans word, but next and much rather for his own, so we the scripture; first on the churches word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the word of God; yea the church it self we beleev then for the scripture. The inference of it self follows: if by the Protestant doctrine we beleev the scripture not for the churches saying, but for its own as the word of God, then ought we to beleev what in our conscience we apprehend the scripture to say, though the visible church with all her doctors gain-say; and being taught to beleev them only for the scripture, they who so do are not heretics, but the best protestants: and by their opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no protestant, whose rule is not to receive them but from the scripture: which to interpret convincingly to his own conscience none is able but himself guided by the Holy Spirit; and not so guided, none then he to himself can be a worse deceiver. To protestants therefore whose common rule and touchstone is the scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equitie, nothing more protestantly can be permitted then a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by scripture: concluding, that no man in religion is properly a heretic at this day, but he who maintains traditions or opinions not probable by scripture; who, for aught I know, is the papift only; he the only heretic, who
counts all heretics but himself. Such as these, indeed, were capitally punished by the law of Moses, as the only true heretics, idolaters, plane and open deferters of God and his known law: but in the gospel such are punished by excommunication only. Tit. 3. 10. an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject. But they who think not this heavy enough and understand not that dreadful aw and spiritual efficacie which the apostle hath expressed so highly to be in church-discipline, 2 Cor. 10. of which anon, and think weakly that the church of God cannot long subsist but in a bodilie fear, for want of other proofw will needs wrest that place of S. Paul Rom. 13. to set up civil inquisition, and give power to the magistrate both of civil judgment and punishment in causes ecclesiaftical. But let us see with what strength of argument. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. First, how prove they that the apostle means other powers then such as they to whom he writes were then under; who medld not at all in ecclesiasftical causes, unless as tyrants and persecuters; and from them, I hope, they will not derive either the right of magistrates to judge in spiritual things, or the dutie of such our obedience. How prove they next, that he intitles them here to spiritual causes, from whom he withheld, as much as in him lay, the judging of civil; 1 Cor. 6. 1, &c. If he himself appealed to Cesar, it was to judge his innocenc, not his religion. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil, then are they not a terror to conscience, which is the rule or judge of good works grounded on the scripture. But heresie, they say, is reck’nd among evil works Gal. 5. 20: as if all evil works were to be punished by the magistrate; wherof this place, thir own citation, reck’ns up besides heresie a sufficient number to confute them; uncleanness, wantonness, enmitie, strife, emulations, animosities, conten-
tions, envyings; all which are far more manifest to be 
judged by him then heretie, as they define it; and yet 
I suppose they will not subject these evil works nor 
many more such like to his cognisance and punish-
ment. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do 
that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the 
same. This shews that religious matters are not here 
meant; wherein from the power here spoken of they 
could have no praise. For he is the minister of God to thee 
for good; true; but in that office and to that end and by 
those means which in this place must be clearly found, 
if from this place they intend to argue. And how for 
thy good by forcing, oppressing and insnaring thy con-
science? Many are the ministers of God, and their 
offices no less different then many; none more different 
then state and church-government. Who seeks to go-
vern both must needs be worse then any lord prelat or 
church-pluralist: for he in his own facultie and pro-
fection, the other not in his own and for the most part 
not throughly understood makes himself suprem lord 
or pope of the church as far as his civil jurisdiction 
stretches, and all the ministers of God therin, his 
ministers, or his curates rather in the function onely, 
ot in the government: while he himself assumes to 
rule by civil power things to be rul'd only by spiritual: 
when at this very chapter v. 6 appointing him his 
peculiar office, which requires utmost attendance, 
forbids him this worse then church-plurality from 
that full and weightie charge, wherein alone he is the 
minister of God, attending continually on this very thing. 
To little purpose will they here instance Moses, who 
did all by immediate divine direction, no nor yet Asa, 
Jehosaphat, or Josia, who both might when they 
pleasd receive answer from God, and had a common-
wealth by him deliverd them, incorporated with a 
national church exercis'd more in bodily then in 
spiritual worship, so as that the church might be calld
in Ecclesiastical Causes.

a commonwealth and the whole commonwealth a
church: nothing of which can be said of Christianity,
delivered without the help of magistrates, yea in
the midst of thir opposition; how little then with
any reference to them or mention of them, save
only of our obedience to thir civil laws, as they
countenance good and deter evil: which is the pro-
per work of the magistrate, following in the same
verse, and shews distinctly wherein he is the minister
of God, a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth
evil. But we must first know who it is that doth
evil: the heretic they say among the first. Let it
be known then certainly who is a heretic: and that
he who holds opinions in religion professedly from
tradition or his own inventions and not from Scrip-
ture but rather against it, is the only heretic; and
yet though such, not always punishable by the ma-
gistrate, unless he do evil against a civil Law, pro-
perly so calld, hath been already prov'd without need
of repetition. But if thou do that which is evil, be
afraid. To do by scripture and the gospel accord-
ing to conscience is not to do evil; if we therof ought
not to be afraid, he ought not by his judging to give
cause: causes thersore of Religion are not here meant.
For he beareth not the sword in vain. Yes altogether
in vain, if it smite he knows not what; if that for
heresie which not the church it self, much less he,
can determine absolutely to be so; if truth for error,
being himself so often fallible, he bears the sword
not in vain only, but unjustly and to evil. Be sub-
ject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake: how
for conscience sake against conscience? By all these
reasons it appears planely that the apostle in this
place gives no judgment or coercive power to magis-
thrates, neither to those then nor these now in matters
of religion; and exhorts us no otherwise then he ex-
horted those Romans. It hath now twice befaln me
to assert, through God's assistance, this most wrested and vexed place of scripture; heretofore against Sal-
masius and regal tyranny over the state; now against Eras-tus and state-tyranny over the church. If from such uncertain or rather such improbable grounds as these they endue magistracie with spiritual judgment, they may as well invest him in the same spiritual kind with power of utmost punishment, excommunication; and then turn spiritual into corporal, as no worse authors did then Chrysostom, Jerom and Austin, whom Erasmus and others in their notes on the New Testament have cited to interpret that cutting off which S. Paul wished to them who had brought back the Galatians to circumcision, no less then the amercement of their whole virilitie; and Grotius adds that this concisely punishment of cir-
cumcisers became a penal law therupon among the Visigothes: a dangerous example of beginning in the spirit to end so in the flesh: whereas that cutting off much likelier seems meant a cutting off from the church, not unusually so termed in scripture, and a zealous imprecation, not a command. But I have mentiond this passage to shew how absurd they often prove who have not learnt to distinguish rightly be-
tween civil power and ecclesiastical. How many persecutions then, imprisonments, banishments, pe-
nalties and stripes; how much bloodshed have the forcers of conscience to answer for, and protestants rather then papists? For the papist, judging by his principles, punishes them who believe not as the church believes though against the scripture: but the protestant, teaching every one to believe the scripture though against the church, counts heretical and persecutes, against his own principles, them who in any particular so believe as he in general teaches them; them who most honor and believe divine scripture, but not against it any humane interpreta-
tion though universal; them who interpret scripture only to themselves, which by his own position none but they to themselves can interpret; them who use the scripture no otherwise by his own doctrine to thir edification, then he himself uses it to thir punishing: and so whom his doctrine acknowledges a true beleever, his discipline persecutes as a heretic. The papift exacts our beleef as to the church due above scripture; and by the church, which is the whole people of God, understands the pope, the general councls prelatical only and the furnam'd fathers: but the forcing protestant though he deny such beleef to any church whatsoever, yet takes it to himself and his teachers, of far less authoritie then to be calld the church and above scripture beleev'd: which renders his practise both contrarie to his beleef, and far worse then that beleef which he condemns in the papift. By all which well considerd, the more he professe to be a true protestant, the more he hath to answer for his persecuting then a papift. No protestant therfore of what sect soever following scripture only, which is the common sect wherein they all agree, and the granted rule of everie mans conscience to himself, ought, by the common doctrine of protestants, to be forc'd or molested for religion. But as for poperie and idolatrie, why they also may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much less to say. Their religion the more considerd, the less can be acknowledgd a religion; but a Roman principalitie rather, endeavouring to keep up her old universal dominion under a new name and meer shaddow of a catholic religion; being indeed more rightly nam'd a catholic heresie against the scripture; supported mainly by a civil, and, except in Rome, by a forein power: juftly therfore to be suspected, not tolerated by the magiftrate of another countrey. Besides, of an implicit faith, which they profes, the conscience
also becomes implicit; and so by voluntarie servitude to mans law, forfeits her Christian libertie. Who then can plead for such a conscience, as being implicitly enthralld to man instead of God, almost becomes no conscience, as the will not free, becomes no will. Nevertheless if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for just reason of state more then of religion; which they who force, though professing to be protestants, deserve as little to be tolerated themselves, being no les guiltie of poperie in the most popish point. Lastly, for idolatrie, who knows it not to be evidently against all scripture both of the Old and New Testament, and therfore a true heresie, or rather an impietie; wherein a right conscience can have naught to do; and the works thereof so manifest, that a magistrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at least the publick and scandalous use thereof.

From the riddance of these objections I proceed yet to another reason why it is unlawfull for the civil magistrate to use force in matters of religion; which is, because to judge in those things, though we should grant him able, which is prov’d he is not, yet as a civil magistrate he hath no right. Christ hath a government of his own, sufficient of it self to all his ends and purposes in governing his church; but much different from that of the civil magistrate; and the difference in this verie thing principally consists, that it governs not by outward force, and that for two reasons. First because it deals only with the inward man and his actions, which are all spiritual and to outward force not lyable: secondly to shew us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able without worldly force to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only. That the inward man is nothing els but the inward part of man, his un-
derstanding and his will, and that his actions thence proceeding, yet not simply thence but from the work of divine grace upon them, are the whole matter of religion under the gospel, will appear plainely by considering what that religion is; whence we shall perceive yet more plainely that it cannot be forc'd. 

What evangelic religion is, is told in two words, faith and charitie; or beleef and practice. That both these flow either the one from the understanding, the other from the will, or both jointly from both, once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerat and wrought on by divine grace, is in part evident to common sense and principles unquestioned, the rest by scripture: concerning our beleef, Mat. 16. 17. flesh and blood bath not reveald it unto thee, but my father which is in heaven: concerning our practice, as it is religious and not meerly civil, Gal. 5. 22, 23 and other places declare it to be the fruit of the spirit only. Nay our whole practical dutie in religion is containd in charitie, or the love of God and our neighbour, no way to be forc'd, yet the fulfilling of the whole law; that is to say, our whole practice in religion. If then both our beleef and practice, which comprehend our whole religion, flow from faculties of the inward man, free and unconstraineable of themselves by nature, and our practice not only from faculties endu'd with freedom, but from love and charitie besides, incapable of force, and all these things by transgression lost, but renewd and regenerated in us by the power and gift of God alone, how can such religion as this admit of force from man, or force be any way appli'd to such religion, especially under the free offer of grace in the gospel, but it must forthwith frustrate and make of no effect both the religion and the gospel? And that to compell outward profession, which they will say perhaps ought to be compell'd though inward reli-
gion cannot, is to compell hypocrisie not to advance religion, shall yet, though of it self cleer enough, be ere the conclusion further manifested. The other reason why Christ rejects outward force in the goverment of his church, is, as I said before, to shew us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able without worldly force to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only: by which to uphold religion otherwise then to defend the religious from outward violence, is no service to Christ or his kingdom, but rather a disparagement, and degrades it from a divine and spiritual kingdom to a kingdom of this world: which he denies it to be, because it needs not force to confirm it: Joh. 18. 36. if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews. This proves the kingdom of Christ not governed by outward force; as being none of this world, whose kingdoms are maintaind all by force onely: and yet disproves not that a Christian commonwealth may defend itself against outward force in the cause of religion as well as in any other; though Christ himself, coming purposely to dye for us, would not be so defended. 1 Cor. 1. 27. God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. Then surely he hath not chosen the force of this world to subdue conscience and conscientious men, who in this world are counted weakest; but rather conscience, as being weakest, to subdue and regulate force, his adversarie, not his aide or instrument in governing the church, 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5, 6, for though we walk in the flesh, we do not warre after the flesh: for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal; but mightie through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations and everie high thing that exalts it self against the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivitie
everie thought to the obedience of Christ: and having in a readiness to aveng all disobedience. It is evident by the first and second verses of this chapter, that the apostle here speaks of that spiritual power by which Christ governs his church, how allsufficient it is, how powerful to reach the conscience and the inward man with whom it chiefly deals and whom no power els can deal with. In comparison of which as it is here thus magnificently describ'd, how uneffectual and weak is outward force with all her boistrous tooles, to the shame of those Christians and especially those churchmen, who to the exercising of church discipline never cease calling on the civil magistrate to interpose his fleshlie force; an argument that all true ministerial and spiritual power is dead within them: who think the gospel, which both began and spread over the whole world for above three hundred years under heathen and persecuting emperors, cannot stand or continue, supported by the same divine presence and protection to the worlds end, much easier under the defensive favor only of a Christian magistrate, unless it be enacted and settled, as they call it, by the state, a statute or a state-religion: and understand not that the church it self cannot, much less the state, settle or impose one tittle of religion upon our obedience implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conscientious examination: unless they mean to set the state higher then the church in religion, and with a grosse contradiction give to the state in thir settling petition that command of our implicit beleef, which they deny in thir settled confession both to the state and to the church. Let them cease then to importune and interrupt the magistrate from attending to his own charge in civil and moral things, the settling of things just, things honest, the defence of things religious settled by the churches within them-

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selves; and the repressing of thir contraries determinable by the common light of nature; which is not to constrain or to repress religion, probable by scripture, but the violaters and persecuters therof: of all which things he hath anough and more then anough to do, left yet undon; for which the land groans and justice goes to wrack the while: let him also forbear force where he hath no right to judge; for the conscience is not his province: least a worse woe arrive him, for worse offending, then was denounced by our Saviour Matt. 23. 23. against the Pharises: ye have forc’d the conscience, which was not to be forc’d; but judgment and mercy ye have not executed: this ye should have don, and the other let alone. And since it is the councel and set purpose of God in the gospel by spiritual means which are counted weak, to overcom all power which resists him; let them not go about to do that by worldly strength which he hath decreed to do by those means which the world counts weakness, least they be again obnoxious to that saying which in another place is also written of the Pharises, Luke 7. 30. that they frustrated the councel of God. The main plea is, and urg’d with much vehemence to thir imitation, that the kings of Juda, as I touchd before, and especially Josia both judgd and us’d force in religion, 2 Chr. 34. 33. he made all that were present in Israel to serve the Lord thir God: an argument, if it be well weighing, worse then that us’d by the false prophet Shemaia to the high priest, that in imitation of Jehojada he ought to put Jeremie in the stocks, Jer. 29. 24, 26, &c. for which he receivd his due denouncement from God. But to this besides I return a three-fold answer: first, that the state of religion under the gospel is far differing from what it was under the law: then was the state of rigor, childhood, bondage and works, to all which force was not unbesitting; now is the state of
grace, manhood, freedom and faith; to all which belongs willingness and reason, not force: the law was then written on tables of stone, and to be performed according to the letter, willingly or unwillingly; the gospel, our new covenant, upon the heart of every believer, to be interpreted only by the sense of charitie and inward persuasion: the law had no distinct government or governors of church and commonwealth, but the Priests and Levites judg'd in all causes not ecclesiastical only but civil, Deut. 17. 8, &c. which under the gospel is forbidden to all church-ministers, as a thing which Christ thir master in his ministry disclaim'd Luke 12. 14; as a thing beneath the them 1 Cor. 6. 4; and by many of our statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far differing government of thir own. If not, why different the governors? why not church-ministers in state-affairs, as well as state-ministers in church-affairs? If church and state shall be made one flesh again as under the law, let it be withall consider'd, that God who then join'd them hath now sever'd them; that which, he so ordaining, was then a lawfull conjunction, to such on either side as join again what he hath sever'd, would be nothing now but thir own presumptuous fornication. Secondly, the kings of Judah and those magistrates under the law might have recours, as I said before, to divine inspiration; which our magistrates under the gospel have not, more then to the same spirit, which those whom they force have oft times in greater measure then themselves: and so, instead of forcing the Christian, they force the Holy Ghost; and, against that wise forewarning of Gamaliel, fight against God. Thirdly, those kings and magistrates us'd force in such things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the law of Moses, idolatrie and direct apostacie from that national and strict enjoind worship of God; wherof the corporal punish-
ment was by himself expressly set down: but magis-
trates under the gospel, our free, elective and rational
worship, are most commonly busiest to force those
things which in the gospel are either left free, nay
sometimes abolished when by them compelled, or els
controverted equally by writers on both sides, and
sometines with odds on that side which is against
them. By which means they either punish that
which they ought to favor and protect, or that with
corporal punishment and of their own inventing,
which not they but the church hath receivd com-
mand to chastifie with a spiritual rod only. Yet some
are so eager in their zeal of forcing, that they refuse
not to descend at length to the utmost shift of that
parabolical proof Luke 14. 16, &c. compell them to
come in, therfore magistrates may compell in religion.
As if a parable were to be strain'd through every word
or phrase, and not expounded by the general scope
thereof: which is no other here then the earnest ex-
pression of Gods displeasure on those recusant Jewes,
and his purpose to preferre the gentiles on any terms
before them; expressd here by the word compell.
But how compells he? doubteles no otherwise then
he draws, without which no man can come to him,
Joh. 6. 44: and that is by the inward perswasive mo-
tions of his spirit and by his ministers; not by the
outward compulsions of a magistrate or his officers.
The true people of Christ, as is foretold Psal. 110.
3, are a willing people in the day of his power, then
much more now when he rules all things by outward
weakness, that both his inward power and their sin-
ceritie may the more appeer. God loveth a cheerfull
giver: then certainly is not pleasd with an uncheer-
full worshiper; as the verie words declare of his
evangelical invitations. Esai. 55. 1. ho, everie one that
thirsteth, come. Joh. 7. 37. if any man thirst. Rev. 3.
18. I counsel thee. and 22. 17. whosoever will, let him
take the water of life freely. And in that grand commission of preaching to invite all nations *Mark* 16. 16, as the reward of them who come, so the penalty of them who come not is only spiritual. But they bring now some reason with their force, which must not pass unanswered; that the church of *Thyatira* was blamed *Revel* 2. 20 for suffering the false prophet to teach and to seduce. I answer, that seducement is to be hindered by fit and proper means ordained in church-discipline; by instant and powerful demonstration to the contrary; by opposing truth to error, no unequal match; truth the strong to error the weak though it fle and shifting. Force is no honest confutation; but uneffectual, and for the most part unsuccessful, oft times fatal to them who use it: sound doctrine diligently and duely taught, is of herself both sufficient, and of herself (if some secret judgment of God hinder not) always prevalent against seducers. This the *Thyatirians* had neglected, suffering, against Church-discipline, that woman to teach and seduce among them: civil force they had not then in their power; being the Christian part only of that city, and then especially under one of those ten great persecutions, wherof this the second was raised by *Domitian*: force therefore in these matters could not be requir'd of them, who were then under force themselves.

I have shewn that the civil power hath neither right nor can do right by forcing religious things: I will now shew the wrong it doth; by violating the fundamental privilege of the gospel, the new-birth-right of everie truebeliever, Christian libertie. *2 Corinthians* 3. 17. where the spirit of the Lord is, there is libertie. *Galatians* 4. 26. Jerusalem which is above, is free; which is the mother of us all, and *31*. we are not children of the bondwoman but of the free. It will be sufficient in this place to say no more of Christian libertie,
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then that it sets us free not only from the bondage of those ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those circumstances, place and time in the worship of God: which though by him commanded in the old law, yet in respect of that veritie and freedom which is evangelical, S. Paul comprehends both kindes alike, that is to say, both ceremonie and circumstance, under one and the same contentuous name of weak and beggarly rudiments, Gal. 4. 3. 9. 10. Col. 2. 8. with 16: conformable to what our Saviour himself taught John 4. 21, 23. neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem. In spirit and in truth: for the father seeketh such to worship him. that is to say, not only sincere of heart, for such he sought ever, but also, as the words here chiefly import, not compell'd to place, and by the same reafon, not to any set time; as his apostle by the same spirit hath taught us Rom. 14. 6, &c. one man esteemeth one day above another, another &c. Gal. 4. 10. Ye observe dayes, and months &c. Coloff. 2. 16. These and other such places of scripture the best and learnedest reformed writers have thought evident enough to instruct us in our freedom not only from ceremonies but from those circumstances also, though impos'd with a confident persuasion of moralitie in them, which they hold impossible to be in place or time. By what warrant then our opinions and practices herin are of late turn'd quite against all other Protestants, and that which is to them orthodoxal, to us become scandalous and punishable by statute, I wish were once again better consider'd; if we mean not to proclaim a schism in this point from the best and most reformed churches abroad. They who would seem more know'ng, confess that these things are indifferent, but for that very cause by the magistrate may be commanded. As if God of his special grace in the gospel had to this end freed us from his own commandments in these
things, that our freedom should subject us to a more greevous yoke, the commandments of men. As well may the magistrate call that common or unclean which God hath clean'd, forbidden to S. Peter Acts 10. 15; as well may he loos'n that which God hath strait'nd, or strait'nd that which God hath loos'nd, as he may injoin those things in religion which God hath left free, and lay on that yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this gift as a special privilege and excellence of the free gospel above the servile law, but strictly also hath commanded us to keep and enjoy it. Gal. 5. 13. you are call'd to libertie. 1 Cor. 7. 23. be not made the servant's of men. Gal. 5. 14. stand fast therefor in the libertie wherwith Christ hath made us free; and be not intangl'd again with the yoke of bondage. Neither is this a meer command, but for the most part in these forecited places accompanied with the verie weightiest and inmost reasons of Christian religion: Rom. 14. 9, 10. for to this end Christ both dy'd and rose and revid'd, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? &c. how presum'ft thou to be his lord, to be whose only Lord, at laeft in these things, Christ both dy'd and rose and livd again? We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. why then dost thou not only judge, but persecute in these things for which we are to be accountable to the tribunal of Christ only, our Lord and lawgiver? 1 Cor. 7. 23. ye are bought with a price; be not made the servants of men. some trivial price belike, and for some frivolous pretences paid in their opinion, if bought and by him redeem'd who is God from what was once the service of God, we shall be enthrald again and forc'd by men to what now is but the service of men. Gal. 4. 31, with 5. 1. we are not children of the bondwoman &c. stand fast therefor &c. Col. 2. 8. beware leaft any man spoil you,
&c. after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Solid reasons whereof are continu’d through the whole chapter. v. 10. ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principalitie and power. not completed therfore or made the more religious by those ordi-
nances of civil power, from which Christ thir head hath dischargd us; blotting out the handwriting of or-
dinances, that was against us, which was contrarie to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his crofs, v. 14: blotting out ordinances written by God himself, much more those so boldly written over again by men; ordinances which were against us, that is, against our frailtie, much more those which are against our conscience. Let no man therefor judge you in respect of &c. v. 16. Gal. 4. 3, &c. even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the rudiments of the world: but when the fullnes of time was come, God sent forth his son &c. to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons &c. Wherfore thou art no more a servant, but a son &c. But now &c. how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly rudiments, wherunto ye desire again to be in bondage? ye observe dayes &c. Hence it planely appears, that if we be not free we are not sons, but still servants unadopted; and if we turn again to those weak and beggarly rudiments, we are not free; yea though willingly and with a misguided conscience we desire to be in bondage to them; how much more then if unwillingly and against our conscience? Ill was our condition chang’d from legal to evangelical, and small advantage gotten by the gospel, if for the spirit of adoption to freedom, promis’d us, we receive again the spirit of bondage to fear; if our fear which was then servile towards God only, must be now serv-
ile in religion towards men: strange also and pre-
oposterous fear, if when and wherein it hath attain’d by the redemption of our Saviour to be filial only to-
wards God, it must be now servile towards the magistrat. Who by subjecting us to his punishment in these things, brings back into religion that law of terror and satisfaction, belonging now only to civil crimes; and thereby in effect abolishes the gospel by establishing again the law to a far worse yoke of servitude upon us then before. It will therfore not misbecome the meanest Christian to put in minde Christian magistrates, and so much the more freely by how much the more they desire to be thought Christian (for they will be thereby, as they ought to be in these things, the more our brethren and the less our lords) that they meddle not rashly with Christian libertie, the birthright and outward testimonie of our adoption: leaft while they little think it, nay think they do God service, they themselves like the sons of that bondwoman be found persecuting them who are freeborne of the spirit; and by a sacrilege of not the least aggravation bereaving them of that sacred libertie which our Saviour with his own blood purchas’d for them.

A fourth reason why the magistrate ought not to use force in religion, I bring from the consideration of all those ends which he can likely pretend to the interposing of his force therin: and those hardly can be other then first the glorie of God; next either the spiritual good of them whom he forces, or the temporal punishment of their scandal to others. As for the promoting of Gods glory, none, I think, will say that his glorie ought to be promoted in religious things by unwarrantable means, much less by means contrarie to what he hath commanded. That outward force is such, and that Gods glory in the whole administration of the gospel according to his own will and counsell ought to be fulfild by weakness, at least so refuted, not by force; or if by force, inward and spiritual, not outward and corporeal, is already
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That outward force cannot tend to the good of him who is forc'd in religion, is unquestionable. For in religion whatever we do under the gospel, we ought to be therof persuaded without scruple; and are justified by the faith we have, not by the work we do. *Rom. 14. 5.* Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. The other reason which follows necessarily, is obvious *Gal. 2. 16,* and in many other places of St. Paul, as the groundwork and foundation of the whole gospel, that we are justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law, if not by the works of God's law, how then by the injunctions of man's law? Surely force cannot work persuasion, which is faith; cannot therefore justify nor pacifie the conscience; and that which justifies not in the gospel, condemns; is not only not good, but finfull to do. *Rom. 14. 23.* Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. It concerns the magistrate then to take heed how he forces in religion conscientious men: least by compelling them to do that whereof they cannot be persuaded, that wherein they cannot finde themselves justified, but by their own consciences condemn, instead of aiming at their spiritual good, he force them to do evil; and while he thinks himself Asa, Josia, Nehemia, he be found Jeroboam, who caus'd Israel to sin; and thereby draw upon his own head all those sins and shipw racks of implicit faith and conformitie, which he hath forc'd, and all the wounds given to those little ones, whom to offend he will finde worse one day then that violent drowning mentioned *Matt. 18. 6.* Lastly as a preface to force, it is the usual pretence, That although tender consciences shall be tolerated, yet scandals thereby given shall not be unpunish'd, prophane and licentious men shall not be encourag'd to neglect the performance of religious and holy duties by color of any law giving libertie to tender consciences. By which contrivance the way lies ready open to them heerafter who may
be so minded, to take away by little and little, that liberty which Christ and his gospel, not any magistrate, hath right to give: though this kinde of his giving be but to give with one hand and take away with the other, which is a deluding not a giving. As for scandals, if any man be offended at the conscientious liberty of another, it is a taken scandal not a given. To heal one conscience we must not wound another: and men must be exhorted to beware of scandals in Christian libertie, not forc'd by the magistrate; leaft while he goes about to take away the scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our liberty, which is the certain and the sacred gift of God, neither to be touchd by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving scandal then St. Paul. Yet while he made himself servant to all, that he might gain the more, he made himself so of his own accord, was not made so by outward force, testifying at the same time that he was free from all men, 1 Cor. 9. 19: and thereafter exhorts us also Gal. 5. 13. ye were calld to libertie &c. but by love serve one another: then not by force. As for that fear least prophane and licentious men should be encourag'd to omit the performance of religious and holy duties, how can that care belong to the civil magistrate, especially to his force? For if prophane and licentious persons must not neglect the performance of religious and holy duties, it implies, that such duties they can perform; which no Protestant will affirm. They who mean the outward performance, may so explane it; and it will then appeare yet more planely, that such performance of religious and holy duties especialy by prophane and licentious persons, is a dishonoring rather then a worshiping of God; and not only by him not requir'd but detested: Prov. 21. 27. the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination: how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked minde? To compell thersore the pro-
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prophane to things holy in his prophane skill, is all one under the gospel, as to have compell'd the unclean to sacrifice in his uncleanness under the law. And I adde withall, that to compell the licentious in his licentiousness, and the conscientious against his conscience, coms all to one; tends not to the honor of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of sin to them both. We read not that Christ ever exercised force but once; and that was to drive prophane ones out of his temple, not to force them in: and if thir being there was an offence, we finde by many other scriptures that thir praying there was an abomination: and yet to the Jewish law that nation, as a servant, was oblig'd; but to the gospel each person is left voluntarie, calld only, as a son, by the preaching of the word; not to be driven in by edicts and force of arms. For if by the apostle, Rom. 12. 1, we are beseech'd as brethren by the mercies of God to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service or worship, then is no man to be forc'd by the compulsive laws of men to present his body a dead sacrifice, and so under the gospel most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable service, that is to say, not only unwilling but unconscionable. But if prophane and licentious persons may not omit the performance of holy duties, why may they not partake of holy things? why are they prohibited the Lords supper? since both the one and the other action may be outward; and outward performance of dutie may attain at least an outward participation of benefit? The church denying them that communion of grace and thanksgiving, as it justly doth, why doth the magistrate compell them to the union of performing that which they neither truly can, being themselves unholy, and to do seemingly is both hatefull to God, and perhaps no less dangerous to perform holy duties irreligiously then to receive holy signes or sacraments unworthily.
All prophane and licentious men, so known, can be considered but either so without the church as never yet within it, or departed thence of thir own accord, or excommunicate: if never yet within the church, whom the apostle, and so consequently the church have naught to do to judge, as he professes 1 Cor. 5. 12, then by what authoritie doth the magistrate judge, or, which is worse, compell in relation to the church? if departed of his own accord, like that lost sheep Luke 15. 4. &c. the true church either with her own or any borrowed force worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable manner sends after him; and if she finde him, layes him gently on her shoulders; bears him, yea bears his burdens; his errors, his infirmities any way tolerable, so fulfilling the law of Christ, Gal. 6. 2: if excommunicate, whom the church hath bid go out, in whose name doth the magistrate compell to go in? The church indeed hinders none from hearing in her publick congregation, for the doors are open to all: nor excommuni- cates to destruction, but, as much as in her lies, to a final sAVING. Her meaning therefore must needs bee, that as her driving out brings on no outward penaltie, so no outward force or penaltie of an improper and only a destructive power should drive in again her infectious sheep; thencefore sent out because infectious, and not driven in but with the danger not only of the whole and sound, but also of his own utter perishing. Since force neither instructs in religion nor begets repentance or amendment of life, but, on the contrarie, hardness of heart, formalitie, hypocrisie, and, as I said before, everie way increase of sin; more and more alienates the minde from a violent religion expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a condition like that which the Britains complain of in our storie, driven to and fro between the Picts and the sea. If after excommunion he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the church, he becomes as one never
yet within her pale, *a heathen or a publican*, Mat. 18, 17; not further to be judged, no not by the magistrate, unless for civil causes; but left to the final sentence of that judge, whose coming shall be in flames of fire; that *Maran athà*, 1 Cor. 16. 22; then which to him so left nothing can be more dreadful and oftentimes to him particularly nothing more speedie, that is to say, the Lord cometh: In the mean while delivered up to Satan, 1 Cor. 5. 5. 1 Tim. 1. 20. that is, from the souled of Christ and kingdom of grace to the world again which is the kingdom of Satan; and as he was receiv'd from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God Acts 26. 18, so now delivered up again from light to darkness, and from God to the power of Satan; yet so as is in both places manifested, to the intent of saving him, brought sooner to contrition by spiritual then by any corporal severitie. But grant it belonging any way to the magistrate, that prophan and licentious persons omit not the performance of holy duties, which in them were odious to God even under the law, much more now under the gospel, yet ought his care both as a magistrate and a Christian, to be much more that conscience be not inwardly violated, then that licence in these things be made outwardly conformable: since his part is undoubtedly as a Christian, which puts him upon this office much more then as a magistrate, in all respects to have more care of the conscientious then of the prophane; and not for their sakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminish the rightfull libertie of religious consciences.

On these four scriptural reasons as on a firm square this truth, the right of Christian and evangelic liberty, will stand immoveable against all those pretended consequences of license and confusion, which for the most part men most licentious and confus'd themselves, or such as whose severitie would be wiser then divine wisdom, are ever aptest to object against
the waies of God: as if God without them when he gave us this libertie, knew not of the worst which these men in thir arrogance pretend will follow: yet knowing all their worst, he gave us this liberty as by him judgd best. As to those magistrates who think it their work to settle religion, and those minifters or others, who so oft call upon them to do so, I trust, that having well considerd what hath bin here argu’d, neither they will, continue in that intention, nor these in that expectation from them: when they shall finde that the settlement of religion belongs only to each particular church by perswasive and spiritual means within it self, and that the defence only of the church belongs to the magistrate. Had he once learnt not further to concern himself with church affairs, half his labor might be spar’d, and the commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premis’d in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, I desire now concluding, that they would consider seriofely what religion is: and they will find it to be in fumme, both our beleef and our practife depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the magistrate or his force in the settlement of religion, by appointing either what we shall beleive in divine things or practife in religious (neither of which things are in the power of man either to perform himself or to enable others) I perswade me in the Christian ingenuitie of all religious men, the more they examin seriofely, the more they will finde clerely to be true: and finde how false and deceivable that common faying is, which is so much reli’d upon, that the Christian Magistrate is custos utriusque tabulae, keeper of both tables; unless is meant by keeper the defender only: neither can that maxim be maintaidn by any prooff or argument which hath not in this discours firft or laft bin refuted. For the two tables, or ten commandements, teach our dutie to God and our neigh-
bour from the love of both; give magistrates no autoritie to force either: they seek that from the judicial law; though on false grounds, especially in the first table, as I have shewn; and both in first and second execute that autoritie for the most part not according to Gods judicial laws but thir own. As for civil crimes and of the outward man, which all are not, no not of those against the second table, as that of coveting; in them what power they have, they had from the beginning, long before Moses or the two tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Christian as they are two legal tables, remanes yet as undecided, as it is sure they never were yet deliverd to the keeping of any Christian magistrate. But of these things perhaps more some other time; what may serve the present hath bin above discoursed sufficiently out of the scriptures: and to those produc'd might be added testimonies, examples, experiences of all succeeding ages to these times assering this doctrine: but having herin the scripture so copious and so plane, we have all that can be properly call'd true strength and nerve; the rest would be but pomp and incumbrance. Pomp and ostentation of reading is admir'd among the vulgar: but doubtless in matters of religion he is learnedest who is planeft. The brevitie I use, not exceeding a small manual, will not thercfore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great books only can determin great matters. I rather chose the common rule, not to make much ado where less may serve. Which in controversies and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read ofter, by many more, and with more benefit.
Considerations

touching the likeliest Means to remove

HIRELINGS out of the CHURCH.

Wherin is also Discours'd

Of Tithes, Church-Fees, and Church-Revenues;

And whether any Maintenance of Ministers

can be settl'd by Law.

To the PARLAMENT of the Commonwealth of Eng-

land with the Dominions therof.

Wing to your Protection, suprem Senate,

this liberty of writing which I have us'd

these eighteen Years on all occasions to

assert the just Rights and Freedoms both

of Church and State, and so far approv'd, as to have

bin trusted with the representment and defence of

your Actions to all Christendom against an Adversary

of no mean repute; to whom should I address what

I still publish on the same Argument, but to you,

whose magnanimous Counsels first open'd and un-

bound the Age from a double Bondage under Pre-

latical and Regal Tyranny; above our own hopes

heartning us to look up at laft like Men and Chris-

tians from the slavish Dejection, wherein from Father

to Son we were bred up and taught; and therby de-

serving of these Nations, if they be not barbarously

ingrateful, to be acknowledg'd, next under God, the

Authors and best Patrons of Religious and Civil Li-
To the Parlament.

berty, that ever these Islands brought forth? The care and tuition of whose Peace and Safety, after a short, but scandalous night of Interruption, is now again by a new dawning of God's miraculous Providence among us, revolv'd upon your shoulders. And to whom more appertain these Considerations which I propound, than to your selves, and the Debate before you, though I trust of no difficulty, yet at present of great expectation, not whether ye will gratifie, were it no more then so, but whether ye will hearken to the just Petition of many thousands best affected both to Religion and to this your Return, or whether ye will satisfie, which you never can, the covetous Pretences and Demands of insatiable Hirelings, whose Disaffection ye well know both to your selves and your Resolutions? That I, though among many others in this common concernment, interpose to your Deliberations what my Thoughts also are, your own Judgment and the success therof hath given me the confidence: which requests but this, that if I have prosperously, God so favouring me, defended the publick Cause of this Commonwealth to Foreigners, ye would not think the reason and ability, wheron ye trusted once, and repent not, your whole Reputation to the world, either grown les by more maturity and longer study, or les available in English then in another tongue: but that if it suffic'd som years past to convince and satisfie the uningag'd of other Nations in the justice of your doings, though then held paradoxal, it may as well suffice now against weaker opposition in matters, except here in England with a spiritualitie of Men devoted to thir temporal Gain, of no Controversie els among Protestants. Neither do I doubt, seeing daily the acceptance which they find who in thir Petitions venture to bring advice also and new models of a Commonwealth, but that you will interpret it much more the duty of a
To the Parlament.

Christian to offer what his Conscience persuades him may be of moment to the freedom and better constituting of the Church: since it is a deed of highest charity to help undeceive the People, and a work worthiest your Authority, in all things else Authors, Assertors and now Recoverers of our Liberty, to deliver us, the only People of all Protestants left still undeliver'd, from the Oppressions of a simonious decimating Clergy, who shame not, against the judgment and practice of all other Churches reform'd, to maintain, though very weakly, thir Popish and oft refuted Positions, not in a point of Conscience, wherein they might be blameless, but in a point of Covetousness and unjust Claim to other mens Goods; a Contention foul and odious in any Man, but most of all in Ministers of the Gospel, in whom Contention, though for thir own right, scarce is allowable. Till which Grievances be remov'd, and Religion set free from the monopoly of Hirelings, I dare affirm, that no Model whatsoever of a Commonwealth will prove successful or undisturb'd; and so persuad'd, implore Divine Assistance on your pious Councels and Proceedings to unanimity in this and all other Truth.
Considerations
touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.

The former Treatise, which leads in this, began with two things ever found working much mischief to the Church of God, and the advancement of Truth; Force on the one side restraining, and Hire on the other side corrupting the Teachers thereof. The latter of these is by much the more dangerous: for under Force, though no thank to the Forcers, true Religion oft-times best thrives and flourishes; but the Corruption of Teachers, most commonly the Effect of Hire, is the very bane of Truth in them who are so corrupted. Of Force not to be us'd in matters of Religion, I have already spoken; and so stated matters of Conscience and Religion in Faith and Divine Worship, and so sever'd them from Blasphemy and Herefy, the one being such properly as is despiteful, the other such as stands not to the Rule of Scripture, and so both of them not matters of Religion, but rather against it, that to them who will yet use Force, this only choice can be left, whether they will force them to believe, to whom it is not given from above, being not forc'd therto by any Principle of the Gospel, which is now the only Dispensation of God to all Men; or whether
being Protestants, they will punish in those things wherein the Protestant Religion denies them to be Judges, either in themselves infallible, or to the Consciences of other Men; or whether, lastly, they think fit to punish Error, supposing they can be infallible that it is so, being not wilful, but conscientious, and, according to the best light of him who errs, grounded on Scripture: which kind of Error all Men religious, or but only reasonable, have thought worthier of pardon, and the growth thereof to be prevented by spiritual Means and Church-discipline, not by civil Laws and outward Force, since it is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all; and by those means which he ordain'd sufficiently in his Church to the full execution of his divine Purpose in the Gospel. It remains now to speak of Hire, the other evil so mischievous in Religion: wherof I promis'd then to speak further, when I should find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. Opportunity I find now inviting; and apprehend therin the concurrence of God disposing; since the Maintenance of Church-Ministers, a thing not properly belonging to the Magistrate, and yet with such importunity call'd for, and expected from him, is at present under publick debate. Wherin left any thing may happen to be determin'd and establish'd prejudicial to the right and freedom of Church, or advantageous to such as may be found Hirelings therin, it will be now most seasonable, and in these matters wherein every Christian hath his free Suffrage, no way misbecoming Christian Meeknes to offer freely, without disparagement to the wisest, such Advice as God shall incline him and enable him to propound. Since hertofore in Commonwealths of most fame for Government, Civil Laws were not establish'd till they had been first for certain days publish'd to the view of all Men, that who so pleas'd
might speak freely his Opinion therof, and give in his Exceptions, ere the Law could pass to a full establishment. And where ought this Equity to have more place, than in the liberty which is unseparable from Christian Religion? This, I am not ignorant, will be a work unpleasing to some: but what Truth is not hateful to some or other, as this, in likelihood, will be to none but Hirelings. And if there be among them who hold it thir duty to speak impartial Truth, as the work of thir Miniftry, though not perform’d without Money, let them not envy others who think the same no less thir duty by the general office of Christianity, to speak truth, as in all reason may be thought, more impartially and unsuspectedly without Money.

Hire of it self is neither a thing unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, signifying no more than a due Recompence or Reward; as when our Saviour faith, the Labourer is worthy of his Hire. That which makes it so dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the Hireling a word always of evil Signification, is either the excess therof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the excess therof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of Constantine; who out of his zeal thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing Father of the Church, might be not unfitly said to have either overlaid it or choak’d it in the Nursing. Which was foretold, as is recorded in Ecclesiastical Traditions, by a Voice heard from Heaven on the very day that those great Donations and Church-revenues were given, crying aloud, This day is Poifon pour’d into the Church. Which the event soon after verifi’d, as appears by another no less antient Observation, That Religion brought forth Wealth, and the Daughter devour’d the Mother. But long ere Wealth came into the Church, so soon as any Gain
appear’d in Religion, Hirelings were apparent; drawn in long before by the very scent therof. Judas therefore, the first Hireling, for want of present Hire answerable to his coveting, from the small number or the meanness of such as then were the Religious, fold the Religion it self with the Founder therof, his Master. Simon Magus the next, in hope only that preaching and the Gifts of the Holy Ghost would prove gainful, offer’d beforehand a Sum of Money to obtain them: Not long after, as the Apostle foretold, Hirelings like Wolves came in by Herds; Acts 20. 29. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not sparing the Flock. Tit. 1. 11. Teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre’s sake. 2 Pet. 2. 3. And through Covetousness shall they with feigned words make Merchandize of you. Yet they taught not fals Doctrin only, but seeming Piety; 1 Tim. 6. 5. Supposing that Gain is Godliness. Neither came they in of themselves only, but invited oft-times by a corrupt Audience: 2 Tim. 4. 3. For the time will come when they will not endure sound Doctrin, but after their own Lusts they will heap to themselves Teachers, having itching Ears: and they on the other side, as fast heaping to themselves Disciples, Acts 20. 30. doubts had as itching Palms: 2 Pet. 2. 15. Following the way of Balaam, the Son of Bosor, who lov’d the wages of Unrighteousness. Jude 11. They ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward. Thus we see that not only the excess of Hire in wealthiest times, but also the undue and vitious taking or giving it, though but small or mean, as in the Primitive times, gave to Hirelings occasion, though not intended, yet sufficient to creep at first into the Church. Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, to remove them quite, unless every Minister were, as St. Paul, contented to teach gratis; but few such are to be
Considerations touching Means to found. As therefore we cannot justly take away all Hire in the Church, because we cannot otherwise quite remove all Hirelings, so are we not for the impossibility of removing them all, to use therefore no endeavor that fewest may come in; but rather, in regard the Evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent and unavoidable, to use our utmost diligence how it may be least dangerous: which will be likeliest effected, if we consider, first, what recompence God hath ordain'd should be given to Ministers of the Church; (for that a Recompence ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received, our Saviour himself from the very light of Reason and of Equity hath declar'd, Luke 10. 7. The Labourer is worthy of his Hire) ; next by whom; and lastly, in what manner.

What Recompence ought to be given to Church-ministers, God hath answerably ordain'd according to that difference which he hath manifestly put between those his two great Dispensations, the Law and the Gospel. Under the Law he gave them Tithes; under the Gospel, having left all things in his Church to Charity and Christian Freedom, he hath given them only what is justly given them. That, as well under the Gospel, as under the Law, say our English Divines, and they only of all Protestants, is Tithes; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give them of his own the tenth or twentieth; but that the Law therefore of Tithes is in force under the Gospel, all other Protestant Divines, though equally concern'd, yet constantly deny. For although Hire to the Labourer be of moral and perpetual Right, yet that special kind of Hire, the tenth, can be of no Right or Neceffity, but to that special Labor for which God ordain'd it. That special Labor was the Levitical and Ceremonial service of the Tabernacle, Numb. 18. 21, 31. which is now abolish'd: the right
remove Hirelings out of the Church. 345 therfore of that special Hire must needs be withal abolish'd, as being also Ceremonial. That Tithes were Ceremonial, is plain, not being given to the Levites till they had been first offer'd a heav Offering to the Lord, Ver. 24, 28. He then who by that Law brings Tithes into the Gospel, of necessity brings in withal a Sacrifice, and an Altar; without which Tithes by that Law were unsanctifi'd and polluted, Ver. 32. and therfore never thought on in the first Christian times, till Ceremonies, Altars, and Oblations, by an antienter Corruption were brought back long before. And yet the Jews ever since thir Temple was destroyd, though they have Rabbies and Teachers of thir Law, yet pay no Tithes, as having no Levites to whom, no Temple where to pay them, no Altar wheron to hallow them: which argues that the Jews themselves never thought Tithes Moral, but Ceremonial only. That Chriftians therfore should take them up, when Jews have laid them down, must needs be very absurd and preposterous. Next, it is as clear in the same Chapter, that the Priests and Levites had not Tithes for thir labor only in the Tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other Part nor Inheritance in the Land, Ver. 20, 24. and by that means for a Tenth, loft a Twelfth. But our Levites undergoing no such Law of Deprivement, can have no right to any such compensation: nay, if by this Law they will have Tithes, can have no inheritance of Land, but forfeit what they have. Besides this, Tithes were of two sorts, those of every Year, and those of every third Year: of the former, every one that brought his Tithes, was to eat his share; Deut. 14. 23. Thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall chuse to place his name there, the Tithe of thy Corn, of thy Wine, and of thine Oil, &c. Nay, though he could not bring his Tithe in kind, by reason of his distant
dwellings from the Tabernacle or Temple, but was therby forc'd to turn it into Money, he was to bestow that Money on whatsoever pleas'd him, Oxen, Sheep, Wine, or strong Drink; and to eat and drink thereof there before the Lord, both he and his Household, Ver. 24, 25, 26. As for the Tithes of every third year, they were not given only to the Levite, but to the Stranger, the Fatherless, and the Widow, Ver. 28, 29. and Chap. 26. 12, 13. So that ours, if they will have Tithes, must admit of these sharers with them. Nay, these Tithes were not paid in at all to the Levite, but the Levite himself was to come with those his fellow Guests, and eat his share of them only at his House who provided them; and this not in regard of his ministerial Office, but because he had no Part nor Inheritance in the Land. Lastly, the Priests and Levites, a Tribe, were of a far different Constitution from this of our Ministers under the Gospel: in them were Orders and Degrees both by Family, Dignity, and Office, mainly distinguish'd; the High Priest, his Brethren, and his Sons, to whom the Levites themselves paid Tithes, and of the best, were eminently superior, Numb. 18. 28, 29. No Protestant, I suppose, will liken one of our Ministers to a High Priest, but rather to a common Levite. Unless then, to keep their Tithes, they mean to bring back again Bishops, Archbishops, and the whole gang of Prelatry, to whom will they themselves pay Tithes, as by that Law it was a sin to them if they did not, Ver. 32. Certainly this must needs put them to a deep demurr, while the desire of holding fast their Tithes without sin, may tempt them to bring back again Bishops, as the likeness of that Hierarchy that should receive Tithes from them; and the desire to pay none, may advise them to keep out of the Church all Orders above them. But if we have to do at present, as I suppose we have, with true reformed
Protestants, not with Papifts or Prelates, it will not be deni’d that in the Gospel there be but two ministerial Degrees, Presbyters and Deacons: which if they contend to have any succession, reference, or conformity with those two degrees under the Law, Priests and Levites; it must needs be such whereby our Presbyters or Ministers may be answerable to Priests, and our Deacons to Levites; by which rule of Proportion it will follow, that we must pay our Tithes to the Deacons only, and they only to the Ministers. But if it be truer yet that the Priesthood of Aaron typifi’d a better reality, 1 Pet. 2. 5. signifying the Christian true and holy Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifice; it follows hence, that we are now justly exempt from paying Tithes to any who claim from Aaron, since that Priesthood is in us now real, which in him was but a shadow. Seeing then by all this which hath bin shewn, that the Law of Tithes is partly Ceremonial, as the work was for which they were given, partly judicial, not of common, but of particular right to the Tribe of Levi, nor to them alone, but to the owner also and his Household, at the time of thir Offering, and every three year to the Stranger, the Fatherles, and the Widow, thir appointed Sharers, and that they were a Tribe of Priests and Deacons improperly compar’d to the constitution of our Ministr y; and the Tithes given by that People to thos Deacons only; it follows that our Ministers at this day, being neither Priests nor Levites, nor fitly answer ing to either of them, can have no just title or pretence to Tithes, by any con- sequence drawn from the Law of Moses. But they think they have yet a better Plea in the example of Melchisedec, who took Tithes of Abram ere the Law was given; whence they would infer Tithes to be of Moral right. But they ought to know, or to re- member, that not Examples, but express Commands
Confederations touching Means to oblige our obedience to God or man: next, that whatsoever was done in Religion before the Law written, is not presently to be counted Moral, when as so many things were then done both Ceremonial and Judaically judicial, that we need not doubt to conclude all times before Christ, more or less under the Ceremonial Law. To what end serv’d els those Altars and Sacrifices, that distinction of clean and unclean entering into the Ark, Circumcision, and the raising up of Seed to the elder Brother? Gen. 38, 8. If these things be not Moral, though before the Law, how are Tithes, though in the example of Abram and Melchisedec? But this instance is so far from being the just ground of a Law, that after all Circumstances duly weigh’d both from Gen. 14. and Heb. 7. it will not be allow’d them so much as an example. Melchisedec, besides his Priestly Benediction, brought with him Bread and Wine sufficient to refresh Abram and his whole Army; incited to do so, first, by the secret Providence of God, intending him for a Type of Christ and his Priesthood; next by his due thankfulness and honor to Abram, who had freed his borders of Salem from a potent Enemy: Abram on the other side honors him with the tenth of all, that is to say (for he took not sure his whole Estate with him to that War) of the Spoils, Heb. 7. 4. Incited he also by the same secret Providence, to signify as Grandfather of Levi, that the Levitical Priesthood was excell’d by the Priesthood of Christ. For the giving of a Tenth declare’d it seems in those Countrieys and Times, him the greater who receiv’d it. That which next incited him, was partly his gratitude to requite the Present, partly his Reverence to the Person and his Benediction: to his Person, as a King and Priest; greater therefore than Abram; who was a Priest also, but not a King. And who unhir’d will be so hardy as to say, that Abram at any other
time ever paid him Tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental meeting and obligation; or that els Melchisedec had demanded or exacted them, or took them otherwise than as the voluntary gift of Abram? But our Ministers, though neither Priests nor Kings more than any other Christian, greater in their own esteem than Abraham and all his Seed, for the verbal labor of a seventh days Preachment, not bringing, like Melchisedec, Bread or Wine at their own cost, would not take only at the willing hand of Liberality or Gratitude, but require and exact as due the tenth, not of Spoils, but of our whole Estates and Labors; nor once, but yearly. We then it seems by the example of Abram, must pay Tithes to these Melchisedecs: but what if the Person of Abram can neither no way represent us, or will oblige the Ministers to pay Tithes no less then other men? Abram had not only a Priest in his Loins, but was himself a Priest, and gave Tithes to Melchisedec either as Grandfather of Levi, or as Father of the faithful. If as Grandfather (though he understood it not) of Levi, he oblig'd not us but Levi only, the inferior Priest, by that Homage (as the Apostle to the Hebrews clearly enough explains) to acknowledge the greater. And they who by Melchisedec claim from Abram as Levi's Grandfather, have none to seek thir Tithes of but the Levites, where they can find them. If Abram as Father of the Faithful paid Tithes to Melchisedec, then certainly the Ministers also, if they be of that number, paid in him equally with the rest. Which may induce us to believe, that as both Abram and Melchisedec, so Tithes also in that action Typical and Ceremonial, signifi'd nothing els but that subjection which all the Faithful, both Ministers and People, owe to Christ, our High Priest and King.

In any literal Sense, from this Example, they never
will be able to extort that the People in those days paid Tithes to Priests; but this only, that one Priest once in his Life, of Spoils only, and in requital partly of a liberal Present, partly of a Benediction, gave voluntary Tithes, not to a greater Priest than himself, as far as Abram could then understand, but rather to a Priest and King join'd in one Person. They will reply, perhaps, that if one Priest paid Tithes to another, it must needs be understood that the People did no less to the Priest. But I shall easily remove that Necessity, by remembering them that in those days was no Priest, but the Father, or the first-born of each Family; and by consequence no People to pay him Tithes, but his own Children and Servants, who had not wherewithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant that the People then paid Tithes, there will not yet be the like reason to enjoin us; they being then under Ceremonies, a mere Laity, we now under Christ a Royal Priesthood, 1 Pet. 2. 9, as we are Co-heirs, Kings and Priests with him, a Priest for ever after the order or manner of Melchisedec. As therefore Abram paid Tithes to Melchisedec because Levi was in him, so we ought to pay none because the true Melchisedec is in us, and we in him who can pay to none greater, and hath freed us, by our Union with himself, from all compulsive Tributes and Taxes in his Church. Neither doth the collateral place, Heb. 7, make other use of this Story, than to prove Christ, personated by Melchisedec, a greater Priest than Aaron: Verf. 4. Now consider how great this Man was, &c., and proves not in the least manner that Tithes be of any right to Ministers, but the contrary: first, the Levites had a Commandment to take Tithes of the People according to the Law, that is, of thir Brethren, though they come out of the Loins of Abraham, Verf. 5. The Commandment then was, it seems, to take Tithes of the Jews only, and according to the Law. That
Law changing of necessity with the Priesthood, no other sort of Ministers, as they must needs be another sort under another Priesthood, can receive that Tribute of Tithes which fell with that Law, unless renewed by another express Command, and according to another Law; no such Law is extant. Next, Melchisedec not as a Minister, but as Christ himself in Person, bless'd Abraham who had the Promises, Ver. 6, and in him bless'd all both Ministers and People, both of the Law and Gospel: That Blessing declar'd him greater and better than whom he bless'd, Ver. 7, receiving Tithes from them all, not as a Maintenance, which Melchisedec needed not, but as a sign of homage and Subjection to thir King and Priest: whereas Ministers bear not the Person of Christ in his Priesthood or Kingship, bless not as he blesses, are not by thir Blessing greater than Abraham; and all the Faithful with themselves included in him, cannot both give and take Tithes in Abram, cannot claim to themselves that sign of our Allegiance due only to our Eternal King and Priest, cannot therefore derive Tithes from Melchisedec. Lastly, The eighth Verse hath thus; Here Men that die receive Tithes: There he received them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth. Which words intimate, that as he offer'd himself once for us, so he received once of us in Abraham, and in that place the typical acknowledgment of our Redemption: which had it been a perpetual annuity to Christ, by him claim'd as his due, Levi must have paid it yearly, as well as then, Ver. 9, and our Ministers ought still, to some Melchisedec or other, as well now as they did in Abraham. But that Christ never claim'd any such Tenth as his annual Due, much less resign'd it to the Ministers, his so officious Receivers, without express Commission or Assignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. Thus much may at length assure us, that this Example of Abra-
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ham and Melchisedec, though I see of late they build most upon it, can so little be the ground of any Law to us, that it will not so much avail them as to the Authority of an Example. Of like impertinence is that Example of Jacob, Gen. 28. 22, who of his free choice, not enjoin'd by any Law, vow'd the Tenth of all that God should give him: which, for ought appears to the contrary, he vow'd as a thing no less indifferent before his Vow, than the foregoing part thereof: That the Stone which he had set there for a Pillar, should be God's House. And to whom vow'd he this Tenth, but to God? not to any Priest, for we read of none to him greater than himself: and to God, no doubt, but he paid what he vow'd, both in the building of that Bethel, with other Altars elsewhere, and the expence of his continual Sacrifices, which none but he had right to offer. However therfore he paid his Tenth, it could in no likelihood, unless by such an occasion as befel his Grandfather, be to any Priest. But, say they, All the Tithe of the Land, whether of the Seed of the Land, or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lord's, holy unto the Lord, Lev. 27. 30. And this before it was given to the Levites; therfore since they ceas'd. No question; For the whole Earth is the Lord's, and the fulnes therof, Psal. 24. 1, and the Light of Nature shews us no less: But that the Tenth is his more than the rest, how know I, but as he so declares it? He declares it so here of the Land of Canaan only, as by all Circumstances appears, and passes, by Deed of Gift, this Tenth to the Levite; yet so as offer'd to him first a Heav-offering, and consecrated on his Altar, Numb. 18, all which I had as little known, but by that Evidence. The Levites are ceas'd, the Gift returns to the giver. How then can we know that he hath given it to any other? or how can these Men presume to take it unoffer'd first to God, unconsecrated,
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without another clear and express Donation, wherof they shew no Evidence or Writing? Besides, he hath now alienated that holy Land; who can warrantably affirm, that he hath since hallow'd the tenth of this Land, which none but God hath Power to do or can warrant? Thir last proof they cite out of the Gospel, which makes as little for them, Mat. 23. 23, where our Saviour denouncing Wo to the Scribes and Pharisees, who paid Tithe so exactly, and omitted weightier Matters, tells them, that these they ought to have done, that is, to have paid Tithes. For our Saviour spake then to those who observ'd the Law of Mořès, which was yet not fully abrogated, till the destruction of the Temple. And by the way here we may observe, out of thir own proof, that the Scribes and Pharisees, though then chief Teachers of the People, such at least as were not Levites, did not take Tithes, but paid them: So much less covetous were the Scribes and Pharisees in those worst times then ours at this day. This is so apparent to the Reformed Divines of other Countries, that when any one of ours hath attempted in Latin to maintain this Argument of Tithes, though a Man would think they might suffer him, without opposition, in a Point equally tending to the advantage of all Ministers, yet they forbear not to oppose him, as in a Doctrin not fit to pass unoppos'd under the Gospel. Which shews the Modesty, the Contentedness of those Forcin Pastors, with the Maintenance given them, thir sincerity also in the Truth, though less gainful, and the Avarice of ours; who through the love of their old Papistical Tithes, consider not the weak Arguments, or rather Conjectures and Surmises which they bring to defend them. On the other side, although it be sufficient to have prov'd in general the abolishing of Tithes, as part of the Judaical or Ceremonial Law, which is abolish'd all, as well that before as that after
considerations touching means to moses; yet i shall further prove them abrogated by an express ordinance of the gospel, founded not on any type, or that municipal law of moses, but on moral and general equity, given us instead: 1 cor. 9. 13, 14. know ye not, that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple; and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? so also the lord hath ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. he faith not, should live on things which were of the temple, or of the altar, of which were tithes, for that had given them a clear title: but abrogating that former law of moses, which determin'd what and how much, by a later ordinance of christ, which leaves the what and how much indefinite and free, so it be sufficient to live on: he faith, the lord hath so ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel; which hath neither temple, altar, nor sacrifice: hebrews 7. 13. for he of whom these things are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar: his ministers therefore cannot thence have tithes. and where the lord hath so ordained, we may find easily in more than one evangelist: luke 10. 7, 8. in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire, &c. and into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. to which ordinance of christ it may seem likeliest, that the apostle refers us both here, and 1 tim. 5. 18, where he cites this as the saying of our saviour, that the labourer is worthy of his hire. and both by this place of luke, and that of mat. 10. 9, 10, 11, it evidently appears that our saviour ordained no certain maintenance for his apostles or ministers, publicly or privately, in house or city receiv'd, but that, whatever it were, which might suffice to live on: and this not com-
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manded or proportion'd by Abram or by Moses, whom he might easily have here cited, as his manner was, but declar'd only by a Rule of common Equity, which proportions the Hire as well to the Ability of him who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recommends him only as worthy, not invests him with a legal Right. And mark wheron he grounds this his Ordinance; not on a perpetual right of Tithes from Melchisedec, as Hirelings pretend, which he never claim'd, either for himself, or for his Ministers, but on the plane and common equity of rewarding the Laborer; worthy somtimes of single, somtimes of double Honor, not proportionable by Tithes. And the Apostle in this forecited Chapter to the Corinthians, Ver. ii, affirms it to be no great Recompence, if carnal things be reap'd for spiritual sown; but to mention Tithes, neglects here the fittest occasion that could be offer'd him, and leaves the rest free and undetermin'd. Certainly if Christ or his Apostles had approv'd of Tithes, they would have, either by Writing or Tradition, recommended them to the Church; and that soon would have appear'd in the practice of those Primitive and the next Ages. But for the first three hundred Years and more, in all the Ecclesiastical Story, I find no such Doctrine or Example: though Error by that time had brought back again Priests, Altars and Oblations; and in many other Points of Religion had miserably judaiz'd the Church. So that the defenders of Tithes, after a long pomp, and tedious preparation out of Heathen Authors, telling us that Tithes were paid to Hercules and Apollo, which perhaps was imitated from the Jews, and as it were bespeaking our Expectation, that they will abound much more with Authorities out of Christian Story, have nothing of general Approval to begin with from the first three or four Ages, but that which abundantly serves to the
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Conjuration of thir Tithes; while they confess that Churchmen in those Ages liv'd meerly upon free-will Offerings. Neither can they say, that Tithes were not then paid for want of a civil Magistrate to ordain them, for Christians had then also Lands, and might give out of them what they pleas'd; and yet of Tithes then given we find no mention. And the first Christian Emperors, who did all things as Bishops advis'd them, supply'd what was wanting to the Clergy not out of Tithes, which were never motion'd, but out of thir own imperial Revenues; as is manifest in Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomen, from Constantine to Arcadius. Hence those ancientest reformed Churches of the Waldenses, if they rather continu'd not pure since the Apostles, deny'd that Tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive Church, as appeares by an ancient Tractate inserted in the Bohemian History. Thus far hath the Church bin always, whether in her prime or in her ancientest Reformation, from the approving of Tithes: nor without Reason; for they might easily perceive that Tithes were fitted to the Jews only, a national Church of many incomplete Synagogues, uniting the Accomplishment of divine Worship in one Temple; and the Levites there had thir Tithes paid where they did thir bodily Work; to which a particular Tribe was set apart by divine Appointment, not by the Peoples Election: but the Christian Church is universal; not ty'd to Nation, Dioces, or Parish, but consisting of many particular Churches complete in themselves, gather'd not by compulsion, or the accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free Consent, chusing both thir particular Church and thir Church-Officers. Wheras if Tithes be set up, all these Christian Privileges will be disturb'd and soon lost, and with them Christian Liberty.

The first Authority which our Adversaries bring,
after those fabulous Apostolic Canons, which they dare not insist upon, is a provincial Council held at Cullen, where they voted Tithes to be God's Rent, in the year three hundred fifty six; at the same time perhaps when the three Kings reign'd there, and of like Authority. For to what purpose do they bring these trivial Testimonies, by which they might as well prove Altars, Candles at noon, and the greatest part of those Superstitions fetch'd from Paganism or Jewifm, which the Papift, inveigl'd by this fond Argument of Antiquity, retains to this day? To what purpose those Decrees of I know not what Bishops, to a Parliament and People who have thrown out both Bishops and Altars, and promis'd all Reformation by the Word of God? And that Altars brought Tithes hither, as one Corruption begot another, is evident by one of those Questions which the Monk Aujlin propounded to the Pope, concerning those things, which by Offerings of the faithful came to the Altar; as Beda writes, l. i. c. 27. If then by these Testimonies we must have Tithes continu'd, we must again have Altars. Of Fathers, by custom so call'd, they quote Ambrose, Augustin, and some other ceremonial Doctors of the same Leven: whose Assertion, without pertinent Scripture, no reformed Church can admit; and what they vouch is founded on the Law of Moses, with which, every where pitifully mistaken, they again incorporate the Gospel; as did the rest also of those titular Fathers, perhaps an Age or two before them, by many Rights and Ceremonies, both Jewish and Heathenish, introduce'd; whereby thinking to gain all, they lost all: and instead of winning Jews and Pagans to be Christians, by too much condescending they turn'd Christians into Jews and Pagans.¹ To heap such unconvincing Citations as these in Reli-

¹ Prynn.
Considerations touching Means to gion, wherof the Scripture only is our Rule, argues not much Learning nor Judgment, but the loft Labor of much unprofitable reading. And yet a late hot Querist for Tithes, whom ye may know by his Wits lying ever beside him in the Margin, to be ever beside his Wits in the Text, a fierce Reformer once, now ranckl'd with a contrary heat, would send us back, very reformedly indeed, to learn Reformation from Tyndarus and Rebuffus, two canonical Promooters. They produce, next the ancient Constitutions of this Land, Saxon Laws, Edicts of Kings, and their Councils, from Athelfstan, in the year nine hundred twenty eight, that Tithes by Statute were paid: and might produce from Ina, above two hundred years before, that Rome'scot, or Peter's Penny, was by as good Statute Law paid to the Pope; from seven hundred twenty five, and almost as long continu'd. And who knows not that this Law of Tithes was enacted by those Kings and Barons upon the opinion they had of thir divine Right? as the very Words import of Edward the Confessor, in the clofe of that Law: For so blessed Austin preach'd and taught; meaning the Monk, who first brought the Romish Religion into England from Gregory the Pope. And by the way I add, that by these Laws, imitating the Law of Mo-ses, the third part of Tithes only was the Priests due; the other two were appointed for the Poor, and to adorn or repare Churches; as the Canons of Ecbert and Elfric witness: Concil. Brit. If then these Laws were founded upon the Opinion of divine Authority, and that Authority be found mistaken and erroneous, as hath bin fully manifested, it follows, that these Laws fall of themselves with thir false Foundation. But with what Face or Conscience can they allege Mo-ses, or these Laws for Tithes, as they now enjoy or exact them? wherof Mo-ses ordains the Owner, as we heard before, the Stranger, the Fatherles, and
the Widow, Partakers with the Levite; and these Fathers which they cite, and these though Romish rather than English Laws, allotted both to Priest and Bishop the third part only. But these our Protestant, these our new reformed English Presbyterian Divines, against their own cited Authors, and to the shame of their pretended Reformation, would engross to themselves all Tithes by Statute; and supported more by their wilful Obstinacy and Desire of filthy Lucre, than by these both insufficient and impertinent Authorities, would perswade a Christian Magistracy and Parliament, whom we trust God hath restored for a happier Reformation, to impose upon us a Judaical Ceremonial Law, and yet from that Law to be more irregular and unwarrantable, more complying with a covetous Clergy, than any of those Popish Kings and Parliaments alleged. Another shift they have to plead, that Tithes may be moral as well as the Sabbath, a tenth of Fruits as well as a seventh of Days. I answer, that the Prelats who urge this Argument have least reason to use it, denying Morality in the Sabbath, and therein better agreeing with Reformed Churches abroad than the rest of our Divines. As therefore the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient Recourse of Worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number, so neither is the tenth of our Goods, but only a convenient Subsistence morally due to Ministers. The last and lowest sort of their Arguments, that Men purchas’d not thir Tithe with thir Land, and such like Pettifoggery, I omit; as refuted sufficiently by others: I omit also thir violent and irreligious Exactions, related no less credibly; thir seising of Pots and Pans from the Poor, who have as good right to Tithes as they; from some, the very Beds; thir suing and imprisoning; worse than when the Canon Law was in force; worse than when those wicked Sons of Eli were Priests, whose
manner was thus to seize thir pretended priestly Due by force; 1 Sam. 2. 12, &c. Whereby Men abhor’d the Offering of the Lord. And it may be fear’d that many will as much abhor the Gospel, if such Violence as this be suffer’d in her Ministers, and in that which they also pretend to be the Offering of the Lord. For those Sons of Belial within some Limits made seizure of what they knew was thir own by an undoubted Law; but these, from whom there is no Sanctuary, seize out of Mens Grounds, out of Mens Houses, thir other Goods of double, sometimes of treble value, for that which, did not Covetousness and Rapine blind them, they know to be not thir own by the Gospel which they preach. Of some more tolerable than these, thus severely God hath spoken; Isa. 46. 10, &c. They are greedy dogs; they all look to thir own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter. With what Anger then will he judge them who stand not looking, but under colour of a divine Right, fetch by Force that which is not thir own, taking his Name not in vain, but in violence? Nor content, as Gehazi was, to make a cunning, but a constrain’d Advantage of what thir Master bids them give freely, how can they but return smitten, worse than that sharking Minister, with a spiritual Leprofy? And yet they cry out Sacrilege, that Men will not be gull’d and baffl’d the tenth of thir estates by giving credit to frivolous Pretences of divine Right. Where did God ever clearly declare to all Nations, or in all Lands, (and none but Fools part with thir Estates without clearest Evidence, on bare Supposals and Presumptions of them who are the Gainers therby) that he requir’d the tenth as due to him or his Son perpetually and in all places? Where did he demand it, that we might certainly know, as in all claims of temporal Right is just and reasonable? or if demanded, where did he assign it, or by what
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evident conveyance to Ministers? Unless they can
demonstrate this by more than Conjectures, thir Title
can be no better to Tithes than the Title of Gehazi
was to those things which by abusing his Master’s
name he rook’d from Naaman. Much less where
did he command that Tithes should be fetch’d by
force, where left not under the Gospel whatever his
Right was, to the Freewill-offerings of Men? Which
is the greater Sacrilege, to bely Divine Authority, to
make the name of Christ accessory to Violence, and
robbing him of the very Honor which he aim’d at
in bestowing freely the Gospel, to commit Simony
and Rapin, both secular and ecclesiastical; or on the
other side, not to give up the tenth of Civil Right
and Propriety to the Tricks and Impostures of Clergy-
men, contriv’d with all the Art and Argument that
thir Bellies can invent or suggest; yet so ridiculous
and presuming on the Peoples Dulness or Supersti-
tion, as to think they prove the divine Right of thir
Maintenance by Abram paying Tithes to Melchisedec,
when as Melchisedec in that passage rather gave Main-
tenance to Abram; in whom all, both Priests and
Ministers, as well as Lay-men, paid Tithes, not re-
ceiv’d them. And because I affirm’d above, begin-
ning this first part of my Discourse, that God hath
given to Ministers of the Gospel that Maintenance
only which is justly given them, let us see a little
what hath bin thought of that other Maintenance
besides Tithes, which of all Protestants our English
Divines either only or most apparently both require
and take. Those are Fees for Christnings, Mar-
riages, and Burials: which, though whoso will may
give freely, yet being not of Right, but of free Gift,
if they be exacted or establish’d, they becom unjust
to them who are otherwise maintain’d; and of such
evil note, that even the Council of Trent, l. 2. p. 246,
makes them liable to the Laws against Simony, who
take or demand Fees for the administering of any Sacrament: *Che la finodo volendo levare gli abusi introdotti*, &c. And in the next Page, with like Severity, condemns the giving or taking for a Benefice, and the celebrating of Marriages, Christnings, and Burials, for Fees exacted or demanded: nor counts it less Simony to fell the Ground or Place of Burial. And in a State-Assembly at Orleans, 1561, it was decreed, *Che non si potesse effiger cosa alcuna*, &c. p. 429. That nothing should be exacted for the administering of Sacraments, Burials, or any other spiritual Function. Thus much that Council, of all others the most Popish, and this Assembly of Papists, though, by their own Principles, in bondage to the Clergy, were induc'd, either by their own reason and shame, or by the light of Reformation then shining in upon them, or rather by the known Canons of many Councils and Synods long before, to condemn of Simony spiritual Fees demanded. For if the Minister be maintain'd for his whole Ministry, why should he be twice paid for any part thereof? Why should he, like a Servant, seek Vails over and above his Wages? As for Christnings, either they themselves call Men to Baptism, or Men of themselves com: if Ministers invite, how ill had it becom'd John the Baptist to demand Fees for his baptizing, or Christ for his christnings? Far less becomes it these now, with a greediness lower than that of Tradesmen calling Passengers to thir Shop, and yet paid beforehand, to ask again for doing that which those thir Founders did freely. If Men of themselves com to be baptiz'd, they are either brought by such as already pay the Minister, or com to be one of his Disciples and Maintainers: of whom to ask a Fee as it were for entrance, is a piece of paltry craft or caution, befitting none but beggarly Artifts. Burials and Marriages are so little to be any part of thir Gain, that
they who consider well, may find them to be no part of thir Function. At Burials thir attendance they all'd on the Corps; all the Guests do as much un-hir'd. But thir Prayers at the Grave, superstitiously requir'd: yet if requir'd, thir last performance to the deceas'd of thir own Flock. But the Funeral Ser- mon, at thir chôse, or if not, an occasion offer'd thir to preach out of season, which is one part of thir Office. But somthing must be spoken in praise; if due, thir duty; if undue, thir corruption: a peculiar Simonie of our Divines in England only. But the ground is broken, and especially thir unrighteous Possession, the Chancel. To sell that will not only raise up in judgment the Council of Trent against them, but will lose them the best Champion of Tithes, thir zealous Antiquary, Sir Hen. Spelman, who in a Book written to that purpose, by many cited Canons, and som even of times corruptest in the Church, proves that Fees exacted or demanded for Sacraments, Marriages, Burials, and especially for interring, are wicked, accursed, simoniacal and abominable: Yet thus is the Church, for all this noise of Reformation, left still unreform'd, by the censure of thir own Synods, thir own Favourers, a den of Thieves and Robbers. As for Marriages, that Ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctifi'd or legitimat without thir Celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of Precept or Example. Likeliest it is (which our Selden hath well observ'd, l. 2. c. 28, ux. Eb.) that in imitation of Heathen Priests who were wont at Nuptials to use many Rites and Ceremonies, and especially, judging it would be profitable, and the increase of their Autority, not to be Spectators only in business of such concernment to the Life of Man, they insinuated that Marriage was not holy without thir Benediction, and for the better colour, made it a Sacrament; being of it self
Confederations touching Means to a Civil Ordinance, a household Contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of Mankind, not as religious, but as Men: best, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and as the Apostle faith, 1 Cor. 7. In the Lord. Yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a Minister and his pretended necessary hallowing, more than any other Act, Enterprise or Contract of civil Life, which ought all to be done also in the Lord and to his Glory: All which, no less than Marriage, were by the cunning of Priests hertofore, as material to thir Profit, transacted at the Altar. Our Divines deny it to be a Sacrament; yet retain'd the Celebration, till prudently a late Parliament recover'd the Civil Liberty of Marriage from thir incroachment, and transferr'd the ratifying and registering thereof from the Canonical Shop to the proper cognisance of Civil Magistrates. Seeing then, that God hath given to Ministers under the Gospel, that only which is justly given them, that is to say, a due and moderat Livelihood, the hire of thir labor, and that the heav-offering of Tithes is abolish'd with the Altar, yea though not abolish'd, yet lawles, as they enjoy them; thir Melchisedecian Right also trivial and groundles, and both Tithes and Fees, if exacted or establish'd, unjust and scandalous; we may hope, with them remov'd, to remove Hirelings in som good measure, whom these tempting Baits, by Law especially to be recover'd, allure into the Church.

The next thing to be consider'd in the maintenance of Ministers, is by whom it should be given. Wherin though the Light of Reason might sufficiently inform us, it will be best to consult the Scripture: Gal. 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things: that is to say in all manner of Gratitude, to his ability. 1 Cor. 9. 11. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your
Remove Hirelings out of the Church. 365

carnal things? To whom therefore hath not bin sown, from him wherfore should be reap’d? 1 Tim. 5. 17. Let the Elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in word and doctrin. By these places we see, that Recompense was given either by every one in particular who had bin instructed, or by them all in common, brought into the Church-Treafury, and distributed to the Ministers according to thir several labors: and that was judg’d either by som extraordinary Perfon, as Timothy, who by the Apostle was then left Evangelift at Ephefus, 2 Tim. 4. 5. or by som to whom the Church deputed that care. This is so agreeable to reafon and so clear, that any one may perceive what Iniquity and Violence hath prevail’d since in the Church, wherby it hath bin so order’d, that they also shall be compell’d to recompence the Parochial Minifter, who neither chose him for thir Teacher, nor have receiv’d Instruction from him, as being either insufficient, or not reffident, or inferior to whom they follow; wherein to bar them thir Choife, is to violate Christian Liberty. Our Law-books teftifie, that before the Councel of Lateran, in the year 1179, and the fifth of our Henry 2. or rather before a decretal Epiftle of Pope Innocent the Third, about 1200, and the first of King John, any Man might have given his Tithes to what spiritual Perfon he would: and, as the L. Coke notes on that place, Infit. part 2. that this decretal bound not the Subjects of this Realm, but as it seem’d just and reasonable. The Pope took his reason rightly from the above cited place, 1 Cor. 9. 11. but faffly suppos’d every one to be instructed by his Parish-Priest. Whether this were then first so decreed, or rather long before, as may seem by the Laws of Edgar and Canute, that Tithes were to be paid, not to whom he would that paid them, but to the Cathe-
dral Church or the Parish Priest, it imports not;
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since the reason which they themselves bring, built on false supposition, becomes alike infirm and absurd, that he should reap from me, who sows not to me, be the cause either his defect, or my free choice. But here it will be readily objected, What if they who are to be instructed be not able to maintain a Minister, as in many Villages? I answer, that the Scripture shews in many places what ought to be done here. First I offer it to the reason of any Man, whether he think the knowledge of Christian Religion harder than any other Art or Science to attain. I suppose he will grant that it is far easier, both of itself, and in regard of God's assisting Spirit, not particularly promised us to the attainment of any other knowledge, but of this only: since it was preach'd as well to the Shepherds of Bethlehem by Angels, as to the Eastern Wisemen by that Star: and our Saviour declares himself anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor, Luke 4. 18. then surely to their Capacity. They who after him first taught it, were otherwise unlearned Men: they who before Hus and Luther first reform'd it, were for the meanness of their condition call'd, the poor Men of Lions: and in Flanders at this day, les gueus, which is to say, Beggars. Therefore are the Scriptures translated into every vulgar Tongue, as being held in main matters of Belief and Salvation, plain and easy to the poorest: and such no less than their Teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all Truth, Job. 14. 26. and 16. 13. Hence we may conclude, if Men be not all their lifetime under a Teacher to learn Logic, natural Philosophy, Ethics or Mathematics, which are more difficult, that certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of Christian Knowledge that Men should sit all their life long at the feet of a pulpited Divine; while he, a lollard indeed, over his elbow-cushion, in almost the seventh part of forty or fifty years
teaches them scarce half the Principles of Religion; and his Sheep oft-times fit the while to as little purpose of benefiting as the Sheep in thir Pues at Smithfield; and for the most part by som Simony or other, bought and fold like them: or, if this Comparison be too low, like those Women, 1 Tim. 3. 7. Ever learning and never attaining; yet not so much through thir own fault, as through the unskilful and immethodical teaching of thir Pastor, teaching here and there at random out of this or that Text, as his eafe or fansie, and oft-times as his stealth guides him. Seeing then that Christian Religion may be so easily attain'd, and by meanest Capacities, it cannot be much difficult to find ways, both how the poor, yea all Men may be soon taught what is to be known of Christianity, and they who teach them, recompen'd. First, if Ministers of thir own accord, who pretend that they are call'd and sent to preach the Gospel, those especially who have no particular Flock, would imitate our Saviour and his Disciples who wentpreaching through the Villages, notonly through the Cities, Matth. 9. 35. Mark 6. 6. Luke 13. 22. Acts 8. 25. and there preach'd to the poor as well as to the rich, looking for no recom pense but in Heaven: John 4. 35, 36. Look on the fields, for they are white already to Harvest: and he that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto Life eternal. This was thir Wages. But they will soon reply, we our selves have not wherewithal; who shall bear the Charges of our Journey? To whom it may as soon be answer'd, that in likelihood they are not poorer than they who did thus; and if they have not the same Faith which those Disciples had to truft in God and the Promise of Christ for thir Maintenance as they did, and yet intrude into the Ministry without any livelihood of thir own, they caft themselves into a miserable hazard or temptation, and oft-times into
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a more miserable necessity, either to starve, or to please thrir Paimasters rather than God; and give Men just caufe to suspect, that they came neither call’d nor sent from above to preach the Word, but from below, by the instinct of thrir own hunger, to feed upon the Church. Yet grant it needful to allow them both the Charges of thrir Journey and the Hire of thrir Labour, it will belong next to the Charity of richer Congregations, where most commonly they abound with Teachers, to send som of thrir number to the Villages round, as the Apostles from Jerusalem sent Peter and John to the City and Villages of Samaria, Acts 8. 14, 25. or as the Church at Jerusalem sent Barnabas to Antioch, chap. 11. 22. and other Churches joining sent Luke to travail with Paul, 2 Cor. 8. 19. though whether they had thrir Charges born by the Church or no, it be not recorded. If it be objected that this itinerary preaching will not serve to plant the Gofpel in those places, unless they who are sent, abide there som competent time; I answer, that if they stay there a year or two, which was the longest time usually staid by the Apostles in one place, it may suffice to teach them, who will attend and learn, all the Points of Religion necessary to Salvation; then sorting them into several Congregations of a moderat number, out of the ableft and zealoufèft among them to create Elders, who, exercifing and requiring from themselves what they have learn’d (for no Learning is retain’d without constant exercise and methodical repetition) may teach and govern the rest: and so exhorted to continue faithful and ftedfaft, they may securely be committed to the Providence of God and the guidance of his holy Spirit, till God may offer som opportunity to visit them again, and to confirm them: which when they have don, they have don as much as the Apostles were wont to do in propagating the Gofpel, Acts 14.
23. And when they had ordain'd them Elders in every Church, and had pray'd with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believ'd. And in the same Chapter, Vers. 21, 22. When they had preach'd the Gospel to that City, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra and to Iconium and Antioch, confirming the Souls of the Disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the Faith. And Chap. 15. 36. Let us go again and visit our Brethren. And Vers. 41. He went thorow Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches.

To these I might add other helps, which we enjoy now, to make more easie the attainment of Christian Religion by the meanest: the entire Scripture translated into English with plenty of Notes; and som where or other, I trust, may be found som wholsom body of Divinity, as they call it, without School Terms and Metaphysical Notions, which have obscur'd rather than explan'd our Religion, and made it seem difficult without cause. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then visited and confirm'd, in the most destitute and poorest places of the Land, under the Government of thir own Elders performing all Ministerial Offices among them, they may be trusted to meet and edifie one another whether in Church or Chappel, or, to save them the trudging of many miles thither, neerer home, though in a House or Barn. For notwithstanding the gaudy Superstition of som devoted still ignorantly to Temples, we may be well assur'd that he who disdain'd not to be laid in a Manger, disdain's not to be preach'd in a Barn; and that by such meetings as these, being indeed most Apostolical and Primitive, they will in a short time advance more in Christian Knowledg and Reformation of Life, than by the many years preaching of such an Incumbent, I may say, such an Incubus oft-times, as will be meanly hir'd to abide long in those places. They have this left perhaps to object
Considerations touching Means to further, that to send thus, and to maintain, though but for a year or two, Ministers and Teachers in several places, would prove chargeable to the Churches, though in Towns and Cities round about. To whom again I answer, that it was not thought so by them who first thus propagated the Gospel, though but few in number to us, and much less able to sustain the Expence. Yet this Expence would be much less than to hire Incumbents, or rather Incumbrances, for life-time; and a great means (which is the subject of this Discourse) to diminish Hirelings. But be the Expence less or more, if it be found burdensome to the Churches, they have in this Land an easie remedy in their recourse to the Civil Magistrate; who hath in his hands the disposal of no small Revenues, left, perhaps, anciently to superstitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and best uses; and thence, once made publick, appliable by the present Magistrate to such uses as the Church, or solid Reason from whomsoever, shall convince him to think best. And those uses may be, no doubt, much rather than as Glebes and Augmentations are now bestow'd, to grant such requests as these of the Churches; or to erect in greater number all over the Land Schools, and competent Libraries to those Schools, where Languages and Arts may be taught free together, without the needless, unprofitable and inconvenient removing to another place. So all the Land would be soon better civiliz'd, and they who are taught freely at the publick Coft, might have thir Education given them on this condition, that therwith content, they should not gad for Preferment out of thir own Country, but continue there thankful for what they receiv'd freely, bestowing it as freely on thir Country, without soaring above the meannes wherin they were born. But how they shall live when they are thus bred and dismis'd, will be still the sluggishe Objection.
To which is answer'd, that those publick Foundations may be so instituted, as the Youth therin may be at once brought up to a competence of Learning and to an honest Trade; and the hours of teaching so order'd, as thir study may be no hinderance to thir labor or other calling. This was the breeding of S. Paul, though born of no mean Parents, a free Citizen of the Roman Empire: so little did his Trade debase him, that it rather enabl'd him to use that magnanimity of preaching the Gospel through Asia and Europe at his own charges: thus thos'e Preachers among the poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our Reformation, without these helps which I speak of, bred up themselves in Trades, and especially in Physic and Surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture (which is the only true Theology) that they might be no burden to the Church; and by the Example of Christ, might cure both Soul and Body, through industry joining that to thir Ministry, which he join'd to his by gift of the Spirit. Thus relates Peter Gilles in his History of the Waldenses in Piemont. But our Ministers think scorn to use a Trade, and count it the reproach of this Age, that Tradesmen preach the Gospel. It were to be wish'd they were all Tradesmen; they would not then so many of them, for want of another Trade, make a Trade of thir preaching: and yet they clamor that Tradesmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themselves are the worst Tradesmen of all. As for Church-Endowments and Possessions, I meet with none considerable before Constantine, but the Houses and Gardens where they met, and thir places of burial: and I perswade me, that from thern the ancient Waldenses, whom deservedly I cite so often, held, That to endow Churches is an evil thing; and, that the Church then fell off and turn'd Whore sitting on that Beast in the Revelation, when under Pope Sylvester she receiv'd those Temporal Do-
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technations. So the forecited Tractat of thir Doctrin
testifies. This also thir own Traditions of that hea-
venly Voice witness’d, and som of the ancient Fa-
thers then living foresaw and deplor’d. And indeed,
how could these Endowments thrive better with the
Church, being unjustly taken by those Emperors,
without suffrage of the People, out of the Tributes
and publick Lands of each City, wherby the People
became liable to be oppress’d with other Taxes.
Being therefore given for the most part by Kings and
other publick Persons, and so likeliest out of the
Publick, and if without the Peoples consent, unjustly,
however to publick ends of much concernment, to
the good or evil of a Common-wealth, and in that
regard made publick though given by private Per-
sons, or which is worse, given, as the Clergy then
perfwaded men, for thir Souls Health, a pious Gift;
but as the truth was, oft-times a bribe to God, or to
Chrift for Absolution, as they were then taught, for
Murders, Adulteries, and other hainous Crimes;
what shall be found hertofore given by Kings or
Princes out of the publick, may justly by the Magif-
trate be recall’d and reappropriated to the Civil Re-
venue: what by privat or publick Persons out of thir
own, the price of Blood or Luft, or to som such pur-
gatorious and superfittitious Uses, not only may but
ought to be taken off from Chrift, as a foul disho-
nour laid upon him, or not impiously given, nor in
particular to any one, but in general to the Churches
good, may be converted to that use which shall be
judg’d tending more directly to that general end.
Thus did the Princes and Cities of Germany in the
firft Reformation; and defended thir fo doing by many
reasons, which are set down at large in Sleidan, Lib.
Anno 1540. But that the Magiftrate either out of
that Church Revenue which remains yet in his hand,
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or establishing any other Maintenance instead of Tithe, should take into his own Power the stipendiary maintenance of Church-ministers, or compel it by Law, can stand neither with the Peoples right, nor with Christian liberty, but would suspend the Church wholly upon the State, and turn her Ministers into State-Pensioners. And for the Magistrate in Person of a nursing Father to make the Church his meer Ward, as always in Minority, the Church, to whom he ought as a Magistrate, Esa. 49. 23. To bow down with his face toward the Earth, and lick up the dust of her Feet; her to subject to his political Drifts or conceiv’d opinions, by mastering her Revenue; and so by his examinant committies to circumscribe her free election of Ministers, is neither just nor pious; no honor don to the Church, but a plain dishonor: and upon her whose only head is in Heaven, yea upon him, who is her only Head, sets another in effect, and which is most monstrous, a human on a Heavenly, a carnal on a Spiritual, a political Head on an Ecclesiastical Body; which at length by such heterogeneal, such incestuous conjunction; transforms her oft-times into a Beast of many Heads and many Horns. For if the Church be of all Societies the holiest on Earth, and so to be reverenc’d by the Magistrate, not to trust her with her own Belief and Integrity; and therefore not with the keeping, at least with the disposing of what Revenue shall be found justly and lawfully her own, is to count the Church not a Holy Congregation, but a pack of giddy or dishonest Persons, to be rul’d by Civil Power in Sacred Affairs. But to proceed further in the Truth yet more freely, seeing the Christian Church is not National, but consisting of many particular Congregations, subject to many changes, as well through Civil Accidents, as through Schism and various Opinions, not to be decided by any outward judg, being
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matters of Conscience, wherby these pretended Church Revenues, as they have bin ever, so are like to continue endles matter of Diffention both between the Church and Magistrate, and the Churches among themselves, there will be found no better remedy to these evils, otherwise incurable, then by the incorruptef Council of those Waldenses, or firft Reformers, to remove them as a Pef, an apple of discord in the Church, (for what els can be the effect of Riches, and the snare of Money in Religion?) and to convert them to those more profitable Ufes above express'd, or other such as shall be judg'd most necessary; consider ing that the Church of Chrifi was founded in Poverty rather than in Revenues, stood pureft and prosper'd best without them, receiv'd them unlaw fully from them who both erroneously and unjustly, somtimes impiouly, gave them, and fo juftly was en snar'd and corrupted by them. And left it be thought that these Revenues withdrawn and better impoy'd, the Magiftrate ought instead to settle by Statute som maintenance of Minifters, let this be consider'd firft, that it concerns every mans Conscience to what Religion he contributes; and that the Civil Magiftrate is intrufted with Civil Rights only, not with Con science, which can have no Deputy or representer of it self, but one of the fame Mind: next, that what each man gives to the Minifter, he gives either as to God, or as to his Teacher; if as to God, no Civil Power can juftly confecrate to religious Ufes any part either of Civil Revenue, which is the Peoples, and muft save them from other Taxes, or of any mans propriety, but God by special command, as he did by Moifes, or the owner himself by voluntary inten tion and the perfwasion of his giving it to God. Forc'd Confebrations out of another mans Estate are no better then forc'd Vows, hateful to God, who loves a chearful giver; but much more hateful, wrung out
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of mens Purses to maintain a disapprov'd Ministry against thir Conscience; however unholy, infamous, and dishonorable to his Ministers, and the free Gospel maintain'd in such unworthy manner as by Violence and Extortion. If he give it as to his Teacher, what Justice or Equity compels him to pay for learning that Religion which leaves freely to his choice, whether he will learn it or no, whether of this Teacher or another, and especially to pay for what he never learn'd, or approves not; wherby, besides the wound of his Conscience, he becomes the less able to recompence his true Teacher? Thus far hath bin enquir'd by whom Church-ministers ought to be maintain'd, and hath bin prov'd most natural, most equal and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them who receive thir Teaching; and by whom, if they be unable? Which ways well observ'd, can discourage none but Hirelings, and will much lessen thir number in the Church.

It remains lastly to consider, in what manner God hath ordain'd that Recompence be given to Ministers of the Gospel; and by all Scripture it will appear that he hath given it them not by Civil Law and Freehold, as they claim, but by the Benevolence and free Gratitude of such as receive them: Luke 10. 7, 8. Eating and drinking such things as they give you. If they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. Matt. 10. 7, 8. As ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of God is at hand, &c. Freely ye have receiv'd, freely give. If God have ordain'd Ministers to preach freely, whether they receive recompence or no, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them. But freely given, he accounts it as given to himself: Philip. 4. 16, 17, 18. Ye sent once and again to my necessity: Not because I desire a Gift; but I desire Fruit that may abound to your account. Having receiv'd of Epaphroditus the things
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which were sent from you, an odor of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God: Which cannot be from force or unwillingness. The same is said of Alms, **Heb. 13. 16.** To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with such Sacrifices God is well pleas'd. Whence the Primitive Church thought it no shame to receive all thir maintenance as the Alms of thir Auditors. Which they who defend Tithes, as if it made for thir cause, when as it utterly confutes them, omit not to set down at large; proving to our hands out of **Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian,** and others, that the Clergy liv'd at first upon the meer benevolence of thir Hearers; who gave what they gave, not to the Clergy, but to the Church; out of which the Clergy had thir Portions given them in Baskets, and were thence call'd *sportularii,* basket-clerks: that thir Portion was a very mean allowance, only for a bare livelihood; according to those Precepts of our Saviour, **Matt. 10. 7,** &c. the rest was distributed to the Poor. They cite also out of **Prosper,** the disciple of St. **Austin,** that such of the Clergy as had means of thir own, might not without sin partake of Church-maintenance; not receiving thereby food which they abound with, but feeding on the sins of other men: that the Holy Ghost faith of such Clergy men, they eat the sins of my People; and that a Council at **Antioch,** in the year 340, suffer'd not either Priest or Bishop to live on Church-maintenance without Necessity. Thus far Tithers themselves have contributed to thir own confusion, by confessing that the Church liv'd primitively on Alms. And I add, that about the year 359, **Constantius** the Emperor having summon'd a general Council of Bishops to **Ariminum** in Italy, and provided for thir subsistence there, the **British** and **French** Bishops judging it not decent to live on the Publick, chose rather to be at thir own charges. Three only out of **Britain** constrain'd
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through want, yet refusing offer'd assistance from the rest, accepting the Emperor's Provision; judging it more convenient to subsist by publick than by private sustenance. Whence we may conclude, that Bishops then in this Island had thir livelihood only from benevolence; in which regard this relater Sulpius Severus, a good Author of the same time, highly praises them. And the Waldenses, our first Reformers, both from the Scripture and these Primitive examples, maintain'd those among them who bore the Office of Ministers, by Alms only. Take thir very words from the History written of them in French, Part 3. Lib. 2. Chap. 2. La nourriture et ce de quoy nous sommes couverts, &c. Our Food and Clothing is sufficiently administer'd and given to us by way of graniity and Alms, by the good People whom we teach. If then by Alms and Benevolence, not by legal force, not by tenure of Freehold or Copyhold: for Alms, though just, cannot be compell'd; and Benevolence forc'd, is Malevolence rather, violent and inconsistent with the Gospel; and declares him no true Minister therof, but a rapacious Hireling rather, who by force receiving it, eats the bread of Violence and Exaction, no holy or just livelihood, no not civilly counted honest; much less befitting such a spiritual Ministry. But, say they, our Maintenance is our due, Tithes the right of Christ, unseparable from the Priest, no where repeal'd; if then, not otherwise to be had, by Law to be recover'd; for though Paul were pleas'd to forgo his due, and not to use his Power, i Cor. 9. 12. yet he had a Power, Ver. 4. and bound not others. I answer first, because I see them still so loth to unlearn their decimal Arithmetic, and still grasp thir Tithes as inseparable from a Priest, that Ministers of the Gospel are not Priests; and therefore separated from Tithes by thir own exclusion, being neither call'd Priests in the New Testament, nor of any Order
Confiderations touching Means to known in Scripture: not of Melchisedec, proper to Christ only; not of Aaron, as they themselves will confess; and the third Priesthood only remaining, is common to all the Faithful. But they are Ministers of our High Priest. True, but not of his Priesthood, as the Levites were to Aaron; for he performs that whole Office himself incommunicably. Yet Tithes remain, say they, still unreles'ed, the due of Christ; and to whom payable, but to his Ministers? I say again, that no man can so understand them, unless Christ in som place or other so claim them. That example of Abram argues nothing but his voluntary act; honor once only don, but on what consideration, whether to a Priest or to a King, whether due the honor, arbitrary that kind of honor or not, will after all contending be left still in meer conjecture: which must not be permitted in the claim of such a needy and suttle spiritual Corporation, pretending by divine right to the Tenth of all other mens Estates; nor can it be allow'd by wise men, or the verdit of common Law. And the tenth part, though once declar'd Holy, is declar'd now to be no holier than the other nine, by that command to Peter, Acts 10. 15, 28. whereby all distinction of Holy and Unholy is remov'd from all things. Tithes thercfore though claim'd, and Holy under the Law, yet are now releas'd and quitted both by that command to Peter, and by this to all Ministers abovediscited, Luke 10. eating and drinking such things as they give you: made Holy now by thir free Gift only. And therefore S. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 4. asserts his Power indeed; but of what? not of Tithes, but to eat and drink such things as are given in reference to this command; which he calls not Holy things, or things of the Gospel, as if the Gospel had any consecrated things in answer to things of the Temple, Ver. 13. but he calls them your Carnal things, Ver. 11. without changing
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thir property. And what Power had he? Not the Power of Force, but of Conscience only, wherby he might lawfully and without scruple live on the Gospel; receiving what was given him, as the recompence of his Labor. For if Christ the Master hath profess'd his Kingdom to be not of this World, it suits not with that profession, either in him or his Ministers, to claim temporal Right from spiritual Respects. He who refus'd to be the divider of an Inheritance between two Brethren, cannot approve his Ministers, by pretended right from him, to be dividers of Tenths and Freeholds out of other mens Possessions, making therby the Gospel but a cloak of carnal Interest, and, to the contradiction of thir Master, turning his heavenly Kingdom into a Kingdom of this World, a Kingdom of Force and Rapin: To whom it will be one day thunder'd more terribly than to Gehazi, for thus dishonouring a far greater Master and his Gospel; is this a time to receive Money, and to receive Garments, and Olive-yards, and Vineyards, and Sheep, and Oxen? The Leprosy of Naaman link'd with that Apostolic curfe of perishing imprecated on Simon Magus, may be fear'd will cleave to such and to thir seed for ever. So that when all is don, and Belly hath us'd in vain all her cunning shifts, I doubt not but all true Ministers, considering the demonstration of what hath bin here prov'd, will be wise, and think it much more tolerable to hear that no maintenance of Ministers, whether Tithes or any other, can be settl'd by Statute, but must be given by them who receive Instruction; and freely given, as God hath ordain'd. And indeed what can be a more honorable Maintenance to them than such, whether Alms or willing Oblations, as these; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable Sacrifices now remaining, must needs represent him who receives them much in the care of
Considerations touching Means to

God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and constraint, but with religious awe and reverence; what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God. This would be well enough, say they; but how many will so give? I answer, as many, doubtless, as shall be well taught, as many as God shall so move. Why are ye so distrustful, both of your own Doctrin and of God's Promises, fulfill'd in the experience of those Disciples first sent: Luke 22. 35. When I sent you without Purse, and Scrip, and Shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing. How then came ours, or who sent them thus destitute, thus poor and empty both of Purse and Faith? Who style themselves Embassyadors of Jesus Christ, and seem to be his Tithe-gatherers, though an Office of thir own setting up to his Difhonor, his Exacters, his Publicans rather, not trusting that he will maintain them in thir embassy, unless they bind him to his Promise by a Statute-law, that we shall maintain them. Lay down for shame that magnific Title, while ye seek Maintenance from the People: It is not the manner of Embassyadors to ask Maintenance of them to whom they are sent. But he who is Lord of all things, hath so ordain'd: trust him then; he doubtles will command the People to make good his Promises of Maintenance more honorably unask'd, unrak'd for. This they know, this they preach, yet believe not: but think it as impossible, without a Statute-law, to live of the Gospel, as if by those words they were bid go eat thir Bibles, as Ezekiel and John did thir Books; and such Doctrins as these are as bitter to thir Bellies; but will serve so much the better to discover Hirelings, who can have nothing, though but in appearance, just and solid to answer for themselves against what hath bin here spoken, unless perhaps this one remaining Pretence, which we shall quickly see to be either fals or uningenious.
They pretend that thir Education, either at School or University, hath bin very chargeable, and therfore ought to be repair'd in future by a plentiful Maintenance: Whenas it is well known that the better half of them, and oft-times poor and pitiful Boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might intitle them to the publick Provision, but thir Poverty and the unjust favour of Friends, have had the most of thir breeding, both at School and University, by Scholarships; Exhibitions and Fellowships at the Publick Cost, which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely receiv'd. Or if they have mis'd of these helps at the latter place, they have after two or three Years left the cours of thir studies there, if they ever well began them, and undertaken, though furnish'd with little els but Ignorance, Boldness and Ambition, if with no worse Vices, a Chaplainship in som Gentleman's house, to the frequent imbasimg of his Sons with illiterate and narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon thir own, who knows not that seven years Charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government of thir Parents to the license of a University, but com seriously to study, is no more than may be well de- Fraid and reimburs'd by one year's Revenue of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then means of Breeding from thir Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it needs must be mechanick and uningenuous in them, to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning of those liberal Arts and Sciences, which they have learn'd (if they have indeed learn'd them, as they seldom have) to thir own benefit and accomplishment. But they will say, we had betaken us to som other Trade or Profession, had we not expected to find a better Livelihood by the Ministry. This is that which I look'd for, to discover them openly neither true lovers of Learning, and so very

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Confiderations touching Means to seldom guilty of it, nor true Ministers of the Gospel. So long ago out of date is that old true saying, 1 Tim. 3. 1. If a Man desire a Bishoprick, he desires a good work: for now commonly he who desires to be a Minister, looks not at the Work, but at the Wages; and by that Lure or Loubel, may be toald from Parish to Parish all the Town over. But what can be plainer Simony, than thus to be at Charges beforehand, to no other end than to make thir Ministry doubly or trebly beneficial? To whom it might be said, as juftly as to that Simon, Thy Mony perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the Gift of God may be purchas’d with Money; thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter. Next, it is a fond Error, though too much believ’d among us, to think that the University makes a Minister of the Gospel; what it may conduce to other Arts and Sciences, I dispute not now: but that which makes fit a Minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence also we are bid to seek them; Mat. 9. 38. Pray ye therefore to the Lord of the Harvest, that he will send forth Laborers into his Harvest. Acts 20. 28. The Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers. Rom. 10. 15. How shall they preach, unless they be sent? By whom sent? by the University, or the Magistrate, or thir Belly? No surely, but sent from God only, and that God who is not thir Belly. And whether he be sent from God, or from Simon Magus, the inward sense of his Calling and spiritual Ability will sufficiently tell him; and that strong Obligation felt within him, which was felt by the Apostle, will often express from him the same words: 1 Cor. 9. 16. Necessity is laid upon me, yea, Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel. Not a beggarly necessity, and the Wo fear’d otherwise of perpetual want, but such a necessity as made him willing to preach the Gospel gratis, and to embrace Poverty, rather than
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as a Wo to fear it. 1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set som in the Church, first Apostles, &c. Ephes. 4. 11, &c. He gave som Apostles, &c. For the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt, till we all come to the Unity of the Faith. Wherby we may know, that as he made them at the first, fo he makes them still, and to the World's end. 2 Cor. 3. 6. Who hath also made us fit or able Ministers of the New Testament. 1 Tim. 4. 14. The Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Propheſy, and the laying on of the Hands of the Preſbytery. These are all the means which we read of requir'd in Scripture to the making of a Minister. All this is granted, you will fay; but yet that it is also requisite he should be train'd in other Learning; which can be no where better had than at Universities. I anſwer, that what Learning, either Human or Divine, can be neceſsary to a Minister, may as easily and leſs chargeably be had in any private house. How deficient els, and to how little purpose are all those piles of Sermons, Notes, and Comments on all parts of the Bible, Bodies and Marrows of Divinity, besides all other Sciences, in our English Tongue; many of the fame Books which in Latin they read at the Univerſity? And the small neceſsity of going thither to learn Divinity, I prove firſt from the moſt part of themselves, who feldom continue there till they have well got through Logic, thir firſt Rudiments; though, to fay truth, Logic also may much better be wanting in Disputes of Divinity, than in the subtile Debates of Lawyers and Stateſmen, who yet feldom or never deal with Syllogisms. And those Theological Disputations there held by Profefſors and Graduates, are such as tend leaft of all to the Edification or Capacity of the People, but rather perplex and leaſt pure Doctrin with Scholaſtical Trash, than enable any Minister to the better preaching of
Confiderations touching Means to the Gospel. Whence we may also compute, since they com to reckonings, the charges of his needful Library: which, though some shame not to value at 600l. may be competently furnish’d for 60l. If any Man for his own Curiosity or delight be in Books further expensive, that is not to be reckon’d as necessary to his ministerial, either Breeding or Function. But Papiists and other Adversaries, cannot be confuted without Fathers and Councils, immense Volumes, and of vast charges. I will shew them therefore a shorter and a better way of confutation: Tit. 1. 9. Holding fast the faithful Word, as he bath bin taught, that he may be able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort and to convince Gainsayers: who are confuted as soon as heard, bringing that which is either not in Scripture, or against it. To persue them further through the obscure and intangled Wood of Antiquity, Fathers and Councils fighting one against another, is needless, endless, not requisite in a Minister, and refus’d by the first Reformers of our Religion. And yet we may be confident, if these things be thought needful, let the State but erect in publick good store of Libraries, and there will not want men in the Church, who of thir own Inclinations will become able in this kind against Papiists or any other Adversary. I have thus at large examin’d the usual Pretences of Hirelings, colour’d over most commonly with the cause of Learning and Universities; as if with Divines Learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part thir Pittance is so small: and, to speak freely, it were much better there were not one Divine in the University, no School-divinity known, the idle Sophistry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they who intended to be Ministers, were train’d up in the Church only by the Scripture, and in the Original Languages thereof at School; without fetching the compass of other Arts and Sciences,
more than what they can well learn at secondary leisure, and at home. Neither speak I this in contempt of Learning, or the Ministry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who have preach'd out Bishops, Prelats and Canonists, should, in what serves thir own ends, retain thir fals Opinions, thir Pharisaical Leven, thir Avarice, and closely, thir Ambition, thir Pluralities, thir Nonresidences, thir odious Fees, and use thir legal and Popish Arguments for Tithes: That Independents should take that Name, as they may justly from the true freedom of Christian Doctrin and Church-disciplin subject to no superior Judg but God only, and seek to be Dependents on the Magistrate for thir Maintenance; which two things, Independence and State-hire in Religion, can never confift long or certainly together. For Magistrates at one time or other, not like these at present our Patrons of Christian Liberty, will pay none but such whom by thir Committies of Examination, they find conformable to thir Interest and Opinions: And Hirelings will soon frame themselves to that Interest, and those Opinions which they see best pleasing to thir Paymasters; and to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth. But most of all they are to be revil'd and sham'd, who cry out with the distinct Voice of notorious Hirelings; that if ye settle not our Maintenance by Law, farewell the Gospel; then which nothing can be utter'd more fals, more ignominious, and, I may say, more blasphemous against our Saviour; who hath promis'd, without this Condition, both his Holy Spirit, and his own presence with his Church to the World's end: Nothing more fals (unless with thir own Mouths they condemn themselves for the unworthiest and most mercenary of all other Ministers) by the experience of 300 Years after Christ, and the Churches at this day in France, Austria, Polonia, and...
other places, witnessing the contrary under an adverse Magistrate, not a favorable; nothing more ignominious, levelling, or rather undervaluing Christ beneath Mahomet. For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, that his Religion stands by Force only; and not justly fear from him this Reply, yours both by Force and Money in the judgment of your own Preachers? This is that which makes Atheists in the Land, whom they so much complain of: not the want of Maintenance, or Preachers as they allege, but the many Hirelings and Cheaters that have the Gospel in thir hands; hands that still crave, and are never satisfied. Likely Ministers indeed, to proclaim the Faith, or to exhort our trust in God, when they themselves will not trust him to provide for them in the Message wheron, they say, he sent them; but threaten, for want of temporal means, to desert it; calling that want of means, which is nothing but the want of thir own Faith; and would force us to pay the hire of building our Faith to thir covetous Incredulity. Doubtlefs, if God only be he who gives Ministers to his Church till the World's end; and through the whole Gospel never sent us for Ministers to the Schools of Philosophy, but rather bids us beware of such vain deceit, Col. 2. 8, (which the Primitive Church, after two or three Ages not remembrance, brought her self quickly to confusion) if all the Faithful be now a Holy and a Royal Priesthood, 1 Pet. 2. 5, 9. not excluded from the Dispensation of things holiest, after free election of the Church, and imposition of hands, there will not want Ministers elected out of all sorts and orders of Men, for the Gospel makes no difference from the Magistrate himself to the meanest Artificer, if God evidently favour him with Spiritual Gifts, as he can easily, and oft hath done, while those Batchelor Divines and Doctors of the Tippet have
bin pass'd by. Heretofore in the first Evangelic Times, (and it were happy for Christendom if it were so again) Ministers of the Gospel were by nothing else distinguished from other Christians, but by their spiritual Knowledge and Sanctity of Life, for which the Church elected them to be her Teachers and Overseers, though not thereby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following besides, as the Example of St. Paul declares, and the first times of Christianity. When once they affected to be call'd a Clergy, and became, as it were, a peculiar Tribe of Levites, a Party, a distinct Order in the Commonwealth, bred up for Divines in babbling Schools, and fed at the Publick Coft, good for nothing else but what was good for nothing, they soon grew idle: that Idleness, with fulness of Bread, begat pride and perpetual contention with theirFeeders the despis'd Laity, through all Ages ever since; to the perverting of Religion, and the disturbance of all Christendom. And we may confidently conclude, it never will be otherwise while they are thus upheld undepending on the Church, on which alone they anciently depended, and are by the Magistrate publickly maintain'd a numerous Faction of indigent Persons, crept for the most part out of extreme want and bad nurture, claiming by divine right and freehold the tenth of our Estates, to monopolize the Ministry as their peculiar, which is free and open to all able Christians, elected by any Church. Under this pretence exempt from all other Employment, and inriching themselves on the publick, they last of all prove common Incendiaries, and exalt their Horns against the Magistrate himself that maintains them, as the Priest of Rome did soon after against his Benefactor the Emperor, and the Presbyters of late in Scotland. Of which hireling Crew, together with all the Mischiefs, Diffentions, Troubles, Wars merely
of thir kindling, Christendom might soon rid her self and be happy, if Christians would but know thir own Dignity, thir Liberty, thir Adoption, and let it not be wonder'd if I say, thir spiritual Priesthood, wherby they have all equally access to any minis-terial Function, whenever call'd by thir own Abilities, and the Church, though they never came near Com-mencement or University. But while Protestants, to avoid the due labor of understanding thir own Religion, are content to lodg it in the Breast, or ra-ther in the Books of a Clergyman, and to take it thence by scaps and mammocks, as he dispenses it in his Sundays Dole; they will be always learning, and never knowing; always Infants; always either his Vassals, as Lay-papists are to thir Priests; or at odds with him, as reformed Principles give them som light to be not wholly conformable; whence infinit disturbances in the State, as they do, muft needs fol-low. Thus much I had to say; and, I suppose, what may be anough to them who are not avariciously bent otherwise, touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; then which nothing can more conduce to Truth, to Peace and all Hap-piness both in Church and State. If I be not heard nor believ'd, the Event will bear me witness to have spoken Truth; and I, in the mean while, have born my Witness, not out of season to the Church and to my Countrey.
Brief Notes

Upon a late Sermon, titl'd

The Fear of God and the King;

Preach'd, and since publish'd, by Matthew Griffith, D.D., and Chaplain to the late King. Wherin many notorious wrestings of Scripture, and other falsities are observ'd.

Affirm'd in the Preface of a late Discourse, Entitl'd The ready way to establiffh a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation, that the humor of returning to our old Bondage, was instill'd of late by some Deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without just ground, one of those Deceivers I present here to the People: and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

He begins in his Epifle to the General, and moves cunningly for a Licence to be admitted Physician both to Church and State; then sets out his practice in Physical terms, an wholsom Electuary to be taken every Morning next our Hearts; tells of the opposition which he met with from the College of State-Physicians, then lays before you his Drugs and Ingredients; Strong purgatives in the Pulpit, contemper'd of the myrrh of Mortification, the aloes of Confession
Brief Notes upon a Sermon

and Contrition, the rubarb of Restitution and Satisfaction; a pretty Fantastic dose of Divinity from a Pulpit-Mountibank, not unlike the Fox, that turning Pedlar, open'd his pack of War before the Kid; though he now would seem to personate the good Samaritan, undertaking to describe the Rise and Progress of our national Malady, and to prescribe the only Remedy; which how he performs, we shall quickly see.

First, he would suborn Saint Luke as his spokesman to the General, presuming, it seems, to have had as perfect understanding of things from the very first, as the Evangelist had of his Gospel; that the General who hath so eminently born his part in the whole Action, might know the certainty of those things better from him a partial Sequestred enemy; for so he presently appears, though covertly and like the Tempter, commencing his Address with an impudent Calumny and Affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleas'd to carry on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause not of God only, which we doubt not, but of his anointed, meaning the late Kings Son; which is to charge him most audaciously and falsly with the renouncing of his own public Promises and Declarations, both to the Parliament and the Army, and we trust his Actions ere long will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuse him; for the Comforter himself escapes not his Presumption, avouch'd as falsly, to have impowr'd to those designs him and him only, who hath solemnly declar'd the contrary. What Phanatic, against whom he so often inveighs, could more presumptuously affirm whom the Comforter hath impowr'd, then this Antifanatic, as he would be thought?
Preach'd by Dr. Griffith.

The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be Seditious, or desirous of change, &c.

Letting pass matters not in Controversy, I come to the main drift of your Sermon, the King; which word here is either to signify any supreme Magistrate, or else your latter Object of fear is not Universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King since the putting down of Kingship in this Commonwealth, is manifest by this last Parliament, who to the time of thir Dissolving, not only made no Address at all to any King, but summon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without Restitution or the least mention of any Kingly Right or Power; which could not be, if there were at present any King of England. The main part therfore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your Auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is understood for any supreme Magistrate, by your own Exhortation they are in the first place not to meddle with you, as being your self most of all the seditious meant here, and the desirous of change, in stirring them up to fear a King, whom the present Government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain Vision, God and the King at the first blush (which will not be your last blush) seeming to stand in your Text like those two Cherubims on the Mercy-seat, looking on each other. By this Similitude, your conceited Sanctuary, worse than the Altar of Ahaz, pattern'd from Damascus, degrades God to a Cherub, and raises your King to be his collateral in place, notwithstanding the other differences
Brief Notes upon a Sermon

you put; which well agrees with the Court-letters, lately publish'd from this Lord to tother Lord, that cry him up for no less than Angelical and Celestial.

Your first observation, pag. 8. is, That God and the King are coupl'd in the Text, and what the Holy Ghost hath thus firmly combin'd, we may not, we must not dare to put asunder; and your self is the first man who puts them asunder by the first proof of your Doctrin immediately following, Judg. 7. 20. which couples the sword of the Lord and Gideon, a man who not only was no King, but refus'd to be a King or Monarch, when it was offer'd him, in the very next Chapter, Ver. 22, 23. I will not rule over you, neither shall my Son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you. Here we see that this worthy Heroic deliverer of his Country, thought it beft govern'd, if the Lord govern'd it in that form of a free Commonwealth, which they then enjoi'd without a fingle Person. And this is your first Scripture, abus'd and most impertinently cited, nay against your self, to prove that Kings at thir Coronation have a Sword given them, which you interpret the Militia, the power of life and death put into thir Hands, against the declar'd judgment of our Parlaments, nay of all our Laws, which reserve to themselves only the power of Life and Death, and render you in thir just resentment of this boldness, another Doctor Manwaring.

Your next proof is as false and frivolous, The King, say you, is Gods Sword-bearer; true, but not the King only, for Gideon by whom you seek to prove this, neither was, nor would be a King; and as you your self confess, pag. 40. There be divers forms of Government. He bears not the Sword in vain, Rom. 13. 4. this also is as true of any lawful Rulers, especially Supreme; so that Rulers, ver. 3. and therfore this present Government, without whose Authority you excite the People to a King, bear the Sword as well
as Kings, and as little in vain. They fight against God, who resist his Ordinance, and go about to wrest the Sword out of the hands of his Anointed. This is likewise granted: but who is his Anointed? Not every King, but they only who were Anointed or made Kings by his special command; as Saul, David, and his race, which ended in the Messiah, (from whom no Kings at this day can derive their Title) Jehu, Cyrus, and if any other were by name appointed by him to some particular service: as for the rest of Kings, all other supreme Magistrates are as much the Lords Anointed as they; and our Obedience commanded equally to them all; For ther is no power but of God, Rom. 13. 1. and we are exhorted in the Gospel to obey Kings, as other Magistrates, not that they are call'd any where the Lord's Anointed, but as they are the Ordinance of Man, 1 Pet. 2. 13. You therefore and other such false Doctors, preaching Kings to your Auditory, as the Lord's only Anointed, to withdraw People from the present Government, by your own text are self-Condemn'd, and not to be follow'd, not to be med'ld with, but to be noted, as most of all others the seditious and desirous of change.

Your third Proof is no less against your self. Psal. 105. 15. Touch not mine Anointed. For this is not spoken in behalf of Kings, but spoken to reprove Kings, that they should not touch his anointed Saints and Servants, the Seed of Abraham, as the Verse next before might have taught you: He reprov'd Kings for thir fakes, saying, Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm; according to that 2 Cor. 1. 21. He who hath anointed us, is God. But how well you confirm one wrested Scripture with another: 1 Sam. 8. 7. They have not rejected thee, but me: groffly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had resisted or rejected a King, but to them
who much against the Will of God had fought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth, wherein they might have liv’d happily under the Reign of God only, thir King. Let the words interpret themselves; ver. 6, 7. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, give us a King to judg us: and Samuel pray’d unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, hearken unto the voice of the People in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected me, that I should not reign over them. Hence you conclude, so indissoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King. O notorious abuse of Scripture! whenas you should have concluded, so unwilling was God to give them a King, so wide was the disjunction of God from a King. Is this the Doctrin you boast of to be so clear in it self, and like a Mathematical Principle, that needs no farther Demonstration? Bad Logic, bad Mathematics (for Principles can have no Demonstration at all) but wors Divinity. O People of an implicit Faith no better than Romish, if these be thy prime Teachers, who to thir credulous Audience dare thus juggle with Scripture, to allege those places for the proof of thir Doctrin, which are the plain Refutation: and this is all the Scripture which he brings to confirm his Point.

The rest of his Preachment is meer groundless Chat, save here and there a few grains of Corn scatter’d to intice the silly fowl into his Net, interlaced here and there with som human reading, tho flight, and not without Geographical and Historical Mistakes: as pag. 29. Suevia the German Dukedom, for Suevia the Northern Kingdom: Philip of Macedon, who is generally understood of the great Alexander’s Father only, made contemporany, pag. 31. with T. Quintus the Roman Commander, instead of T. Quintius and the latter Philip: and pag. 44. Tully cited in his third Oration against Verres, to say of him, that he was a wicked Consul, who never was a Consul: nor Trojan
Sedition ever portraitd by that Verse of Virgil, which you cite pag. 47. as that of Troy: School-boys could have told you, that there is nothing of Troy in that whole Portraiture, as you call it, of Sedition. These gross Mistakes may justly bring in doubt your other loose Citations, and that you take them up somwhere at the second or third hand rashly, and without due considering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your Fable. *The Frogs (being once a free Nation faith the Fable) petition'd Jupiter for a King: he tumbl'd among them a Log: They found it insensible; they petitioned then for a King that should be active: he sent them a Crane (a *Stork faith the Fable) which straight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: wheras indeed the true Moral shews rather the folly of those who being free seek a King; which for the most part either as a Log lies heavy on his Subjects, without doing aught worthy of his Dignity and the Charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

*But by our fundamental Laws, the King is the highest Power,* pag. 40. If we must hear mooting and Law Lectures from the Pulpit, what shame is it for a Doctor of Divinity, not first to consider, that no Law can be fundamental, but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature or right Reason, commonly call'd Moral Law: which no form of Government was ever counted, but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free People, or thir Representers? This choice of Government is so essential to thir Freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his Posterity, but Kingship it self hath bin abrogated by a Law; which involves with as good reason the Posterity of a King forfeited to the People, as that Law hertofore of Treason against the King,
attainted the Children with the Father. This Law against both King and Kingship they who most question, do not less question all enacted without the King and his Antiparliament at Oxford, though call'd Mungrel by himself. If no Law must be held good, but what passes in full Parliament, then surely in exactness of Legality, no member must be missing: for look how many are missing, so many Counties or Cities that sent them want their Representers. But if being once chosen, they serve for the whole Nation, then any number which is sufficient, is full, and most of all in times of discord, necessity and danger. The King himself was bound by the old Mode of Parliaments, not to be absent, but in case of Sickness, or some extraordinary occasion, and then to leave his Substitute; much less might any Member be allow'd to absent himself. If the King then and many of the Members with him, without leaving any in his stead, forsook the Parliament upon a meer panic fear, as was that time judg'd by most Men, and to levy War against them that sat, should they who were left sitting, break up, or not dare enact aught of nearest and present concernment to public Safety, for the punctilio wanting of a full number, which no Law-book in such extraordinary cases hath determin'd? Certainly if it were lawful for them to fly from their Charge upon pretence of privat Safety, it was much more lawful for these to sit and act in their trust what was necessary for public. By a Law therfore of Parliament, and of a Parliament that conquer'd both Ireland, Scotland, and all their Enemies in England, defended their friends, were generally acknowledg'd for a Parliament both at home and abroad, Kingship was abolish'd: This Law now of late hath bin negatively repeal'd; yet Kingship not positively restor'd, and I suppose never was establish'd by any certain Law in this Land, nor possibly could be: for how could our Fore-fathers bind us to any
certain form of Government, more than we can bind our Posterity? If a People be put to war with thir King for his Misgovernment, and overcom him, the Power is then undoubtedly in thir own hands how they will be govern'd. The War was granted *just* by the King himself at the beginning of his laft Treaty, and still maintain'd to be so by this last Parliament, as appears by the Qualification prescrib'd to the Members of this next ensuing, That none shall be elected, who have born Arms against the Parliament since 1641. If the War were *just*, the Conquest was also *just* by the Law of Nations. 'And he who was the chief Enemy, in all right ceas'd to be the King, especially after Captivity, by the deciding Verdit of War; and Royalty with all her Laws and Pretensions, yet remains in the Victor's power, together with the choice of our future Government. Free Commonwealths have bin ever counted fittest and properest for civil, vertuous and industrious Nations, abounding with prudent Men worthy to govern: Monarchy fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious People. If we desire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler than a free Commonwealth: if we will needs condemn our selves to be of the latter, despairing of our own Vertue, Industry, and the number of our able Men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be govern'd better, sadly betake us to our befitting Thraldom: yet chusing out of our own number one who hath best aided the People, and best merited against Tyranny, the space of a Raign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious People should give up themselves again to the vanquish'd, was never yet heard of; seems rather void of all Reason and good Policy, and will in all probability subject the Subduers to the Subdu'd, will expose to Revenge, to Beggary, to Ruin and perpetual Bondage the Victors under
the vanquish'd: than which what can be more unworthy?

From misinterpreting our Law, you return to do again the same with Scripture, and would prove the Supremacy of English Kings from 1 Pet. 2. 13, as if that were the Apostle's work: wherin if he faith that the King is supreme, he speaks so of him but as an Ordinance of Man, and in respect of those Governors that are sent by him, not in respect of Parliaments, which by the Law of this Land are his Bridle; in vain his Bridle, if not also his Rider: and therefore hath not only Co-ordination with him, which you falsely call seditious, but hath Superiority above him, and that neither against Religion nor right Reason: no nor against common Law, for our Kings reign'd only by Law: but the Parliament is above all positive Law, whether civil or common, makes or unmakes them both; and still the latter Parliament above the former, above all the former Lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent Laws; entail'd the Crown on whom it pleas'd; and as a great Lawyer faith, is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confin'd either for Causes or Persons, within any bounds. But your cry is, no Parliament without a King. If this be so, we have never had lawful Kings, who have all bin created Kings either by such Parliaments, or by Conquest; if by such Parliaments, they are in your allowance none: if by Conquest, that Conquest we have now conquer'd. So that as well by your own Assertion as by ours, there can at present be no King. And how could that Person be absolutely supreme, who reign'd, not under Law only, but under Oath of his good Demeanor given to the People at his Coronation, ere the People gave him his Crown? And his principal Oath was to maintain those Laws which the People should chuse. If then the Law it self, much more he who was but the Keeper and Minister of Law, was in thir choice, and both he
preach'd by Dr. Griffith.

subordinat to the performance of his Duty sworn, and our sworn Allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the Consistorian Schismatics; for so you call Presbyterians, pag. 40. and judg them to have enervated the King's Supremacy by thir Opinions and Practice, differing in many things only in terms from Popery; though some of those Principles which you there cite concerning Kingship, are to be read in Aristotle's Politics, long ere Popery was thought on. The Presbyterians therfore it concerns to be well forewarn'd of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your Examples of seditious Men, pag. 54, &c. Cora, Absalom, Zimri, Sheba, to these you might with much more reason have added your own Name, who blow the Trumpet of Sedition from your Pulpit against the present Government: in reward wherof they have sent you by this time, as I hear, to your own place, for preaching open Sedition, while you would seem to preach against it.

As for your Appendix annexet of the Samaritan reviv'd, finding it so foul a Libel against all the well-affected of this Land, since the very time of Ship-money, against the whole Parliament, both Lords and Commons, except those that fled to Oxford, against the whole reform'd Church, not only in England and Scotland, but all over Europe (in comparison wherof you and your Prelatical Party are more truly Schismatics and Sectarians, nay more properly Fanatics in your Fanes and gilded Temples, than those whom you revile by those names) and meeting with no more Scripture or solid reason in your Samaritan wine and oyl, than hath already bin found sophistificated and adulterate, I leave your malignant Narrative, as needing no other Confutation, than the just Censure already pass'd upon you by the Council of State.
A Letter to a Friend,
Concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth.

Published from the Manuscript.

SIR,

Upon the sad and serious Discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these dangerous Ruptures of the Commonwealth, scarce yet in her Infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her Bowels; I began to consider more intensely theron than hitherto I have bin wont, resigning my self to the Wisdom and Care of those who had the Government; and not finding that either God, or the Publick requir'd more of me, than my Prayers for them that govern. And since you have not only stir'd up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of Affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but also have desired me to set down my Opinion therof, trusting to your Ingenuity, I shall give you freely my apprehension, both of our present Evils, and what Expedients, if God in Mercy regard us, may remove them. I will begin with telling you how I was over-joy'd, when I heard that the Army, under the working of God's holy Spirit, as I thought, and still hope well, had bin so far wrought to Christian Humility, and Self-denial, as to confess in pub-
lick thir backfliding from the good Old Cause, and
to shew the fruits of thir Repentance, in the righte-
ousness of thir restoring the old famous Parliament,
which they had without just Authority dissolved: I
call it the famous Parliament, tho not the harmles,
since none well-affected, but will confess, they have
deserved much more of these Nations, than they have
undeserved. And I perswade me, that God was
pleas'd with thir Restitution, signing it, as he did,
with such a signal Victory, when so great a part of
the Nation were desperately conspir'd to call back
again thir Egyptian Bondage. So much the more it
now amazes me, that they, whose Lips were yet
scarce clos'd from giving Thanks for that great De-
deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again
backsliding into the same fault, which they confess
so lately, and so solemnly to God and the World,
and more lately punish'd in those Cheshire Rebels;
that they should now dissolve that Parliament, which
they themselves re-establish'd, and acknowledg'd for
thir Supreme Power in thir other days humble Re-
presentation: and all this, for no apparent cause of
publick Concernment to the Church or Common-
wealth, but only for discemmissioning nine great Of-
ficers in the Army; which had not bin don, as is
reported, but upon notice of thir Intentions against
the Parliament. I presume not to give my Censure
on this Action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the
bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us
without doors, till better cause be declar'd, and I am
sure to all other Nations most illegal and scandalous,
I fear me barbarous, or rather scarce to be exampl'd
among any Barbarians, that a paid Army should, for
no other cause, thus subdue the Supream Power that
set them up. This, I say, other Nations will judg
to the sad dishonour of that Army, lately so renown'd
for the civilest and best order'd in the World, and by
A Letter to a Friend, concerning

us here at home, for the most conscientious. Certainly, if the great Officers and Souldiers of the Holland, French or Venetian Forces, should thus sit in Council, and write from Garison to Garison against their Superiors, they might as easily reduce the King of France, or Duke of Venice, and put the United Provinces in like Disorder and Confusion. Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of true Religion? because the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, the Reverence of their Magistrates, Covenants, Engagements, Loyalty, Allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be? how infamous to the true Religion which we profess? how dishonorable to the Name of God, that his Fear and the power of his Knowledg in an Army proffering to be his, should not work that Obedience, that Fidelity to thir Supream Magistrates, that levied them, and paid them, when the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, Covenants, and Contracts, yea common Shame works in other Armies, amongst the worst of them? Which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy Judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge these Hypocrizes, Violations of Truth and Holines; if they be indeed so as they yet seem. For, neither do I speak this in reproach to the Army, but as jealous of thir Honour, inciting them to manifest and publish, with all speed, some better cause of these thir late Actions, than hath hitherto appear'd, and to find out the Achan amongst them, whose close Ambition in all likelihood abuses thir honest Natures against thir meaning to these Disorders; thir readiest way to bring in again the common Enemy, and with him the Destruction of true Religion, and civil Liberty. But, because our Evils are now grown more dangerous and extream, than to be remedi'd by Complaints, it concerns us now to find out what Remedies may be likeliest to save us
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from approaching Ruin. Being now in Anarchy, without a counselling and governing Power; and the Army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both Military and Civil Affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no Commonwealth can subsist, must be a Senate, or General Council of State, in whom must be the Power, first, to preserve the publick Peace, next the Commerce with Foreign Nations; and lastly, to raise Monies for the Management of these Affairs: this must either be the Parliament readmitted to sit, or a Council of State allow'd of by the Army, since they only now have the Power. The Terms to be stood on are, Liberty of Conscience to all professing Scripture to be the Rule of thir Faith and Worship; and the Abjuration of a single Person. If the Parliament be again thought on, to salve Honour on both sides, the well-affected Party of the City, and the congregated Churches, may be induced to mediate by publick Addresses, and brotherly beseechings, which, if there be that Saintship among us which is talk'd of, ought to be of highest and undeniable Persuasion to Reconciliation. If the Parliament be thought well dissolv'd, as not complying fully to grant Liberty of Conscience, and the necessary Consequence therof, the removal of a forc'd Maintenance from Ministers, then must the Army forthwith choose a Council of State, wherof as many to be of the Parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to these two Conditions propos'd. That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the Army, either to the Parliament recall'd, or this chosen Council, must be a mutual League and Oath, private or publick, not to desert one another till Death: That is to say, that the Army be kept up, and all these Officers in thir places during Life, and so likewise the Parliament, or Counsellors of State; which will be no way unjust, confi-
dering thir known Merits on either side, in Council or in Field, unless any be found false to any of these two Principles, or otherwise personally criminous in the Judgment of both Parties. If such a Union as this be not accepted on the Army's part, be confident there is a single Person underneath. That the Army be upheld, the necessity of our Affairs and Factions will constrain long enough perhaps, to content the longest Liver in the Army. And whether the Civil Government be an annual Democracy, or a perpetual Aristocracy, is not to me a Consideration for the Extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our Safety from our common Enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an Oligarchy, or the Faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the Numbers of thir own choosing, who may be found infallibly constant to those two Conditions fore-nam'd, full Liberty of Conscience, and the Abjuration of Monarchy propos'd: and the well-order'd Committies of thir faithfulst Adherents in every County may give this Government the resemblance and effects of a perfect Democracy. As for the Reformation of Laws, and the places of Judicature, whether to be here, as at present, or in every County, as hath bin long aim'd at, and many such Proposals, tending no doubt to publick good, they may be consider'd in due time when we are past these pernicious Pangs, in a hopeful way of Health, and firm Constitution. But unless these things, which I have above propos'd, one way or other, be once settl'd, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or atbest become the Servants of one or other single Person, the secret Author and Fomenter of these Disturbances. You have the sum of my present Thoughts, as much as I understand of these Affairs freely imparted at your request, and the Perswasion you wrought in me, that I might chance herby to be
some way serviceable to the Commonwealth, in a
time when all ought to be endeavouring what good
they can, whether much, or but little. With this
you may do what you please, put out, put in, com-
municate or suppress: you offend not me, who only
have obey'd your Opinion, that in doing what I have
don, I might happen to offer somthing which might
be of som use in this great time of need. How-
ever, I have not bin wanting to the opportunity
which you presented before me, of shewing the rea-
dines which I have in the midst of my Unfitnes, to
what ever may be requir'd of me, as a publick
Duty.

October 20. 1659.
OF

True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration,

And what best means may be us'd against the growth of Popery.

T is unknown to no man, who knows ought of concernment among us, that the increase of Popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to greatest part of the Nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is so; the more their rejoicing, that God hath giv'n a heart to the people to remember still their great and happy deliverance from Popish Thraldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his Gospel, so freely and so peaceably injoy'd among them. Since therefore some have already in Publick with many considerable Arguments exhorted the people to beware the growth of this Romish Weed; I thought it no less then a common duty to lend my hand, how unable ever, to so good a Purpose. I will not now enter into the Labyrinth of Counclers and Fathers, an intangl'd wood which the Papist loves to fight in, not with hope of Victory, but to obscure the shame of an open overthrow: which yet in that kind of Combate, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently giv'n them. And such manner of dispute with them, to Learned Men,
is useful and very commendable: But I shall insist now on what is plainer to Common apprehension, and what I have to say, without longer introduction.

True Religion is the true Worship and Service of God, learnt and believed from the Word of God only. No Man or Angel can know how God would be worshipt and serv'd unless God reveal it: He hath Reveal'd and taught it us in the holy Scriptures by inspir'd Ministers, and in the Gospel by his own Son and his Apostles, with strictest command to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever. According to that of St. Paul, Though wee or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which wee have preacht unto you, let him be Anathema, or accurst. And Deut. 4. 2. Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it. Rev. 22. 18, 19. If any man shall add, &c. If any man shall take away from the Words, &c. With good and Religious Reason therefore all Protestant Churches with one consent, and particularly the Church of England in Her thirty nine Articles, Artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main Principles of true Religion: that the Rule of true Religion is the Word of God only: and that their Faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture. And if all Protestants as universally as they hold these two Principles, so attentively and Religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many Debates and Contentions, Schisms and Persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the common adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true Protestant can persecute, or not tolerate his fellow Protestant, though dissenting from him in some opinions, but he must flatly deny and Renounce
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these two his own main Principles, whereon true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his Brothers soul, whether by rash belief, or outward Conformity: for whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin.

I will now as briefly show what is false Religion or Herefie, which will be done as easily: for of contraries the definitions must needs be contrary. Herefie therefore is a Religion taken up and believ'd from the traditions of men and additions to the word of God. Whence also it follows clearly, that of all known Sects or pretended Religions at this day in Christendom, Popery is the only or the greatest Herefie: and he who is so forward as to brand all others for Hereticks, the obstinate Papist, the only Heretick. Hence one of their own famous Writers found just cause to style the Romish Church Mother of Error, School of Herefie. And whereas the Papist boasts himself to be a Roman Catholick, it is a meer contradiction, one of the Popes Bulls, as if he should say, universal particular a Catholic Schismatic. For Catholic in Greek signifies universal: and the Christian Church was so call'd, as consisting of all Nations to whom the Gospel was to be preach't, in contradistinction to the Jewish Church, which consisted for the most part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a false, when men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through Infirmity, implicit Faith; and the name Sectary, pertains to such a Disciple.

Schism is a rent or division in the Church, when it comes to the separating of Congregations; and may also happen to a true Church, as well as to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of Com-
munition; if they can agree in the right administration of that wherein they Communicate, keeping their other Opinions to themselves, not being destructive to Faith. The Pharisees and Saduces were two Sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God at Jerusalem. But here the Papist will angrily demand, what! Are Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no Hereticks? I answer, all these may have some errors, but are no Hereticks. Herefie is in the Will and choice profestly against Scripture; error is against the Will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly: Hence it was said well by one of the Ancients, Err I may, but a Heretick I will not be. It is a humane frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the Word of God only before them as the Rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for Illumination of the holy Spirit, to understand the Rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job, good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some Points of Doctrin. But some will say, with Christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promis'd by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: But the hottest disputes among Protestants calmly and charitably enquir'd into, will be found less then such. The Lutheran holds Consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal. The Calvinist is taxt with Predestination, and to make God the Author of sin; not with any dishonourable thought of God, but it may be over zealously ascerting his absolute power, not without plea of Scripture. The Anabaptist is accus'd of Denying Infants their right to Baptism; again they
say, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charg'd to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture, and the Apostolic Creed; as for terms of Trinity, Triunity, Co-essentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as Scholastic Notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general Protestant Maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a Matter and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their Sophistic Subtilties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrine. Their other Opinions are of less Moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word Satisfaction, as not Scriptural: but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour. The Arminian lastly is condemn'd for setting up free will against free grace; but that Imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the Authors or late Revivers of all these Sects or Opinions, were Learned, Worthy, Zealous, and Religious Men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many Eminent and Learned followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblameable in their lives: and it cannot be imagin'd that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his Church, and oft-times great sufferers for their Conscience, to damnable Errors and a Reprobate sense, who had so often implor'd the assistance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no man Infallible, that he hath pardon'd their errors, and accepts their Pious endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of Scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by Prayer. What Protestant then who himself maintains the same Principles, and dif-
avowes all implicit Faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the Principles of his own Religion? If it be asked how far they should be tolerated? I answer doubtless equally, as being all Protestants; that is on all occasions to give account of their Faith, either by Arguing, Preaching in their several Assemblies, Publick writing, and the freedom of Printing. For if the French and Polonian Protestants enjoy all this liberty among Papists, much more may a Protestant justly expect it among Protestants; and yet some times here among us, the one persecutes the other upon every slight Pretence.

But he is wont to say he enjoys only things indifferent. Let them be so still; who gave him authority to change their nature by enjoying them? If by his own Principles, as is prov'd, he ought to tolerate controverted points of Doctrine not slightly grounded on Scripture, much more ought he not impose things indifferent without Scripture. In Religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be Impos'd, is either a command or a Prohibition, and so consequentially an addition to the word of God, which he professes to disallow. Besides, how unequal, how uncharitable must it needs be, to impose that which his conscience cannot urge him to impose, upon him whose conscience forbids him to obey? What can it be but love of contention for things not necessary to be done, to molest the conscience of his Brother, who holds them necessary to be not done? To conclude, let such a one but call to mind his own Principles above mention'd, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey ought in Religion, but from the Word of God only. More amply to understand this, may be read the 14th. and 15th. Chapters to the Romans, and the Contents of
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the 14th, set forth no doubt but with full authority of the Church of England; the Gloss is this. Men may not contemn, or condemn one the other for things indifferent. And in the 6th Article above mentioned, Whatsoever is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of Faith, or necessary to salvation. And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all; as being an addition to the Word of God expressly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot Contest, whether Protestants ought to tolerate one another, if men will be but Rational and not Partial, may be ended without need of more words to compose it.

Let us now enquire whether Popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold Power, Ecclesiastical, and Political, both usurpt, and the one supporting the other.

But Ecclesiastical is ever pretended to Political. The Pope by this mixt faculty, pretends right to Kingdoms and States, and especially to this of England, Thrones and Unthrones Kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them; sometimes interdicts to whole Nations the Publick worship of God, shutting up their Churches: and was wont to deprive the greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable Land, as part of his Patrimony, to maintain the Pride and Luxury of his Court and Prelates: and now since, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have shaken off his Babylonish Yoke, hath not ceas’d by his Spyes and Agents, Bulls and Emissaries, once to destroy both King and Parliament; perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the People. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable, to tolerate men thus principi’d in Religion towards the State, I submit it to the consideration of all Magistrates, who are
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best able to provide for their own and the publick safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their Religion, supposing their State activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that Toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their Religion, as far as it is Idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal giv'n to all conscientious Beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declar'd against all kind of Idolatry, though secret. Ezekiel 8. 7, 8. And he brought me to the door of the Court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, digg now in the wall; and when I had digged, behold a Door, and he said unto me, go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here. And verse 12. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, hast thou seen what the Antients of the house of Israel do in the dark? &c. And it appears by the whole Chapter, that God was no less offended with these secret Idolatries, than with those in public; and no less provokt, then to bring on and haften his Judgments on the whole Land for these also.

Having shown thus, that Popery, as being Idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in Public or in Private; it must be now thought how to remove it and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our Natives, and not Forreigners, Privileg'd by the Law of Nations. Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their Estates, upon account of their Religion? I suppose it stands not with the Clemency of the Gospel, more then what appertains to the security of the State: But first we must remove their Idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether Idols, or the Mafs wherein they adore their God under Bread and Wine: for the Commandment forbids to adore, not only any Graven Image, but the likeness of any thing in Heaven above, or in the Earth
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beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God. If they say that by removing their Idols we violate their Consciences, we have no warrant to regard Conscience which is not grounded on Scripture: and they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their Images necessary to salvation, but only as they are enjoyn'd them by tradition.

Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The Scripture is our only Principle in Religion; and by that only they will not be Judg'd, but will add other Principles of their own, which, forbidden by the Word of God, we cannot assent to. And the common Maxim also in Logic is, against them who deny Principles, we are not to dispute. Let them bound their disputations on the Scripture only, and an ordinary Protestant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their Doctors. They will not go about to prove their Idolatries by the Word of God, but run to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions: Idols they say are Laymens Books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and Devotion in the Learnedst. I say they are no means of Gods appointing, but plainly the contrary: Let them hear the Prophets; Jer. 10. 8. The stock is a Doctrin of Vanities. Habakkuk 2. 18. What profiteth the graven Image that the maker thereof hath graven it: The Molten Image and a teacher of Lyes? But they allledge in their late answers, that the Laws of Moses giv'n only to the Jews, concern not us under the Gospel: and remember not that Idolatry is forbidden as expressly, [in several places of the Gospel,] But with these wiles and fallacies compassing Sea and Land, like the Pharisees of old, to make one Profelite, they lead away privately many simple and ignorant Souks, men or women, and make them twofold more the Children of Hell then themselves,
Matt. 23. 15. But the Apostle hath well warn'd us, I may say, from such Deceivers as these, for their Mystery was then working. *I beseech you Brethren, faith he, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrin which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the heart of the simple,* Rom. 16. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of Popery will be to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which as St. Paul said to Timothy, who had known them from a child, *are able to make wise unto salvation.* And to the whole Church of Colossi; *Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully, with all wisdom,* Coloss. 3. 16. The Papal Antichristian Church permits not her Laity to read the Bible in their own tongue: Our Church on the contrary hath propsofd it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable Notes on what is met with obscure, though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest: that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the Original, may read it in their Mother Tongue. Neither let the Countryman, the Tradesman, the Lawyer, the Physician, the Statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour faith, Luke 10. 41, 42. *Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful.* If they were ask't, they would be loath to set earthly things, wealth, or honour before the wisdom of salvation. Yet most men in the course and practice of their lives are found to do so; and through unwillingness to take the pains of understanding their Religion by their own dilligent study, would fain be sav'd by a Deputy. Hence comes implicit faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and small proficience, till want of Fundamental knowledge easily turns to superstition.
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or Popery: Therefore the Apostle admonishes, Ephes. 4. 14. That we henceforth be no more children tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Every member of the Church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledg, as, if need be, to examine their Teachers themselves, Acts. 17. 11. They searched the Scriptures dayly, whether those things were so. Rev. 2. 2. Thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not. How should any private Christian try his Teachers unless he be well grounded himself in the Rule of Scripture, by which he is taught. As therefore among Papifts, their ignorance in Scripture chiefly upholds Popery; so among Protestant People, the frequent and serious reading thereof will soonest pull Popery down.

Another means to abate Popery arises from the constant reading of Scripture, wherein Believers who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though dissenting in some opinions. It is written that the Coat of our Saviour was without seame: whence some would infer that there should be no division in the Church of Christ. It should be so indeed; Yet seams in the same cloath, neither hurt the garment, nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but Schisms will be while men are fallible: But if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The Papift with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among our selves make them worse then they are indeed. To save
our selves therefore, and resist the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within our selves, that with joynt forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground; and why should we not? The Gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event thereof, Phil. 3. 15. Let us therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. And we are bid, 1 Thess. 5. 21. Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. St. Paul judg'd that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast of that which is good. How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at least founded on Scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth professes to have learnt it, not by implicit faith, but by attentive study of the Scriptures and full persuasion of heart, with what equity can he refuse to hear or read him, who demonstrates to have gained his knowledge by the same way? is it a fair course to assert truth by arrogating to himself the only freedome of speech, and stopping the mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that Papistical implicit faith which we all disclaim. They pretend it would unsettle the weaker sort: the same groundless fear is pretended by the Romish Clergy in prohibiting the Scripture. At least then let them have leave to write in Latin which the common people understand not; that what they hold may be discut among the Learned only. We suffer the Idolatrous books of Papists, without this fear, to be sold and read as common as our own. Why not much rather of Anabaptists, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians? There is no Learned man but will confess he hath much
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profited by reading Controversies, his Senses awak't, his Judgment sharpn'd, and the truth which he holds more firmly establisht. If then it be profitable for him to read; why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his Adversary to write? In Logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then that all controversies being permitted, falseness will appear more false, and truth the more true: which must needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of Popery, but to the general confirmation of unimPLICIT truth.

The last means to avoid Popery, is to amend our lives: it is a general complaint that this Nation of late years, is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than heretofore; Pride, Luxury, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Curling, Swearing, bold and open Atheism everywhere abounding: Where these grow, no wonder if Popery also grow a pace. There is no man so wicked, but at somtimes his conscience will wring him with thoughts of another world, and the Peril of his soul: the trouble and melancholy which he conceives of true Repentance and amendment he endures not; but enclines rather to some carnal Superstition, which may pacify and lull his Conscience with some more pleasing Doctrin. None more ready and officious to offer her self then the Romish, and opens wide her Office, with all her faculties to receive him; easy Confession, easy Absolution, Pardons, Indulgences, Masses for him both quick and dead, Agnus Dei's, Reliques, and the like: and he, instead of Working out his salvation with fear and trembling, strait thinks in his heart (like another kind of fool then he in the Psalms) to bribe God as a corrupt judge; and by his Proctor, some Priest or Fryer, to buy out his Peace with money, which he cannot with his repentance. For God, when men sin out-ragiously, and will not be admonisht, gives over
Herefie, Schifm, Toleration.

chastizing them; perhaps by Pestilence, Fire, Sword, or Famin, which may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest punishments, hardness, besottedness of heart, and Idolatry, to their final perdition. Idolatry brought the Heathen to hainous Transgressions, Romans 2d. And hainous Transgressions oft times bring the slight professors of true Religion, to gross Idolatry: 1 Theff. 2. 11, 12. For this cause, God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lye, that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. And Isaiah 44. 18. Speaking of Idolaters, They have not known nor understood, for he hath shut their Eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts that they cannot understand. Let us therefore using this last means, last here spoken of, but first to be done, amend our lives with all speed; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidly, which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all Gods Judgements, Popery.
The ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth,
And the Excellence thereof, compar'd with the Inconveniences and Dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation.

Et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.

Although since the writing of this Treatise, the face of things hath had some change, Writs for new Elections have bin recall'd, and the Members at first chosen, readmitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declar'd the Resolution of those who are in Power, tending to the establishment of a Free Commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humor of returning to Bondage, instill'd of late by some Deceivers, and nourish'd from bad Principles and fals Apprehensions among too many of the People, I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely publish'd, in the midst of our Elections to a Free Parliament, or thir sitting to consider freely of the Government; whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct thir Judgment therin; and I never read of any State, scarce of any
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Tyrant grown so incurable, as to refuse Counsel from any in a time of publick Deliberation, much less to be offended. If thir absolute Determination be to enthrall us, before so long a Lent of Servitude, they may permit us a little Shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of Liberty. And because in the former Edition, through haste, many Faults escap'd, and many Books were suddenly dispers'd, ere the Note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole Discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual Senate. The Treatise thus revis'd and enlarg'd, is as follows.

THE Parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the People who appear'd and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of Religion and thir Civil Liberties, judging Kingship by long experience a Government unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolish'd it, turning regal Bondage into a free Commonwealth, to the Admiration and Terror of our emulous Neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the Light of Nature or Religion to any former Covenant, from which the King himself, by many Forfeitures of a latter date or discovery, and our own longer consideration theron, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity; as hath been ever the Justice and the Prudence of all wise Nations that have ejected Tyranny. They covnanted to preserve the King's Person and Authority, in the preservation of the true Religion, and our Liberties; not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our Consciences, a Popish Religion; upon our Liberties, Thralldom; upon our Lives, Destruction, by his occasioning, if not completing, as was after discovered, the Irish Massacre; his fomenting and arming the Rebellion; his covert
leaguing with the Rebels against us; his refusing, more than seven times, Propositions most just and necessary to the true Religion and our Liberties, tender'd him by the Parliament both of England and Scotland. They made not thir Covenant concerning him with no difference between a King and a God; or promis'd him, as Job did to the Almighty, to trust in him though he slay us: They understood that the solemn Engagement, wherein we all forswore Kingship, was no more a breach of the Covenant, than the Covenant was of the Protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weigh'd, and in the true sense of the Covenant, without respect of Persons, when we could not serve two contrary Masters, God and the King, or the King and that more supreme Law, sworn in the first place to maintain, our Safety and our Liberty. They knew the People of England to be a free People, themselves the Representers of that Freedom; and although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from Tumults to Oxford, yet they were left a sufficient Number to act in Parliament, therefore not bound by any Statute of preceding Parliaments, but by the Law of Nature only, which is the only Law of Laws truly and properly to all Mankind fundamental; the beginning and the end of all Government; to which no Parliament or People that will thoroughly reform, but may and must have recourse, as they had, and must yet have, in Church-Reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to Evangelic Rules; not to Ecclesiastical Canons, though never so ancient, so ratified and establish'd in the Land by Statutes, which for the most part are mere positive Laws, neither natural nor moral; and so by any Parliament, for just and serious Considerations, without scruple to be at any time repeal'd. If others of thir Number in these things were under Force, they were
not, but under free Conscience; if others were excluded by a Power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the Helm of Government in no hands, to discontinue their care of the Public Peace and Safety, to desert the People in Anarchy and Confusion, no more than when so many of their Members left them, as made up in outward Formality a more legal Parliament of three Estates against them. The best affected also, and best principled of the People, stood not numbring or computing, on which side were most Voices in Parliament, but on which side appear'd to them most Reason, most Safety, when the House divided upon main Matters: What was well motion'd and advis'd, they examin'd not whether Fear or Persuasion carried it in the Vote, neither did they measure Votes and Counsels by the Intentions of them that voted; knowing that Intentions either are but guess'd at, or not soon enough known; and although good, can neither make the Deed such, nor prevent the Consequence from being bad: Suppose bad Intentions in things otherwise well don; what was well don, was by them who so thought, not the less obey'd or follow'd in the State; since in the Church, who had not rather follow Iscariot or Simon the Magician, though to covetous Ends, preaching, than Saul, though in the uprightness of his Heart persecuting the Gospel? Safer they therefore judg'd what they thought the better Counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad Ends, then the wors by others, though endeavor'd with best Intentions: and yet they were not to learn that a greater Number might be corrupt within the Walls of a Parliament, as well as of a City; wherof in Matters of nearest concernment all Men will be judges; nor easily permit, that the Odds of Voices in their greatest Council, shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous Votes, than the Odds of Enemies by open
Assaults; judging that most Voices ought not always to prevail where main Matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all Counsels; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only fo judging, but a great, tho not the greatest Number of thir chosen Patriots, who might be more in Weight than the others in Number; there being in Number little Vertue, but by Weight and Meafure Wisdom working all things: and the Dangers on either side they seriously thus weigh’d: From the Treaty, short Fruits of long La- bours, and 7 years War; Security for 20 Years, if we can hold it; Reformation in the Church for three Years: then put to shift again with our vanquish’d Master. His Justice, his Honour, his Confcience declar’d quite contrary to ours; which would have furnish’d him with many such Evasions, as in a Book entitl’d, An Inquisition for Blood, soon after were not conceal’d: Bishops not totally remov’d, but left, as it were, in Ambush, a Reserve, with Ordination in thir sole Power; thir Lands already fold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them call’d Sa- crilege; Delinquents, few of many brought to con- dign Punishment; Accessories punish’d; the chief Author, above Pardon, though after utmost Resis- tance, vanquish’d; not to give, but to receive Laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thank’d for his gracious Concessions, to be honour’d, worship’d, glo- rifi’d. If this we swore to do, with what Righteouf- ness in the fight of God, with what Affurance that we bring not by such an Oath, the whole Sea of Blood-guiltines upon our own Heads? If on the other side we prefer a Free Government, though for the present not obtain’d, yet all those suggested Fears and Difficulties, as the Event will prove, easily over- come, we remain finally secure from the exasperated Regal Power, and out of Snares; shall retain the best
part of our Liberty, which is our Religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us, much more easily recover'd, being neither so subtle nor so awful as a King reinthron'd. Nor were thir Actions less both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious rising Commonwealth: Nor were the Expressions both of Army and People, whether in thir publick Declarations, or several Writings other than such as testifi'd a Spirit in this Nation, no less noble and well fitted to the Liberty of a Commonwealth, than in the ancient Greeks or Romans. Nor was the heroic Cause unsuccessfullly defended to all Chriftendom, againft the Tongue of a famous and thought invincible Adversary; nor the Constancy and Fortitude that so nobly vindicated our Liberty, our Victory at once againft two the moft prevailing Usurpers over Mankind, Superftition and Tyranny unprais'd or uncelebrated in a written Monument, likely to outlive Detraction, as it hath hitherto convinc'd or silenc'd not a few of our Detractors, especially in parts abroad. After our Liberty and Religion thus prosperously fought for, gain'd, and many Years possess'd, except in those unhappy Interruptions, which God hath remov'd; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediat Settlement for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extoll'd and magnifi'd Nation, regardless both of Honour won, or Deliverances voutsaf't from Heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seem's the multitude would, to thir once abjur'd and detested Thraldom of Kingship, to be our selves the slanderers of our own juft and religious Deeds, though don by som to covetous and ambitious Ends, yet not therfore to be stain'd with thir Infamy, or they to asperfe the Integrity of others; and yet these now by revolting from the Confiience of Deeds well done, both in Church and State,
to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray a just and noble Cause for the mixture of bad Men who have ill manag'd and abus'd it, (which had our Fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true Religion, what had long ere this become of our Gospel, and all Protestant Reformation so much intermixt with the Avarice and Ambition of som Reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter Predictions of our triumphing Enemies, who will now think they wisely discern'd and justly censur'd both us and all our Actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical and impious, not only argues a strange degenerate Contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepar'd for new Slavery, but will render us a Scorn and Derision to all our Neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English Name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish Builder mention'd by our Saviour, who began to build a Tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow Kings, and be another Rome in the West? The Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse Confusion, not of Tongues, but of Factions, than those at the Tower of Babel; and have left no Memorial of thir Work behind them remaining, but in the common Laughter of Europe. Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our Neighbours the United Provinces, to us inferior in all outward Advantages; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater Difficulties, couragiously, wisely, constantly went through with the same Work, and are settl'd in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing Republic to this day.

Besides this, if we return to Kingship, and soon repent, as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and
little upon our Consciences, which must necessarily proceed from King and Bishop united inseparably in one Interest, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend, over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd to the recovery of our Freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouch'd hereafter the like Mercies and signal Assurances from Heaven in our Cause: if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless, flying now to regal Concessions from his divine condescensions, and gracious answers to our once importuning Prayers against the Tyranny which we then groan'd under; making vain and viler than dirt, the Blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant English men, who left us in this Liberty, bought with thir Lives; losing by a strange after-game of Folly, all the battels we have won, together with all Scotland as to our Conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our Kings could conquer, all the Treasure we have spent, not that corruptible Treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous Deliverances; treading back again with lost labour, all our happy steps in the progress of Reformation, and most pitifully depriving our selves the instant fruition of that free Government which we have so dearly purchas'd, a free Commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all Ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest Government, the most agreeable to all due Liberty and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil, and Christian, most cherishing to Virtue and true Religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoin'd by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon Kingship. God in much displeasure gave a King to the Israelites, and imputed it a sin to
them that they fought one: but Christ apparently forbids his Disciples to admit of any such heathenish Government; The Kings of the Gentiles, faith he, exercise Lordship over them; and they that exercise Authority upon them are call'd Benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth. The occasion of these his words was the ambitious desire of Zebede's two Sons, to be exalted above thir Brethren in his Kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon Earth. That he speaks of Civil Government, is manifest by the former part of the Comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what Government comes nearer to this precept of Christ, than a free Commonwealth; wherin they who are greatest, are perpetual Servants and drudges to the public at thir own cost and charges, neglect thir own Affairs, yet are not elevated above thir Brethren; live soberly in thir Families, walk the Streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration? Whereas a King must be ador'd like a Demigod, with a dissolute and haughty Court about him, of vaft expence and Luxury, Masks and Revels, to the debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female; not in thir pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loos imployments of Court-service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a Queen of no less charge; in most likelihood Outlandish and a Papist, besides a Queen-mother such already; together with both thir Courts and numerous Train: then a Royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous Courts; to the multiplying of a servil Crew, not of Servants only, but of Nobility and Gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of Publick, but of Court-Offices, to be Stewards, Chamberlains, Uthers, Grooms, even of the Close-stool; and the lower thir Minds
A Free Commonwealth.

debas'd with Court-opinions, contrary to all Vertue and Reformation, the haughtier will be thir Pride and Profuseness. We may well remember this not long since at home; or need but look at present into the French Court, where Enticements and Preferments daily draw away and pervert the Protestant Nobility. As to the burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us deserving to be term'd no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and thir Debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapning, and would so fain be paying most inconsideratly to a fingle Person; who for any thing wherein the public really needs him, will have little els to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive Dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in Progress among the perpetual bowing and cringings of an abject People, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man? who even in the expression of a late Court-poet, sits only like a great Cypher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant Figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the People if thir King be but a Cypher, being oft times a Mischief, a Peft, a scourge of the Nation, and which is wors, not to be remov'd, not to be controul'd, much less accus'd or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole Land: wheras in a free Commonwealth, any Governor or chief Counselor offending, may be remov'd and punish'd without the least Commotion: Certainly then that People must needs be mad or strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of thir common happiness or safety on a fingle Person; who if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more
evil without check, then millions of other men. The happiness of a Nation must needs be firmest and certainest in a full and free Council of thir own electing, where no single Person, but Reason only sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly thir own Affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single Person; and more like Boys under Age than Men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be thir Servant, but thir Lord? How unmanly must it needs be, to count such a one the breath of our Nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which if we were aught els but Sluggards or Babies, we need depend on none but God and our own Counsels, our own active Vertue and Industry. Go to the Ant, thou sluggard, faith Solomon; consider her ways, and be wise; which having no Prince, Ruler, or Lord, provides her Meat in the Summer, and gathers her food in the Harvest: which evidently shews us, that they who think the Nation undon without a King, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true Spirit and Understanding in them as a Pismire: neither are these diligent Creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungovern'd men, of a frugal and self-governing Democracy or Commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint Providence and Counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious Lord. It may be well wonder'd that any Nation styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend Hereditary right over them as thir Lord; when as by acknowledging that Right, they conclude themselves his Servants and his Vassals, and so renounce thir own freedom. Which how a People and thir Leaders especially can do, who
have fought so gloriously for Liberty; how they can change thir noble Words and Actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free People, into the base necessity of Court-flatteries and Proftrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a Nation should be so valorous and courageous to win thir Liberty in the Field, and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in thir Councils, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves; but after ten or twelve years prosperous War and contestation with Tyranny, basely and befottedly to run thir Necks again into the Yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of thir Victory for naught at the feet of the vanquish’d, besides our los of Glory, and such an example as Kings or Tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominy if it befall us, that never yet befel any Nation posses’d of thir Liberty; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves; but that part of the Nation which consents not with them, as I perswade me, of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the fame Bondage. Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet furder admire on the other side, how any man who hath the true principles of Justice and Religion in him, can presume or take upon him to be a King and Lord over his Brethren, whom he cannot but know whether as Men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display with such Vanity and Oftentation his regal splendor so supereminently above other Mortal men; or being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary Honour and Worship to himself, while the Kingdom of Christ our common King and Lord, is hid to this World, and such gentiljfh imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his Disciples. All
Protestants hold that Christ in his Church hath left no Vicegerent of his Power; but himself without Deputy, is the only Head thereof, governing it from Heaven: how then can any Christian man derive his Kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the Pope his headship over the Church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such Vicegerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expressly declar'd, that such regal Dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charg'd us not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without single Person, or House of Lords, is by far the best Government if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. 'Tis true indeed, when Monarchy was dislovv'd, the form of a Commonwealth should have forthwith bin fram'd, and the practice therof immediately begun; that the People might have soon bin satisfied and delighted with the decent Order, Ease, and Benefit therof: we had bin then by this time firmly rooted past fear of Commotions or Mutations, and now flourishing: this care of timely settling a new Government instead of the old, too much neglected, hath bin our mischief. Yet the cause thereof may be ascrib'd with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions which the Parliament hath had, partly from the impatient or disaffected People, partly from som ambitious Leaders in the Army; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the Army it self and thir other Commanders, once undeceiv'd, or in thir own Power. Now is the opportunity, now the very season wherein we may obtain a free Commonwealth, and establish
A Free Commonwealth.

it for ever in the Land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent out for Elections, and which is worth observing in the name, not of any King, but of the keepers of our Liberty, to summon a free Parliament; which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honour of that supreme Title, if they preserve us a free People. Which never Parliament was more free to do; being now call’d, not as heretofore, by the summons of a King, but by the voice of Liberty: and if the People, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider their own good, both Religious and Civil, their own Liberty and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid down before them, and will elect their Knights and Burgessesses able men, and according to the just and necessary Qualifications (which for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepeal’d, as they were formerly decreed in Parliament) men not addicted to a single Person or House of Lords, the work is done; at least the foundation firmly laid of a free Commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main Structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free Government (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one Person) is a general Council of ablest men, chosen by the People to consult of publick Affairs from time to time for the common good. In this Grand Council must the Sovranty, not transferr’d, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside; with this Caution they must have the forces by Sea and Land committed to them for preservation of the common Peace and Liberty; must raise and manage the publick Revenue, at least with some Inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the People, how it is imploid; must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, Civil Laws, treat of Commerce, Peace, or War with foreign Nations, and for the carrying on som
particular Affairs with more secrecy and Expedition, must elect, as they have already out of their own number and others, a Council of State.

And although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that mens minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive Parliaments, I affirm that the Grand or General Council being well chosen, should be perpetual: for so their business is or may be, and oft-times urgent; the opportunity of Affairs gain’d or lost in a moment. The day of Council cannot be set as the day of a Festival; but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of Intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the People at home, and the People with them. The Ship of the Commonwealth is always under sail; they sit at the Stern, and if they steer well, what need is there to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Council is both Foundation and main Pillar of the whole State; and to move Pillars and Foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the Building. I see not therefore, how we can be advantag’d by successive and transitory Parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free Government, to breed Commotions, Changes, Novelties and Uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present Affairs and Opportunities, while all Minds are suspend with expectation of a new Assembly, and the Assembly for a good space taken up with the new settling of it self. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former Acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may seem to see what their Predecessors saw not, and not to have assembled for nothing: till all Law be lost in the multitude of clashing Statutes. But if the Ambition of such as think themselves injur’d that they also partake
not of the Government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them; or if it be fear'd that long continuance of Power may corrupt sincerest Men, the known Expedient is, and by som lately propounded, that annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) the third part of Senators may go out according to the precedence of thir Election, and the like number be chosen in thir places, to prevent the setling of too absolute a Power, if it should be perpetual: and this they call partial Rotation. But I could wish that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be don, without danger and mischance of putting out a great number of the best and ablest: in whose stead new Elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienc'd and otherwise affected, to the weakning and much altering for the wors of publick Transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual Senat, especially chosen and entrusted by the People, much in this land to be fear'd, where the well-affected either in a standing Army, or in a setled Militia have thir Arms in thir own hands. Safest threfore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interrupption to Affairs, that none of the Grand Council be mov'd, unless by Death or just conviction of som Crime: for what can be expected firm or stedfaft from a floating Foundation? however, I forejudg not any probable Expedient, any Temperament that can be found in things of this nature so disputable on either side. Yet left this which I affirm, be thought my single Opinion, I shall add sufficient Testimony. Kingship it self is threfore counted the more safe and durable, because the King, and for the most part his Council, is not chang'd during Life: but a Commonwealth is held immortal, and therin firmest, safest and
most above Fortune: for the Death of a King causeth oft-times many dangerous Alterations; but the Death now and then of a Senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in greatest and noblest Commonwealths, and as it were eternal. Therefore among the Jews, the supreme Council of Seventy, call'd the Sanbedrim, founded by Moses, in Athens that of Areopagus, in Sparta that of the Ancients, in Rome the Senat, consisted of Members chosen for term of Life; and by that means remain'd as it were still the same to Generations. In Venice they change indeed oftener than every year from particular Council of State, as that of six, or such other; but the true Senat, which upholds and sustains the Government, is the whole Aristocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces, the States General, which are indeed but a Council of State deputed by the whole Union, are not usually the same Persons for above three or six Years; but the States of every City in whom the Soveraignty hath bin plac'd time out of mind, are a standing Senat, without Succession, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of their Liberty. And why they should be so in every well-order'd Commonwealth, they who write of Policy, give these Reasons; "That to make the Senat successive, not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the Senat, but weakens the whole Commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the Secrets of State are frequently divulg'd, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexpert and novice Counsellors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of Affairs past." I know not therefore what should be peculiar in England to make successive Parliaments thought safest, or convenient here more than in other Nations, unless it be the sickliness which is attributed to us as we are Ilanders: but good Education and acquisit Wisdom
ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watry situation. It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual Senats, they had also popular Remedies against thir growing too imperious: as in Athens, besides Areopagus, another Senat of four or five hundred; in Sparta, the Ephori; in Rome; the Tribunes of the People. But the Event tells us, that these Remedies either little avail the People, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridl'd Democracy, as in fine ruin'd themselves with thir own excessive power. So that the main reason urg'd why popular Assemblies are to be trusted with the Peoples Liberty, rather than a Senat of principal Men, because great Men will be still endeavouring to inlarge thir Power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain thir own Liberty, is by Experience found false; none being more immoderat and ambitious to amplify thir Power, than such Popularities, which were seen in the People of Rome; who at first contented to have thir Tribunes, at length contended with the Senat that one Consul, then both, soon after, that the Censors and Praetors also should be created Plebeian, and the whole Empire put into thir hands; adoring lastly those, who most were ad- vers to the Senat, till Marius by fulfilling thir inordinate Desires, quite lost them all the Power for which they had so long bin striving, and left them under the Tyranny of Silla: the ballance thercfore must be ex- actly so set, as to preserve and keep up due Autority on either side, as well in the Senat as in the People. And this annual Rotation of a Senat to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded requires also another popular Assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable Rotation. Which besides that it will be liable to all those Inconveniences found in the foresaid Remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in thir Motion and thir Session, to
the whole Land, unweildie with thir own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature thir Consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to fit a whole year Lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forest of Fingers, or to convey each Man his bean or ballot into the Box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of Secrets, if any be imparted to them, emulous and always jarring with the other Senat. The much better way doubtless will be in this wavering condition of our Affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our Senat, more than may be done with ease, till the Commonwealth be throughly sett'd in Peace and Safety, and they themselves give us the occasion. Military Men hold it dangerous to change the form of Battel in view of an Enemy: neither did the People of Rome bandy with thir Senat while any of the Tarquins liv'd, the Enemies of thir Liberty, nor sought by creating Tribunes to defend themselves against the fear of thir Patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of thir Kings, and in full security of thir State, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the Senat. Another way will be, to well qualify and refine Elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude Multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualifi'd, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to chuse a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest. To make the People fittest to chuse, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty Education, to teach the People Faith not without Vertue, Temperance, Modesty, Sobriety, Parsimony, justice; not to admire Wealth or Honour; to
hate Turbulence and Ambition; to place every one his privat Welfare and Happiness in the publick Peace, Liberty and Safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of thir chosen Patriots in the Grand Council; who will be then rightly call'd the true Keepers of our Liberty, though the most of thir business will be in forein Affairs. But to prevent all Mistruft, the People then will have thir several ordinary Assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious Power and Name of Committies) in the chief Towns of every County, without the Trouble, Charge, or time lost of summoning and as- sembleling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from thir own Houses, or removing of thir Families, to do as much at home in thir several shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of thir Liberty, as a numerous Assembly of them all form'd and conven'd on purpose with the warieft Rotation. Wherof I shall speak more ere the end of this Discourse: for it may be referr'd to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. The People well weighing and performing these things, I suppose would have no cause to fear, though the Parlament abolishing that Name as originally signifying but the Parlie of our Lords and Commons with thir Norman King when he pleas'd to call them, should, with certain limitations of thir Power, fit perpetual, if thir ends be faithful and for a free Commonwealth, under the name of a Grand or General Council. Till this be don, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and throughly setl'd; never likely till then to see an end of our Troubles and continual Changes, or at least never the true Settlement and Assurance of our Liberty. The Grand Council being thus firmly constituted to Perpetuity, and still, upon the Death or Default of any Member, supply'd and kept in full number, ther can be no cause alleg'd why
Peace, Justice, plentiful Trade, and all Prosperity, should not therupon ensue throughout the whole Land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilful Sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only Heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained since the Work of our Redemption finish'd, universal Lord of all Mankind. The way propounded is plain, easy and open before us; without Intricacies, without the Introducement of new or obsolete Forms or Terms, or exotic Models; Idea's that would effect nothing; but with a number of new Injunctions to manacle the native Liberty of Mankind; turning all Virtue into Prescription, Servitude, and Necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian Liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangl'd with Inconveniences; invents no new Incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious Alteration or Circumscription of Mens Lands and Proprieties; secure, that in this Commonwealth, temporal and spiritual Lords remov'd, no Man or number of Men can attain to such Wealth or vast possession, as will need the hedg of an Agrarian Law (never successful, but the cause rather of Sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public Liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable Objection made against it, that it is not practicable; left it be said hereafter, that we gave up our Liberty for want of a ready way or distinct Form propos'd of a free Commonwealth. And this Facility we shall have above our next neighbouring Commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond Conceit of somthing like a Duke of Venice, put lately into many
Mens heads by som one or other sutly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a Crown) that our Liberty shall not be hamper'd or hover'd over by any engament to such a potent Family as the House of Nassaw, of whom to stand in perpetual Doubt and Suspicion, but we shall live the clearest and absoluteslf free Nation in the World.

On the contrary, if there be a King, which the inconsiderat multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to com of all those Happinesses, which in a Free State we shall immediatly be posses'd of. First, the Grand Council, which, as I shew'd before, shoud fit perpetually (unless thir leisuer give them now and then som Intermissions or Vacations, easily manageable by the Council of State left sitting) shall be call'd, by the King's good Will and utmost Endeavor, as seldom as may be. For it is only the King's Right, he will say, to call a Parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own Affairs rather than the Kingdom's, as will appeer planely so soon as they are call'd. For what will thir business then be, and the chief Expence of thir time, but an endless tugging between Petition of Right and Royal Prerogative, especially about the negative Voice, Militia, or Subsidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reasonable caufe appeering to the Commons, who are the only true Representatives of the People and thir Liberty, but will be then mingl'd with a Court-faction; besides which within thir own Walls, the sincere part of them who stand faithful to the People, will again have to deal with two troublesom counter-working Adversaries from without, meer Creatures of the King, spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of temporal Lords, nothing concern'd with the Peoples Liberty. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the Peoples Intereft, the Parliament
shall be soon dissolv'd, or fit and do nothing; not suffer'd to remedy the least Grieveance, or enact aught advantageous to the People. Next, the Council of State shall not be chosen by the Parlament, but by the King, still his own Creatures, Courtiers and Favorites; who will be sure in all their Counsel to set their Master's Grandure and absolute Power, in what they are able, far above the Peoples Liberty. I deny not but that ther may be such a King, who may regard the common Good before his own, may have no vitious Favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his Parlament: but this rarely happens in a Monarchy not elective; and it behoves not a wise Nation to commit the sum of their well-being, the whole state of their Safety to Fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, when as they themselves to whom his chief Vertue will be but to hearken, may with much better Management and Dispatcft, with much more Commendation of their own Worth and Magnanimity govern without a Master? Can the Folly be parallel'd, to adore and be the Slaves of a single Person, for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably our selves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise to make seasonable use of grævest Authorities, Experiences, Examples? Is it such an unspeakable Joy to serve, such Felicity to wear a Yoke? to clink our Shackles, lock'd on by pretended Law of Subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, than those which are knock'd on by illegal Injury and Violence? Aristotle, our chief Instructer in the Universities, left this Doctrin be thought Seâarian, as the Royalift would have it thought, tells us in the third of his Politicks, that certain Men at first, for the matchless Excellence of their Vertue above others, or som great public Benefit,
were created Kings by the People; in small Cities and Territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them: but when they abus'd thir Power, and Governments grew larger, and the number of prudent Men increas'd, that then the People soon deposing thir Tyrants, betook them, in all civileft places, to the form of a free Commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own Nation, as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy Men united in Counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality to find them out and chuse them, rather yoking our selves to a single Person, the natural Adversary and Oppressor of Liberty, though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his singular Power and Exaltation, or at beft, not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of Government, nor equally dispos'd to make us happy in the enjoyment of our Liberty under him.

But admit, that Monarchy of it self may be convenient to som Nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, receiv'd back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For Kings to com, never forgetting thir former Ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such Attempts hereafter from the People: who shall be then so narrowly watch'd and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the fame rate of thir Blood and Treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchas'd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any Yoke impos'd upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartn'd for the future, if these thir highest Attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the Triumph of all Tyrants hereafter over any People that shall resist Oppression; and thir Song will then be, to others, how sped the rebellious English? to our Posterity, how sped the Rebels your Fathers? This
is not my Conjecture, but drawn from God's known Denouncement against the gentilizing *Israelites*, who though they were govern'd in a Commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only thir King, they his peculiar People, yet affecting rather to resemble Heathen, but pretending the Misgovernment of *Samuel's* Sons, no more a reason to dislike thir Commonwealth, than the Violence of *Eli's* Sons was imputable to that Priesthood or Religion, clamour'd for a King. They had thir longing; but with this Testimony of God's Wrath: *Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry herafter, who once deliver'd by him from a King, and not without wondrous Acts of his Providence, insensible and unworthy of those high Mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the Captivity from whence he freed us. Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easy rate this new gilded Yoke which thus transports us: a new royal Revenue must be found, a new Episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholly dissipated or bought by privat Persons, or assign'd for Service don, and especially to the Army, cannot be recovered without a general Detriment and Confusion to Mens Estates, or a heavy Imposition on all Mens Purfes; Benefit to none, but to the worst and ignoblest sort of Men, whose hope is to be either the Ministers of Court, Riot and Excess, or the Gainers by it: But not to speak more of Losses and extraordinary Levies on our Estates, what will then be the Revenges and Offences remember'd and return'd, not only by the chief Person, but by all his Adherents; Accounts and Reparations that will be requir'd, Suits, Indictments, Inquiries, Discoveries, Complaints, Informations, who knows againft whom or how many, though
perhaps Neuters, if not to utmost Infliction, yet to Imprisonment, Fines, Banishment, or Molestation; if not these, yet disfavor, discountenance, disregard and contempt on all but the known Royalist or whom he favors, will be plenteous: nor let the new royaliz'd Presbyterians persuade themselves that thir old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever Conditions be contriv'd or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the Pacification how it was kept to the Scots; how other solemn Promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning Libels, the Faces, the Gestures that now appeer foremost and briskeft in all public places, as the Harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the Insolencies, the Menaces, the Insultings of our newly animated common Enemies crept lately out of thir Holes, thir Hell, I might say, by the Language of thir infernal Pamphlets, the Spue of every Drunkard, every Ribald; nameless, yet not for want of Licence, but for very shame of thir own vile Persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second thir wicked Words, if ever they have Power, with more wicked Deeds. Let our zealous Backsliders forethink now with themselves, how thir Necks yok'd with these Tigers of Bacchus, these new Fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier than the Venereal Pox, can draw one way under Monarchy to the establishing of Church Disciplin with these new-digorg'd Atheisms: yet shall they not have the honor to yoke with these, but shall be yok'd under them; these shall plow on thir backs. And do they among them who are so forward to bring in the single Person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be and so regarded, as by Kings
are wont reconcile'd Enemies; neglected and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old Traytors; the first Inciters, Beginners, and more than to the third part actors of all that follow'd. It will be found also, that there must be then as necessarily as now (for the contrary part will be still fear'd) a Standing Army; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest Cavaliers, of no less expence, and perhaps again under Rupert; but let this Army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without Arrear or Pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be question'd for being in Arms against thir King: the same let them fear, who have contributed Money; which will amount to no small number that must then take thir turn to be made Delinquents and Compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to Kingship, perhaps will answer, That a greater part by far of the Nation will have it so, the rest thencefore must yield. Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have both in Reason, and the trial of just Battel, lost the right of thir Election what the Government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether they for Kingship be the greater Number, who can certainly determin? Suppose they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of Government: which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forgo, is it just or reasonable, that most Voices against the main End of Government, should enslave the less Number that would be free? More just it is doubtles, if it come to force, that a less Number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, thir Liberty, than that a greater Number, for the pleasure of thir base-ness, compel a less most injuriously to be thir fellow Slaves. They who seek nothing but thir own just
Liberty, have always right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have Power, be the Voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concern'd to defend it from Kingship, and from them who in pursuance therof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain Misery and Thraldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a Free Commonwealth, and by it with as much ease all the Freedom, Peace, Justice, Plenty, that we can desire; on the other side, the Difficulties, Troubles, Uncertainties, nay rather Impossibilities to enjoy these things constantly under a Monarch: I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherein our Freedom and flourishing Condition will be more ample and secure to us under a Free Commonwealth, than under Kingship.

The whole freedom of Man consists either in Spiritual or Civil Liberty. As for Spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this World with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own Soul, according to the best Light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his reveal'd Will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant Church allows no supream Judg or Rule in Matters of Religion, but the Scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers Liberty of Conscience; I have heretofore prov'd at large in another Treatise; and might yet furder by the public Declarations, Confessions and Admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all Histories since the Reformation.

This Liberty of Conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all Men dearest and most precious, no Government more inclinable not to favor
only, but to protect, than a Free Commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless and confident of its own fair Proceedings. Wheras Kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillannious, full of Fears, full of Jealousies, startl’d at every Ombrage, as it hath been observ’d of old to have ever suspected most, and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for Vertue and Generosity of Mind; so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion, them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen Elizabeth, though her self accounted so good a Protestant, so moderate, so confident of her Subjects Love, would never give way so much as to Presbyterian Reformation in this Land, though once and again besought, as Camden relates, but imprison’d and persecuted the very Proposers thereof; alleging it as her Mind and Maxim unalterable, that such Reformation would diminish Regal Authority. What Liberty of Conscience can we then expect of others, far worse principl’d from the Cradle, train’d up and govern’d by Popish and Spanish Counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last Parliament expect, who having reviv’d lately and publish’d the Cov’nant, have reingag’d themselves, never to readmit Episcopacy? Which no Son of Charles returning, but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest Charge of his Father, to persevere in, not the Doctrin only, but Government of the Church of England; not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of Errors and Schisms; among which he accounted Presbytery one of the chief. Or if, notwithstanding that Charge of his Father, he submit to the Cov’nant, how will he keep Faith to us, with Disobedience to him; or regard that Faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal Charge, and the Reluctance, I may say the Antipathy, which
is in all Kings against Presbyterian and Independent Discipline? For they hear the Gospel speaking much of Liberty; a word which Monarchy and her Bishops both fear and hate, but a Free Commonwealth both favors and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing it self. But let our Governors beware in time, left thir hard measure to Liberty of Conscience be found the Rock wher on they shipwrack themselves, as others have now don before them in the cours wherein God was directing thir Steerage to a Free Commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call Sectaries, for the detected Falshood and Ambition of som, be a wilful rejection of thir own chief Strength and Interest in the freedom of all Protestant Religion, under what abusive Name foever calumniated.

The other part of our Freedom consists in the Civil Rights and Advancements of every Person according to his Merit: the enjoyment of those never more certain, and the access to these never more open, than in a Free Commonwealth. Both which, in my Opinion, may be best and soonest obtain'd, if every County in the Land were made a kind of subordinate Commonalty or Commonwealth, and one chief Town or more, according as the Shire is in Circuit, made Cities, if they be not so call'd already; where the Nobility and chief Gentry, from a proportionable compas of Territory annex'd to each City, may build Houses or Palaces befitting thir Quality, may bear part in the Government, make thir own Judicial Laws, or use these that are, and execute them by thir own elected Judicatures and Judges without Appeal, in all things of Civil Government between Man and Man: so they shall have Justice in thir own hands, Law executed fully and finally in thir own Counties and Precincts, long wish'd and spoken of, but never yet obtain'd; they shall have none then to blame but

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they might, or to those that shall be made, of any great concern-
ment to Public Liberty, they may, without much trouble in these Commonalties, or in more General
Assemblies call’d to thir Cities from the whole Ter-
ritory on such occasion, declare and publish thir af-
sent or dissent by Deputies, within a time limited, sent to the Grand Council; yet so as this thir Judg-
ment declar’d, shall submit to the greater number of
other Counties or Commonalties, and not avail them
to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of Agree-
ment with the rest, as it may in any of the United
Provinces, being Sovran within it self, oft-times to
the great disadvantage of that Union. In these Im-
ployments they may much better than they do now,
exercise and fit themselves till thir Lot fall to be
chosen into the Grand Council, according as thir
Worth and Merit shall be taken notice of by the Peo-
ple. As for Controversies that shall happen between
Men of several Counties, they may repair, as they do
now, to the Capital City, or any other more com-
modious, indifferent Place, and equal Judges. And
this I find to have been practis’d in the old Athenian
Commonwealth, reputed the first and ancien
tef t place
of Civility in all Greece: that they had in thir several
Cities, a Peculiar; in Athens, a common Govern-
ment; and thir Right, as it befel them, to the Ad-
ministration of both. They should have here also
Schools and Academies at thir own choice, wherein
thir Children may be bred up in thir own sight to all
Learning and noble Education; not in Grammar only,
but in all Liberal Arts and Exercises. This would
soon spread much more Knowledg and Civility, yea,
Religion, through all parts of the Land, by commu-
nicating the natural heat of Government and Culture
more distributively to all extreme parts, which now
lie num and neglected, would soon make the whole Nation more industrious, more ingenuous at home; more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a Free Commonwealth will easily assent; (nay, the Parliament hath had already som such thing in design) for of all Governments a Commonwealth aims most to make the People flourishing, vertuous, noble and high-spirited. Monarchs will never permit; whose Aim is to make the People wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleec’t, for thir own shearing, and the supply of Regal Prodigality; but otherwise softest, basest, vioudest, servilest, easiest to be kept under; and not only in Fleece, but in Mind also sheepisheft; and will have all the Benches of Judicature annex’d to the Throne, as a Gift of Royal Grace, that we have Justice don us; whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a People, than to have the administration of Justice, and all Publick Ornaments, in thir own Election, and within thir own Bounds, without long travelling or depending on remote Places to obtain thir Right, or any Civil Accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general Power and Union of the whole Republic. In which happy firmness, as in the Particular above-mention’d, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft-times of thir Counsels or urgentest occasions) many Sov’ranties united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entrusted Sov’ranty. And when we have our Forces by Sea and Land, either of a faithful Army, or a setl’d Militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a Free Commonwealth, public Accounts under our own inspection, general Laws and Taxes, with thir Causes in our own Domestic Suffrages, Judicial Laws, Offices and Ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of Lords and Com-
moners, that may any way divide or sever the Public Interest, remov'd, what can a perpetual Senat have then, wherin to grow corrupt, wherin to encroach upon us, or usurp? or if they do, wherin to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the Fear or Envy of a perpetual Sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three Years, as was above-mention'd; or that it be at those times in the Peoples choice, whether they will change them, or renew thir Power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well consider'd; few and easy things, now seasonably don. But if the People be so affected, as to prostitute Religion and Liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but Kingship can restore Trade, not remembring the frequent Plagues and Pestilences that then wafted this City, such as through God's Mercy we never have felt since; and that Trade flourishes no where more than in the Free Commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before thir eyes at this day: yet if Trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of Tradesmen, that nothing can support it, but the luxurious Expences of a Nation upon Trifles or Superfluities; so as if the People generally should betake themselves to Frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, left Tradesmen should mutiny for want of Trading; and that therefore we must forgo and set to sale Religion, Liberty, Honor, Safety, all Concernments Divine or Human, to keep up Trading. If, lastly, after all this Light among us, the same Reason shall pass for current, to put our Necks again under Kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of thir Idol Queen, because they falsly imagin'd that they then liv'd in
more plenty and prosperity; our Condition is not found but rotten, both in Religion and all Civil Prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those Calamities which attend always and unavoidably on Luxury, all national Judgments under Forein or Domestic Slavery: So far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our Government, whatever new Conceit now posseffes us. However with all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my Duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my Country in time; wherin I doubt not but there be many wise Men in all Places and Degrees, but am sorry the Effects of Wisdom are so little seen among us. Many Circumstances and Particulars I could have added in those things wherof I have spoken; but a few main Matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right: And ther will want at no time who are good at Circumstances; but Men who set thir Minds on main Matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I find not many. What I have spoken, is the Language of that which is not call'd amiss The good Old Cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to Backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to Trees and Stones; and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, O Earth, Earth, Earth! to tell the very Soil it self, what her perverse Inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke, should happ'n (which Thou suffer not, who didst create Mankind free; nor Thou next, who didst redeem us from being Servants of Men!) to be the last words of our expiring Liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken Persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous Men; to som perhaps whom God may raise of these Stones to become Children of reviving Liberty; and may reclaim, though they
seem now chusing them a Captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing; to exhort this Torrent also of the People, not to be so impetuous, but to keep thir due Channel; and at length recovering and uniting thir better Resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common Enemies, to stay these ruinous Proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a Precipice of Destruction the deluge of this epidemic Madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abus’d Multitude.
THE

Present Means, and brief Delineation of a

Free Commonwealth,

Easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay. In
a Letter to General Monk. Published
from the Manuscript.

FIRST, all endeavours speedily to be us’d,
that the ensuing Election be of such as
are already firm, or inclined to constitu-
tute a free Commonwealth (according to
the former qualifications decreed in Par-
lament, and not yet repeal’d, as I hear) without single
Person, or House of Lords. If these be not such,
but the contrary, who foresees not, that our Liberties
will be utterly lost in this next Parliament, without
some powerful course taken, of speedieft prevention?
The speedieft way will be to call up forthwith the
chief Gentlemen out of every County; to lay before
them (as your Excellency hath already, both in your
publish’d Letters to the Army, and your Declaration
recited to the Members of Parliament) the Danger
and Confusion of readmitting Kingship in this Land;
especially against the Rules of all Prudence and Ex-
ample, in a Family once ejected, and therby not to
be trusted with the power of Revenge: that you will
not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will
present Means and brief Delineation

put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free Commonwealth; if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the People as are rightly qualifi'd, a standing Council in every City, and great Town, which may then be dignified with the name of City, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that Place, with a competent Territory adjoin'd; to assume the judicial Laws, either these that are, or such as they themselves shall new make severally, in each Commonalty, and all Judicatures, all Magistracies, to the Administration of all Justice between man and man, and all the Ornaments of publick Civility, Academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several Counties, or Territories, may be determin'd, as they are here at London, or in some more convenient Place, under equal Judges.

Next, That in every such Capital Place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest Knights and Burgess's, engag'd for a Commonwealth, to make up the Parliament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand or General Council of the Nation: whose Office must be, with due Caution, to dispose of Forces, both by Sea and Land, under the conduct of your Excellency, for the preservation of Peace, both at home and abroad; must raise and manage the publick Revenue, but with provided inspection of their Accompts; must administer all foreign Affairs, make all General Laws, Peace, or War, but not without Assent of the standing Council in each City, or such other general Assembly as may be call'd on such occasion, from the whole Territory, where they may without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their Suffrages within a set time, by Deputies appointed. Though this grand Council be perpetual (as in that Book I prov'd would be best and most conformable to best examples) yet
they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in thir Hands, or Power to endanger our Liberty; and the People so much in thirs, to prevent them, having all Judicial Laws in thir own choice, and free Votes in all those which concern generally the whole Commonwealth, that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general Senat; which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our Public Liberty, Peace, and Union, through the whole Commonwealth, and the transactors of our Affairs with foreign Nations.

If this yet be not thought enough, the known Expedient may at length be us'd, of a partial Rotation.

Lastly, if these Gentlemen convocated, refuse these fair and noble Offers of immediate Liberty, and happy Condition, no doubt there be enough in every County who will thankfully accept them, your Excellency once more declaring publickly this to be your Mind, and having a faithful Veteran Army, so ready, and glad to assist you in the prosecution therof. For the full and absolute Administration of Law in every County, which is the difficultest of these Proposals, hath bin of most long desired; and the not granting it, held a general Grievance. The rest when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these Constitutions propos'd, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble Effects thereof, will be soon convinc'd, and by degrees come in of thir own accord, to be partakers of so happy a Government.

End of Volume the Third.

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